



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Morfini, I.

Citation

Morfini, I. (2019, February 21). *Necropolis journal: daily records of events in an ancient Egyptian artisans' community*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/68810>

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/1887/68810>

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

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/68810> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Morfini, I.

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

Issue Date: 2019-02-21



Universiteit Leiden

Necropolis journal:
Daily Records of events in an
Ancient Egyptian Artisans' Community



Academisch Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 21 februari 2019 klokke 15:00 uur door

Irene Morfini
geboren te Lucca, Italië, in 1980

Promotor: Prof. dr. O.E. Kaper

Copromotor: Dr. R.J. Demarée

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. A. Dorn (Uppsala University)

Dr. B.J.J. Haring

Prof. dr. J. van der Vliet

Mw. Prof. dr. Caroline Waerzeggers

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

1. INTRODUCTION	13
1.1 <i>Status quaestionis</i>	14
1.2 Research questions	20
1.2.a Did the concept of a Necropolis journal exist?	20
1.2.b What do the different kinds of annals and day-books have in common?	20
1.2.c Who was the intended readership of the day-books?	21
1.2.d How many types of journal can we identify?	21
1.2.d How can the list of documents become a useful updatable tool available to all scholars interested in the subject?	22
2. RESEARCH CONTEXT	
2.1 The village	23
2.2 The workmen of Deir el-Medina	24
2.3 Necropolis journal and writing material	26
3. METHODOLOGY	
3.1 A journal in Ancient Egypt	30
3.2 The corpus of documents	32
3.3 Who was reading a Necropolis journal?	32
3.4 Variety of journals	33
3.5 The future of the journals	33

PART II

4. WHAT WAS CONSIDERED A JOURNAL IN ANCIENT EGYPT

4.1 The notion of journal in a broader Egyptian perspective	35
4.2 Overview of annals and day-books	43
4.2.a The Papyri of Wadi el-Jarf	44
4.2.b The Palermo Stone	48
4.2.c The South Saqqara Stone	51
4.2.d The Gebelein Papyri	51
4.2.e The Abusir Papyri and the “new” Abusir Papyri	52
4.2.f The Reisner Papyri	58
4.2.g The Illahun archives	62
4.2.h The Annals of Amenemhat II	68
4.2.i The Ramesseum Papyri	70
4.2.j The Middle Kingdom Tax Assessor’s Day-book	76
4.2.k Papyrus Boulaq 18	78
4.2.l Papyrus Louvre E. 3226	80
4.2.m The Annals of Thutmose III	86

4.2.n The Papyri Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B	88
4.2.o The Rollin Papyri (accounts of Sethi I)	92
4.2.p The Ship's log of Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016.....	95
4.2.q Tomb construction journal of Saqqara.....	100
4.3 Similarities and differences	101
4.3.a Other scribal traditions	115

5. LIST OF NECROPOLIS JOURNALS FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA

5.1 The creation of the list: criteria	118
5.2 The list.....	124
5.2.a First section: documents dated with certainty	125
5.2.b Second section: documents not dated with certainty.....	153

6. THE STUDY OF THE JOURNALS (IN A SEPARATE APPENDIX)

PART III

7. DISCUSSION

7.1 The concept of a Necropolis journal.....	181
7.2 Readership of the day-books	182
7.2.a Day-books for internal use?	186
7.2.b Day-books to be audited?	188
7.3 Different types of journal	190
7.3.a Classification according to the type of information and contents	195
7.3.b Charts of the data obtained	205
7.4. The database.....	211
7.4.a The initial idea.....	211
7.4.b The website	212

FINAL CONCLUSIONS	217
--------------------------------	------------

BIBLIOGRAPHY	220
---------------------------	------------

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	258
------------------------------	------------

IN A SEPARATE APPENDIX

6. THE STUDY OF THE JOURNALS

6.1	Dynasty XVIII	-2-
	O. Ashmolean Museum 0007	-2-
6.2	Dynasty XIX	-7-
6.2.a	Ramesses II	-7-
	O. Cairo 25645	-7-
	O. Cairo 25803	-8-
	O. Cairo 25502	-10-
	O. Cairo CG 25815a and b	-13-
	O. University of Memphis Expedition n. 97	-16-
6.2.b	Merenptah	-19-
	O. Cairo 25581	-19-
	O. Cairo 25552	-21-
	O. Valley of Kings, Area A, Square G 0, between KV 62 and KV 7	-22-
	O. Cairo 25504	-23-
	O. DM 594	-30-
	P. Berlin 23300 and 23301	-31-
	P. Ashmolean Museum 1960.1283	-41-
6.5.c	Amenmesse	-46-
	O. Cairo 25779	-46-
	O. Varille 26	-55-
	O. Ashmolean Museum 0290	-57-
	O. Cairo 25780	-58-
	O. Cairo 25782	-59-
	O. Cairo 25783	-67-
	O. Ashmolean Museum 0167	-72-
	O. Ashmolean Museum 0174	-74-
	O. Ashmolean Museum 0291	-75-
	O. Cairo 25784	-76-
	O. DM 898	-78-
6.2.d	Sethi II	-82-
	HO 64, 1 (O. MMA 14.6.217)	-82-
	O. Cairo 25509	-85-
	O. Cairo 25510	-91-
	O. Berlin P 14842	-93-
	O. DM 889	-96-
	O. Cairo CG 25529	-98-
	O. Cairo 25512	-107-
	O. Cairo 25516	-109-
	O. Cairo 25517	-114-
	O. Cairo 25538	-121-
	O. Cairo 25515	-122-
6.2.e	Siptah	-148-
	O. Cairo 25515	-148-
	O. Cairo 25536	-148-

O. Cairo 25516	-152-
O. Cairo 25525	-152-
O. Cairo 25518	-153-
O. Cairo 25517	-156-
O. Cairo 25519	-156-
O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text)	-160-
O. DM 908	-161-
O. Cairo 25521	-165-
O. Ashmolean Museum 0118.....	-174-
O. DM 10052	-176-
O. Cairo JE 72451	-179-
O. DM 10051	-179-
P. Greg P.UC 34336	-182-
O. DM 899	-199-
O. DM 909	-202-
O. DM 910	-203-
6.3 Dynasty XX.....	-207-
6.3.a Ramesses III.....	-207-
O. DM 99	-207-
O. DM 253	-208-
O. Turin 57020.....	-210-
O. Varille 36.....	-211-
O. DM 422	-212-
O. Turin 57034.....	-214-
O. Turin 57047.....	-216-
O. Turin 57026.....	-221-
O. DM 625	-225-
O. Turin 57027.....	-227-
O. Turin 57046.....	-229-
O. Turin 57039.....	-233-
O. DM 164	-236-
O. Turin 57029.....	-238-
O. IFAO [unnumbered]+O. Varille 06	-240-
O. Turin 57028.....	-243-
O. Turin 57056.....	-247-
O. Gardiner AG 139	-251-
O. Turin 57055.....	-251-
O. Turin 57033.....	-253-
O. DM 32	-256-
O. UC 39648.....	-259-
O. UC 39626	-263-
O. Turin 57031.....	-266-
O. Glasgow D.1925.67.....	-268-
O. Ashmolean Museum 0221.....	-271-
O. Glasgow D.1925.76.....	-273-
O. Berlin P 12295.....	-277-
O. Turin 57475.....	-280-
O. DM 654	-281-
O. Hildesheim 5464	-284-
O. Turin 57044.....	-285-
O. DM 148	-288-
O. IFAO 00284 + O. IFAO 00285 + O. IFAO 00286 + O. IFAO 00287	-292-
O. Turin 57153.....	-294-

O. DM 911	-296-
O. DM 653	-300-
O. DM 633	-303-
O. DM 33	-305-
O. IFAO 00253.....	-308-
O. Ashmolean Museum 0255.....	-309-
O. DM 00034 + O. Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 567	-310-
O. DM 427	-315-
O. DM 156	-320-
O. Berlin P 10663.....	-323-
O. Turin 57007 r°	-324-
O. DM 284	-326-
O. Berlin P 10633.....	-329-
O. Berlin P 14689.....	-331-
O. DM 604	-333-
O. Turin 57007 v°	-334-
O. Cairo 25530	-337-
O. IFAO 1255+O.Varille 39	-338-
O. Brussel E. 7359.....	-345-
O. DM 330	-347-
P. Turin 2006+1961	-349-
P. Turin Cat. 1880.....	-353-
O. DM 98	-385-
O. Prague H 14.....	-386-
O. DM 55	-389-
O. DM 158	-390-
O. DM 36	-392-
O. DM 578	-397-
O. DM 37	-398-
O. Michaelides 073	-400-
O. DM 38	-402-
O. DM 39+174	-405-
P. Turin 1949+1946	-410-
O. Turin 57432.....	-416-
O. IFAO 00268 + O. IFAO 00278.....	-419-
O. Turin 57156.....	-420-
O. Berlin P 14255.....	-422-
O. Louvre E 13160.....	-423-
O. Louvre E 25325.....	-425-
6.3.b Ramesses IV	-429-
O. DM 39+174	-429-
P. Turin 1949+1946	-429-
O. Berlin P 12631.....	-429-
O. DM 40+O.Strasbourg H. 042.....	-435-
O. DM 41+ O. Berlin P 12626	-440-
O. DM 42	-445-
O. DM 43	-449-
O. DM 47	-452-
O. Berlin P 12641+12628.....	-458-
O. DM 161+O.Berlin P 12640+Strasbourg H82.....	-463-
O. DM 44	-470-
O. IFAO 00295.....	-477-
O. DM 45	-478-

O. DM 46	-483-
P. Turin 1891 r°	-487-
HO 73, 1 (O. Ashmolean Museum 0113)	-489-
O. DM 401	-493-
O. MMA 14.6.216.....	-496-
O. Cairo CG 25266	-499-
O. DM 398	-502-
O. Ashmolean Museum 0070.....	-504-
O. Cairo CG 25271	-506-
O. IFAO 00383.....	-508-
O. Cairo CG 25272	-509-
O. Berlin P 09897.....	-510-
O. Cairo CG 25274	-511-
O. Berlin P 09906.....	-512-
O. DM 657	-513-
P. Turin PN 109 (Prov. 6258)	-515-
O. DM 393	-519-
O. DM 617	-521-
O. DM 10049	-522-
O. Cairo CG 25303	-523-
 6.3.c Ramesses V.....	-524-
O. Cairo 25609	-524-
P. Turin 2044	-528-
P. Turin 2002 r°	-535-
 6.3.d Ramesses VI	-547-
HO 68, 1 (O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + 660)	-547-
O. Cairo 25254	-550-
O. Cairo 25256	-551-
O. BtdK 659	-551-
O. Ashmolean Museum 0160.....	-553-
O. Ashmolean Museum 0302+O. Ashmolean Museum 0342 rev	-555-
P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1	-557-
O. Cairo 25566	-559-
O. Cairo 25269	-561-
P. Turin 1885 v°	-562-
 6.3.e Ramesses VII	-565-
P. Turin 1885 v° col. III, l. 3-8.....	-565-
P. Turin 2070/154	-566-
P. Turin 1883+2095	-572-
O. Cairo CG 25297	-577-
 6.3.f Ramesses IX	-578-
O. Ashmolean Museum 0187 rev.	-578-
P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128.....	-580-
P. Turin 2013 + P. Turin 2050 + P. Turin 2061.....	-587-
P. Turin 1881 + P. Turin 2080 + P. Turin 2092.....	-597-
P. Turin 2002 r° (col. IV end of line 21 and lines 22-23) + P. Turin 2002 v°	-612-
P. Turin 1906 + P. Turin 1939 + P. Turin 2047	-620-
P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin fragment gamma + P. Turin 2074	-630-
P. Turin 2072/142	-640-

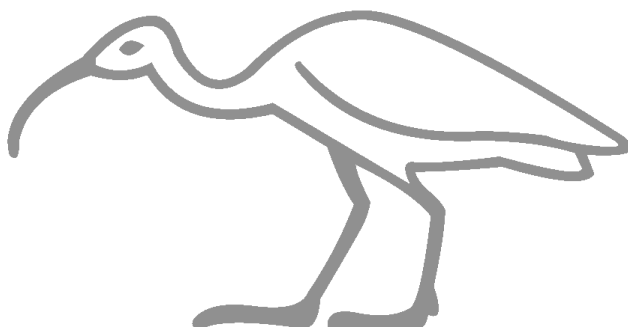
P. Turin 1900 + P. Turin 2048 + P. Turin 2088 + P. Turin 2093 + P. Turin 2097 + P. Turin 2101	-644-
P. Turin [unnumbered 1]	-652-
P. Turin 54021	-654-
O. Cairo CG 25305	-659-
P. Turin 2071/224 [140]+frgt	-661-
P. Turin 1891 v°	-664-
P. Turin 2087 v°	-666-
Giornale, pl. 4-7 (P. Turin 1999 + P. Turin 2009 v°)	-668-
O. Léningrad 2973 r°	-676-
O. Cairo 25299	-677-
HO 69, 1 (O. BM EA 05672 + O. Cairo CG 25649)	-678-
P. Turin 2071/224+1960	-681-
P. Turin Cat. 1884 + P. Turin Cat. 2067 + P. Turin Cat. 2071 + P. Turin Cat. 2105.....	-689-
P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P. Turin Cat. 2083 verso (Giornale year 17B).....	-697-
P. Turin Cat. 2001 + P. Turin Cat. 2005 + P. Turin Cat. 2029 + P. Turin Cat. 2078 recto (Giornale year 17A)	-733-
P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P. Turin Cat. 2083 recto (Giornale year 17B)	-741-
P. Turin Cat. 2001 + P. Turin Cat. 2005 + P. Turin Cat. 2029 + P. Turin Cat. 2078 verso (Giornale year 17A)	-766-
P. Turin Cat. 2106 + P. Turin Cat. 2107	-773-
O. Cairo CG 25314	-744-
6.3.g Ramesses X	-775-
Giornale, pl. 50-63 (P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094)	-888-
O. Cairo CG 25244	-797-
6.3.h Ramesses XI	-798-
Giornale, pl. 50-63 (P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094)	-798-
P. Turin 1895 + P. Turin 2006 Turin taxation papyrus	-799-
P. BM EA 09997	-815-
Gardiner, RAD, 64-68 (P. Turin 1888 + P. Turin 2085)	-818-
P. Turin 2094 [1]	-824-
O. Cairo CG 25243	-828-

LIST OF FIGURES

fig. 1 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. After Ahram Online. (In the photo the <i>praenomen</i> and the Horus name of Cheops are visible).....	46
Fig. 2 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. Accounts recorded in tabular form. After Tallet-Marouard 2014, 7	46
Fig. 3 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. The log book of captain Merer. Photo by Mostafa AlSaghir (Cairo Museum, temporary exhibition, July 2016).....	47
Fig. 4 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. Transcription of the first columns of the log book shown in fig. 3. The days are written in the upper horizontal boxes. The events of each day are recorded in two vertical columns. After Tallet 2016, 29	47
Fig. 5 Fragment of the Palermo stone, face side. After Wilkinson 2000	50
Fig. 6 Abusir papyrus. Detail of a duty-table. After Posener-Kriéger 1968, pl. IIIa.....	56
Fig. 7 P. Reisner I Section B. After Simpson 1963, pl. 2a	60
Fig. 8 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXII	64
Fig. 9 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXII	65
Fig. 10 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII	66
Fig. 11 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII	67
Fig. 12 Annals of Amenemhat II, Farag-block. After Altenmüller 2015, Faltafel.....	70
Fig. 13 Page five of Semna Dispatches. After Smither 1945, pl. VIa.....	72
Fig. 14 Accounts, P. Ram. III verso. After Barns 1956, pl. 24	74
Fig. 15 Papyrus Ram. XIII verso. After www.britishmuseum.org	75
Fig. 16 Papyrus Ram. XIII verso. After Gardiner 1955, fig. 1.....	75
Fig. 17 Papyrus Harageh 3. After Smither 1941, pl. IXa.....	77
Fig. 18 Papyrus Boulaq 18, detail of event text on year 3. After Mariette 1872, pl. 30. Transcription after Scharff 1922, pl. 15**	79
Fig. 19 Papyrus Boulaq 18. Column 12. Balance sheet. After Mariette 1872, pl. 18.....	79
Fig. 20 Papyrus Boulaq 18 column 51. Black horizontal guidelines dividing the data. After Mariette 1872, pl. 31	80
Fig. 21 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226. Frag. A recto IV. After Megally 1971b, pl. IV	82
Fig. 22 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226. Frag. A recto VII. After Megally 1971b, pl. VII	83
Fig. 23 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226. General plan, left part of Megally's plate. After Megally 1971b, pl. LXIIa ...	84
Fig. 24 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226. General plan, right part of Megally's plate. After Megally 1971b, pl. LXIIb. 85	
Fig. 25 Thutmose III Annals, cols. 1-13, the beginning of the first campaign. After Redford 2003, fig. 1	87
Fig. 26 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 A recto, after https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/45059/Fragment	89
Fig. 27 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 A recto, after Condon 1984, 60-61	90
Fig. 28 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 A recto, after Condon 1984, 62.....	91
Fig. 29 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 B recto, after https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/45059/Fragment	91
Fig. 30 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 B recto, after Condon 1984, 77	92
Fig. 31 Papyrus Rollin 1884. After Spiegelberg 1896, pl. VIIa, corresponding to Pleyte 1868 Pl. VII	93
Fig. 32 Papyrus 1889. After Spiegelberg 1896, Pl. IVb, corresponding to Pleyte 1868 Pl. XVII-XX.....	94
Fig. 33 Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso, detail of col V. After www.rmo.nl/collectie/	96
Fig. 34 Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso, detail. After Janssen 1961	97

Fig. 35 Papyrus Turin 2008+2016 recto, details. After Janssen 1961.....	99
Fig. 36 Part of papyrus JE 52002, recto. After Posener-Kriéger 1981, 48	101
Fig. 37 Papyrus Gebelein III, after Posener-Kriéger 2004, recto (Pl. 22) above and a modern empty Excel sheet below. If we compare the grid made on the ancient papyrus with the Excel page, a modern spreadsheet for calculation and organisation of data, we can see many similarities. The space is divided into grids by means of columns and lines and usually headings are written at top of the page in order to organise the information.....	114
Fig. 38 Chart representing the groups of documents divided per single pharaoh (the results are obviously limited to the fact that there are some short and some long reigns; the chart does not give us firm statistics, but merely an indication)	206
Fig. 39 Chart representing the groups of documents divided per dynasty.....	207
Fig. 40 Chart representing the documents on papyri divided per group.....	209
Fig. 41 Chart representing the documents on ostraca divided per group	210
Fig. 42 Example of a page of the database.....	212
Fig. 43 Chart representing distribution in time of journals written on ostraca vs journals written on papyri (only documents dated with certainty). Considering what was stated on p. 28, that 40% of the papyri is palimpsest, we can imagine that papyri with records now dated to R. IX, X or XI earlier may have carried records dating to R. VI, VII or VIII. This would change the picture of the chart.	213
Fig. 44 Chart representing the number of ostraca vs the number of papyri (the whole corpus).....	213
Fig. 45 The homepage of the website	216

PART I



1. Introduction

The past century has seen the appearance of an impressive number of studies, both general and detailed, on the artisan's community of Deir el-Medina.

Since the first official excavations at the site of Deir el-Medina by Schiaparelli (1905-1909), followed by Baraize (1912), Möller (1911-1913) and Bruyère (1922-1951), a yearly growing number of books and articles have been published, touching upon almost every aspect of the life and work of the inhabitants of this unique village. Objects from this site had already been noticed in the late 19th century, but the function or status of their original owners remained unknown. The meaning of their title was first correctly identified by Černý in his article "*L'identité des 'Serviteurs dans la Place de Verité' et des ouvriers de la nécropole royale de Thèbes*" (1929). To him we owe the knowledge that they were actually the artisan workers responsible for the creation of the royal sepulchers in the Valley of Kings and the Valley of Queens dating to the New Kingdom. Many years later Černý also was the author of a posthumously published work "*A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*" (1973a), which until today is still a comprehensive study of the workmen or artisans of that community. In 1985 another fundamental and essential work about Deir el-Medina, notably with detailed chapters on the ancient documents, was published by Valbelle: "*Les ouvriers de la Tombe. Deir el-Médineh à l'époque Ramesside*".

Although since then many ostraca and papyri have been partially published, a substantial number of documents once studied by scholars like Gardiner, Peet and Černý are still available only in transcriptions or summary translations (like in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* = KRI, 1975-1990), without any photo or facsimile. This state of affairs severely hampers knowledge about format and layout of the documents. With regard to translations, especially those by Allam 1973, Kitchen 1993ff (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations* = RITA, and Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments* = RITANC), McDowell 1999 and Helck 2000 are useful, although most are often fragmentary and selective, as the authors often only translated what they needed for their own purposes¹.

¹ The work of Helck presents many mistakes and needs to be cautiously used. Demarée (Demarée 2004, 286-294) offers a list of major remarks, corrections and notes to this work.

A primary research tool for the study of the written documents that have been preserved from the artisan workers' community is the Deir el-Medina Database², which enables the user to retrieve information on the documents relevant to his researches from the corpus of non-literary or administrative texts produced by the “workmen of the Tomb”³.

From these texts, insight has been gained into all aspects of the life and times of these artisan workmen, their work, their collective administration, their private affairs and their contacts with higher authorities and the world outside their village. Amongst this mass of records, a certain type has been given a specific name ever since the first publication of such documents from the late 20th Dynasty by Botti and Peet 1928 (*“Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe”*). They were collectively labeled as “the Journal of the Necropolis” or later “Journal of the Necropolis”. Since they clearly record first of all “activities” or “events” linked to specific dates, the question has arisen as to whether indeed this was a specific type of document.

In order to understand how the idea and notion of “a journal” and notably “an events journal” developed amongst Egyptologists, it is necessary to discuss the various fundamental publications on this subject.

1.1 Status quaestionis

In the introduction of *“Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe”* (Botti and Peet 1928, 5 and 7), referring to the documents presented in the volume, it is said that *“abbiamo di preferenza rivolta l'attenzione ai papiri di carattere civile amministrativo che riguardano la necropoli di Tebe [...] e fra questi [...] quelli che contengono il Giornale, in gran parte tuttora inedito”*. Further on, in reference to the Drovetti collection, the term “the journal” is used again *“L'ornamento più prezioso di questi papiri è però il Giornale”*⁴.

²Demarée-Haring 1999 and online at: <http://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>

³ It is worth noting that in the previous publications (except Valebelle 1985), the workmen of Deir el-Medina used to be called “workmen of the Necropolis”, while nowadays we refer to them as “workmen of the Tomb”, since the institution to which they belonged actually was locally known as “the Tomb”.

⁴ Some fragments of texts included in the publication of Botti and Peet had already been published by Pleyte and Rossi in 1869 in *Papyrus de Turin*, but they were not called *Giornale*. The second half of the first page, the second and third page of the *Giornale dell'anno 17*, and part of the fifth and sixth page, indeed, had already been published in 1869 (Pleyte-Rossi 1869, Pl. XCIV and 130-131; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, Pl. XCII and 128-128). In that publication, however, the papyri later labelled *Giornale* are called *“fragments de compte”*.

The administrative papyri concerning the Necropolis are here for the first time called journals⁵. The title of the book clearly indicates a typology of documents, but no explanation is given in the introduction or elsewhere for the choice of this name nor any *criteria* to recognise such documents and distinguish them from others. The existence of such a genre is taken for granted and no question is raised about the meaning of this strict classification. Botti and Peet speak about *the journal*, and that led following generations of Egyptologists to think that there was such a thing as the one and only journal, although neither Botti-Peet nor later Valbelle, with a promising title “*Le Journal de la Tombe*” say clearly what makes these documents *the journal* (worth noting, Valbelle provides already the correct term ‘la Tombe’ almost innocently. See further p.18).

Since Botti and Peet 1928, the term journal is thus used to identify administrative records on papyri and ostraca describing activities of the community of Deir el-Medina. Nobody seems to have felt the need to investigate the intrinsic meaning of the term. In the introduction of *Hieratic Ostraca* 1957, Gardiner and Černý wanted to define the word ‘ostrakon’ more precisely and “to state explicitly the extent of the field which it will be used to cover”, but no question is raised about the term ‘journal’ which is then used to define the content of some of the ostraca (“*journal of work on the Royal Tomb*”).

On pp. 34-35 a classification of the documents included in the book is attempted according to their contents and we find: “journal of work”, “enumeration of work or workmen”, “distribution of victuals”, “supply of victuals”, “various accounts”, “list of goods”⁶. The terms are not explained in detail and the criteria for the classification are not provided. Most of the time the typologies seem to overlap somewhat.

In *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Černý 1973a), references to the *Giornale* of Botti and Peet are often made in the footnotes, especially in Chapter X (104-120), and on page 226. Černý describes the notes of the so-called journals as “papyrus diary, a veritable chronicle of the Tomb”. On page 332 it is said: “...*the scribe who kept the journal of the work and the accounts of the presence and absence of staff of the Tomb...*”. The journal is mentioned here, but its existence and genre is taken for granted and no explanation or definition is given to the reader.

Again in 1973, a posthumously published work of Černý, *The Valley of the Kings. Fragments d'un manuscrit inachevé*, mentions the “journal of work” without any further

⁵ Griffith 1898, 55, already called a group of fragments (A, C, and D) “official journal” as if he would like to identify a specific typology of administrative documents, but no explanation is given there, nor any criteria for their identification.

⁶ Černý 1957, 34-35.

explanation: page 18 (*"Journals of the work were kept by scribes..."*), page 37 (*"...a journal of work of the Tomb..."*), and page 51 (*"Into the journal of the work..."*).

Valbelle, in *Les ouvriers de la Tombe* (1985), in the chapter dedicated to "the journal of the tomb", gives an overview of documents considered to be journals, but she doesn't give here any introduction nor any indication about the meaning of the term nor about the kind of documents she is selecting⁷.

However, in the previous chapter about the archives of the tomb, she states about the terms used for the classification of the documents that *"Je suis, en même temps, consciente de ce que peut avoir d'artificiel un essai de classification, pour nous nécessaire, de documents que les Egyptiens de l'époque juxtaposaient ou mêlaient volontairement"*⁸. And further on the same page, she describes briefly the contents of the *"journal de la Tombe"* as a mix of information about work, supplies and tools, food for the workmen and the officials, important events, etc. and she states that *"dans le journal, tous les jours sont notés, avec ou sans commentaire selon l'actualité, tandis que les autres documents ne présentent que les dates pertinentes en fonction du sujet traité"*.

On page 39, regarding P. Turin Cat. 1883 (+2095) it is said that *"la structure du passage convient à un journal"*. Why? What is a journal and what does it look like? What are the criteria to define a document as such? No consideration is given to the notion of a journal according to Egyptian standards and point of view.

Further on page 40, to understand if the document can be considered a journal, its structure is compared with the *Giornale* of Botti and Peet, taking for granted that 'the journal' as a genre existed and that it was the kind of document Botti and Peet published⁹.

Valbelle also briefly examines other types of notes that might have something in common with the journal: *"Je ne connais pas, à l'heure actuelle, de chronique proprement semblable à celle-ci, quoiqu'on puisse la comparer aux tableaux de services des P. Abousir¹⁰, aux registres des P. Reisner I et III¹¹, au «Tempel Tagebuch» des P. Illahoun¹² ou encore aux deux journaux de bord des P. Leyde 350 v° et P. Turin cat. 2008 + 2016¹³. Les premiers, par leur structure même de tableaux (plus ou moins détaillés), ont une forme plus systématique. Leur propos aussi est assez éloigné, puisqu'il s'agit essentiellement d'indiquer nominativement la tâche quotidienne dans le temple d'un personnel employé par roulement. Les inventaires, comptabilités, listes de*

⁷ Valbelle 1985, 33-35.

⁸ Valbelle 1985, 27-32.

⁹ Valbelle 1985, 40, note 2.

¹⁰ Posener-Kriéger 1976.

¹¹ Simpson 1963 and Simpson 1969.

¹² Griffith 1898.

¹³ Janssen 1961.

fonctionnaires semblent tous des documents très spécialisés et je ne vois pas, dans ces archives, apparemment tenues avec une grande minutie, de document à la fois régulier par ses notations journalières, hybride et souple dans le choix des informations retenues, comme l'est le journal de la Tombe¹⁴.

Papyrus Reisner I and III are more similar to a journal according to Valbelle because of their contents: the scene is a building site, and the progress of the work is presented in large “tableaux-calendriers”, lists of workers and some accounts. The main purpose of the texts is the accounting of working days to control productivity.

With Papyri Illahun, Valbelle states that the context is a funerary temple, but the fragments are too small to attempt a true comparison. It seems to be a daily log, with information on the various activities of the temple, personnel, land and wages.

Regarding ship's logs, Valbelle notes that they record the daily progress of boats, the nature of their cargo, crew rations of bread and the correspondence between boat owners and captains. A variety of content and the irregularity of the layout are similar in many respects to Necropolis journals, but the setting is obviously different.

Valbelle thus briefly analyses different kinds of notes that can be compared with the journal, but she never poses the question whether such a Necropolis journal existed and what, according to Egyptian standards, a journal would eventually have looked like.

Some years later, Janssen (Demarée and Egberts **1992**, 91) presents a list of journal texts on ostraca describing what we should call a “typical journal” and providing the (insufficient) criteria for the inclusion of a document in such a list: “...*the possibility of dating it [i.e. the ostrakon] after the names,...besides, of course, being a day-by-day record of deliveries to the workmen*”.

Häggman, in *Directing Deir el-Medina. The External Administration of the Necropolis (2002)*, in the background information, writes a short paragraph about “Administrative documents: the necropolis journal and other work-related texts”¹⁵. She accepts the earlier definition of the documents that she is analysing as “journals”: “*a series of records of the daily activities of the Necropolis is found in log form, in texts representing what is called the Necropolis Journal*”.

In Donker van Heel and Haring (**2003**, 68), Donker van Heel differs from Janssen's view about the definition of Necropolis journal saying: “*It appears, then, that our views differ on what a necropolis journal really is. To my mind ‘the’ necropolis journal of Deir el-Medina would be made up of two separate but equal parts, namely the labour journal*

¹⁴ Valbelle 1985, 45-49.

¹⁵ Häggman 2002, 19-20.

*made at the worksite and the duty-roster and day-to-day deliveries to the workmen, probably at the *htm*¹⁶.*

Summing up, while both Griffith (1898) and Botti and Peet (1928) did not bother to define what a journal is, Valbelle (1985), Janssen (1992) and Häggman (2002), offer us at least a few suitable criteria, albeit still insufficient, for the definition and identification of journal(s) as genre: a series of day-by-day records of daily activities of the Necropolis including details about work, supplies and administrative matters, but also including notes on official important events like the death of the sovereign. Nonetheless, what the ancient Egyptians would have understood by the term 'Necropolis journal' was never investigated and therefore needs to be ascertained.

Before presenting what our intention is in the present work, a clarification about the term is needed: the term 'necropolis journal' is actually a misnomer. This is not a journal of a necropolis as cemetery, but rather a journal of the daily affairs of an institution called "The Tomb", therefore "Necropolis" with a capital "N". The term was coined by Botti and Peet and also used by scholars such as Gardiner and Černý, based on the translation of the term *p3 hr* as "the tomb", "the necropolis", but since an institution is meant (the department that employed the Deir el-Medina gang of artisans to build royal tombs), it is now common to write the term with a capital "N". The same applies (see note 3) to "the gang of the Tomb/Necropolis", denoting again the group of artisans at Deir el-Medina.

It is also worth noting that unfortunately these texts do not refer to themselves. There are no internal references that can clarify us what they were called and what they meant for the Ancient Egyptians. The lack of a specific term is clear, for example, in a letter (Papyrus DM 28¹⁷) to the chief workmen, in which the vizier Neferronpet confirms that he has received their *r-ḥ-sš.w* (verso 1). Eyre¹⁸ translates the term as "drawing equipments(?)", while, according to Neveu¹⁹, this word can stand both for a process and for its result and, in this context, it seems possible that the term refers to a document containing technical administrative data for the construction of the royal tomb, instructions to start or to continue work on the site. The word itself, to our mind, means nothing more than writings, documents²⁰, a very generic word that indicates the absence of a precise term to define what eventually was a Necropolis journal. In Papyrus JE

¹⁶ For hypothesis on the role and location of the *htm n p3 hr* see Burkard 2006.

¹⁷ Černý 1986, 5, pls. 18-19a.

¹⁸ Eyre 1987, 18-19.

¹⁹ Neveu 1990.

²⁰ See Papyrus Ambras 1, 5 (KRI VI 837, 1): "Total: papyrus rolls which were in the jar, 9 documents" (*r-ḥ-sš.w*). That the nine *r-ḥ-sš.w* mentioned are written documents is no doubt here; they contain records on robberies, thieves and stolen goods.

52002 line 4 (the tomb construction journal of Saqqara, see further Chapter 4.2.q) *r-ḥ-ss.w* is indicated to describe the “documents of all the commissioned works which are to be executed on the construction site of the Place of Eternity...”.

Furthermore, in a fragment of an unpublished journal from year 14, in Cartellina F 257 in Turin, it is noted that there seems to be a special box for keeping the “writings of the lists of workmen”: *ḥd.t ss.w n p3 imy-rn=f*²¹). Here once again, what we expect to be a Necropolis journal, is described as ‘writings’.

Before trying to understand the Egyptian point of view about the so-called journal, we need to determine what a journal is for us nowadays. The Oxford English Dictionary provides the following definitions²² for the words “journal”, “diary” and “log”:

Journal: “1. *(In bookkeeping by double entry) book in which each transaction is entered, with statement of accounts to which it is to be debited and credited.* 2. *Daily record of events.*” Journal comes from Latin *diurnalis*, meaning diurnal, daily. A day-by-day kind of note is therefore expected.

Diary: “*Daily record of events or thoughts, journal; book prepared for keeping this in; book etc. with daily memoranda esp. for persons of a particular profession.*” Diary comes from Latin *diarium* (*dies* = day).

Here as well the main thing to expect is a day-by-day list of information.

Log: “3. *~(-book), book with permanent record made of all events occurring during ship's or aircraft's voyage(s) (including rate of ship's progress shown by log).*”

The daily record of notes is not fundamental here, even if the writer is supposed to write down and note the events at a consistent frequency.

Nowadays the term *journal* is therefore used for both *account journal* (intended as a double-entry bookkeeping system) and *event journal*, intended as a daily record of events (e.g. a newspaper published everyday²³). Concerning the event journal, both the facts which happened and those which still need to happen are included (on newspapers

²¹ For the word *ḥd.t.* as ‘chest’ for documents see Demarée 2005, 10-11 (BM EA 75017 recto 3) and 21-22 (BM EA 75021 verso 9).

²² The Oxford English Dictionary 1982.

²³ An Italian newspaper issued daily since 1974 is very simply called *Il Giornale*.

for example, we usually find news of the last events happened in the world but also weather forecast, horoscope, and events which will happen during the coming days).

Our first and basic intention in this study is therefore to try to answer the questions: What is a 'Necropolis journal' and did the concept of a Necropolis journal exist in the minds of the scribes of Deir el-Medina?

What the Ancient Egyptians understood by this term should be investigated. Detailed research questions will now follow.

1.2 Research questions

1.2.a Did the concept of a Necropolis journal exist?

As we have seen above, the texts called "Giornale della necropoli di Tebe" have been known since Botti and Peet's 1928 work. Until this publication, such Necropolis documents were unknown. Is it correct to define such notes as journals? What was their format? Would they be considered to be journals from an ancient Egyptian point of view? The need at the time was to manage a community of workers. Was the journal the administration's answer to this need? This type of document Botti and Peet published, according to scholars and to the keyword in the Deir el-Medina database, are commonly labelled *journals*²⁴.

The crucial research questions to answer in this study must therefore be: **What is a Necropolis journal and, primarily, did the concept of a Necropolis journal exist?**

In order to answer these questions, the definition of journal in Egyptian terms must be ascertained.

1.2.b What do the different kinds of annals and day-books have in common?

In order to understand what in Egyptian terms a journal would or should look like, an overview of annals and day-books, ranging from the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom, is therefore, according to me, necessary (Chapter 4). Comparing common features and differences amongst the material, we want to extract the guidelines which will allow me to formulate the necessary criteria to select the material (i.e. Necropolis journals) for this study. The comparative material to be analysed includes different kinds of documents, such as ship's logs and temple day-books, which contain different types

²⁴ <http://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>

of information. Even if these records are of a different nature, they share common traits. **What do the different kinds of annals and day-books have in common? Can they be compared with the so-called Necropolis journal? What features are similar?** It is therefore only after this overview and comparison, when we will be able to set the criteria and use them to define what is commonly called a Necropolis journal (Chapter 5).

1.2.c Who was the intended readership of the day-books?

After compiling a new list of “Necropolis journals” from Deir el-Medina (see chapter 5.2), a review of all available photos or facsimiles of the documents to identify the layout of the text and its arrangement on the writing material will be undertaken. The study of the layout of the documents and the format of the lines of text on papyri and ostraca, together with the content, could help determine when the notes were written and this may in turn provide information about the possible use of these documents²⁵.

The present study will therefore analyse the layout of the available material and try to answer the following questions: **Under what circumstances were they drawn up? How are the documents organised? Who was their intended readership? Were they for internal use or to be consulted and audited by someone else?**

1.2.d How many types of journal can we identify?

Once we have defined what a Necropolis journal is and who was the intended readership, if there was one, we could see if it is possible to isolate subgroups into this massive corpus of documents. The aim of this work is not to make a strict classification of different types of journal as separate genres, the intent is not to trace the boundaries of neat categories or typologies, but instead to identify and list the differences between individual journal texts. For reason of study, identifying smaller subgroups of texts is useful due to the large number of texts available. Whether or not the differences in style and type of document preserved is a real reflection of administrative choice or simply the result of chance (some types of material being more prone to preservation and discovery), shall remain uncertain, but because the aim of this work is to treat the whole large corpus of documents, this is, to our mind, inevitable²⁶.

²⁵ See chapter 7.2.

²⁶ Whilst creating a classification, we must always keep in mind that this is only a modern tool that makes the work within the corpus easier. Naturally, it is unlikely to reflect the actual method of categorising these notes in ancient times.

If such notes can be called journals, the fourth research question is therefore: **How many types of journal can we identify?**

1.2.e. How can the list of documents become a useful updatable tool available to all scholars interested in the subject?

The new list of texts created (see chapter 5.2) inevitably remains incomplete, but is nonetheless necessary for the present study. Without it, research in the vast number of documents to retrieve the necessary information would be an almost impossible task. The last step of this study is therefore to ensure that the research is not undertaken only for its own sake, but also as something useful to all interested Egyptologists, with easy reference to the contents of an important group of ancient records.

2. Research context

Since the existing literature provides extensive background details and general information²⁷, only a brief introduction to the village of Deir el-Medina will be included in the present work.

2.1 The village

The village of Deir el-Medina was created *ex nihilo* at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty to house the members of the community of craftsmen who built the tombs for the kings, for their spouses and children and for the most important nobles of the New Kingdom.

The community of workmen, or “gang”, seems to have been established at the site around the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, at least by the reign of Thutmose I, since mudbricks from the enclosure wall of the village are stamped with the name of this Pharaoh and could indicate that the earliest settlement was created under this ruler²⁸. The fact that the villagers held Amenhotep I and his mother Queen Ahmose Nefertari in high esteem over many generations, possibly as patrons of the Tomb²⁹, seen for many years as evidence that this ruler had founded the village, it is now considered highly uncertain³⁰.

The 18th Dynasty occupation of the site is not well documented and until the reign of Horemheb, information about the history of the village and its inhabitants is lacking due to the scarcity of the available records³¹.

It is still an open matter if the site was abandoned, at least partially, during the Amarna interlude, when Amenophis IV (Akhenaton) moved his royal residence and had his tomb prepared at Tell el-Amarna. Most of the community was believed to have moved with him to the new capital³². Workmen's marks at Amarna, however, “do not offer any hard evidence that allows for an identification of the workmen at Amarna with the Theban necropolis workmen of the end of the 18th Dynasty or from the early 19th Dynasty”³³. At

²⁷ For a general bibliography about the village see *A Systematic Bibliography on Deir el-Medina* online at <http://dmd.wepwawet.nl/> under *General Information* and *The Village*.

²⁸ Bonnet-Valbelle 1975, 431-432 (with note 2 referring to Bruyère Fouilles 1934-1935, 24-26) and Pl. LXVI.

²⁹ See i.a. Gitton 1975.

³⁰ Valbelle 1985, 2 and n. 1.

³¹ We lack hieratic documentary texts, nonetheless we have ostraca with marks dated to this period, see Soliman, D. M. unpublished PhD Thesis 2016, chapter 1, 4.1.

³² See Müller 2014, 156-168.

³³ Soliman, D. M. unpublished PhD Thesis 2016, 54.

the very end of the 18th Dynasty, during year 7 of the reign of Horemheb, the royal work gang was installed in western Thebes. The community at Deir el-Medina thrived during the 19th and 20th Dynasties.

At the end of the 20th Dynasty, the situation in western Thebes was insecure. Recurring incursions by raiding Libyans³⁴, followed by civil war, in combination with irregular and insufficient payments, may have forced the inhabitants of the village to gradually and partially leave the site of Deir el-Medina. It seems probable that the villagers moved to within the mighty walls of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at nearby Medinet Habu³⁵. Here they stayed until the beginning of the 21st Dynasty, when the abandonment of the Theban Necropolis as burial place for sovereigns made it pointless to maintain the community of craftsmen³⁶.

The tomb of Ramesses XI was the last royal tomb to be built in the Valley of the Kings. The history of the community of Deir el-Medina developed thus in parallel with the history of the monarchy of the New Kingdom, whose fate it shared.

2.2 The workmen of Deir el-Medina³⁷

The modern name of the workmen's settlement, Deir el-Medina (in Arabic دير المدينة "the monastery of the town"), originally referred to one of the late antique monastic settlements between Medinet Habu and Deir el-Bahari. In present-day Egyptology, Deir

³⁴ For a general overview see Haring 1993.

³⁵ The date of the abandonment of the village is uncertain and scholars have voiced different opinions on the matter. Valbelle (1985) postulates that during year 16 or 17 of Ramesses IX, the inhabitants are still living in Deir el-Medina, but she is not able to give an exact date for the abandonment of the village ("Il n'est pas très aisé de situer avec précision la période d'abandon du village"). Taylor (1995) states that "...in the reign of Ramesses XI the workmen left their village and moved to...Medinet Habu" while McDowell (1999) suggests that the date of the move probably "fell late in the reign of Ramesses X or in the first few years of his successor". Peden (2000, 288) states that "...perhaps early in the rule of Ramesses IX, and certainly by the first decade of Ramesses XI, the crew and their officers were moved from Deir el-Medina and resettled behind the high walls of Medinet Habu", and Demarée (2016) confirms the uncertainty of the date for the abandonment of the village: "The final stage of the history of the workmen of Deir el-Medina is still shrouded in mystery. Part of the community may have left their houses in the village at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty to go live somewhere near the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Whether this move had anything to do with incursions of Libyans, as has often been asserted, still lacks unequivocal proof".

³⁶ Evidence that the workmen lived inside Medinet Habu could be the fact that the *hṯm* as place of delivery of goods is no longer mentioned in the documentation after Ramesses IX, nor the regular series of names of men on watch (*wrš*) who had been based there. Furthermore, the water carriers, who used to bring water regularly to the village, no longer appear as for example in Tur. Cat 2018 dated to Ramesses XI. It is likely that the provisions were already inside the temple and that they were distributed to the workmen there. Peden (2000, 288-289) relates the marked decline in graffiti in the Theban Mountain, other than the protected Valley of the Kings, to the move of the community of Deir el-Medina into Medinet Habu.

³⁷ See Černý 1973, Chapter X.

el-Medina has become a brand name for studies about the village inhabited by the workmen and their families throughout most of the New Kingdom. This group of men engaged in the work on the king's tomb was called "the gang of the Tomb/Necropolis"³⁸. The "gang", which was also the word used for a ship's crew (*ist*), was divided into two halves: a "right side" and a "left side". A foreman was in charge of each side, "great one of the crew", and he was assisted by a "deputy". Probably each side worked on a different zone of the tomb that was first excavated in the rock and then decorated and completed before the funerals could take place. The administrative work of each "side" was under the responsibility of a scribe (or even two scribes), who had to keep records of the activities and wages of the gang possibly for the benefit of higher authorities and other departments of the administration³⁹. For an attestation of more than one scribe at work, an example is P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094 (dated to Ramesses X⁴⁰), which is clearly written by two different hands. The first six lines in column II are indeed in a different handwriting than the rest of the text (visible from a photo and clear especially from the difference in noting month 2 of *šmw*). Moreover, P. Turin 2018 (dated to Ramesses X), containing accounts from regnal years 8-10 of the delivery of grain, includes the names of the two Necropolis scribes who recorded the distribution among the right and left sides of the gang: the right side under scribe Pawero and the left side under scribe Dhutmose⁴¹. Further, in Papyrus Chester Beatty III, verso 4, 12, a copy of a letter written by scribe *Qn-hr-hps=f* to the vizier *P3-Nhs.y* about construction work on the royal tomb, rations and other matters, it is said "...write to the two scribes of the Tomb..." (*h3b n p3 sš 2 n p3 Hr*⁴²).

The average number of recorded workmen varies from around 30 to 60 men (see Davies 2017), the highest number of workmen noted being 120 during the reign of Ramesses IV (P. Turin 1891), but this should be understood to be an exceptional situation.

Although the workmen were direct employees of the state and the king was the nominal head of the institution, his active involvement in Tomb matters and in the administration of tomb work was very limited. Still, there was a strong link between the Tomb and the king. In theory, the king was the nominal superior of the institution, the workmen's source of employment and income, as the "gang" worked on his tomb. In reality, however, responsibility for the Tomb laid with the vizier of Upper Egypt who

³⁸ Denoting the central administrative unit at Deir el-Medina. See also Introduction p. 18.

³⁹ Häggman 2002, 156-158.

⁴⁰ KRI VI, 687-699, 850 and 851.

⁴¹ KRI VI, 852, 1 and 853, 10.

⁴² KRI IV, 87, 6.

resided in Thebes⁴³. The vizier was responsible for the supplies and well-being of the community, and he instructed the gang on the work to be done and periodically checked the progress (see note 201 for examples of documents with records of his visits or arrival of letters with instructions to the gang).

2.3 Necropolis journal and writing material⁴⁴

The documents called Necropolis journals are generally records, written on ostraca or papyri, concerning the work carried out by the Deir el-Medina community of workmen: the group of men employed in the construction of royal tombs in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens throughout most of the New Kingdom. Clearly it was important in Deir el-Medina to list incoming food, tools and other goods, as well as to record who was absent from work on a daily basis and make note of all events related to village life.

In the notes, written by the scribe in hieratic, we indeed find information about the workers' attendance, matters regarding rations and the collective administration of the crew, as well as private problems concerning individual crew members. The scribe would also note, sometimes in great detail, the circumstances of the work carried out; lists, not only of the workmen but also of other staff; the regular supply of the materials used and the huge deliveries of food; the internal perturbations (strikes, demonstrations, trials...); or the visits or incursions of Meshwesh (*Mšwš*) and Libu (*Rbw*). The documents also keep record of the great events which were announced to the community, such as the death of the king, change of reigns and local festivals. The records are therefore of extreme importance as they provide detailed information about the life of the village and its inhabitants during the Ramesside period.

Despite the abundance of documentary texts from the Deir el-Medina community, many matters about administrative practices remain unsolved. First of all the purpose of the records and the reason for an uneven chronological distribution of ostraca and papyri. From the beginning of the 19th until the end of the 20th Dynasties, the period when journals were produced, a change in writing material seems to occur⁴⁵.

⁴³ From year 29 of Ramesses III, the vizier becomes vizier of both parts of the country (see O. Berlin P 10633).

⁴⁴ For a general overview on papyrus, its manufacture, dimensions, use, and evolution in time see Černý 1985. For remarks about changes in writing style, handwritings within a single document and color changes in a piece of papyrus, see Frandsen 1991, 22 and 48-49 as an example.

⁴⁵ At least this is what we can conclude from the corpus of material we have found so far (see fig. 43-44).

The preserved journal fragments from the 19th Dynasty are almost exclusively written on ostraca⁴⁶. Over the course of the 20th Dynasty, however, papyrus becomes the primary writing material for this type of note and the number of accounts written on ostraca decreases⁴⁷. Then, with the shift from ostraca to papyri, the earlier brief and succinct accounts are partly replaced by more elaborate lists, covering a wider range of subjects, since papyrus provided more space to be used for one document.

Whether the great number of ostraca of earlier periods represent actual official documents or merely temporary drafts to store information, which would then be transferred to a more presentable form onto papyrus, is still debated⁴⁸. References to the same event in more than one document have been found and point to the existence of preliminary notes and drafts, probably intended for use as a basis for journal texts⁴⁹. The matter is still open to debate because if it is accepted that drafts on ostraca were later copied onto papyrus, the question remains as to why so few papyri are preserved from the 19th and early 20th Dynasties and why there are no drafts or temporary notes from later times on ostraca⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ With the exception of few papyri: P. Berlin 23300 and 23301, P. Ashmolean Museum 1960.1283, P. Greg P. UC 34336, P. DM 32 (three very small fragments of an absence list) certainly belonging to the 19th Dynasty (in Černý 1986, pl. 22) and small fragments in Berlin strikingly similar to P. DM 32 and probably belonging to it (P. Berlin P. 14485 A-D + 14449 C+G; I and 14448, in Fischer-Elfert 2000, 101-107, pl. XX-XXII).

⁴⁷ According to Häggman 2002, 19, the choice of material may have been affected by the new location of the administrative centre of the temple of Medinet Habu, where papyrus may have been more readily available and where the immediate availability of limestone was instead more limited; nonetheless, we have to consider that maybe there were more papyri earlier, which are now lost or reused.

⁴⁸ Some ostraca were clearly discarded, some were possibly used as drafts (e.g. O. DM 40 and O. DM 41 and here 7.3 for examples of Necropolis journals that cover the same date and could possibly be considered as drafts), and some were kept and reused (e.g.: O. Cairo 25504 years 7 and 8 under Merenptah, O. Turin N. 57072 records notes from three different years, 28, 29 and 30 of Ramesses III), so perhaps one should not consider every ostrakon as a draft, and consider instead a number of applications for the ostrakon, that of having served as a draft of a main copy being only one of these.

For the possibility of the existence of archives of ostraca, see Allam 1968, 124-128 and here note 53. For archives in ancient Egypt, see Hagen-Soliman 2018. For a general view see Donker van Heel-Haring 2003 and further below p. 28.

⁴⁹ See here 190-195 for the examples: O. Turin 57031 and O. Glasgow D.1925.67; O. Cairo 25530, O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39, Turin Cat. 1880 and O. Brussel E.7359; O. DM 47 and O. Berlin P 12641+12628; Papyrus Turin 1949+1946 and Ostrakon DM 39+174.

⁵⁰ According to Černý (1985, 23), the ostraca of the Ramesside period were used as substitutes for papyrus (and “commonly used for texts of ephemeral importance”) since it (papyrus) was a “relatively expensive material”. In reality, it was simply a matter of how and where to get it. The price of papyrus, as we understand from business transaction texts, is indeed quite low (see Janssen 1975, 447-448). Furthermore, Eyre (1980a, 5 and 2013, 26) tells us that in Ramesside time, the cost of a papyrus was about two *deben* (after P. Turin 2008+2016 verso II, 1), which, when compared to other commodities, is in fact not expensive. The problem was thus not the price, but possibly its availability, since we lack clear information on how papyrus was supplied or acquired.

A connected problematic topic concerns the storage of the documentation. If the material was produce to be used as draft, consulted or copied, indeed, we expect it to be stored somewhere.

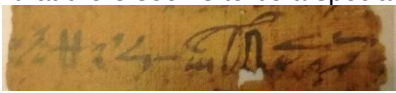
Allam states that there were archives of ostraca at Deir el-Medina⁵¹. For some ostraca, it is indeed clear that they were reused even after several years to write down new notes⁵². It may therefore be assumed, according to Allam, that ostraca were kept in archives to be used again and not discarded as drafts⁵³. According to Allam, ostraca were therefore not drafts for official texts on papyri, they simply had other purposes than journals written on papyri⁵⁴.

However, it must be noted that this difference on the spatial and chronological distribution of documentary ostraca and papyri could also be due to the different conditions required for finding and preserving the documents. Therefore, the absence or presence either of ostraca or papyri could also be ascribed exclusively to these conditions⁵⁵. The state of preservation, especially of papyrus, indeed, could be the main reason of its absence. Papyrus is a very fragile material, and even if the dry climate of the Theban necropolis can help to preserve it, much of it is now unfortunately lost. If we add the fact that this material was often reused, i.e. papyri were washed off and recycled, and at least 40% of the material is a palimpsest, we get a better picture of what might have happened⁵⁶. For ostraca, approximately 5% are palimpsest and it seems that the scribe did not just choose a random chip of limestone; instead, according to recent

⁵¹ Allam 1968, 124-128.

⁵² Allam cites O. Cairo CG 25517, which was erased and reused three times.

⁵³ No definitive proof has been found so far as for a Deir el-Medina archive (see, Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 7-18), nonetheless, as noted by Allam, the fact that a single document records notes separated in time (sometimes even yearly accounts!) means that the document was not discarded but stored for a period of time before being used again, i.e. the scribe needed to store the documents somewhere for future reference. For administrative archives in Pharaonic times, see Allam 2009 and for the terminology concerning the archives, see Trapani 2009. Interestingly, on some documents from Deir el-Medina, it is stated that the scribe kept its documents in a particular box (i.a. on a fragment of an unpublished journal from year 14, in Cartellina F 257 in Turin, it is noted that there seems to be a special box for keeping the lists of workmen: *ʿfd.t sh3.w n p3 imy-*

rm=f 

and again in Demarée 2005, 10-11 (BM EA 75017 recto 3) and 21-22 (BM EA 75021 verso 9).

If the documents were kept somewhere, in an archive, how could the scribe retrieve one of them from a large collection? We can imagine making use of wooden labels. Unfortunately the archaeological evidence is scanty and, if they ever existed, we have to accept that they went lost (Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, note 72).

⁵⁴ Eyre is of the same opinion (Eyre 2013, 251): "The mass of texts on ostraca were ends in themselves, and not drafts: not preparatory notes nor compositional drafts for reports of record".

⁵⁵ More about this matter in Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 1-82.

⁵⁶ Data after Haring "Material matters. Documentary Papyri and Ostraca in Late Ramesside Thebes", forthcoming.

studies and lithic analysis, there was a specific process for the production of these scribal supports⁵⁷.

In our opinion, due to the fact that we will never have the whole corpus of documents available for study for obvious reasons (preservation of documents, documents still to be found or definitely lost), too much time shouldn't be spent speculating. Furthermore, if we consider that new fragments of papyri belonging to the first part of the 20th Dynasty are being re-discovered in the archives of Turin Museum (see e.g. note 175, 177, 178), it seems that the uneven chronological distribution of ostraca and papyri over the Ramesside period is not that strongly pronounced anymore and the different opinions formulated could possibly change in the next few years.

⁵⁷ Pelegrin-Andreu-Lanoë-Pariselle 2016.

3. Methodology

Amongst the multitude of documents preserved, produced in Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside period (over 10.000 ostraca and more than 200 papyri, whose number is lately increasing due to the re-discovery of many unpublished documents held in Turin Museum), some can be fairly clearly defined, like letters, oracles, oaths, etc., while others are less clearly identifiable⁵⁸. Belonging to this last group are all kinds of lists, accounts, dated events, inventories, deliveries, and journals. As illustrated in the introduction (chapter 1.1), the so-called Necropolis journals have always been considered such, the question as to whether there really was one such document was mostly neglected and the existence of this genre was taken for granted⁵⁹. The word “journal” was never deeply investigated and clear criteria to identify this genre, if it existed, were never provided. “The Ramesside village of Deir el-Medina provides the one administration in Pharaonic Egypt for which a reasonable overview of the practice of scribal administration is possible”⁶⁰. Would the notes they kept for administration have been considered to be journals from an ancient Egyptian point of view⁶¹?

In order to answer the main research questions and analyse the numerous aspects and queries arising from that, we consider it necessary to provide an historical overview of Egyptian texts like annals and day-books from the Old Kingdom until the Ramesside Period, and draw then conclusions in the form of criteria that will be used to select journal documents.

The different objectives of the present study will now be listed and broken down into steps.

3.1 A journal in Ancient Egypt

The first objective is to determine if the collected notes so-called *journals* would be considered as such according to an ancient Egyptian point of view, i.e. if the concept of

⁵⁸ For a detailed classification of Egyptian texts by taking Egyptian terminology (i.e. to establish what types of records were distinguished by the Egyptian scribes), see Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, part II.

⁵⁹ Eyre (1980a, chapter 1) sees the necessity of “some attempt... to make classification of the texts” stating “The term daybook will be used here, in the contexts of the documents of the Tomb, to refer to the long series of *ostraca* recording the daily receipts of the Tomb”.

⁶⁰ Eyre 2013, 233

⁶¹ We know that ancient Egyptians had terms or words for day-books: *hrw.yt*, *h3y*, *3h3ry*, or *h(3)r*, or the circumlocution *r(t) h3w*, “roll of days”. (see chapter 4.1).

Necropolis journal existed. To do that we will analyse what a journal would look like according to Egyptian notions.

Step 1. An overview of documents such as annals and day-books (material from the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom) will follow. Comparative material will be used to identify common features and differences between these records and the so-called Necropolis journals⁶²:

- Papyri of Wadi el-Jarf
- Palermo Stone
- South Saqqara Stone
- Gebelein Papyri
- Abusir Papyri and the “new” Abusir Papyri
- Reisner Papyri
- Illahun archives
- Annals of Amenemhat II
- Ramesseum Papyri
- Middle Kingdom Tax Assessor's Day-book
- Papyrus Boulaq 18
- Papyrus Louvre E. 3226
- Annals of Thutmose III
- Papyri Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B
- Rollin Papyri (accounts of Sethi I)
- Ship's log of Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016
- Tomb construction journal of Saqqara

Step 2. Similarities between the analysed documents (day-books, ship's logs, annals, etc.) and the so-called Necropolis journal will be discussed. Common features will be

⁶² The names of the documents are those which are most commonly used.

indicated and explained. For the purposes of study and to allow for easier comparison, useful features will be presented in an organised table.

3.2 The corpus of documents

The creation of a new list of journals from Deir el-Medina, including new unpublished material, is also part of the first objective.

Step 1. Each document (either ostrakon or papyrus) in the compiled list will be examined, if possible directly from the photos of the original or using the available transcriptions. According to specific criteria (see chapter 5.1), which document belongs in the new list and which does not will be assessed. Unpublished material from Deir el Medina will also be added.

Step 2. For each document, photo(s) or facsimile, transcription, translation and bibliography will be provided. The purpose of the present work is not a philological study and therefore no transliterations or notes to the translations will be offered.

Step 3. Based on this list of documents, the type of notes the administrators kept will be defined and whether these are, according to our definition, journals, will be determined.

3.3 Who was reading a Necropolis journal?

The second objective is to identify, if possible, the audience and the intended readership of the so-called Necropolis journals from the study of their appearance and layout. This may provide information about the use of such documents and if they were for internal use or meant to be submitted to a possible higher authority. A purely hypothetical scenario, but a possible one.

Step 1. All available photos or facsimiles of the documents will be collected and the layout of the text or sections of the documents will be checked.

Step 2. In order to try to understand for whom journals were written, the way the content -of some of the records used as examples- is organized, will provide the starting point.

Step 3. If possible, conclusions will be drawn about a possible audit of the day-books and their purpose.

3.4 Variety of journals

If these records can be called journals, the third objective is to attempt a classification identifying how many types of journals are there and study the differences. As there are a great number of documents, it can be useful to identify smaller subgroups, if only for purposes of study.

Step 1. The documents in the new list or database of dated texts from Deir el-Medina will be classified into subgroups according to the type of information and content of the texts.

Step 2. Each subgroup will receive a name and its characteristics will be described.

Step 3. The data obtained will be shown in charts.

3.5 The future of the journals

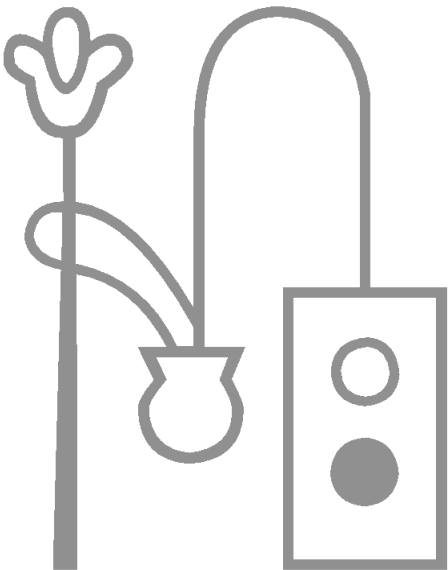
The fourth and last objective is to make use of the research, organizing the work as a useful updatable tool available to all scholars interested in the subject.

Step 1. Updating a database with new unpublished documents from Deir el-Medina.

Step 2. The new list or database will be published online.

Step 3. The database will be accessible, once assigned a password, to any interested scholar. It will also be possible, upon verification, to add new documents considered to be journals to the list.

PART II



4. What was considered a journal in ancient Egypt

4.1 The notion of journal in a broader Egyptian perspective

In order to understand what a journal would actually look like according to Egyptian standards, the notion of journal in a broader Egyptian perspective must be considered. The studies by Redford, *Pharaonic King Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, and Moreno García, *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, are fundamental; while for the concept of accountability, Ezzamel, *Accounting, Control and Accountability: Preliminary Evidence from Ancient Egypt* and Farazmand, *Bureaucracy and Administration*, will provide the guidelines.

What was the practice of keeping continuous daily records and notes of activities, facts, lists of goods, income, and how was this done?

*“The Egyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country,
by their practice of keeping records of the past,
have made themselves much the best historians of any nation
of which I have had experience”
(Herodotus in II, 77.2)*

The ancient Egyptians have long been recognised for having developed an obsession with bureaucratic detail. For example, Kemp, in describing ancient Egyptian society, writes: *“A developed bureaucratic system reveals and actively promotes a specific human trait: a deep satisfaction in devising routines for measuring, inspecting, checking, and thus as far as possible controlling other people’s activities”*⁶³.

As is evident from the many discoveries made throughout Egypt, and especially in the village of Deir el-Medina, the ancient Egyptians were fond of bureaucracy. Everything, event or daily business, was noted, copied and recorded. The lists of staff, food, tools, and rations are abundant, as well as all kinds of dated entries that record in detail the work that was completed (e.g. the work in the tombs of the pharaohs) or the annals of the kings.

⁶³ Kemp 2018, 165.

The question regarding what genre terms the Egyptians themselves applied to their own texts should be asked. The administrative documents of the Ramesside Necropolis are varied, and it is difficult to classify them. It is true that Necropolis scribes used a number of denominatives to differentiate between texts, but some of them, such as 'writing' (*r-ḥ-sš*), are very general and does not provide us with substantial information for a classification of the material. Others denominatives have been investigated by Donker van Heel and Haring (2003, 85-123) and can be listed as follows: 'memorandum' (*šḥ3.w*), 'name-list' (*im.y-rn=f*), 'property-deed' (*im.y.t-pr*), 'dated record'/'dated document' (*hry.t*), 'account' (*hsb*), and 'list' (*snm*).

Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that all kinds of records and notes we might define as a fixed genre are abstractions, necessary for purposes of studies and which may or may not reflect the ancient Egyptian point of view. We should not forget that, as it happens with ancient Egyptian 'poetry' and 'literature', we are using here an heuristic approach, i.e. we are assuming that a genre distinction did exist in Ancient Egypt, but are we sure that the scribes knew they were producing literature, poetry, Necropolis journals? Probably not. The use of genres for ancient Egyptian documents is a modern etic structure that does not always fit; therefore identifying genres in Egyptian texts is extremely problematic⁶⁴. Using the words of Michalowski, warning caution in relation to Mesopotamian literature, valid to Egyptian texts as well, "Generic categorizations...are closely linked with reception, and the reading of ancient texts, when no continuous tradition of reading has survived, presents particular problems that are different from those encountered in old texts belonging to a living stream of interpretation...By placing together certain texts we create a close and closed intertextuality, which, in turn, provides us with a false sense of security in reading" (Michalowski 1989, 4). Nonetheless, "the absence of a consistent terminology for Egyptian genres does not imply that no concept or system of genre existed⁶⁵", and it is our duty, for study reasons to try to sort the material. Besides "pure" genres, combinations and hybrids can be expected; but the main features and characteristics of the first type should be defined.

In order to consider the notion of journal in a broader Egyptian perspective, we will start by giving a summary of historical records that the ancient Egyptians kept, called protodynastic labels, annals and king lists⁶⁶:

⁶⁴ Parkinson 1996, 297 and Parkinson 2000, 32-42.

⁶⁵ Parkinson 1996, 298.

⁶⁶ See Redford 1986, chapter 1-2.

- **PROTODYNASTIC LABELS.** The format sometimes adopted a series of horizontal registers, usually divided by lines. The basic division was into a right side (containing the events) and a left side (containing the royal name and variables). The kinds of events memorialised in these tablets include acts of worship, progress, taxation, sculpture, construction, and battles; in short, content identical in every way to that of the Palermo stone and the Cairo fragments. The latter include flood levels absent from the labels.

- **ANNALS** (from the early Old Kingdom onwards)  (*gn.wt*⁶⁷). The Egyptian word is the plural of *gn.t* 'memorization', derived from *gnw.t* 'branch', which originally referred to a tally stick that served to aid the memory⁶⁸. It seems fairly clear that these purported to be records of some kind, arranged by regnal years. The format is usually date + royal names and titulary + events in infinitive or, less commonly, date + *nswt-bity* + royal names + *jr.n=f m mnw=f* formula. The content is the same as that of the yearly "rectangles" of the protodynastic labels and the Palermo and Cairo fragments.
- **KING LISTS** (from the 1st Dynasty onwards)⁶⁹. The basic form consists *usually* (not in the Den seal impression) of a line in which the following elements occur: 1 - *nswt-bity*, king of Upper and Lower Egypt; 2 - the cartouche containing the king's name; 3 - a figure which can be in tripartite form (year, month and day).

As for daily records, the topic of this work, the ancient Egyptians kept day-books:

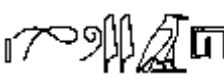
- **DAY-BOOKS.** At an early date, the central government and its institutions had developed a genre of daily records for the practical requirements of day-to-day business. The Egyptian term denoting such a "journal" varies over the two millennia of its occurrence.

⁶⁷ See Schott 1990, 379 n. 1655 for hieroglyphic attestations.

⁶⁸ LÄ I, 278 n.3; Redford 1984, 327-341.

⁶⁹ See Deicher-Maroko 2015.

In what must be its pristine form⁷⁰ it appears as *hrw.yt*⁷¹, “day-(book)”, derived fairly certainly from the word *hrw*, “day”, but in the New Kingdom and later *hrw.yt* turns up as *h3y*, *3h3ry*, or *h(3)r*, or is rendered by a circumlocution such as *ʕr(t)*⁷² *h3w*⁷³, “roll of days”.

DAY 	<i>hrwy.t</i> 
	<i>h3y</i> 
	<i>ʕr(t) h3w</i> 

By the Ramesside period, the term acquired an additional meaning of “dated record of a legal act or declaration”⁷⁴. Only three Ramesside attestations of the term are known so far: P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.97 (Naunakhte document, recto I 4-5), P. Berlin P 10496 (verso 15) and O. Turin N. 57455 (verso 5-6)⁷⁵.

In any case, the term *hrwy.t* and its variants denotes a document which records an event or series of events by dates. The fact that the word “day” is the root from which the term is derived underscores the importance of the calendric notation: “the *hrwy.t* has its meaning and function only because it is provided with specific dates”⁷⁶.

⁷⁰ Wb 2, 500.26; Faulkner 1962, 159. The word occurs as early as the 12th Dynasty in P. Berlin 10012, a temple journal containing a copy of the letter announcing the heliacal rise of Sothis.

⁷¹ See Schott 1990, 289 n. 1348 for hieroglyphic attestations.

⁷² See Schott 1990, 39-40 n. 65 for hieroglyphic attestations.

⁷³ Curiously, we also find this term in the Tale of Wenamun (dating to the 21st Dynasty), when Wenamun is in front of the Prince of Byblos who “*had the **daybook** of his forefathers brought and had it read before me*”. The word used for daybook is , “roll of days”, evidence of a well-known practice of keeping daily records. (See Gardiner 1931, 68, Wenamun 2, 8-9).

⁷⁴ Redford 1986, 101.

⁷⁵ Černý, 1945, 32 ff.

⁷⁶ Redford 1986, 101; LÄ VI, 151.

Focussing on the last type of documents, Redford first looked for the term "day-book" in various documents in order to understand what the Egyptians meant by this term⁷⁷. He then analysed other documents that could be called such, even if they did not contain or mention this specific term.

He concludes that *"the day-book of an institution was a heterogeneous collection of dated entries, recording a variety of events which would be of use to that institution in the future. The dependence of the organization of these events on a simple, chronological format shows that the criterion for filing was that of an archive: the hrwyt was a diary, and items would be looked up under date". [...] "the hrwyt in essence is a record of human events and activity, acts and states of nature, or statements of purpose or intent. The calendrical notations constitute the single most important criterion in ordering the material. The hrwyt commonly notes [...] the arrival and departure of officers and messengers on official business, and receipts and disbursements of commodities with which the institution in question is concerned. It can also record verbal declarations, or contains copies of official correspondence [...] lists of people are common"*.

Syntactically, in this type of document defined as "day-book", there is a constant recourse to the "absolute" use of the infinitive⁷⁸, a general laconic style, a preference for unintroduced prepositional phrases, and a tendency toward simple tabulation. We have to note that the type of activity recorded depends on the group, office or institution involved (a ship's *hrwyt* might note the vessel's progress or the state of the weather; a workshops' *hrwyt*, the work to be assigned etc.). Different types of content, therefore, do not necessarily correspond to different document genres⁷⁹.

As we have seen, recording events is intrinsic to the culture of ancient Egypt. The political and economic domains were coordinated by a powerful bureaucracy where accounting and accountability played a major role.

⁷⁷ Redford 1986, 97 ff.

⁷⁸ Gardiner 1957, §306. "...the infinitive may be used as the equivalent of a sentence, i.e. as significant and complete in itself... It often occurs absolutely in *headings...*, *titles...* and the like..."

⁷⁹ In those cases where royal annals and administrative documents relate to the daily operation of royal palaces and other institutions catering to the king, for example, the emphasis is on the location of the king, which is part of their standardised dating formula: 'regnal year, month and day', and adding the information that 'the king is in (such-and-such a place)'. In this case, we can understand that "the king's precise location was a matter of great importance to individuals charged with the running of royal institutions, and to those who were responsible for the expenditure of royal resources" (see Hagen 2016, 155-181).

In regards to this concept (accounting and accountability), Ezzamel, drawing on evidence from the New Kingdom, provides some preliminary findings related to accounting, particularly as it relates to control and accountability⁸⁰.

Large numbers of administrative texts have survived from ancient Egypt, showing the history of bureaucracy back to the third millennium BC. As numerous sources demonstrate, detailed accounting records were constantly kept, not only for taxation purposes, but also to document daily temple income, lists of equipment inventory and personal wealth, wages of Necropolis workers, barter transactions in village markets, and detailed activities in other state institutions such as dockyards, workshops and breweries⁸¹. The use of accounting calculations was widespread in ancient Egypt. Accounting systems in the New Kingdom operated as powerful mechanisms for closely monitoring human performance in state institutions, and also as a means of endowing action with legitimacy by emphasising conformity to expectations.

A calculative and reporting mentality pervaded all aspects of the administration of the New Kingdom in Egypt.

According to Ezzamel, this system was leading towards a system of accountability or, to use his words, “complete accountability”. He describes a system of “complete accountability”, quoting Hoskin and Macve as one in which “accounting data are used to construct a *managerial* system of cost and labour efficiency, one that involves the monitoring of material flow and human performance”⁸².

In conclusion, with the words of Ezzamel, *“the social and economic contexts of ancient Egypt reveal an extremely powerful bureaucracy at work, with the Pharaoh at its apex and an army of administrators and accountants measuring, recording, and monitoring activities in considerable detail. Accounting developed a simple, yet extremely powerful, metric that made calculable and visible the activities of those individuals who inhabited state organisations. By engaging in the process of quantifying and reporting economic activities, it played a major role in defining, and thereby constituting, the domain of economic transactions that were deemed of concern. Through its ability to measure and quantify, accounting imparted particular meaning and significance upon these transactions”*.

The physical monitoring measures adopted by the administrators, and the quest for details from the scribes, were buttressed to a large extent by powerful social and religious sanctions which inflicted shame and supernatural punishments upon those who

⁸⁰ Ezzamel 1997.

⁸¹ E.g. Janssen 1975 and Kemp 2018.

⁸² Hoskin-Macve 1988, 37-73 and Hoskin- Macve 1992.

were perceived to have failed the Pharaoh⁸³. Accounting systems in the New Kingdom therefore operated as powerful mechanisms for monitoring human performance in state institutions, thereby controlling costs and labour efficiency⁸⁴.

If we consider the role of the vizier and the scribe as it appears from the 'Duties of the Vizier', we can have a clearer idea on rule and governance, since it offers one way into the subject of Ancient Egyptian administration⁸⁵. The so-called 'Duties of the Vizier' is a composition found on the walls of the tombs of four viziers at Thebes belonging to the 18th and 19th Dynasty⁸⁶. The text lays out the duties associated with the highest civil office in the state administration and the functioning of his bureau and it was composed before the first phase of 'the Tomb'. The text clearly stresses that every leader of any institution or the like in the country should report to the vizier. Further, the text stipulates that the scribes of the vizier are sitting immediately beside him (line 2 of text from TT 100 of Rekhmira, Van den Boorn 1988, 13), therefore holding a very significant and crucial role. Scribes of the vizier are also regularly mentioned as coming to visit the Tomb, bringing the orders and going back with progress reports, closely linking writing to social control. Examples of the efficiency and all-controlling tasks of the scribes of the vizier are contained in e.g. P. Turin Cat. 1898 + P. Turin Cat. 1926 + P. Turin Cat. 1937 + P. Turin Cat. 2094 recto l16-17, where the scribe of the vizier arrives together with the high priest, or in P. Turin Cat. 1881 + P. Turin Cat. 2080 + P. Turin Cat. 2092, where the scribe of the vizier is mentioned three times and in P. Turin Cat. 1999 + P. Turin Cat. 2009 verso l, 12-15, where assistants of the vizier, including the scribe, come to collect a bed and a letter for him.

A different approach is used by Eyre to study ancient Egyptian bureaucracy. He chooses to "focus on the importance of writing as symbol of authority, and on bureaucracy as a process and not as a record⁸⁷". He believes that the action of writing *per se* was much

⁸³ As Ezzamel well indicates as happening in the Nauri Decree issued by Seti I (punitive measures were laid down to protect his religious Foundation at Abydos), where the guilty one was not only punished by being beaten, but also punished by Osiris, who will castigate him by not letting him rest in the necropolis. Furthermore, in P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (recto, line 63), the punishment for not delivering what the bureaucracy had expected extends to even innocent family members.

⁸⁴ Quoting the definition in Ezzamel-Hoskin, 2002, 335, accounting is a "practice of entering in a visible format a record (an account) of items and activities [...] any account involves a particular kind of signs which both name and count the items and activities recorded [...] the practice of producing an account is always a form of valuing: (i) extrinsically as a means of capturing and representing values derived from outside for external purposes, defined as valuable by some other agent; and (ii) intrinsically, in so far as this practice of naming, counting, and recording in visible format in itself constructs the possibility of precise valuing".

⁸⁵ For translation and commentary, see Van den Boorn 1988.

⁸⁶ TT 29 Amenemope, TT 100 Rekhmira, TT 131 User, TT 106 Paser. Parts of this text were also found on fragments of a same ostrakon discovered in front of TT29, see Tallet 2010.

⁸⁷ Eyre 2009, 16.

more important than reference to the written text. According to him, the answer to what the scribe did with his writings once he had produced them is: nothing. He claims that the scribe, in the act of writing a document, is a symbol of social and hierarchical authority, simply “performing his function”, and he considers that there is no evidence in Pharaonic history of an effective way of retrieving information. We do not fully accept this theory. Admittedly, it was impractical to use documents that had not been stored in an accessible way, even though we do not know much about the requirements of Egyptian archives (see note 53). However, we have at least evidence from the Deir el-Medina material that some of the documents included ‘markers’ of control process and were therefore checked and not only written *per se* (see further 7.1). It is hard to our mind to see bureaucracy only as a process and not as a record and to believe that a Necropolis journal was simply used to “control people at work”.

However, the myth of an overwhelming, exceptionally efficient bureaucracy requires caution, and the same can be said for the idea of the state (= the Pharaoh) as source of unlimited authority and apparatus of power. As illustrated by Moreno García⁸⁸, a limit to the efficiency of the bureaucracy is to be seen in deeply entrenched local powers, which should have limited the role of the state and its apparatus of power and lead to a gradual paralysis in decision-making and to the emergence of autonomous institutions and spheres of influence more concerned with their own immediate interests than with the effectiveness and the smooth working capacity of the entire system. As we can easily understand, “an increasingly dense structure of divisions, functions, and officials might limit and complicate decision-making, thus leading to the consolidation of autonomous spheres of power within the structure of the state. New divisions and new appointments would only exacerbate the problems they intended to solve. [...] The fact of Egypt’s complex bureaucratic organization, so often considered as proof of efficiency, can thus be seen to be rather misleading and may in fact point to increasing difficulties in the exercise of power and authority⁸⁹”.

⁸⁸ Moreno García 2013, 2.

⁸⁹ Moreno García 2013, 4-5.

4.2 Overview of annals and day-books⁹⁰

An overview of documents such as annals and day-books (material from the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom) will provide comparative material to identify common features and differences between these records and the so-called Necropolis journals.

“In assigning texts to genres, the Egyptologist should adopt a historical approach that uses ancient sources such as titles and context, together with an inductive approach in which the genres are elucidated from the works themselves⁹¹”

The intention of this work, however, is not to include a complete list of earlier similar documents, but rather to show the ones which can be similar and therefore useful for a comparison with the so-called Necropolis journal⁹². Sometimes the notes of the previous periods will be used only to compare a short passage, sometimes to identify similarities in the layout of the documents or in the organisation of the different parts of the papyrus.

The material which will be presented in the following pages, has been selected in order to provide the reader with a background of texts which are precursors of the journal texts in Deir el-Medina, and to draw conclusions and observations which will serve as the basis in formulating criteria which will be used in the selection of journals made in this study. The material included in the overview contains different documents with different purposes very similar in many respects to Necropolis journals. For each of them, the reason of their inclusion in this overview will be provided at the beginning of each paragraph.

Annals are clearly not daily notes, and their purpose was not administrative, nonetheless they are included in this overview of texts since they spring from the same idea of a calendric structure. They have consecutive dated events and might be informative and provide the background from which journals originated.

All the documents which follow are written in hieratic (except the Palermo and South Saqqara Stone, the Annals of Amenemhat II and the Annals of Thutmose III in Karnak

⁹⁰ Depending on the intention to show different features of the document, we will provide either the photo or the transcription of each text, while in some cases both will be shown.

⁹¹ Michalowski 1989, 34 and Parkinson 1996, 299.

⁹² The recently discovered papyri archive from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III at Thebes, as part of the Spanish-Egyptian excavation project directed by Myriam Seco Alvarez, are still awaiting for publication, therefore these documents will not be dealt with here. The vast majority of the fragments are administrative and stem, for the most part, from a daybook roll organised chronologically with headings in red ink for each day, often simply followed by a list of offerings (Hagen-Soliman 2018, 99-100).

which are in hieroglyphs); only some photos for each document will be provided and only when considered useful, since a few examples will suffice to illustrate the point. No translation will be given, except in some cases when considered necessary.

4.2.a The Papyri of Wadi el-Jarf⁹³

These texts, one of the oldest ever-found on papyrus, are included here since one of these records daily activities of a team of workmen involved in the building of the Great Pyramid of Cheops, a very similar task to the one of the Deir el-Medina artists. In an interview immediately after the discovery, Pierre Tallet (expedition leader from the University of Paris-Sorbonne) states that, “the journal discovered provides a precise account for every working day”. The purpose of the production of such documents was to administer such an important royal activity. We therefore expect to see similarities with the Deir el-Medina journal. We can identify mainly two categories of documents: accounts of monthly deliveries organised in tables, and a ships' log that records the progress report corresponding to the activity of the crew on that specific day.

On April 12, 2013, the then Minister of State for Antiquities, Dr. Mohamed Ibrahim, announced the discovery of what is believed to be the most ancient harbour ever found in Egypt. The harbour dates back to the time of Pharaoh Cheops and is located in the Wadi el-Jarf area, about 180 kilometres south of Suez. The place is considered one of the most important commercial harbours in ancient Egypt as all the trading expeditions to import copper and other minerals from Sinai to the Nile Valley were supposedly launched there.

The 4,500-year-old port was discovered by a French-Egyptian team headed by Pierre Tallet (IFAO) and Sayed Mahfouz (University of Assyut). The mission also discovered a collection of vessel anchors carved in stone as well as the harbour's docks and the remains of workers' houses. Thirty caves were discovered along with the stone blocks used to close their entrances, inscribed with Cheops' cartouche written in red ink, and ship ropes and stone tools used to cut ropes.

The most important find unearthed during the excavation in the storage galleries is a large group of several hundred papyrus fragments, some measuring over 80 cm in length, revealing details of the daily life of the Egyptians during year 27 of Cheops. The newly discovered papyri are considered the oldest found so far. They are administrative

⁹³ For a general overview see Tallet-Marouard 2014, Tallet 2016 and Tallet 2017.

documents dating to c. 2600 BC, and they include two categories of documents: a large number of accounts organised in tables, which describe daily or monthly deliveries of food from various areas including the Nile Delta; and a logbook that records everyday activities of a team led by a Memphis official involved in the building of the Great Pyramid of Cheops, inspector Merer, who was in charge of a team of about 200 men.

Many of the papyri describe how the central administration, under the reign of Cheops, sent food, mainly bread and beer, to the workers involved in the Egyptian expeditions departing from the port.

The papyri have now been transferred to the Suez Museum for documentation and further studies. It is obvious that we are dealing with an “Old Kingdom administrative style”, where the data are included in grids composed of horizontal and vertical lines, written in red or black ink (see Abusir Papyri). This documentation is dominated by an analytical spirit and by a purely geometric appearance resembling offering lists.

As we can see from the fragment of a document (a ships' log) represented in fig. 3 and 4 (photo with a partial transcription corresponding to the right side of the papyrus), the tabulation and the arrangement of the data in columns is very simple: below the mention of each day, two columns are available to draw up a progress report corresponding to the activity of the crew on that specific day. We notice here that the scribe mainly uses the infinitive verb form (such as *nṯt*, “to navigate”, or *sdrt*, “to spend the night”), the stative and the *hr* + infinitive form (see Papyrus Boulaq 18, further fig. 18 for the use of the same verb *nṯt*). The results are short sentences where the construction is never complex, for example: “*Jour 27: appareiller [literally to sail] depuis l'Étang de Chéops, navigation vers l'Horizon de Chéops, chargé de pierres; passer la nuit à l'Horizon de Chéops*”⁹⁴. Syntactically, this use of the narrative infinitive and laconic style is characteristic of this type of document called “day-book”⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ Translation after Tallet 2016, 17.

⁹⁵ See Tallet 2017, 33 and here chapter 4.3.

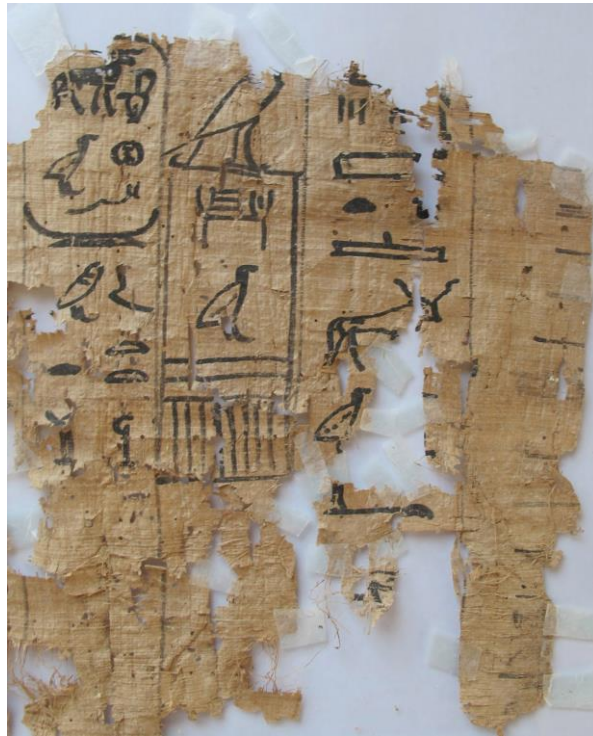


Fig. 1 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. After Ahrām Online. (In the photo the *praenomen* and the Horus name of Cheops are visible)

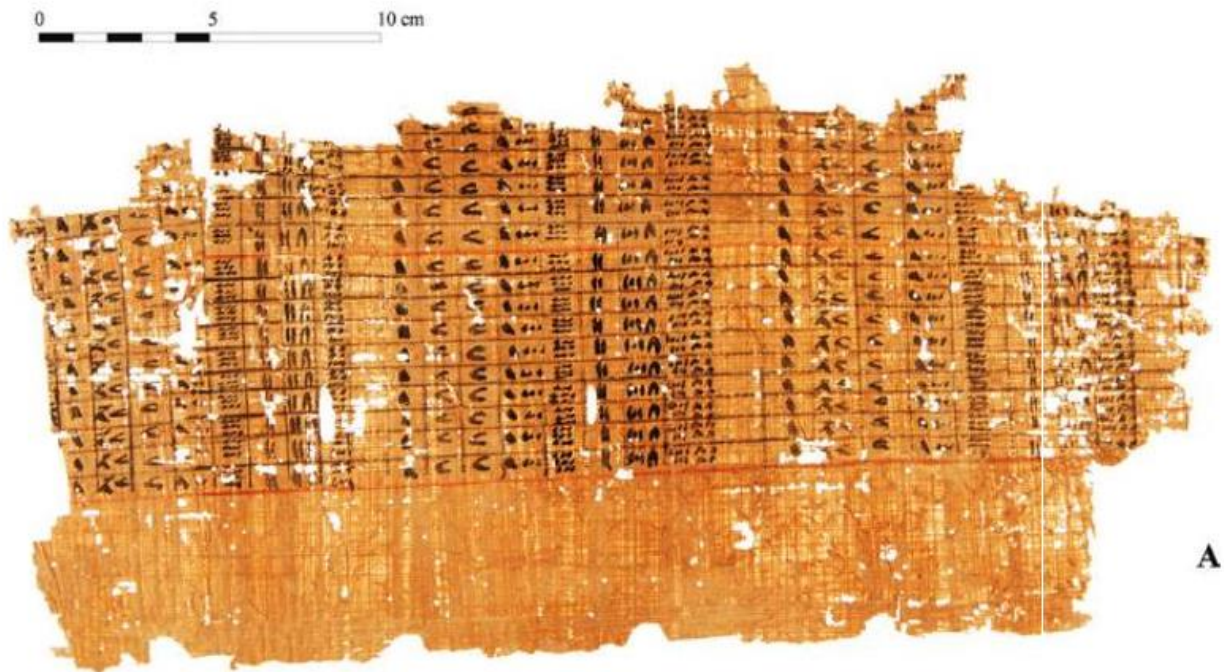


Fig. 2 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. Accounts recorded in tabular form. After Tallet-Marouard 2014, 7

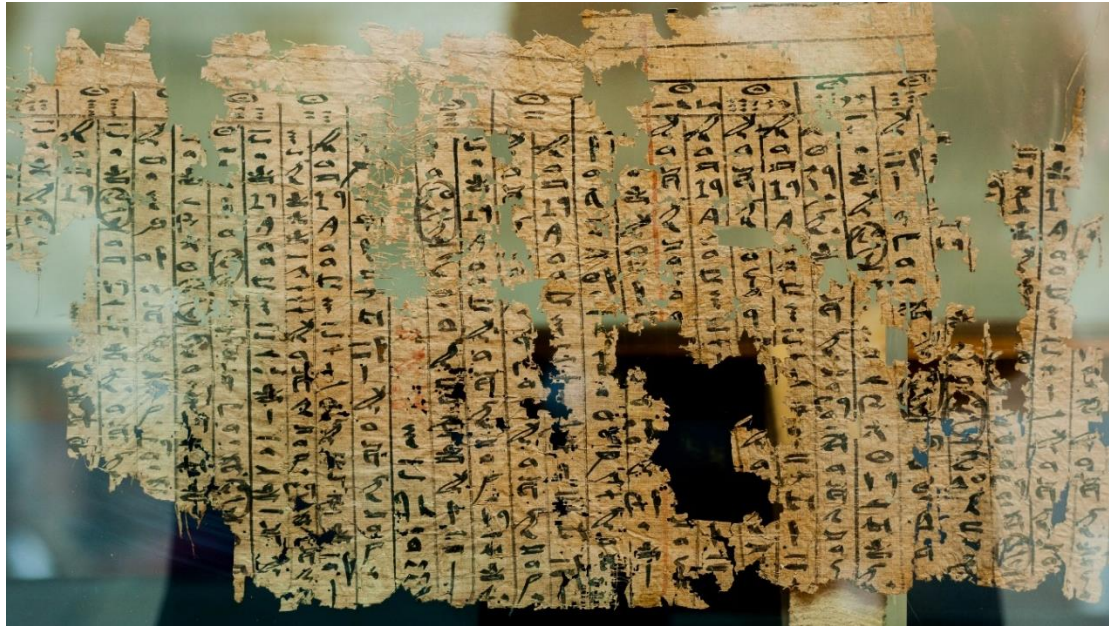


Fig. 3 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. The log book of captain Merer. Photo by Mostafa AlSaghir (Cairo Museum, temporary exhibition, July 2016)

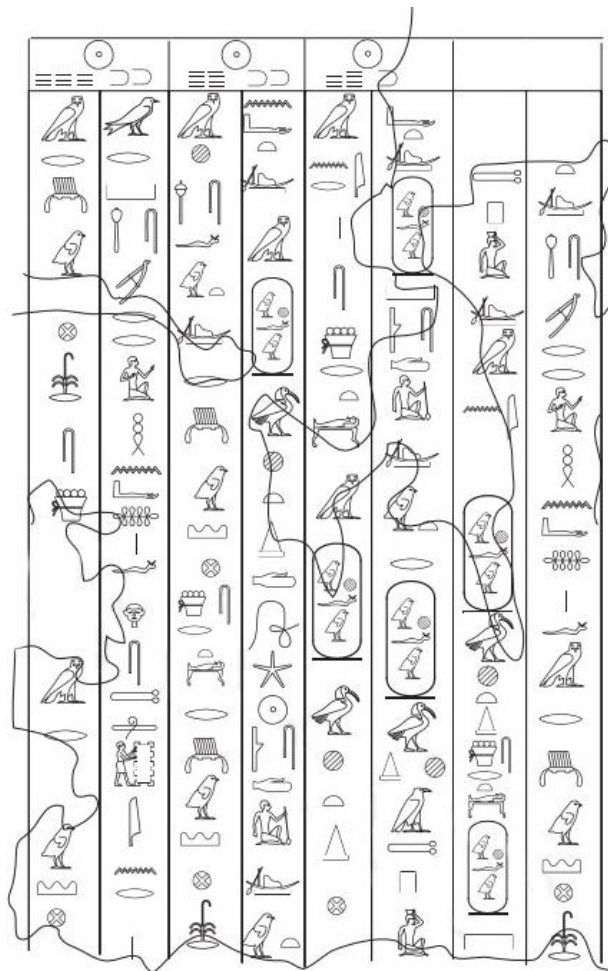


Fig. 4 Wadi el-Jarf papyrus. Transcription of the first columns of the log book shown in fig. 3. The days are written in the upper horizontal boxes. The events of each day are recorded in two vertical columns. After Tallet 2016, 29

4.2.b The Palermo Stone⁹⁶

The reason of the inclusion of annals like “Palermo Stone”, “Saqqara Stone” (4.2.c), and the Annals of Amenemhat II (4.2.h) in this overview, as already indicated in the introduction of this chapter, is their arrangements of events in consecutive dates⁹⁷. Annals were clearly not daily notes, nonetheless they spring from the same idea of a calendric structure and might provide the background from which journals originated. The regnal years of each king are usually listed, plus important events which occurred during each king's reign (the height of the Nile flood, information on festivals, taxation, sculpture, buildings and warfare). The purpose of annals is not certainly the same of journals written on papyrus; we are not here in front of an administrative process of an ongoing project, instead, events which took place are chronologically mentioned and written in the stone.

The Old Kingdom Annals, most commonly known as the Palermo Stone, is a large fragment of what was originally a stela known as the Royal Annals and dating to the Old Kingdom. It contains records of the kings of Egypt from the 1st Dynasty through the 5th Dynasty. It was composed during the 5th Dynasty (2565-2420 B.C.), and it is the oldest extant written chronicle of Egyptian history⁹⁸.

The stela is made of black basalt and it is inscribed on both sides. Originally, it probably measured about 2.2 metres tall by 60 cm wide and 6.5 cm thick. It was broken into an unknown number of pieces, many of which are now missing. The original location of the stela is unknown, but a fragment of it was found at an archaeological site in Memphis. Since 1866, this has been located at the Palermo Museum in Sicily (Italy), while another five smaller fragments are at the Cairo Museum and one is at the Petrie Museum of the University College of London.

The text of the stela is a list, written in hieroglyphic and formatted as a table, which covers the period from the Old Kingdom back thousands of years into the predynastic period⁹⁹. It starts with the predynastic god-kings, proceeding on through the demi-gods, and finally with a long list of Egyptian kings down to the middle of the 5th Dynasty (up to King Neferirkare Kakai). The regnal years of each king are listed, plus important events which occurred during each king's reign (the height of the Nile flood, information on

⁹⁶ For a general view see O' Mara 1979, Von Beckerath 1997, St. John 1999, Wilkinson 2000, Jiménez 2004.

⁹⁷ The Annals of thutmose III will be dealt with later (4.2.m).

⁹⁸ For a discussion about the date when the annals were compiled and inscribed, see Wilkinson 2000, 23.

⁹⁹ From the second register onwards, the rectangular format used has a year-branch on the right.

festivals, taxation, sculpture, buildings and warfare for some kings). Each name of a ruler is contained within a rectangular compartment set out in horizontal rows or registers.

The annals begin a new year compartment regardless of the beginning or end of a reign. Indeed, "...each year designated by a separate compartment begins on New Year's Day, the first day of the first month of the inundation; whereas regnal years, regularly used in date formulae from the First Intermediate Period onwards, ran from a king's accession date to each subsequent anniversary of his accession"¹⁰⁰.

What can this stela tell us about the ancient Egyptians' own view of history?

Sethe notes that the intentions of those who compiled the annals was never to give a complete record of the early dynasties, but rather a simplified chronological table¹⁰¹. The original location of the annals is still not certain, but it seems most probable that they were displayed in a temple context, perhaps as part of an ancestor cult and to stress the legitimacy of the reigning king as latest in a long line of rulers stretching back in an unbroken succession to the time of the gods¹⁰². This should dispel at once any ideas of accuracy, reliability and historicity.

The royal activities recorded in the annals concern: the administration of government (the biennial 'following of Horus'¹⁰³ and the biennial census of the country's wealth (*tnwt*) amongst the most important); the ritual activities connected with the king to display his own power and to defeat the forces of chaos; and the actions undertaken by the king in his religious role (dedication of new divine images, visits to centres of worship, foundation of temples, etc.).

It is highly unlikely that the annals were ever intended as an objective historical record. Nevertheless, they present a vivid picture of the ancient Egyptians' own view of their past and the way they arranged information.

Fig. 5 illustrates the face side of the fragment of Palermo formatted as a table and with the information regularly inserted into compartments. Each line is divided into small compartments. With the exception of the first register, all the cells are introduced by the sign for "year", thus separated from the others. In turn, the cells are divided into two registers: the upper one, larger, mentions the most relevant events; and the lower one, where in most cases the height of the Nile during that year is registered. Sometimes the upper part of some cells show a few internal subdivisions.

¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson 2000, 19.

¹⁰¹ Sethe 1903, 70 n.2.

¹⁰² Roccati 1982, 36.

¹⁰³ *šms-Hr*: the biennial progress of the royal court on a travelling judicial and tax-collecting visit to demonstrate royal authority throughout the Egyptian land. See LÄ III, 51, esp. note 8.

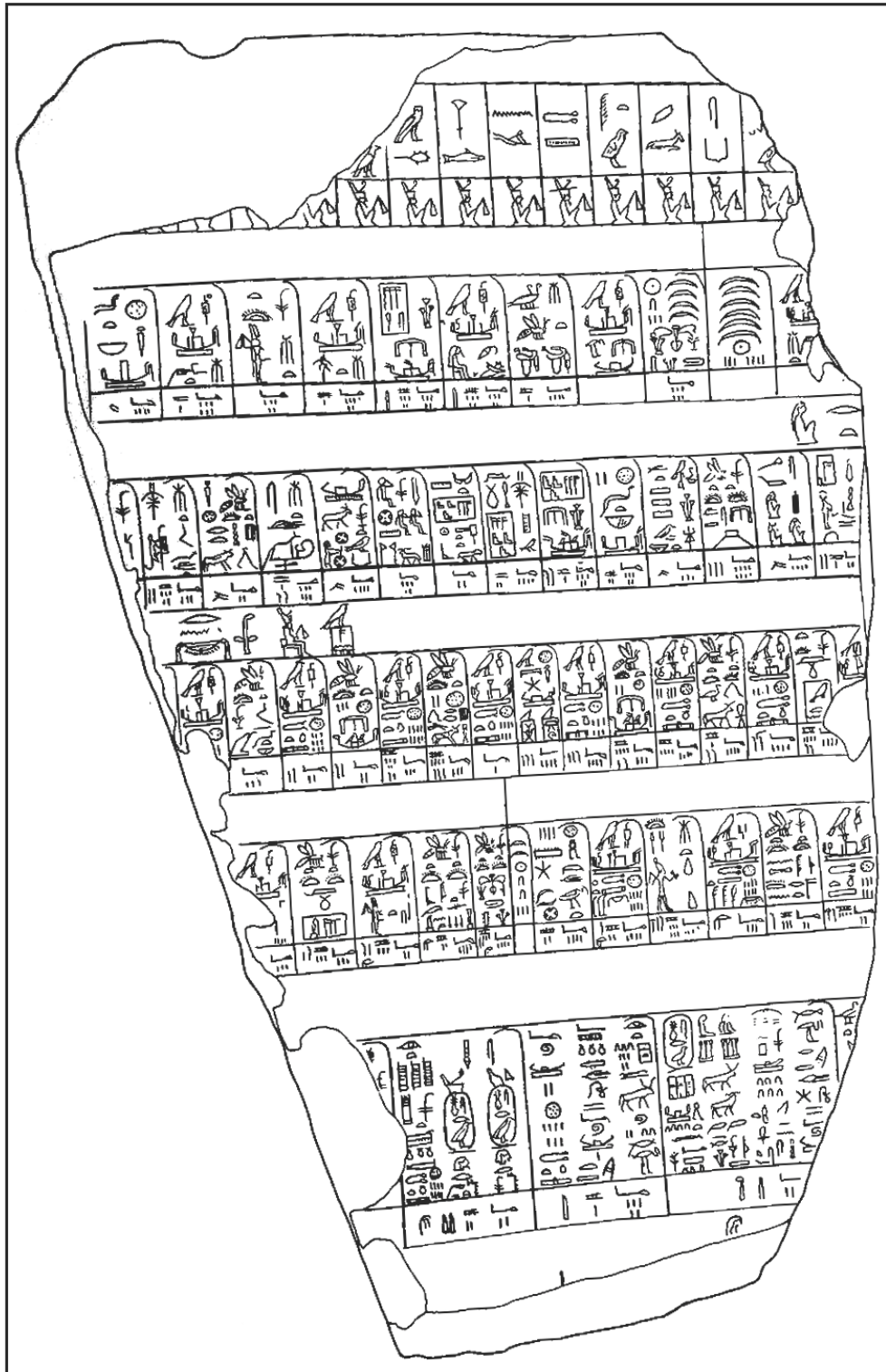


Fig. 5 Fragment of the Palermo stone, face side. After Wilkinson 2000

4.2.c The South Saqqara Stone

What is called the “South Saqqara Stone”, known as a “Palermo Stone” for the VI Dynasty, is worth noting in spite of its bad state of preservation (almost completely erased). The text was identified in 1993 on the sarcophagus lid (recto and verso) of Queen Ankhnespepy (*ḥnḥ.s-n-Ppjj*, possibly the mother of Pepy II), found at south Saqqara in 1931 and now held in Cairo Museum (JE 65908)¹⁰⁴. The inscribed texts are royal annals (using the typical formula *nswt-bity* + cartouche + *jr.n=f m mnw=f n* and the typical narrative infinitive) covering the period from the reign of Teti to that of Merenre on the upper surface of the sarcophagus=recto and the years from Merenre into the reign of Pepy II on the verso. Differently from the Palermo Stone, we note here the absence of separation lines in the inscription, whether columns or lines. Only on the verso, we can appreciate two large *mnpt*-signs delimiting a band of two horizontal lines.

4.2.d The Gebelein Papyri¹⁰⁵

These administrative papyri are here briefly mentioned (Papyrus Geb. III recto) since they present a series of consecutive dated notes, the daily accounting of cereals and working lists for the construction of a temple, and we expect that their features can be compared with the journal of Deir el-Medina.

The village of Gebelein, located in Upper Egypt, about 29 km south of Thebes, on the west bank of the Nile, takes its name from the presence of two hills (*Gebelein* in Arabic). In ancient times, the first hill housed a fortress with sections of its walls made of mud brick and a temple dedicated to the goddess Hathor. The second hill housed the Necropolis with tombs from the Old to the Middle Kingdom. It was in the Necropolis, during excavations in 1935 by the Italian Mission of Giulio Farina, where the papyri of the Old Kingdom were discovered¹⁰⁶.

Five papyri and some fragments of various dimensions are at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 66844). Other fragments are at the Egyptian Museum in Turin (Suppl. 17505/1-2-3-4-5). These administrative papyri were part of the funerary equipment of an Old Kingdom tomb. The papyrus rolls of Gebelein normally have two

¹⁰⁴ See Baud-Dobrev 1995 and Baud-Dobrev 1997.

¹⁰⁵ For an introduction see Donadoni Roveri, D'Amicone, Leospo 1994, Posener-Kriéger 2004 and Roccati 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Schiaparelli started the excavations there in 1910 after he abandoned the work in Deir el-Medina, but Farina took over in 1930.

different sizes: the standard one of 20-22 cm, and a smaller one of 10-12.5 cm. These dimensions, also common to the Abusir papyri, seem to be typical of administrative documents in the Old Kingdom.

The administrative papyri contain working lists for the construction of a temple, notes about distributed food rations, a bread and materials list, and sales receipts. The papyri were in large part published in 2004 (Posener-Kriéger). Only a section of the documents will be shown here.

Papyrus Geb. III recto

This is a daily accounting of cereals arranged within a grid that has been designed but not fully used. In fact, in the final part of the document, only the headings of the columns remain, without any data inside the cells, which shows that the grids were drawn before the text was actually included (see fig. 37). The daily record is divided into four sections: the revenue of the chief village *ḥꜥ ḥꜥꜥ*, the total amount *ṛḥt dmd*, the actual expenditure *pr nb km*, and the remainder *wḏꜣw ḥt*. For each of these sections, seven corresponding columns indicate the people interested in the accounting.

4.2.e The Abusir Papyri and the “new” Abusir Papyri¹⁰⁷

The Abusir documents are administrative papyri and are included in this overview because, being mainly concerned with the daily life of the temples at Abu Gorab and its economy, present a series of daily dated notes, as we expect in a journal. The grids, divided in thirty horizontal compartments representing the three decades of the month, list the activities necessary for the running of a mortuary temple.

The Abusir Papyri and the “new” Abusir Papyri are one of the most important finds of administrative documents from the Old Kingdom. They provide detailed information about the running of a royal mortuary temple and include duty rosters for priests, inventories of temple equipment, and lists of daily offerings to the two solar temples at Abu Gorab, north of Abusir, as well as letters and permits.

The site of Abusir is located about 10 km south of Giza. It contains two types of monuments: tombs of kings, queens and private individuals coming from the time of the 5th Dynasty, and tombs from the Saite-Persian period.

¹⁰⁷ For a general overview see Posener-Kriéger 1968 and 1976, Posener-Krieger, Verner, Vymazalova 2006 and Verner 1995.

The large royal cemetery of the Old Kingdom includes four kings' pyramids from the 5th Dynasty and other tombs built by royal family and officials. In addition, the kings of the 5th Dynasty constructed solar temples to the northwest of the pyramids.

The Abusir Papyri are a collection of administrative papyri dating to the 5th Dynasty and they are considered to be a major archive of Old Kingdom documentary texts. They are of key importance to the study of the organisational and economic aspects of the royal funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom. These documents represent a unique and important source in that they contain information rather distinct from the formal and royal records or tomb inscriptions.

The papyri were found in the archives of the funerary temple complexes of Neferirkare Kakai (found in storerooms located in the southwestern part of the complex), Raneferef (called here “new” Abusir Papyri) and Khentkaus II¹⁰⁸.

The first papyri were discovered in 1893 at Abu Gorab, near Abusir in northern Egypt, during illegal excavation. They contained manuscripts regarding Neferirkare Kakai. Their origins are dated to the 5th Dynasty. Later on, a large number of additional manuscript fragments were discovered in the area by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft expedition under the direction of L. Borchardt in 1907. Nowadays, they are divided between the British Museum, the Louvre, the Cairo Museum, the Egyptian Museum of Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung) and the Petrie Museum in London.

In the mid 1970s, based on information in the first Abusir Papyri, Czech archaeologists from the Czech Institute of Egyptology, under the leadership of Miroslav Verner, found the funerary monument of Raneferef with an additional 2,000 separate pieces of new papyri.

Further excavations by the Czech expedition on the site also uncovered papyri at the funerary monument of Khentkaus (the mother of Khentkaus II).

In addition to the successful excavations in the Abusir pyramid conducted by the Czech Institute of Egyptology of Charles University since the early seventies, the Institute of Egyptology of Waseda University began its work in September 1990.

The Abusir documents are mainly concerned with the daily life of the temple and its economy. They illustrate the integration of the royal funerary complexes into the state economy and their connection with various institutions that provided an economical base

¹⁰⁸ Few fragments of papyri were discovered during the Czech archaeological excavation of the small pyramid complex of Neferirkare's wife, Khentkaus II. These fragments were published by Verner (Verner 1995) with contributions by Paule Posener-Kriéger and Peter Jánosi and relate to the queen's cult. They will not be included in the present study because of their poor state of preservation and because of their fragmentary condition. They wouldn't add any further useful information for a comparison.

for cemeteries (e.g. residence). Of particular importance are the accounts, which provide detailed information about the running of a royal mortuary temple and include duty rosters for priests, lists of people involved, inventories of temple equipment, registers of income and expenses, records of inspections of the temple furniture, special duty tables for priests officiating feasts, accounts of all kinds and lists of daily offerings to the two solar temples at Abu Gorab.

Although such information cannot be complete, much can be learned about daily income and expenses of the temple economy. Not only amounts of commodities delivered to or from the funerary temple were inspected, but also their sources or destinations and names of responsible persons were recorded. These documents are more or less uniform and they work with a specific account terminology, which expresses all the necessary operations.

ARCHIVE OF NEFERIRKARE KAKAI

Only the documents considered relevant will be shown here:

Duty tables

They were compiled to allocate the daily tasks to each member of the temple staff on duty. There is a *detailed type* inscribed in the compartments of a grid, and a more *summary type*. It may be supposed that the more summary duty tables were a kind of outline of what had to be recorded in detail later in the compartments of a grid. Some duty tables were compiled for one month and deal with regular daily tasks, while other duty tables were compiled for special occasions, such as various feasts.

Example of a duty table:¹⁰⁹

The duty table shown here is arranged in a grid. In the top lines, the tasks of the temple staff are specified, while the rest of the page is divided horizontally into three groups of ten compartments, each group ending with a red line. The grid therefore consists of thirty horizontal compartments representing the three decades of the month. Each day has a compartment for each of the tasks specified in the top lines. The columns for the tasks are then divided into secondary columns for the time of day or the place where the same

¹⁰⁹ Only one example will be given here. The duty tables are all slightly different, but this example shows the main features.

tasks have to be performed. As we can see, the last nine days of the month have been left empty as if the workers were all off duty.

We can imagine that every scroll of the archives would start in the same similar way: date of the document, subject of the scroll and the organisation of the table (date of the service, statements of tasks, titles of men on duty). On the left of the table, the days of the month were indicated, at the top, the tasks and, across from days and tasks, the name of the person in charge is indicated.

B. M. 10735 frame 7 recto. [verso see pl. 40-41]

Day	Column e	Column d	Column c	Column b	Column a
1	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
2	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
3	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
4	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
5	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
6 = day 1	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
7 = 2	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
8 = 3	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
9 = 4	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
10 = 5	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
11 = 6	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
12 = 7	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
13 = 8	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
14 = 9	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
15 = 10	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
16 = 11	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
17 = 12	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
18 = 13	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
19 = 14	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
20 = 15	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
21 = 16	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
22 = 17	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
23 = 18	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
24 = 19	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
25 = 20	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
26 = 21	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
27 = 22	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
28 = 23	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
29 = 24	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
30 = 25	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
31 = 26	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
32 = 27	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
33 = 28	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
34 = 29	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]
35 = 30	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]	[Hieroglyphs]

Fig. 6 Abusir papyrus. Detail of a duty-table. After Posener-Kriéger 1968, pl. IIIa

From the corpus of documents, we know that the records in the temple archives included the following for each month:

- One duty table in which all the tasks of the temple staff on duty were noted.
- Daily records of income, as well as account notes from which they were compiled.
- One monthly account table.
- One monthly food distribution account.
- Expenditure accounts.

Red and black ink was used. In the various monthly tables, a single or double red line separates the spaces where the headings of the tables were entered from the spaces allotted to the days of the month. The use of red ink is not restricted to the lines of the various grids. It is also used in the headings of duty tables, both for specifying a particular duty and for indicating the time and place of performance; and in the monthly accounts, when specifying the origin or quality of the deliveries. In the inventories, the material from which objects are made may be written in red, and, also, records of the objects which have been damaged. In the accounts, numerals are written in both red and black. The sums and the total numbers of objects of one kind are generally written in red. Instead of clarifying things, this excessive use of red ink is quite confusing.

“NEW” ABUSIR PAPYRI

Regardless of the number of differences in details, the character of Ranefereref's papyrus archive does not differ in a substantial way from Neferirkare's. Therefore the documents will be not dealt with here (see Posener-Krieger, Verner, Vymazalova 2006).

4.2.f The Reisner Papyri¹¹⁰

P. Reisner I and III (P. Reisner II and IV will not be investigated here) concern the organisation of a work project. Accounts of manpower, occasionally listed by institution, with summaries for each individual month as well as longer periods of time, and occasional notes on mustering and the absence of workers are included. The year, the month and the indication of the date introduce each entry of the daily account like in a journal. Some numbers are struck out in red and there are calculation aids in the form of multiplication tables inserted in the tables (both for the number eight, which is frequently used as a multiplier, and both written upside-down in relation to the rest of the text)¹¹¹. Section A of Papyrus Reisner I records daily notes (122 consecutive days) of the number of workmen assigned to a particular task, while in section C the work force is divided into a number of separate gangs, like it happens for the workforce in Deir el-Medina.

The documents were discovered by G.A. Reisner during the excavations in 1901-1904 in Nag' ed-Deir in southern Egypt. Four papyrus rolls were found in a wooden coffin in a tomb. The texts provide great insight into the composition of accounts at the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, and contain records of wages, contracts, projects and work. They probably date to the reign of Sesostri¹¹². Only the relevant documents and sections will be shown here.

P. REISNER I

This is an account papyrus dating probably to the second reign of the 12th Dynasty (Sesostri¹¹³). It was found during the excavations conducted by G.A. Reisner on behalf of the University of California at Nag' ed-Deir, a site opposite Girgeh in Upper Egypt¹¹⁴. The papyrus was one of four rolls discovered lying on one of the three wooden coffins in tomb N 408 (N 406 on the basis of a renumbering of the tombs apparently conducted by the excavators¹¹⁵). The document is now at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston bearing the number 38.2062.

In common with many of the account papyri of the Old and Middle Kingdom (Abusir Papyri, Illahun Papyri), there are ruled guidelines, most likely to assist the scribe in

¹¹⁰ For an overview of the documents see Simpson 1963, 1965, 1969, 1986 and Wente 1972.

¹¹¹ Hagen 2018, 124.

¹¹² The dating of the papyri is still debated.

¹¹³ For a discussion about the date of the papyrus, see Simpson 1963, 19-21.

¹¹⁴ 1901-1904; 1912 and 1923-1924 (the last excavation on behalf of Harvard University and the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston).

¹¹⁵ Simpson 1986, 7.

aligning his writing and to make the account clearer, and several headings are dated with the year, month and day.

For practical convenience, the papyrus has been cut and the different sections of the document have been assigned a letter. The sections relevant to our argument are:

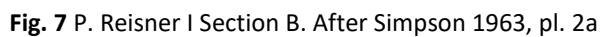
Section A: an account and summation of the number of workdays spent on a certain unspecified project and a calculation of the number of bread rations involved. The document supplies information about the daily record of the number of workmen assigned to a particular task. The number of men does not vary widely from day to day (22 to 38 men).

The section is arranged in tabular form with the lines closely spaced. Horizontally ruled lines have been drawn at regular intervals so that five lines of text are ordinarily included in each ruled space. As an aid to the proper alignment of the columns, five vertical lines are also used. Three provide a ruled edge for the columns indicating the days of the month, and two provide a similar margin for the figures representing the number of enlistees and the number of different loaves of bread.

The year and its numeral are written in black with the month and day of the month in red. There is a list of 122 consecutive days of the year and the number of labourers who reported for work on each of these days. The list of days with the enumeration of the workers and new enlistees is interrupted only by the figures for the totals at the end of each month or partial month.

The document could represent a sort of ration or pay sheet which recorded the total amount of compensation for the workmen. This record may have been prepared for a disbursing or fiscal agency of the Pharaonic government to serve as a supporting document for the expenditure of rations in the form of loaves of bread.

Section B: a record of the number of days each man was present. A list of men who performed the work with indications of the days they were present or absent. Each entry bears the name of the individual in the form X's son Y.



Section C provides a list of 134 men and 15 leaders, arranged in 16 crews or gangs, who were assigned to work on the *hbsw*-lands in charge of the steward Anhur-hotpe.

Section C is interesting because of the manner in which the work force is divided into a number of separate gangs. It warrants attention since the system is not reflected in the name lists in sections B, P or D. A similar system is instead followed in sections E and F. The work force of section C consists of 16 subdivisions and each group is indicated by the name and title of the foreman (written in red ink). Below the name of the foreman is a list of the subordinate members of his gang, written in black, and at the end of each gang, the figure for the total number of men in the gang is written in red.

Sections G, H, I, J, K are records of the construction of a temple: lists, with measurements, of blocks of stone, calculations about different materials, list of the assignment of the labour force, water transport etc.

The final result is a record of the total number of man-hours spent on the undertaking during the period involved. The purpose of the account is the calculation of the expense of labour necessary, allowable or spent on this portion of the project. Numerous checkmarks are present, showing that it was a working document.

P. REISNER III¹¹⁶

The subject matter is essentially the same as that of P. Reisner I and concerns the organisation of a work project for the construction of a temple or other religious structure. The document is now at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (number 38.2119).

Horizontal guidelines are also used here extensively to aid in alignment.

The regnal years must be assigned to Amenemhat I or his successor and co-regent, Sesostri I.

Sections A, B, C and D: the register is a daily summary of the number of workmen employed or assigned to the miscellaneous tasks specified by the headings. The year, the month and the indication of the date introduce each entry of the daily account.

Section B reflects a daily account for 177 days. After the heading indicating the year, the month and the day, the subject of the account follows: "Number of *mny*-laborers who are in This". A summary closes the section.

Sections F, G, K, and L: in these accounts, foremen who are responsible for work on a building project and who have been assigned crews of labourers are listed.

The framework is the list of consecutive days with a heading consisting of a proper name and different labels for the other columns. Each entry line refers to a single day.

¹¹⁶ For general information about the discovery, see P. Reisner I above.

Section K consists of a heading, now lost, and five paragraphs or subsections. The column headings can be restored as follows: enrolled men (days of work per man); the second column figures are the multiples of 10 units per day of work per man, possibly hours or else volume or sum; the third column figures represent the work completed; and the fourth column the remainder.

Sections E, H, and J deal with a work project and part of the operations involve a temple. Also, here, we have the date and a general heading followed by column headings.

4.2.g The Illahun archives¹¹⁷

These texts present dated entries in red and black ink organized by year-month-day, and record events and accounts related to a group of workmen engaged in a specific task. We therefore expect to see similarities with the Deir el-Medina journal. Petrie, in *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (1891, 48), when referring to the different kinds of papyri found, mentions, “accounts kept journal-fashion”. “These accounts are lists of superintendents and workmen engaged in dragging stone [...] kept by a scribe of the royal treasury [...] contains for each day concise and formal notes of the occasions for which several drafts or payments were made, together with names of persons and lists of things paid out or received. At the end of the day the clerk drew up his balance sheet”.

El-Lahun or Kahun is the name of the workers' village in Fayyum associated with the pyramid of Sesostri II. Between 1889 and 1899, el-Lahun yielded the largest haul of surviving Middle Kingdom papyri, a collection of ancient Egyptian texts concerning administrative, mathematical and medical topics.

The archive of el-Lahun is one of the most important temple archives and dates from the second half of the 12th Dynasty (covering a period of 50 years, from year 5 of Sesostri II to year 36 of Amenemhat III). The find is divided into two parts that were found ten years apart, in 1889-90 and 1899, at the excavations of Flinders Petrie. The first part is now at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London, the second one almost completely in the State Museum of Berlin.

The London papyri are said to have been discovered in the funerary temple of Sesostri II by Flinders Petrie, while the Berlin papyri were bought by Ludwig Borchardt for the Egyptian Museum in Berlin in 1899. Inspired by the discovery of new papyri, Borchardt conducted a small-scale excavation around the temple area and found an additional corpus of hieratic manuscripts. The Berlin find comprises documents of daily

¹¹⁷ For a general introduction about the documents, see Collier-Quirke 2002, 2004 and 2006, Griffith 1898, Horváth 2009, Petrie 1891, Luft 1992a and 1992b, Luft 2006, Kóthay 2015.

worship in the mortuary temple of King Sesostris II such as letters, temple diaries, supply and festival lists. The significance of the Berlin papyri is made even greater by the fact that the date of the Heliacal Rise of Sirius is recorded in the temple diary of year 7 of King Sesostris III. The London papyri comprise items of a more individual character such as legal documents, household lists, contracts, and even literary pieces.

Different kinds of papyri were found at Kahun between 1889 and 1899. The texts span a variety of topics (literary, medical, veterinari, mathematical, legal, letters), but only the account papyri are interesting to our work, and amongst them, those called official journal in Griffith 1898, 55¹¹⁸. The following illustration shows some of these fragments. III.1. A. page 3 recto (Griffith 1898, pl. XXII, ll. 1-9 = UC 32190+frs 32315). This is an abstract of a communication and the reply written in guidelines. The subject of the communication seems to be workers who stay home instead of coming to work. The writer requests instructions on how to proceed and promises compliance. The other fragments contain accounts with total and remainder (III.1. A. page 4 recto, Griffith 1898, pl. XXII, ll. 10-16 = UC 32190+frs 32315), dates and figures recording the daily consumption, or output, or receipt of materials (III.1. D. recto, Griffith 1898, pl. XXII, ll. 25-36 = UC 32190+frs 32315), rations which are given to an attendant, division of the plots of land (III.1. C. recto, Griffith 1898, pl. XXII, ll. 37-48 = UC 32190+frs 32315), and numbers of men employed (III.1. B. verso, Griffith 1898, pl. XXII, ll. 49-61 = UC 32190+frs 32315).

¹¹⁸ Griffith 1898, 55, calls fragments A, C, and D “official journal” as if he would like to identify a specific typology of administrative documents, unfortunately no explanation is given there, nor any criteria for their identification.

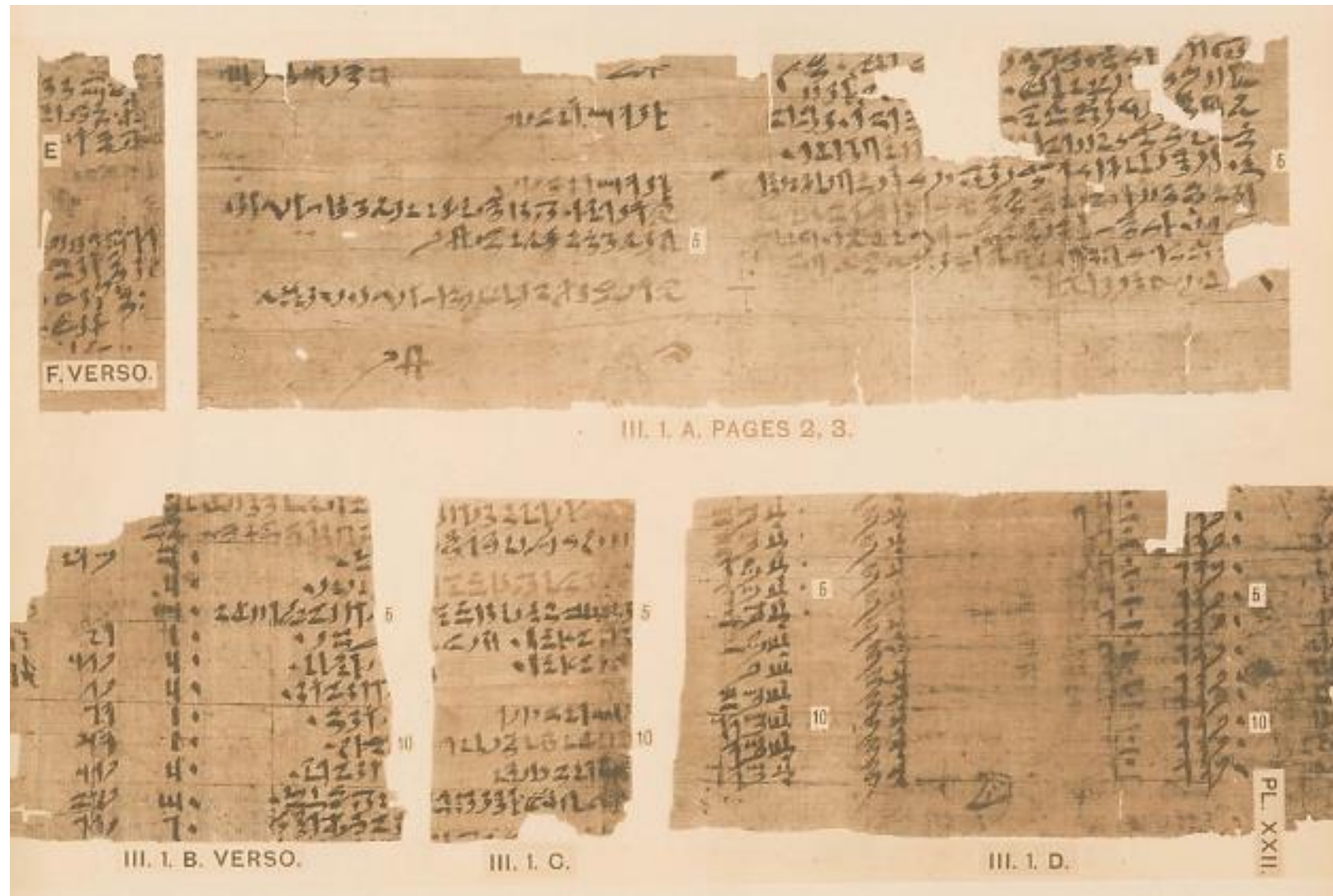


Fig. 8 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXII

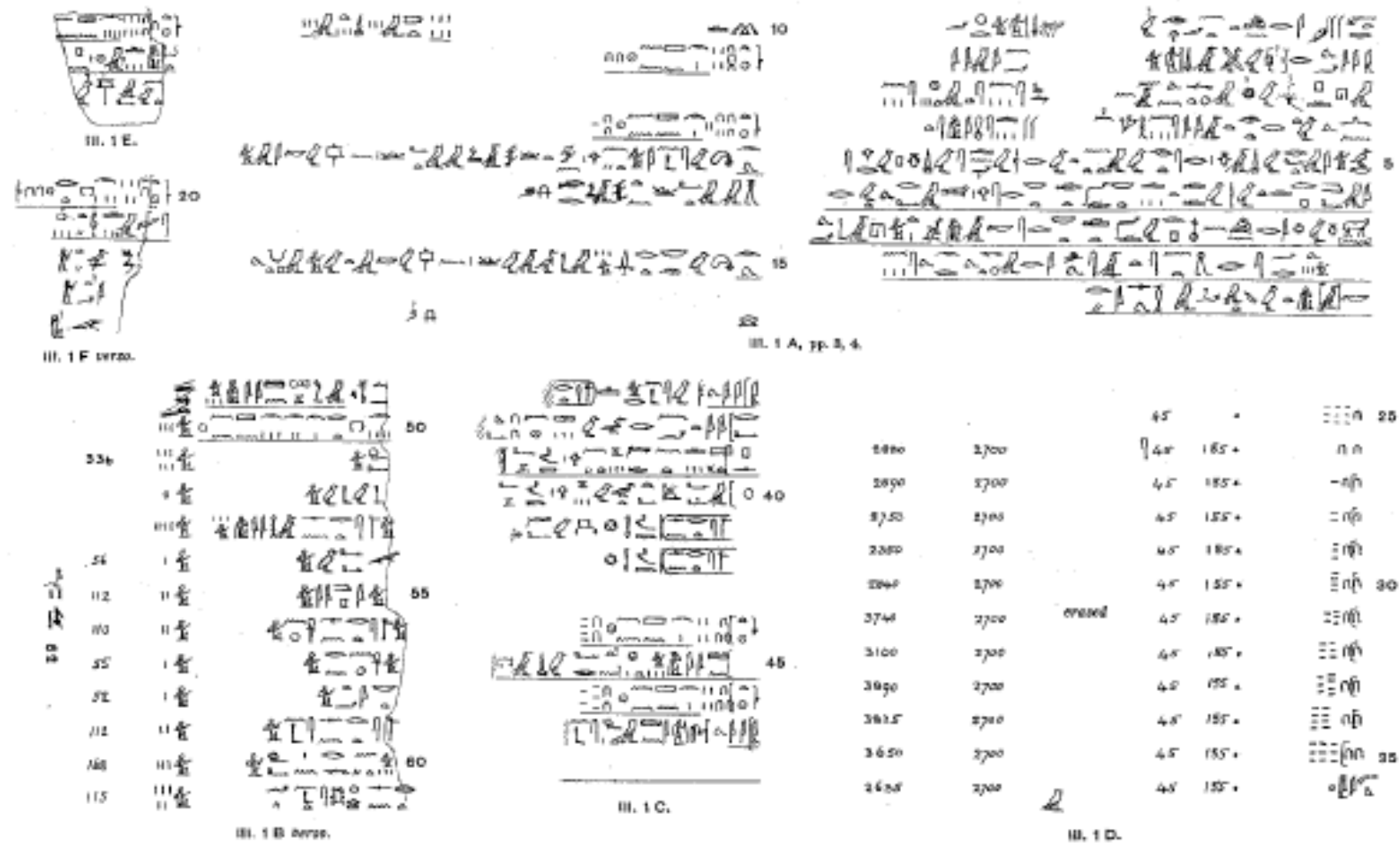


Fig. 9 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXII

The following illustration again shows some of the fragments (UC 32190) which are called journals in Griffith 1898. In III.1. D. verso (Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII, ll. 1-7) we probably have part of a record of daily attendance for a month, while in III.1. C. verso (Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII, ll. 8-10) some soldiers are named, probably for an expedition to the quarries. III.1. A. verso (Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII, ll. 12-22) includes amounts paid and allocation of plots and III.1. A. recto (Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII, ll. 24-40) contains figures in four columns (the third column may indicate aruras or cubits) and accounts of bricks. Horizontal lines divide single sections of the document.

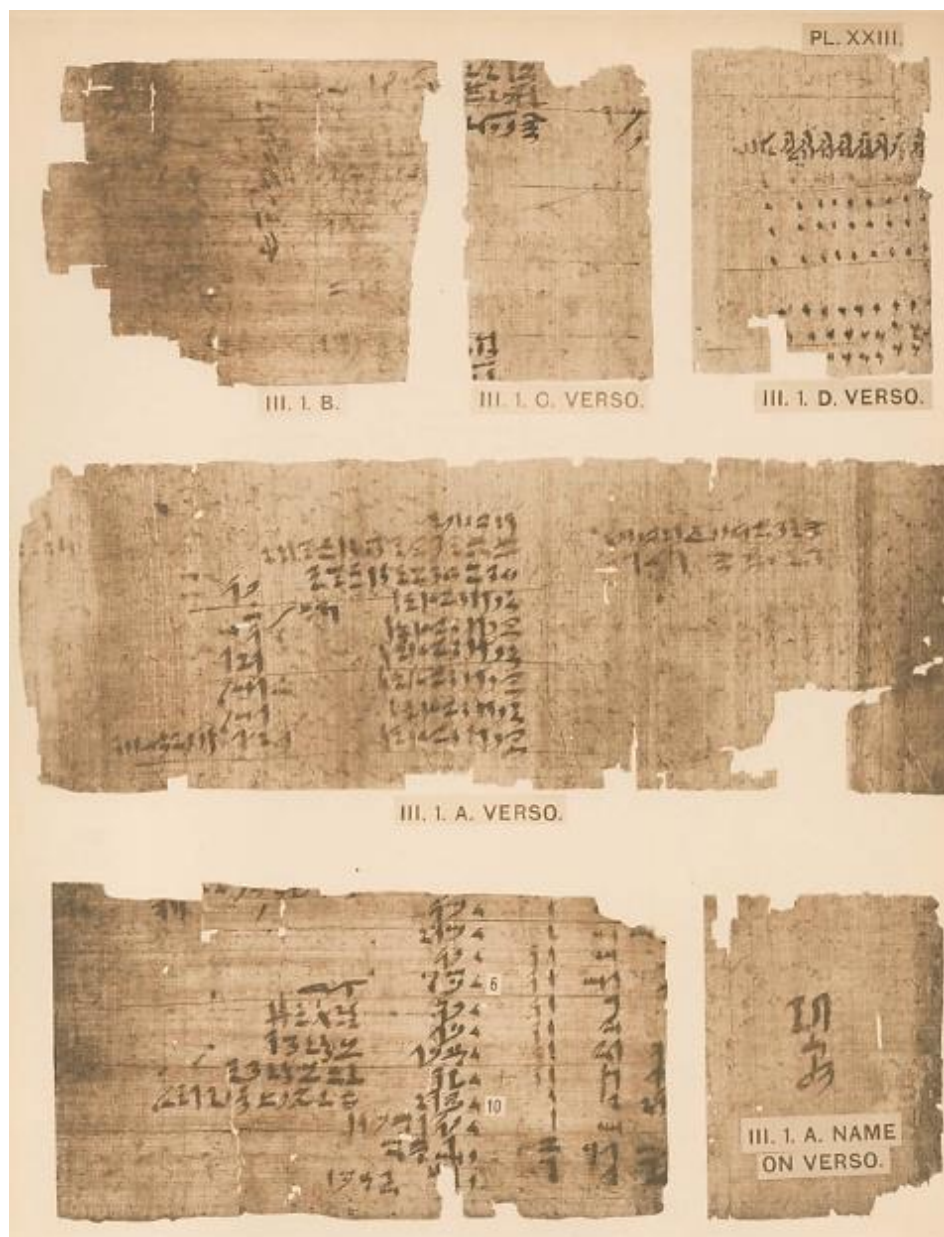


Fig. 10 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII

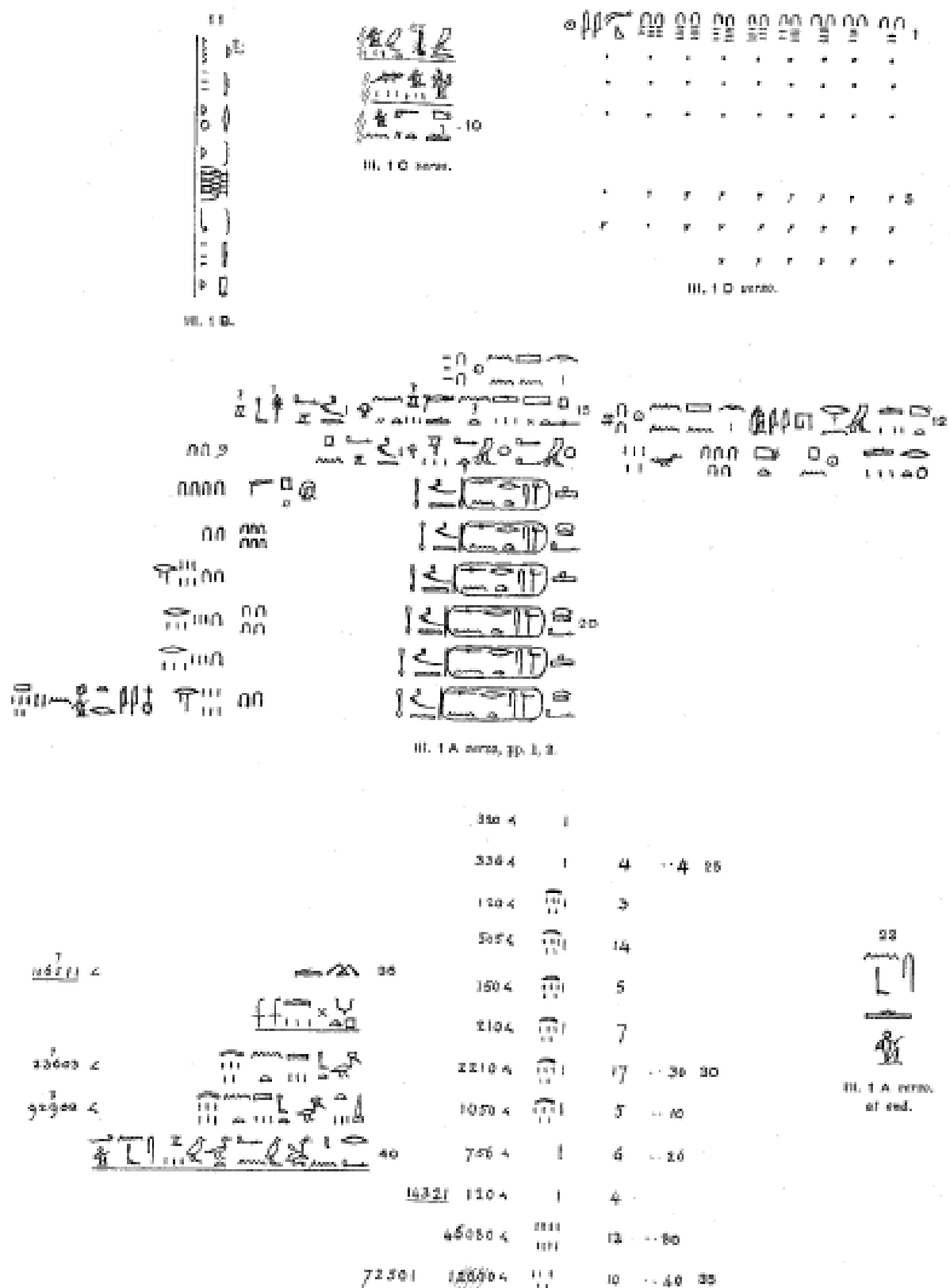


Fig. 11 Illahun papyrus. Fragments of journal. UC 32190. After Griffith 1898, pl. XXIII

The previous illustrations are fragments from one or more papyrus rolls containing what is called in Griffith 1898 an 'official journal' with hieratic entries in red and black by year-month-day, recording events and accounts in year 34 of Amenemhat III, in medium-sized, thick, clear signs over guidelines on both sides. As we can clearly see, these documents differ from the previous Old Kingdom papyri. The documentation is still dominated by an analytical spirit and by a purely geometric appearance resembling the offering lists, but the previous grid is reduced gradually and only labels and sum lines still remain in some instances. Red ink is not used as much as in the previous period.

4.2.h The Annals of Amenemhat II

In 1974 Sami Farag (Director of Egyptian Antiquities in Memphis and Saqqara) raised a large inscribed granite block found under the base of a colossal statue of Ramses II near the Ptah temple in Memphis. It contained the remains of 41 columns describing events in the reign of king Amenemhat II. Most of these events concern offerings made to different deities and temples all around the country. However, there are also records of military enterprises. A smaller fragment was already discovered by Flinders Petrie in 1908 and this contained a similar annals text from another period of Amenemhat II's reign. Although the two fragments do not physically join, they clearly belong to the same inscription.

The two fragments of the inscription form an extremely important source for the political history of Egypt at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Both report numerous foundations of Pharaoh for the gods of Egypt, the large fragment describes the reception of delegations of foreign powers from Nubia and Asia and names the composition of the tributes. It is not known where these annals were originally placed; it seems possible that they once decorated the funerary temple of Amenemhat II's pyramid at Dahshur¹¹⁹.

An analysis of the texts shows that the events of the annals are not systematized according to subject groups, but in a chronological sequence (though without specifying month and year dates). This is particularly clear in the first part of the Farag-block, where the chronological arrangement is best observed¹²⁰.

The formal structure of these annals fits in the tradition of the annalistic texts of the Old Kingdom. They follow in the overall system the old model, which best-known representatives are the annals preserved in the fragments of the 1st to 5th dynasty of the Palermo/Cairo stone. Nonetheless, even if the events are sequentially recorded, they

¹¹⁹ Altenmüller 2015, 282-283.

¹²⁰ Altenmüller 2015, 283-284.

are not, as in the annals of the Old Kingdom, summarized in annual blocks within a graphically outlined annual field. Over the two year fields of the Farag-fragment, an upper horizontal line was probably present, which probably contained the name of the reigning King Amenemhat II and the well-known dedication formula *ir.n=f m mnw=f*. The original state of the annals text could be reconstructed as follows: (a) the upper boundary of the annals text probably formed a horizontal line with the name of the ruler. In this line the dedicatory formula *ir.n=f m mnw=f* would be present. It is uncertain whether the consecration formula was written year by year over the annual fields or whether it was used selectively; (b) the main text is written in vertical lines from right to left, with the records of the foundations and the individual events following each other directly. The annals in the main text are brief and contain the description of the foundations for each year (for the gods and kings, introduced by the dative-*n*, e.g.: AnnM x+9 end "...for Montu in Armant, Asian copper: 1 *ds-jug*"; AnnM x+10 end "...for Montu in El-Tod, Asian copper: 1 *ds-jug*",) and the outstanding events, introduced by a verb in the infinitive form (e.g.: AnnM x+13 "...Arrival (*spr*) of the expeditionary army that had been sent out to the Turquoise Terrace = Sinai. They brought:...[follows list of minerals]")¹²¹.

¹²¹ Altenmüller 2015, 243-244.

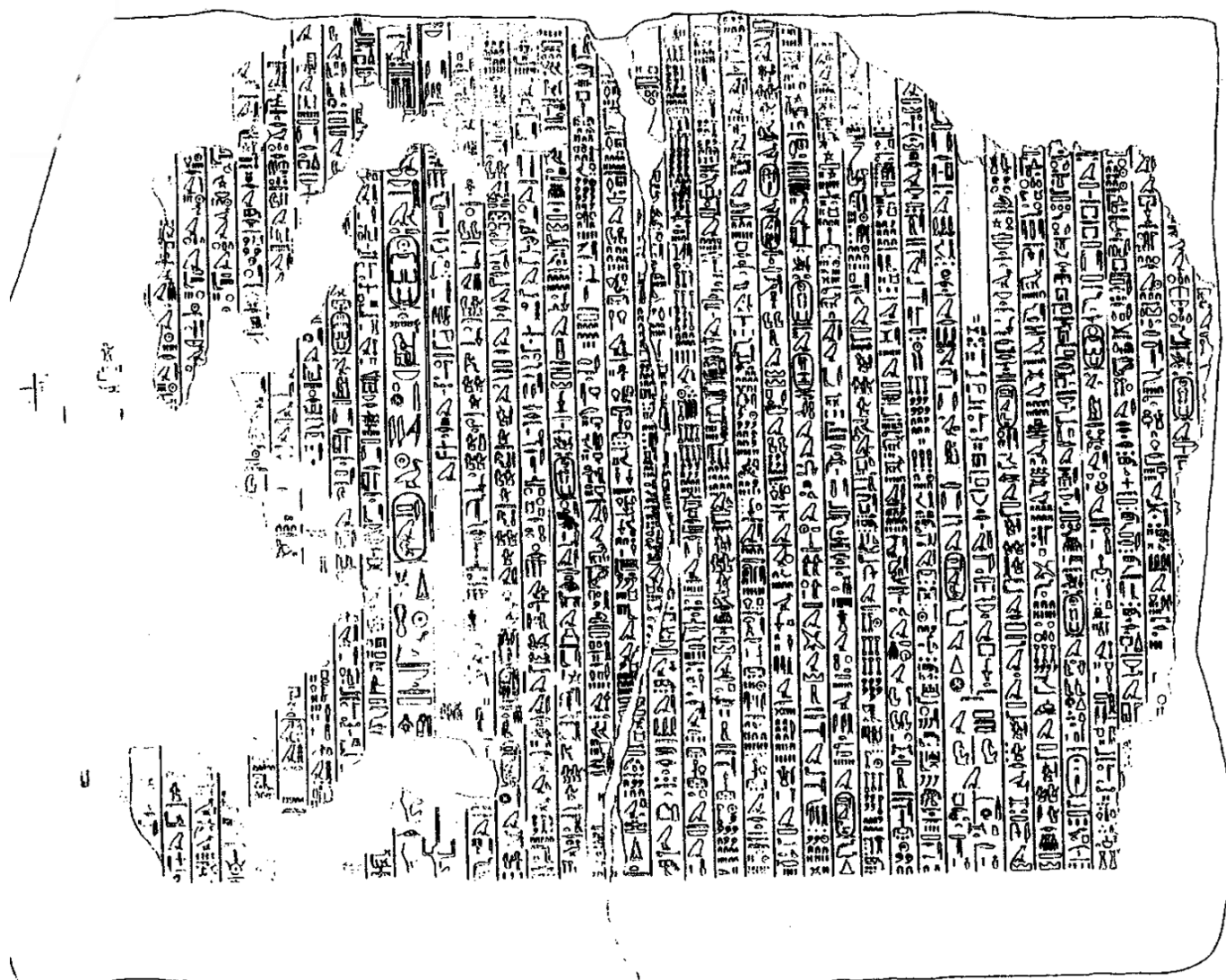


Fig. 12 Annals of Amenemhat II, Farag-block. After Altenmüller 2015, Falttafel

4.2.i The Ramesseum Papyri¹²²

The following documents are mentioned here since they offer a series of daily dated events or diaries recording consecutive days. Concerning the Semnah dispatches, they are included here because from these letters one may conclude that the frontier post kept a kind of “border journal”¹²³. In the letters there are indeed references to events on certain days.

¹²² For more information on the discovery and the content of the papyri, see Barns 1956, Gardiner 1955, Quibell 1896, Smither 1945, Spiegelberg 1898a, Parkinson 2011 and Hagen forthcoming.

¹²³ Same style as later in Papyrus Anastasi III verso VI, (EA10246, 1) dated to year 3 of Merenptah. See Caminos 1954, 108-113. The text provides an overview of the movement of travellers recorded in a daybook from a border official over a period of ten days.

In 1895-96, Flinders Petrie discovered a plundered tomb shaft as he and James Quibell excavated the funerary temple of Ramesses II, the Ramesseum. In the north-west corner of the temple complex, there was a shaft, on an angle to the wall of one of the chambers of the later temple's brick storeroom and running under it. At the bottom of the shaft, two small chambers opened. They were cleared and found to be empty. Lastly, the heap left in the middle of the shaft was removed and in it the excavators discovered a group of objects, apparently, the remains of burial goods that had been removed from one of the burial chambers. There was a wooden box containing papyri, surrounded by a mass of other material. The papyri and objects that were discovered were divided between several institutions. Many fragments of the papyri were lost or disintegrated over the years through the process of mounting them on glass smeared with beeswax. In regard to dating the documents, the reign of Amenemhat III provides a *terminus a quo*. The date is conventionally given as the 13th Dynasty. The majority of the papyri are at the British Museum.

The corpus includes literary papyri, ritual and magical texts, hymns, mythological spells, mathematical texts, the Ramesseum Onomasticon, funerary texts, wisdom texts and fragments of accounts.

The documents of interest for this work are the following:

- **P. Ram. C (BM EA 10752.1-6) and P. Ram. 19 (BM EA 10772.2) Semna Dispatches** (Smither 1945, Gardiner 1955, 8, 11, Quirke 1990, 191-3, Vogel 2004, 61-3, 78-87, Parkinson 2011, Kraemer-Liszka 2016)

The papyrus contains, on the *recto*, copies of a number of dispatches sent from the fortress of Semna called “Khakawre (=Sesostris III) is mighty” or from elsewhere.

The papyrus was found at Thebes, but the texts were copied at Semna West and later travelled to Thebes in one papyrus (Kraemer-Liszka 2016, 48-49 against Smither 1945, 4). The dispatches would be received in ordinary letter form and then copied into a 'journal' or book of letters as a permanent record. The *verso* of the papyrus is covered with magical texts, and it is probably for the sake of these alone that the papyrus was preserved and travelled to Thebes.

The dispatches deal with the comings and goings of Nubians, who came to Semna to trade their wares, and the Medjay people, and mention more than once the steps taken to keep track of the movements of these southerners in the desert.

Fortunately, it seems possible to date the dispatches fairly accurately. The many dates mentioned, all in year 3 of an unnamed king, afford no clue, but the Simontu referred to was identified by Smither (1944), doubtless correctly, as the man of the same name and titles who left records of himself on the rocks at Semna dated to the years 6 and 9 of Amenemhat III, i.e. about 1844 and 1841 B.C. Since this king reigned for about half a century, and since in the name of the Semna fortress, Sesostris III, his predecessor, is referred to as *m3^c-hrw* we may quite safely ascribe the papyrus to his reign.

As an example, only page five of the Semna Dispatches is shown below.

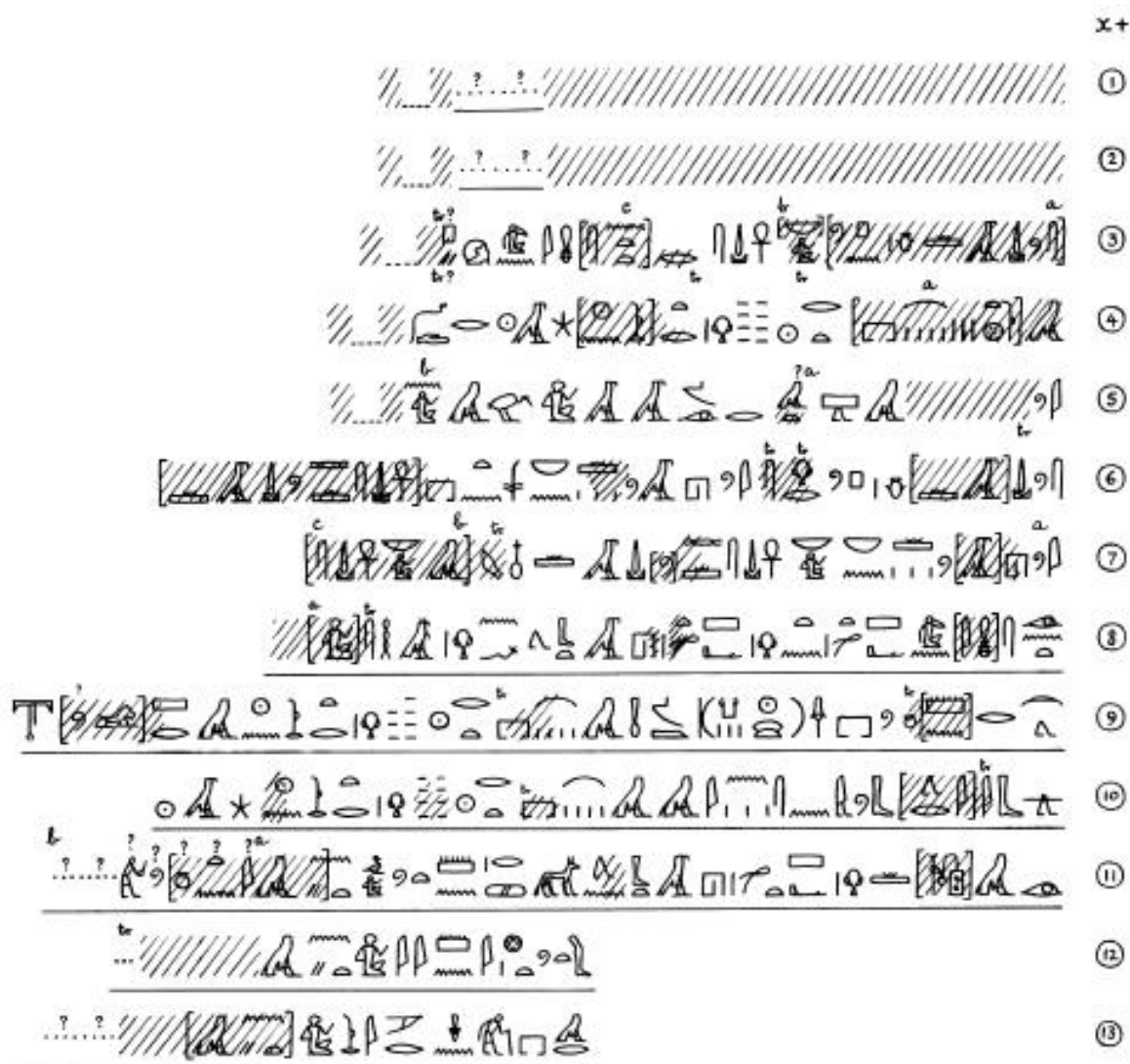


Fig. 13 Page five of Semna Dispatches. After Smither 1945, pl. VIa

- **P. Ram. III verso (BM EA 10756)** (Gardiner 1955, 9, 17, pl. 7, 9, pl. 63 verso, Barns 1956, 15-23, pl. 12, B 1-4, pl. 13, B 19-28, pl. 24-25 verso, Quirke 1990, 188-9)

Accounts with ruled lines. The text is written in vertical lines. Gardiner proposes that “the subject is deliveries of various kinds of grain to the Residence, to a storehouse (*mhr*), and to the houses of certain individual persons, and that these transactions are dated in the sixth year of some king unknown”¹²⁴. The accounts concern distribution of a variety of commodities including oil, vegetables, and bread.

¹²⁴ Gardiner 1955, 17.

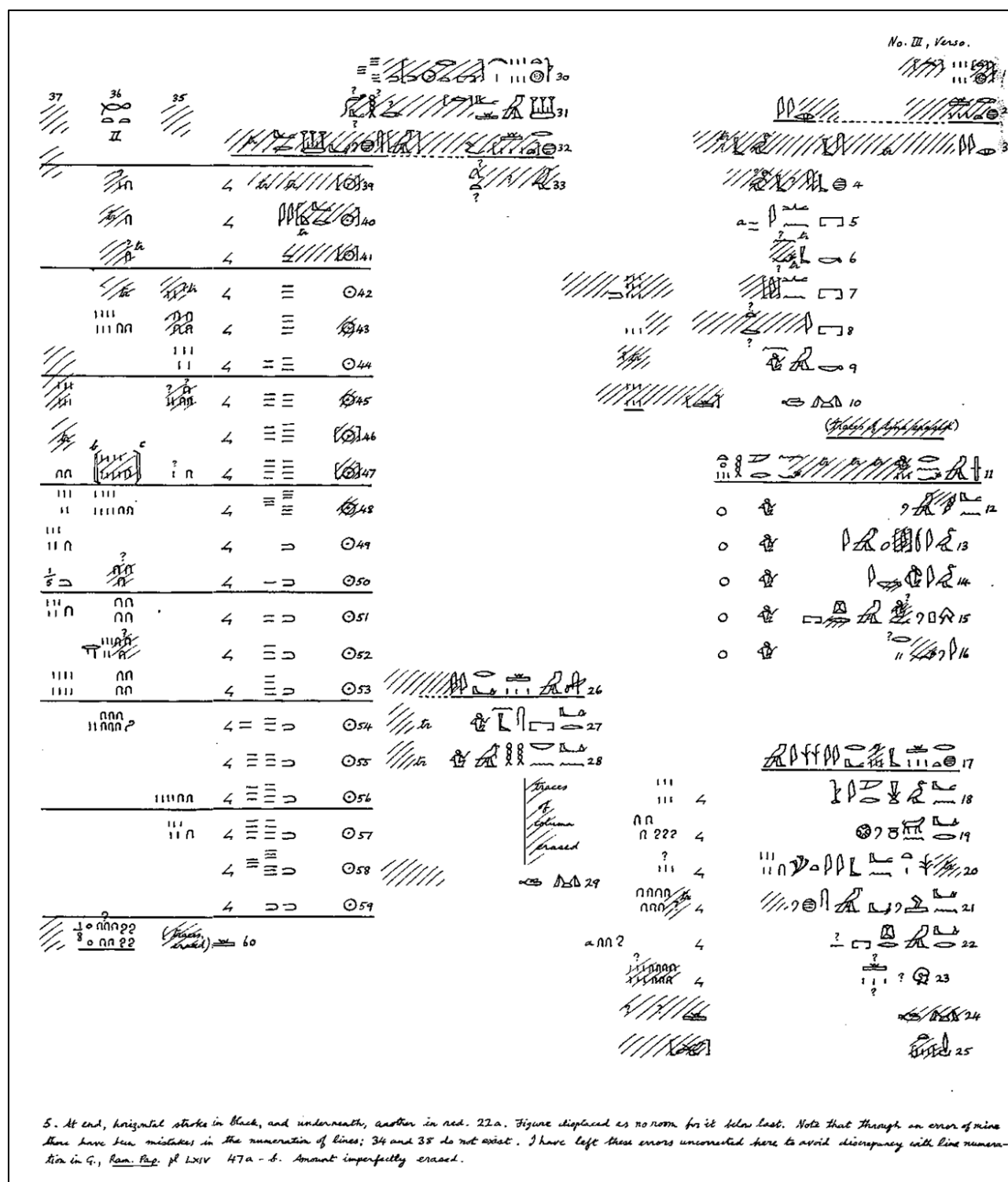


Fig. 14 Accounts, P. Ram. III verso. After Barns 1956, pl. 24

- **P. Ram. XIII verso (BM EA 10766)** (Gardiner 1955, 14-15, Quirke 1990, 187, Parkinson 2011)

A diary of an embalment with ruled lines recording 77 consecutive days in vertical columns divided into seven-day periods, written against the last day of each is

the sign for “total”, *dmd*, followed by the word for “purification” (*w^cbt*). It appears to be a checklist of embalming days, perhaps for general guidance.



Fig. 15 Papyrus Ram. XIII verso. After www.britishmuseum.org

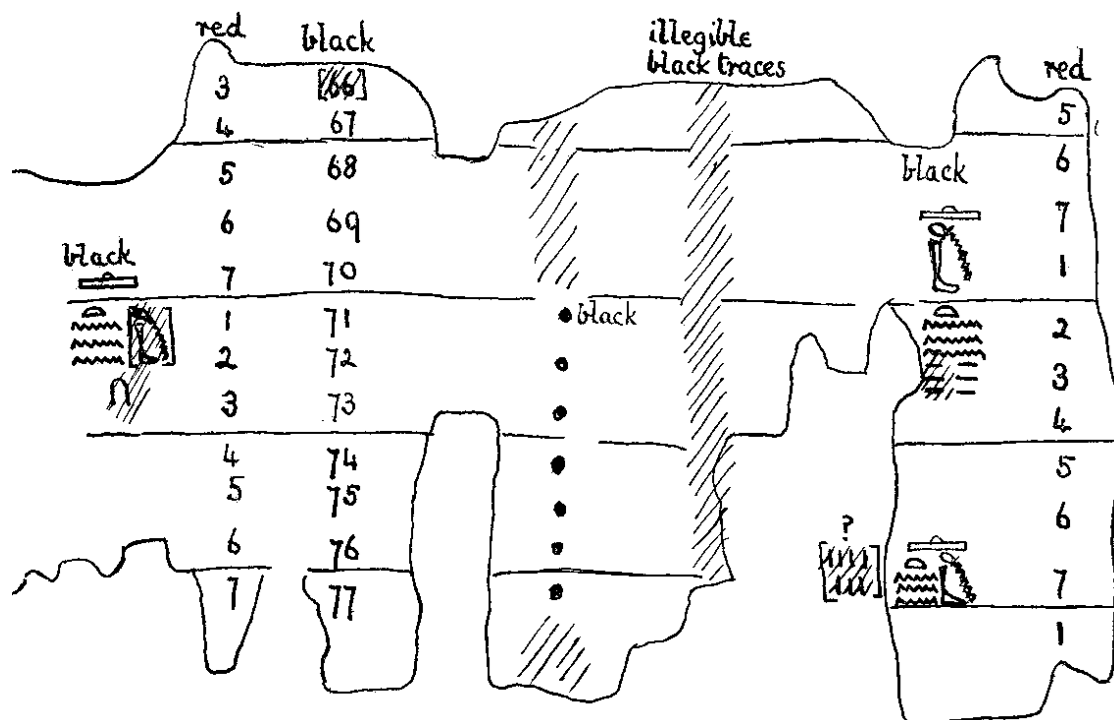


Fig. 16 Papyrus Ram. XIII verso. After Gardiner 1955, fig. 1

4.2.j The Middle Kingdom Tax Assessor's Day-book¹²⁵

This fragment of a diary of the scribe of the revenue department, records brief dated entries of how the scribe spent his business hours and the names of those who worked with him. It is likely enough that officials who travelled on government business were required to submit a report to the central office of how they spent their time. The format of this diary, with its brevity of style and mentioning what happened for each recorded day, offers a good example of a day-book, in which daily events are noted.

This document, together with other fragments, was discovered on a site close to the Fayyum, at Harageh (thus known as P. Harageh 3, now kept at the Petrie Museum as papyrus UC 32775) by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, under the archaeologist Reginald Engelbach, during the excavations on the Gebel Abusir in the winter of 1913-1914.

The document shown here is a very worm-eaten page from the diary of a scribe of the revenue department and it was found "in the surface rubbish, and in the filling of some of the tombs"¹²⁶.

The palaeography closely resembles that of the papyri from Illahun, a few miles away, and must be of the same period (end of the 12th, beginning of the 13th Dynasties). The scribe has written vertically the beginning of l. 12, to show that it is to be read after each of lines 7-11. The same device is used again in l. 26. At the beginning of a line, a blank space serves as the equivalent of ditto marks.

The page shown here (fig. 17) is a list of staff (probably on day 14).

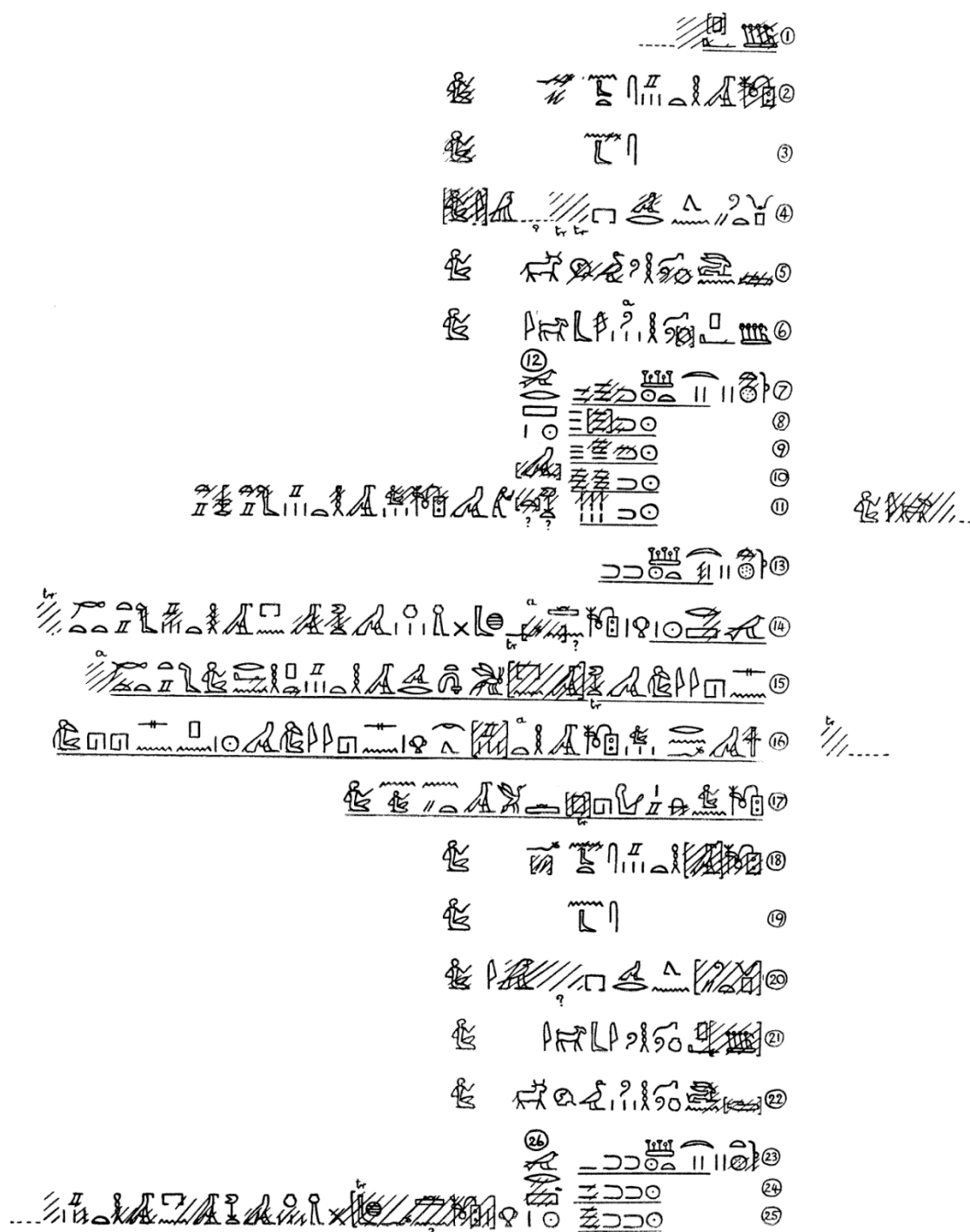
Days 15 until 19 were spent on an enquiry in the bureau of fields, southern(?) section, while day 20 was spent recording the assessment of income due in the bureau of fields, northern section, and "assembly before the national overseer of fields Redianptah, northern section. List of staff assembled by the Scribe of the Mat, keeper of regulations, Paentieni".

Days 21 until 23 were spent "in the bureau of fields".

Red ink is here used for the date, but also for entire sentences, while, instead of the grid, we find horizontal lines dividing different sections.

¹²⁵ See Engelbach-Gunn 1923, Grajetzki 2004 and Smither 1941.

¹²⁶ Engelbach-Gunn 1923.



3, 6^a Different from ? in l. 5; similarly below l. 22. 3, 14^a The trace seems only to suit ---^* .

3, 15^a Probably nothing lost. 3, 16^a Δ on a small piece now folded under.

Fig. 17 Papyrus Harageh 3. After Smither 1941, pl. IXa

4.2.k Papyrus Boulaq 18¹²⁷

Papyrus Boulaq 18 consists of two fragments written in hieratic during the 13th Dynasty and found by Mariette in 1860 in the Theban Necropolis, at Dra Abu el-Naga in the tomb of the “scribe of the great enclosure”, Neferhotep, next to a *rishi* coffin. The documents are now at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 58069).

The papyrus contains accounts of the expenses of the royal palace during a visit to Thebes, dates to the 13th Dynasty (around 1750 BC) and lists the palace officials and the daily rations they received. For each day the income and expenditure, as well as the total and the remainder, are indicated, comparable to what happens in many Deir el-Medina texts. It also reports on the journey of the king to the temple at Medamud and on the arrival of a delegation of Nubians.

The exact dating of the document is debated. The name of the king is heavily damaged. The fragments are commonly attributed to Sobekhotep II.

The largest fragment of Papyrus Boulaq 18 contains the daily accounts of **income** and **expenditure** in the palace of Thebes during a period of 12 days, in the second and third month of the flood, year 3. Between the last date of the recto and the first of the verso, there is an interval of 11 days, but it is unclear if there were originally records also for these 11 days. The recto has a different character from the verso and is characterised by the absence of the royal family. It is therefore likely that the original ended about where it ends today, and so little has been lost. From what we can see, the accounts represent the financial records of a royal visit to Thebes at the initiation or completion of the monuments to Montu at Medamud.

Day summary lists follow the more detailed accounts for each day. The document's layout is similar to the other documents of this kind and shows in two instances horizontal guidelines in black ink dividing the data and different headings for different types of food (kinds of bread, dates, beer, vegetables, meat, etc.). For each day, the **account revenue** (input) and the **debit** (output) is indicated, as well as the total and the remainder.

The **account revenue** consists of three sections: the total revenue entered in for the Pharaoh; the daily dues from the temple of Amun; and the remainder from the previous day.

¹²⁷ For further discussion, see Griffith 1891, Mariette 1872, Scharff 1922, Spalinger 1985 and 1986, Miniaci-Quirke 2009.

The structure of the summaries of the daily accounts divides the usual beneficiaries of the palace into three groups: the *pr-ʿ3* (palace), the private quarters of the palace, and the servants.

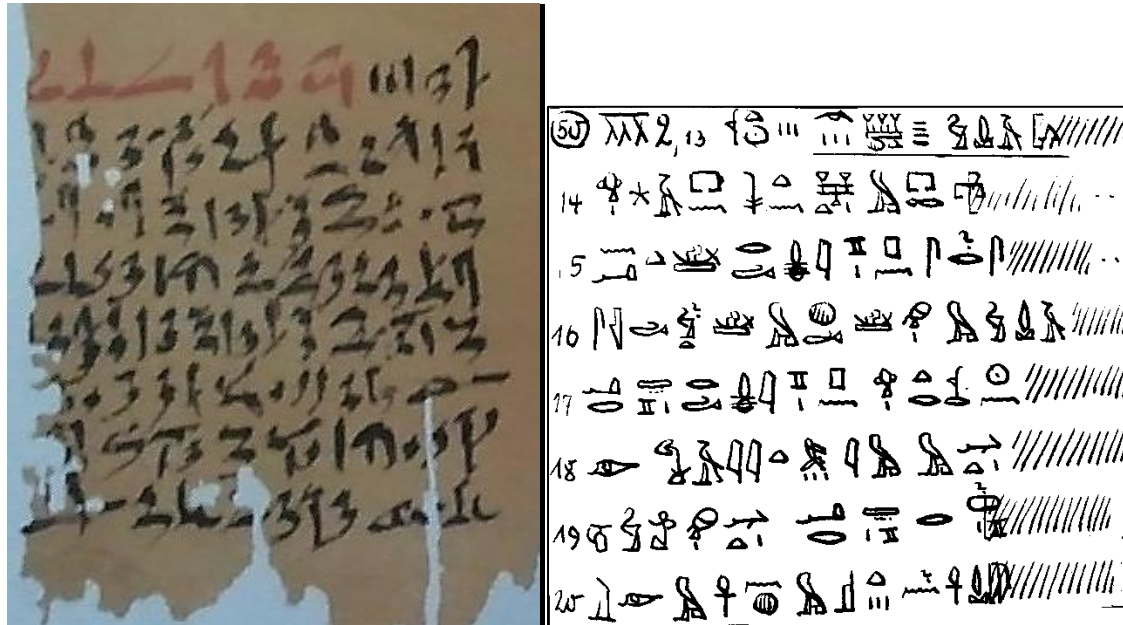


Fig. 18 Papyrus Boulaq 18, detail of event text on year 3. After Mariette 1872, pl. 30. Transcription after Scharff 1922, pl. 15**

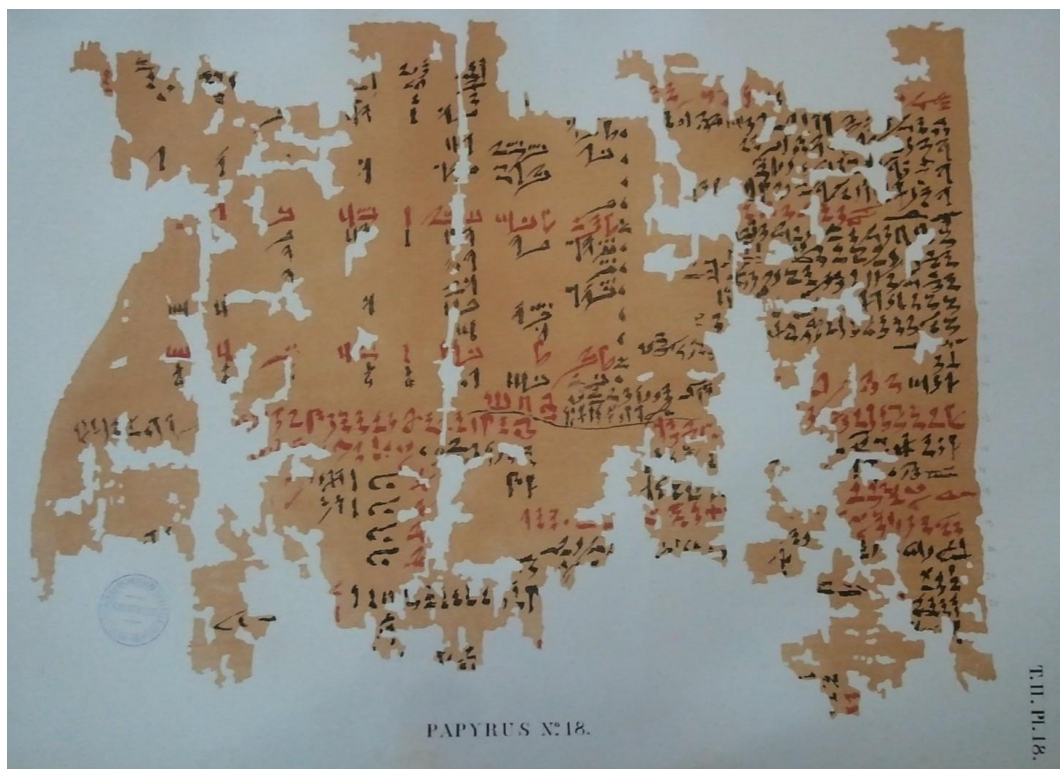


Fig. 19 Papyrus Boulaq 18. Column 12. Balance sheet. After Mariette 1872, pl. 18

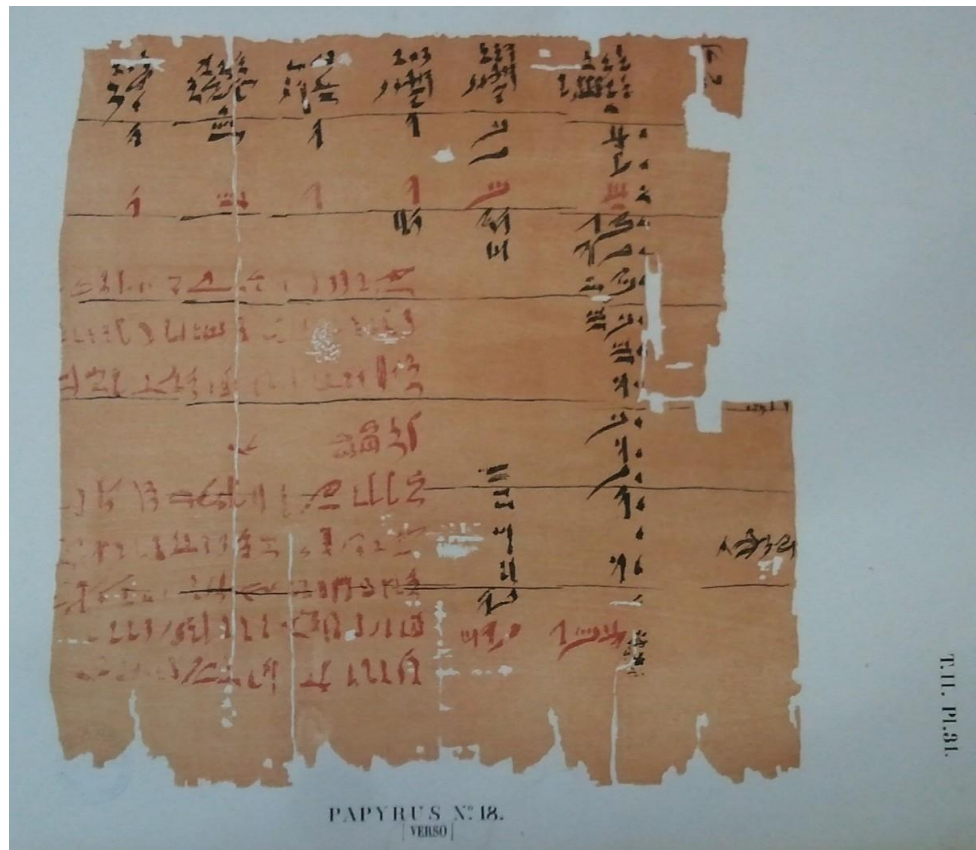


Fig. 20 Papyrus Boulaq 18 column 51. Black horizontal guidelines dividing the data. After Mariette 1872, pl. 31

4.2.1 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226¹²⁸

Papyrus E. 3226 is an account document belonging to the reign of Thutmose III. The papyrus counts 61 pages and deals with the accounting transactions and the delivery of grain and dates to two parallel teams of workmen made over seven years (years 28-35 of Thutmose III). The recall to the two “sides” of the gang of workmen in Deir el-Medina is clear.

The document actually consists of two large pieces (called fragment A and fragment B) measuring 2.21 and 2.23 metres respectively. They both belonged to the same roll which probably comes from Thebes.

In the accounts, there are two main elements: the **lists** of deliveries (analysis, classification and recording of data), and the **balances** of the accounts (the synthesis).

All four texts present a simple and homogeneous appearance and the transactions recorded follow a clear chronological order. Each page contains a limited number of lines

¹²⁸ For an overview of the document see Megally 1971a-b and Megally 1977a-b.

and the space is never overloaded. This clarity facilitates verifying the accounts and reading them easily. The accounts are both concise and complete.

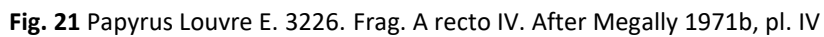
Normally, an account is started on a new page and usually has the following characteristics: the full date with the year in black and the month and the day in red; the opening formula (*rdyt hr-s3 ḥsb* and *šsp hr-s3 ḥsb*= “what has been given after the account” and “what has been received after account”); the statement of the nature of the delivery (grain or dates); the units of measure.

The balances of the accounts, which follow the transactions, provide a summary of all the accounts of the said period, and give the precise results. The balances are generally started on a new page detached from the body of the accounts for the sake of clarity.

Megally hypothesizes (1977b, Conclusions) that to develop this set of accounts, the accounting person probably had to use other documents: brief accounting documents (e.g. ostraca) on which he noted one or more transactions; some sort of journal where all daily transactions were recorded. From these documents, he could establish the accounts included in this papyrus. Indeed, if we look at the layout of the document, very neat and clear, we can imagine it was copied from a previous draft, even if mistakes and corrections are still present in the text.

Below, some examples of the accounts:

- Recto VII: account of date suppliers from the year 29 until year 31.



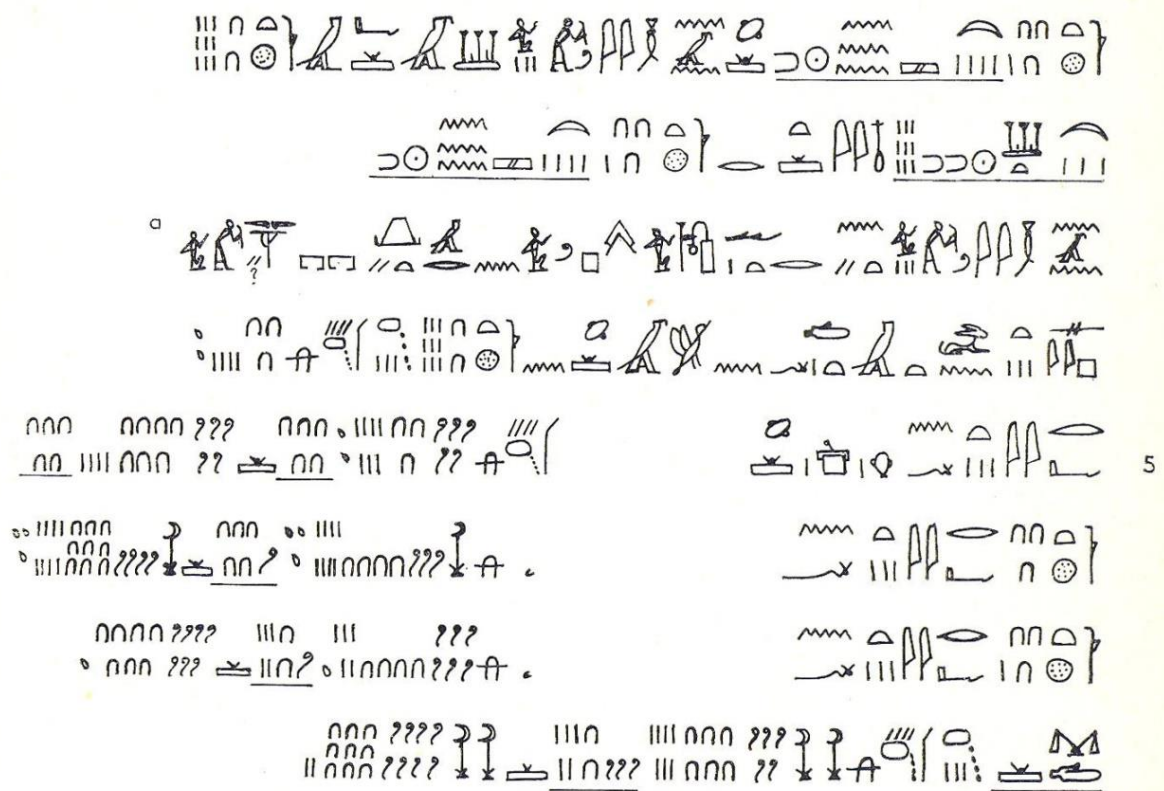


Fig. 22 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226. Frag. A recto VII. After Megally 1971b, pl. VII

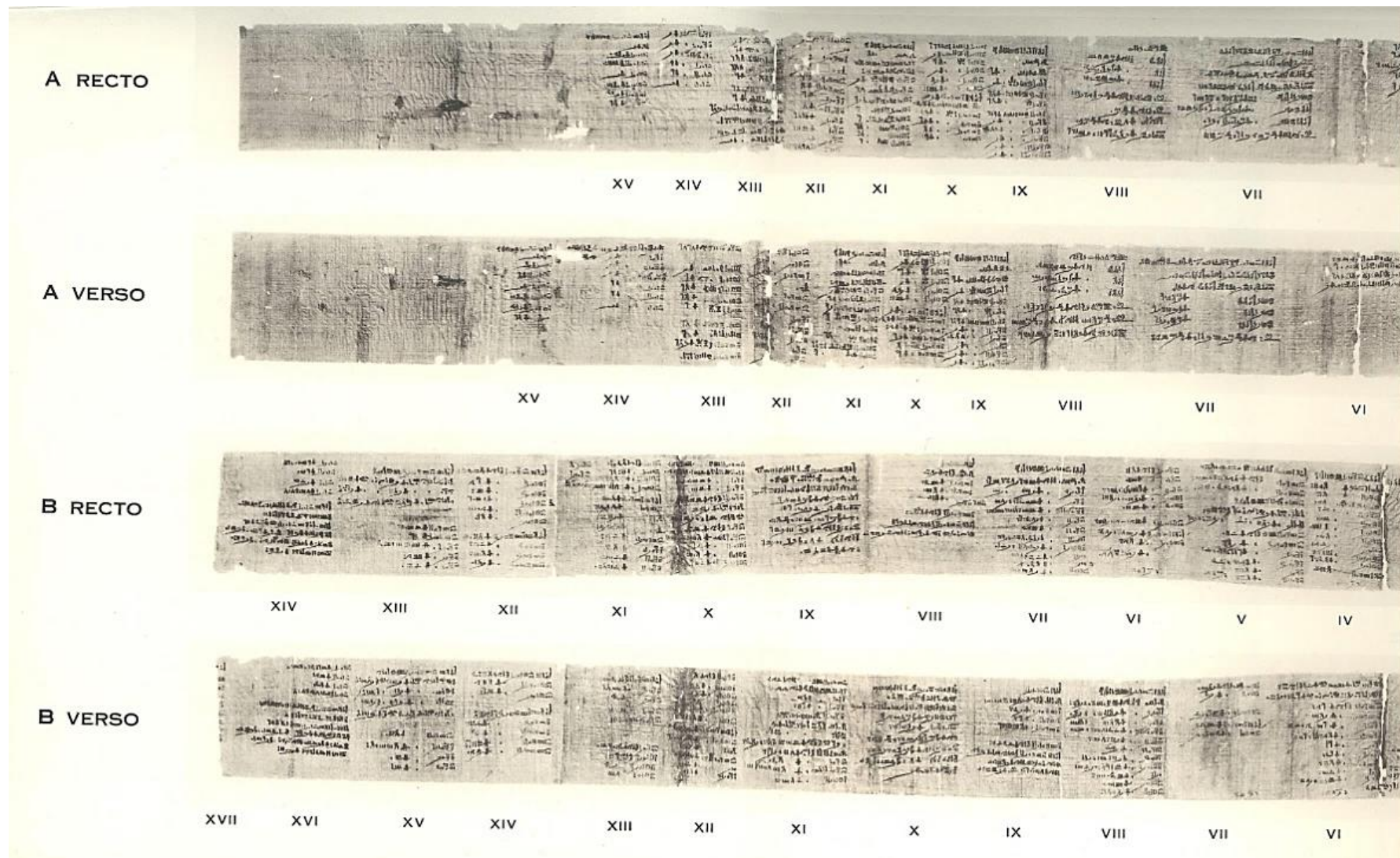


Fig. 23 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226. General plan, left part of Megally's plate. After Megally 1971b, pl. LXIIa

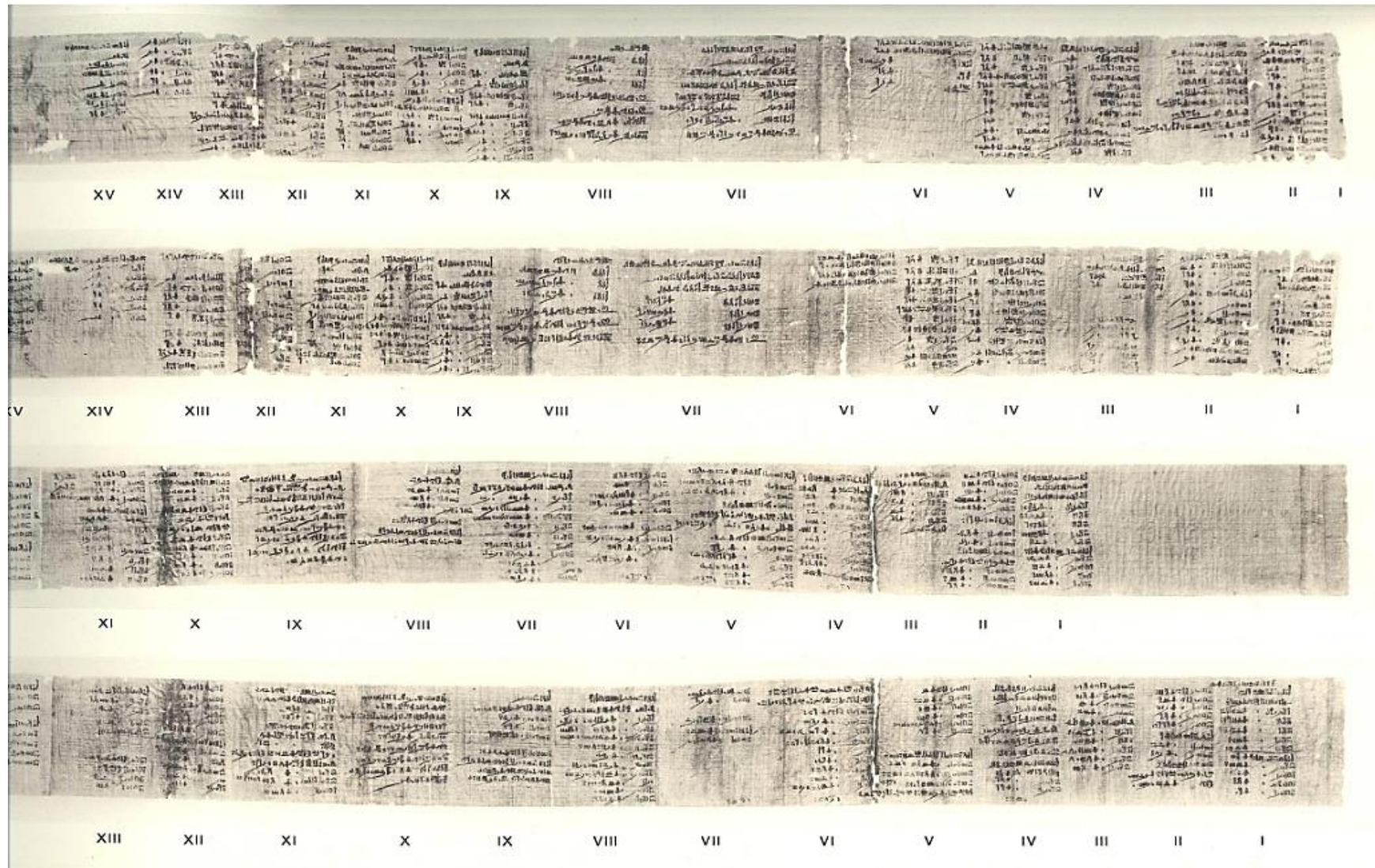


Fig. 24 Papyrus Louvre E. 3226. General plan, right part of Megally's plate. After Megally 1971b, pl. LXIb

4.2.m The Annals of Thutmose III¹²⁹

These records mainly derive from entries in a day-book kept during the campaigns and from a leather role preserved within the temple of Amun¹³⁰. The name of these texts is in fact poorly chosen, because they do not represent annals in the strict sense as “yearly records of memorable events”¹³¹. Rather, they are almost all summaries of annual military campaigns to Syria-Palestine during some twenty regnal years of this monarch. These summaries only contain the main goal of the campaign and the most important results in terms of victories and booty. Yet, the record of the first campaign is an exception because this is introduced by a brief war diary, beginning with the starting date: “Year 22, month IV of Peret, day 25. His Majesty crossed the (border) fortress of Tjaru on the first campaign of victory, to overthrow that vile enemy and to extend the boundaries of Egypt in accordance with the command of his father Amen-Re” (Urk. IV, 647). Then follow dated notes recording on year 23, month I of Shemu, day 3 the coronation day spent in Gaza, day 5 departure from Gaza, day 16 war council in *Ṭḥm*, day 19 reaching the city of Aruna, and finally day 21 the battle of Megiddo. After this short series of dated events follow lists of booty.

The texts of the Annals are located behind the Sixth Pylon on the inside walls of the chamber housing the “holy of holies” and known as the “Annals room” at the great Karnak Temple and the room measures 25 metres in length and 12 metres wide. The style is clear and succinct, in third-person narration; the main source of information for the Annals were military field reports (*hrwy t nt mšꜥ*) that were systematically kept from day-to-day.

General structure of the annals:

- An opening section is common to all the year sections in the form: “Lo, his majesty was in X upon his Y campaign of *nḥtw*”. Where X is a foreign land and Y the number of the campaign.
- The day-book summaries.
- The list for the complete year.

¹²⁹ See Grapow 1949, Spalinger 1977 and Redford 2003.

¹³⁰ Allusion within the Annals (Col. 94) refers to this original document.

¹³¹ See also Grapow 1949, 7: “Diese von uns “Annalen” genannten Texte sind eben offenbar im ägyptischen Sinne keine “Annalen”, keine *gnw.t*: die Nichtanwendung dieser Bezeichnung wird schon ihren guten Grund haben”.



Fig. 25 Thutmose III Annals, cols. 1-13, the beginning of the first campaign. After Redford 2003, fig. 1

Somewhat similar to the annals of Thutmose III is an embedded annalistic text on two stelae of his successor Amenhotep II¹³². One stela was found in Memphis and the other in Karnak. The text contains the record of the first and second campaigns of this king in Syria¹³³. The main attention is focussed on the personal exploits of the Pharaoh himself, as in the later campaign records of Sethi I, Ramesses II and Ramesses III (Libyan Wars) which have much in common with earlier Annals.

¹³² See Urk. IV, 1302.1–5 and 1310.10–16.

¹³³ Van Seters 1997, 150-151

4.2.n The Papyri Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B

The papyri were acquired in Egypt in the late 19th century by Charles E. Wilbour and given to the Brooklyn Museum in 1935 by his daughter. Their provenance is unfortunately unknown. They can be dated to the late 18th Dynasty, or, according to Condon, to the Amarna period, in view of the personal names composed with the element Aten¹³⁴. Janssen prefers a date in the early 19th Dynasty¹³⁵.

The text of fragment A contains a kind of ship's log or day-book with dated entries, names of ports and lists of women, with their parents and the indication of their origin, followed by specific quantities of products (mainly garments and honey). According to Condon the text may record the distribution of payments by a temple to temple-workers, in the form of rations¹³⁶. Janssen thinks that the text concerns the journey of a ship along the river, travelling from port to port collecting goods from retail dealers¹³⁷. The lay-out of the document is arranged in horizontal lines without a grid or dividing lines.

The use of red ink is reduced and has a more effective role in the distinction of accounting transactions. Red ink is indeed used to indicate "delivery", dates and numbers when they are used to indicate the *hin* as a measure of honey. The text of fragment B only preserves a date where the delivery and income of certain quantities of products are recorded. Red ink is here used only for the date, "arrival", "deficit" and never for the quantities.

¹³⁴ Condon 1984, 57.

¹³⁵ For a wider discussion about the disagreement on the contents and dating of the documents, see Janssen 1985 and Condon 1986.

¹³⁶ Condon 1984, 58.

¹³⁷ Janssen 1985.

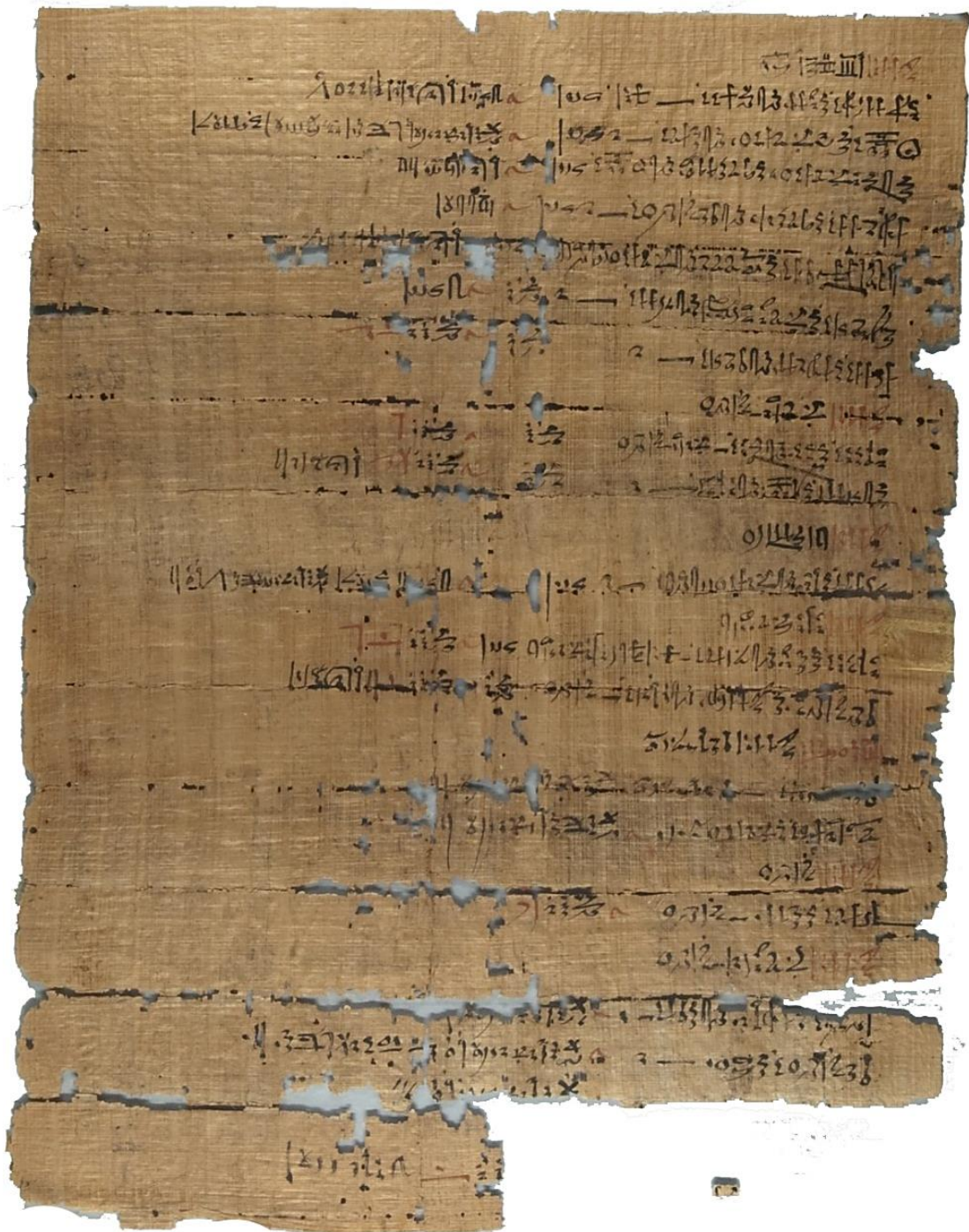


Fig. 26 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 A recto, after

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/45059/Fragment>

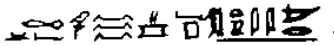
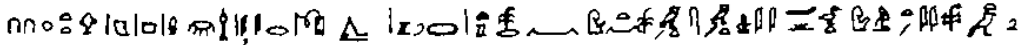
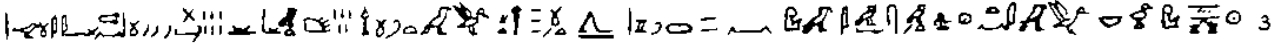
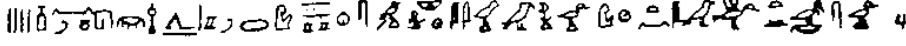
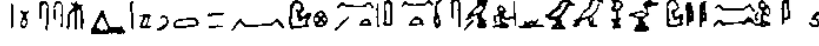
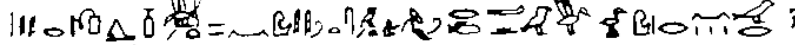
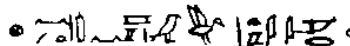
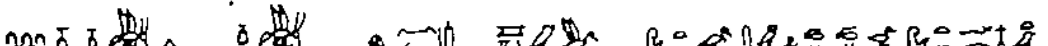
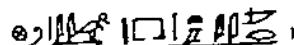
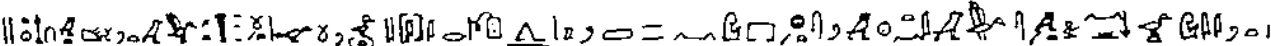
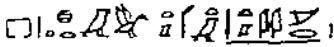
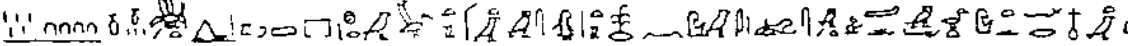
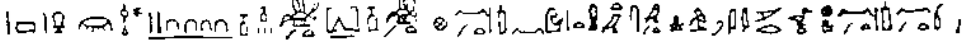
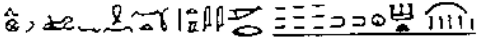
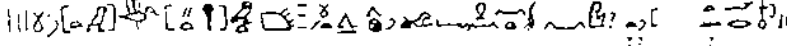
1  1
 2  2
 3  3
 4  4
 5  5
 6  6
 7  7
 8  8
 9  9
 10  10
 11  11
 12  12
 13  13
 14  14
 15  15
 16  16
 17  17
 18  18

Fig. 27 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 A recto, after Condon 1984, 60-61

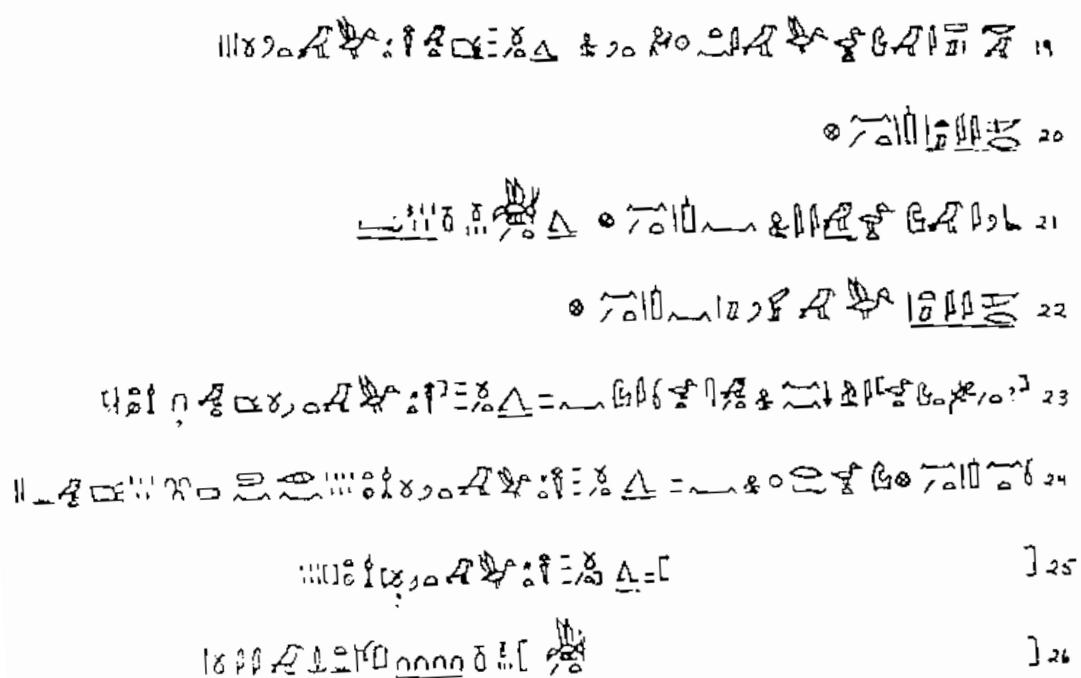


Fig. 28 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 A recto, after Condon 1984, 62

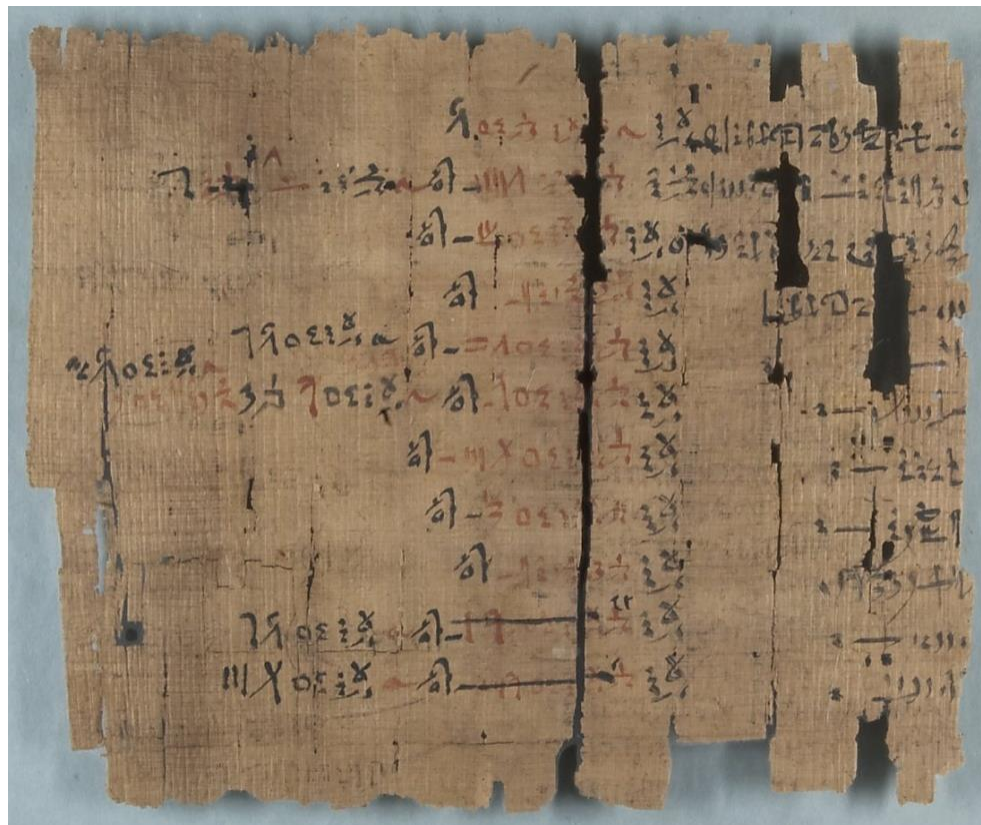


Fig. 29 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 B recto, after

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/45059/Fragment>

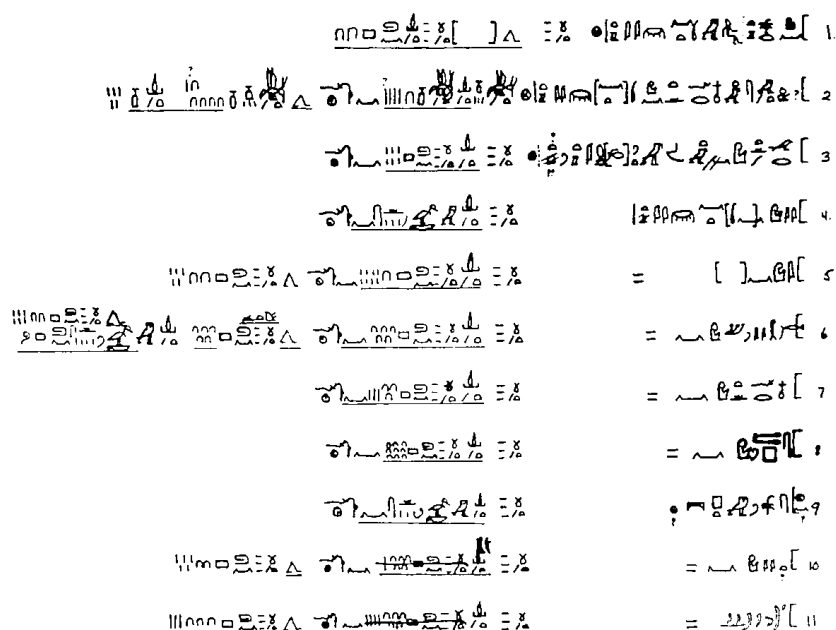


Fig. 30 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1453 B recto, after Condon 1984, 77

4.2.o The Rollin Papyri (accounts of Sethi I)¹³⁸

The Rollin papyri are kept in the Collection des Monuments égyptiens of the National Library in Paris. They contain accounts of wood (papyrus Rollin 1882 and 1883), grain, flour and bread provided for the supply of one of the residences of Sethi I. The Rollin Papyri are numbered from 1882 to 1889 and they all contain administrative matters, except numbers 1887 and 1888, which contain a hymn and a legal document, respectively.

From the following illustrations, we can see that the layout of the documents is simplified: abandoning the use of grids and only notation in horizontal lines makes reading the pages easier. The use of red ink is not excessive and has a more effective role in the distinction of accounting transactions. The accounts are no longer bristled with titles, subtitles and tracks marked in red.

- **Papyrus Rollin 1884** (Pleyte 1868 Pl. V-IX) year 2 of Sethi I: the text concerns an account of people with the title “baker”. The lists of accounts begin with the

¹³⁸ See Chabas 1869, Eisenlohr 1897, Pleyte 1868 and Spiegelberg 1896.

name of the baker and the quantity of flour delivered and, perhaps, the bread produced(?).

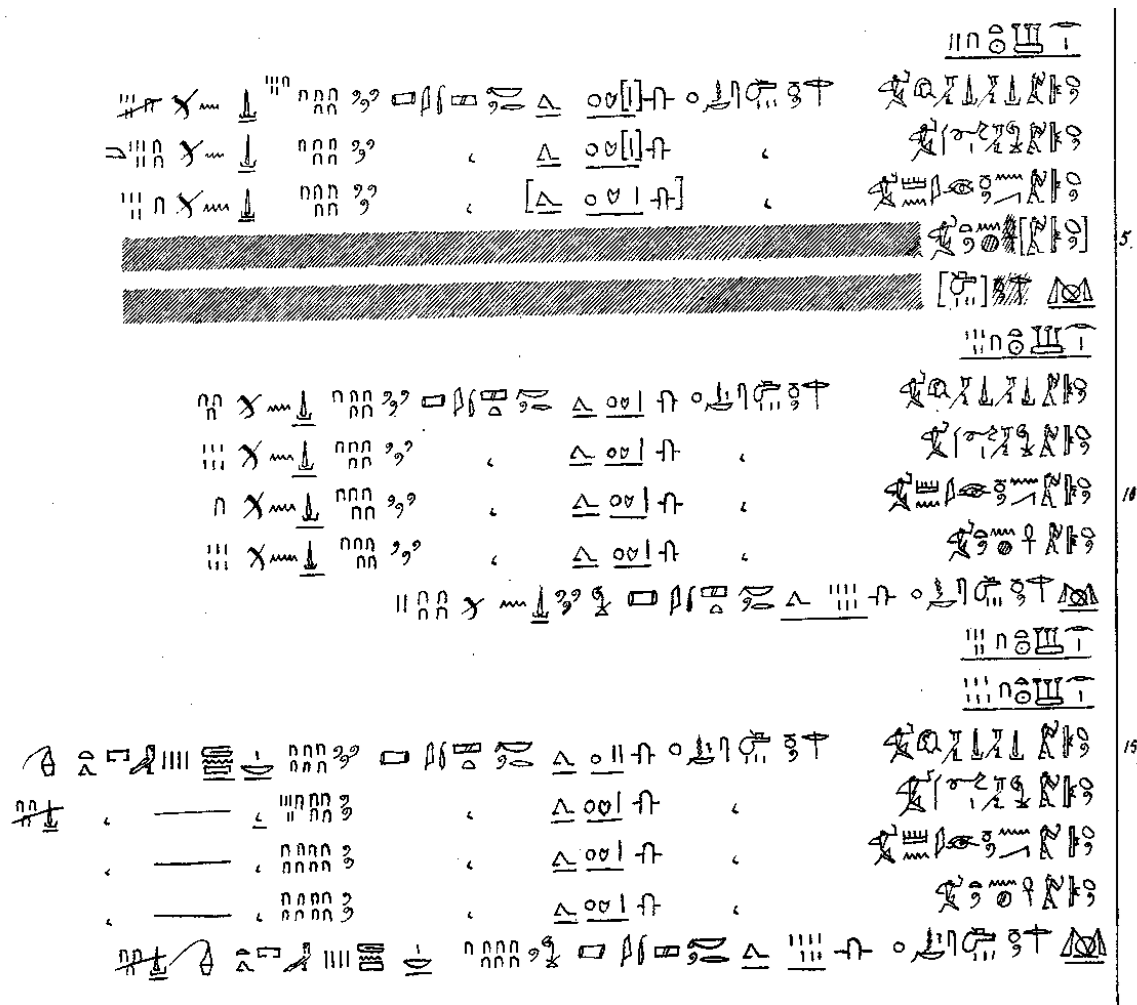


Fig. 31 Papyrus Rollin 1884. After Spiegelberg 1896, pl. VIIa, corresponding to Pleyte 1868 Pl. VII

- **Papyrus Rollin 1885** (Pleyte 1868 Pl. X-XIV) year 2 of Sethi I: the document is composed of two sheets, 1885A and 1885B. The first contains three columns of which the first notes the number of *kršt* loaves received in the storage area by different scribes on several dates. We find here the indication of the month and the day and then “received in the magazine of the palace from the scribe X” and the quantity of loaves stored. Then follows the account of receipt from the bakers, first (Pl. XII) of large loaves, then of large (XIII, 3) and small loaves (XIII, 4-23; X) in the storage area of the royal court.
- **Papyrus Rollin 1886** (not in Pleyte 1868) year 3 of Sethi I: a small fragment which does not contain baking accounts but the account of amounts of poultry supplied to the court of Sethi I by the scribe Pai.

- **Papyrus 1889** (Pleyte 1868 Pl. XVII-XX) year 2 of Sethi I: the text contains dated accounts of grain and flour and the distribution of flour to the bakers.

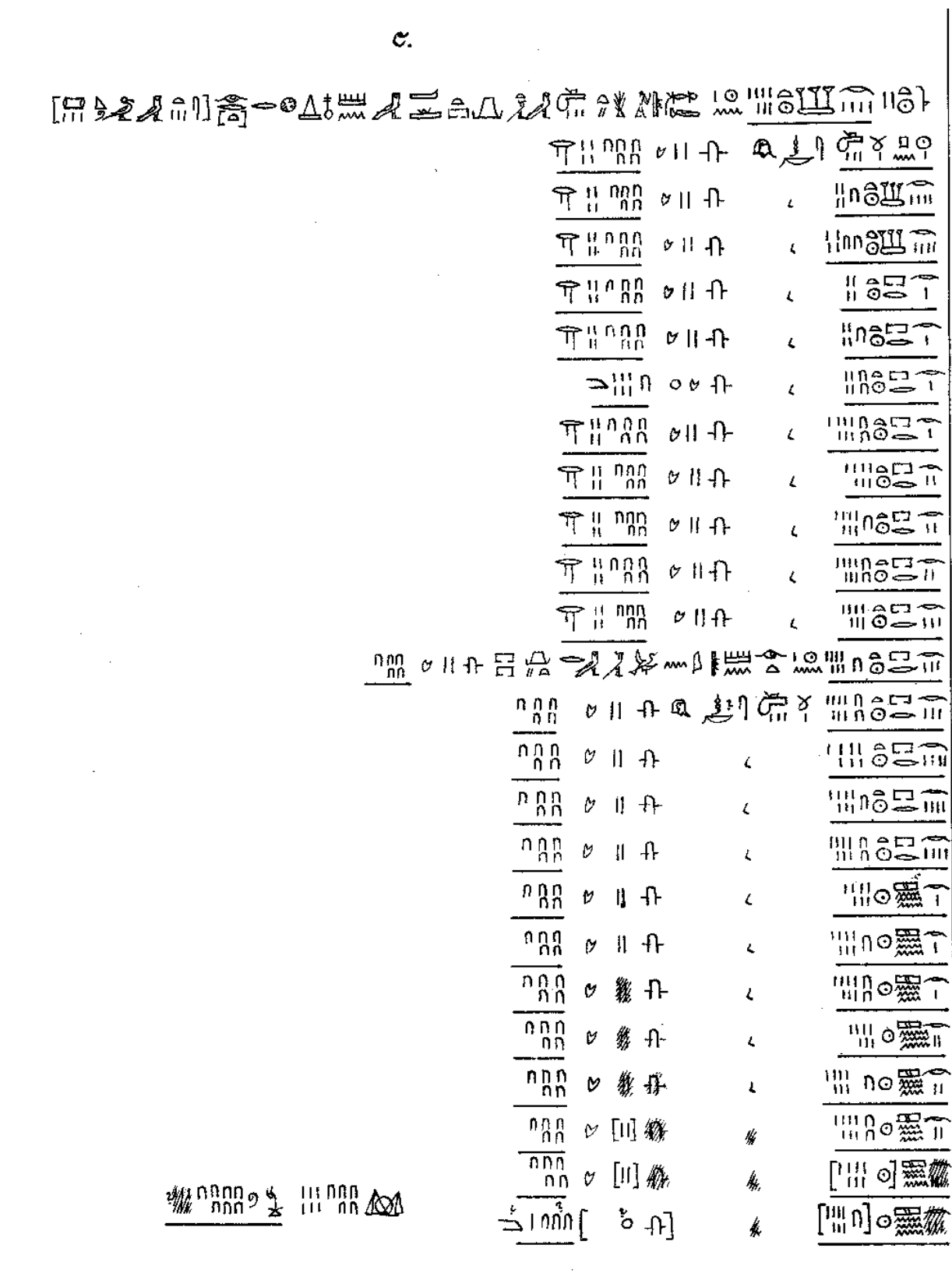


Fig. 32 Papyrus 1889. After Spiegelberg 1896, Pl. IVb, corresponding to Pleyte 1868 Pl. XVII-XX

4.2.p The Ship's log of Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016¹³⁹

Two papyri from the Ramesside Period contain daily records on the journey of a ship.

PAPYRUS LEIDEN I 350 VERSO

Papyrus Leiden I 350 is part of the large collection of Giovanni Anastasi acquired in 1829 for the National Museum of Antiquities. The *recto* of the papyrus contains a Hymn to Amun. The *verso*, however, was used by a scribe to make daily notes about the events aboard a ship: a ship's log.

The document measures 89x38 cm and the text is arranged over six rather small columns. It is dated to year 52 of Ramesses II and probably comes from Memphis. The writing is cursive and very difficult to read because of the many ligatures (combinations of signs). According to Janssen 1961, 4-5 *"[The scribe] intended to make a copy in uncial script when the journey was finished, and these were only his working notes, and if so this would explain why he used the verso of a papyrus with a religious text and once even wrote in between the lines of it (col. V, 21)"*.

The text concerns the daily rations of food distributed to the crew of the ship, from II *prt*, day 25, to III *prt*, day 4.

¹³⁹ See Janssen 1961.

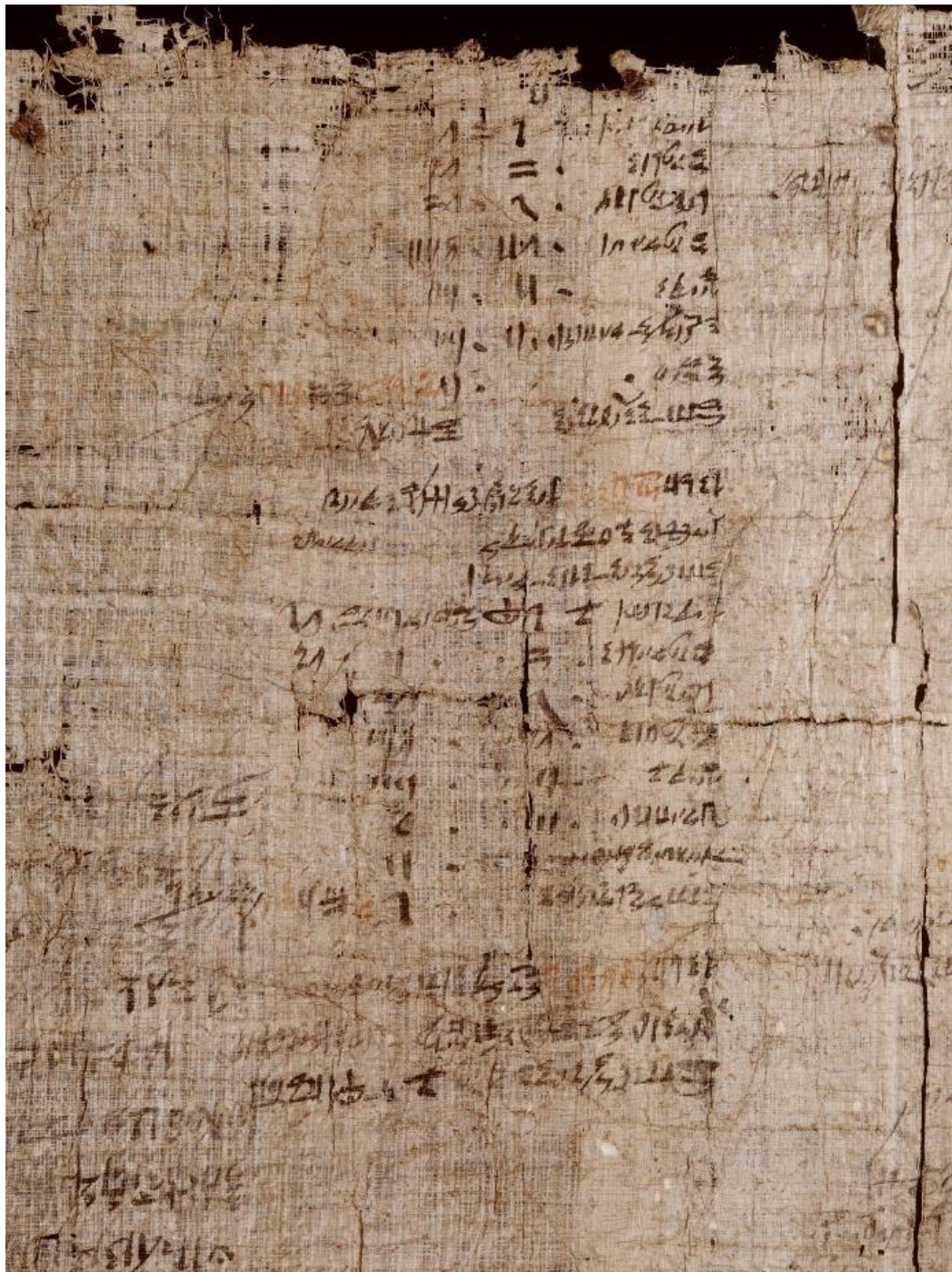


Fig. 33 Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso, detail of col V. After www.rmo.nl/collectie/

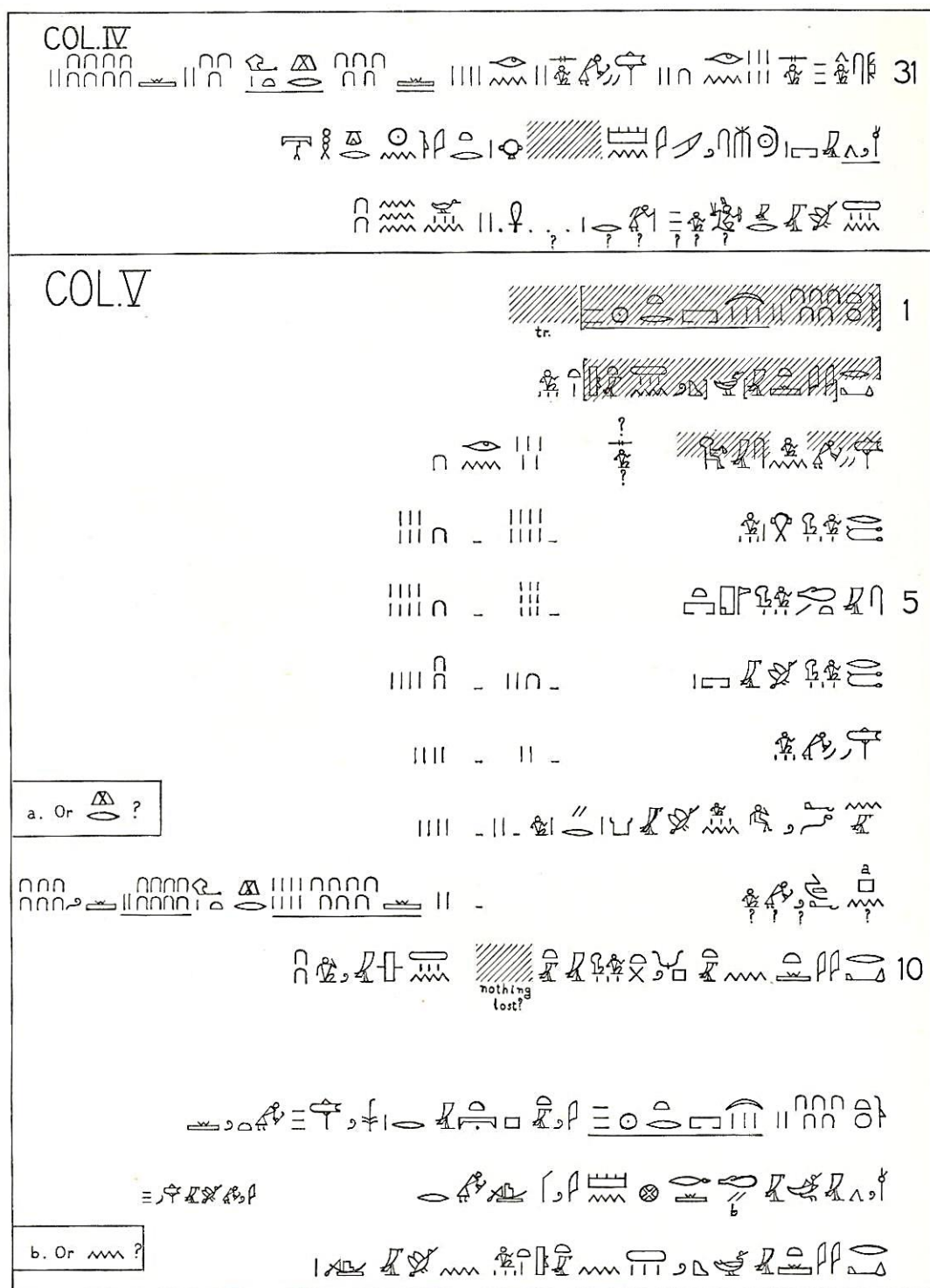


Fig. 34 Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso, detail. After Janssen 1961

Following each date first details about the wind and the movement of the ship are mentioned. The members of the crew are always listed in four categories: the people of the regiment, the personnel of the temple, the sailors, and the people of the house (of prince Ramesse). Red ink is used in the dates, in the headings of the *inw*-entries and in the calculations of the daily rations. Different from the rations of the artisans in Deir el-

Medina, the crew of this ship mainly receives a daily bread ration (but it could also be that other deliveries were noted on other documents that have not yet been discovered or that haven't been preserved, or that other goods were delivered before the departure to each crew member).

PAPYRUS TURIN 2008+2016

The exact provenance of this papyrus is unknown. It was bought, together with other papyri from the collection of Drovetti, in 1824 by the king of Sardinia for the Museum in Turin.

Both on the *recto* and the *verso*, three columns remain. Originally the roll was longer than it is now; the measurements of the papyrus in its present conditions are 45x38 cm. *Recto* and *verso* are written by the same hand. The writing has a very cursive character. Also here, red ink is always used to indicate month and day and sometimes for the words *hrw n*, *h3w*, and *mn*. The dating of the text is still under discussion. The text concerns the same subject as Papyrus Leiden I, 350: transport of goods and the daily rations of food to the crew of the ship.

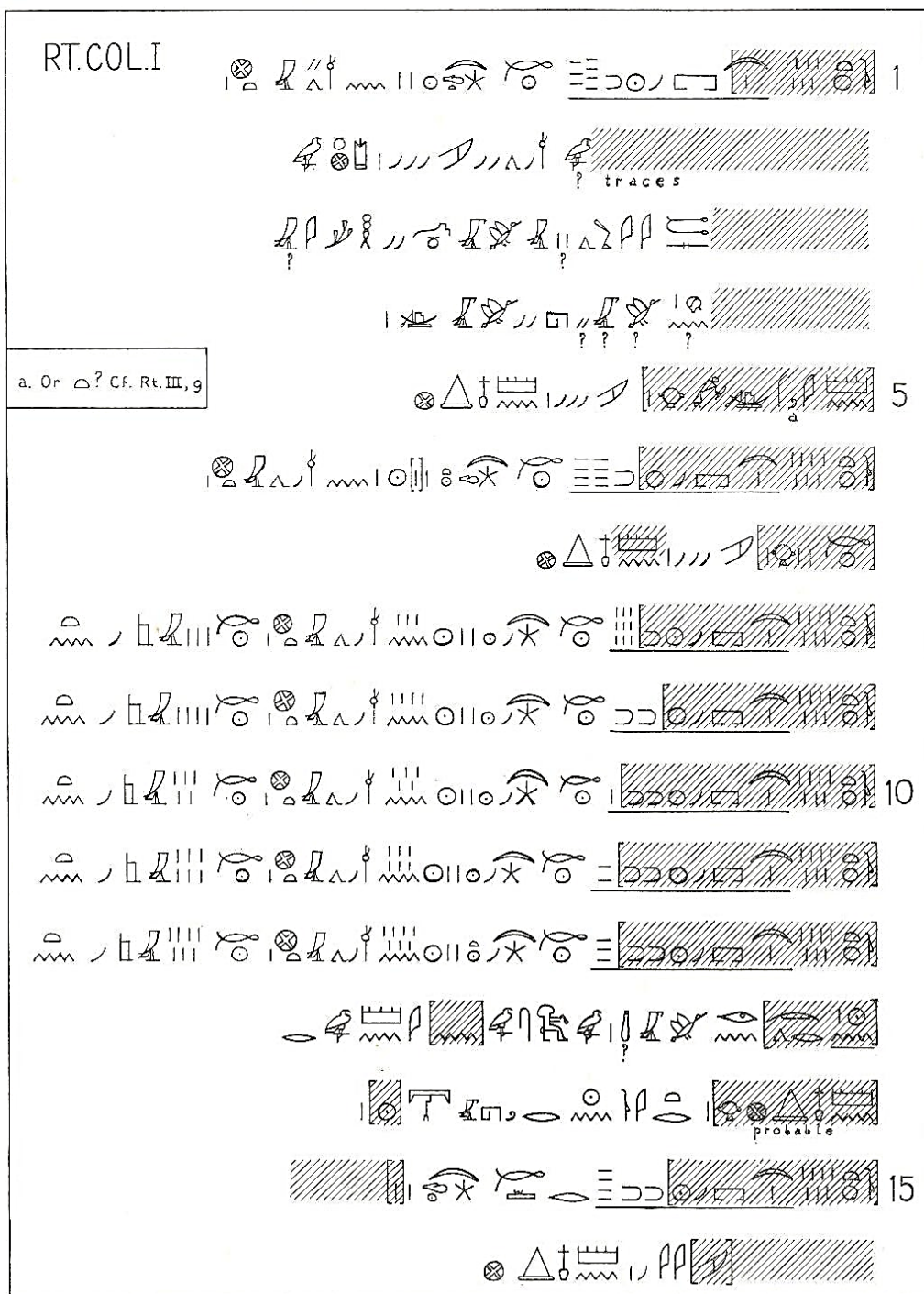


Fig. 35 Papyrus Turin 2008+2016 recto, details. After Janssen 1961

The text on the *recto* is a straightforward ship's log, noting the daily progress of the boat since its departure. Seeing that the *verso*, which is clearly by the same hand as the *recto*, begins with a list of the "freight which is in the boat of the high priest of Amun", it would seem a fairly safe assumption that we are dealing with the same ship's log. The document is dated to year 7 of an unknown king (it was probably written in the title, now lost). The ship was on a voyage, which, in part at least, had a commercial goal.

Both texts record the transport of different kinds of goods. Papyrus Turin 2008+2016 contains a list of the cargo of the ship (verso col. I), which shows that this consisted of a great variety of foodstuffs and materials, while for papyrus Leiden I 350 verso, such a list is not available, even if from the *inw*-entries we may conclude that the cargo of the ship was similar. The “Turin ship” was concerned with the trading of garments, the “Leiden ship” with the collection and distribution of food.

4.2.g Tomb construction journal of Saggara¹⁴⁰

Papyri JE 52002, JE 52003, JE 52004 and MMA 3569 + Vienna 3934/3937 + 9352 concern the details of a tomb construction project at Saqqara, a report drawn up by the scribe Buqentef, responsible for the construction of the funeral monument for a high functionary in the years 15-16 of Ramesses III, May. The papyri that are now in Cairo (JE 52002-3-4) were found in 1927 by Cecile Firth in one of the smaller rooms in the mastaba of the 6th Dynasty vizier Ni'ankhba, along the north side of the Unas causeway at Saqqara, while for the other two, now in Vienna and New York, the provenance is unknown.

The papyri preserve the daily notes of the construction project, recording everything from Buqentef's initial arrival at Memphis and his delivery of the necessary documents and permits, to his assembly of a crew of workers, and then the gradual progress of the building work. The scribe writes these daily notes starting with year 15, IV month of *pr.t* day 6 and they cover about eight months. He introduces the notes with a heading: *“Document [r-^c-sš.w] of all the commissioned works which are to be executed on the construction site of the Place of Eternity (i.e. the tomb) of the royal scribe and general May, which is being made to the west of Memphis by the workmen under the authority of the scribe Buqentef”* (line 4 of JE 52002, recto, see fig. below).

¹⁴⁰ See: KRI VII, 263: 4-273: 7; Posener-Kriéger 1981, 47-58; Posener-Kriéger 1996, 655-664; Van Dijk 1993, 24-25; Demarée 2008, 7-10; Hagen 2016, 155-181.

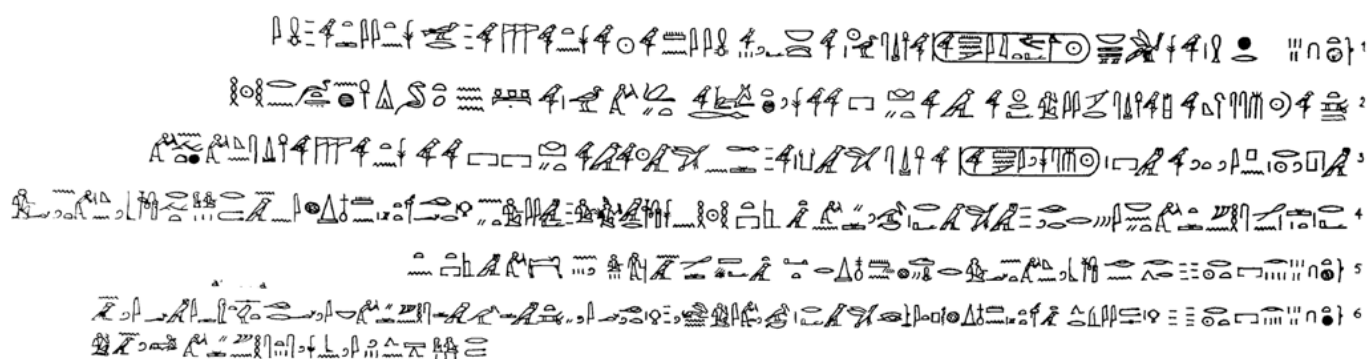


Fig. 36 Part of papyrus JE 52002, recto. After Posener-Kriéger 1981, 48

4.3 Similarities and differences

The first and main research question of this study is to **determine whether the notes of the so-called *journals* would be considered as such according to the ancient Egyptian point of view**, i.e., if the concept of a Necropolis journal existed. To this end, the concept of journal in a broader Egyptian perspective has therefore been researched. Now, this material will be examined in order to **identify common features and differences between these records and the so-called Necropolis journal** and to **draw conclusions in the form of criteria to identify a Necropolis journal**.

A first observation we can make is that, amongst the documents discussed in this chapter, we can distinguish three main types:

- **Annals**

In the annals, engraved on stone, the regnal years of each ruler are listed, plus important events occurred during these reigns, like the height of the Nile flood, festivals, etc. This information is formatted as a chronological **table** in which each year, designated by a separate compartment, begins on New Year's Day, the first day of the first month of the inundation (Palermo Stone and South Saqqara Stone). Mostly they use the typical formula *nswt-bity* + cartouche + *jr.n=f m mnw=f n* and the typical narrative infinitive. With the annals of Amenemhat II, the chronological arrangement of the events is presented in **columns**, with the upper boundary probably forming a horizontal line with the name of the ruler. The Annals of Thutmose III, also in **columns**, include an exception, because the records of the first

campaign are introduced by a brief war diary with a short series of dated events in years 22 and 23.

- **Account journals**

Account journals, all written on papyrus, are those documents which usually record monthly or daily deliveries, working lists, inventories, registers of income and expenses, list of objects or products, etc. They are either organized in **grids** with a strong geometric appearance (some of the documents of Wadi el-Jarf papyri, Gebelein Papyri, Abusir Papyri), or arranged in tabular form with **horizontal ruled lines** (Reisner Papyri, Illahun archives, Papyrus Boulaq 18, Papyrus Louvre E. 3226, Rollin Papyri).

- **Event journals**

Event journals, also only written on papyrus, record series of daily activities which can be very different, like a ships' log (Wadi el-Jarf papyri ships' log, Papyri Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B, Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016), a border journal (Semna dispatches), a diary of the scribe of the revenue department (Middle Kingdom Tax Assessor's Day-book), or a tomb construction journal (Papyri JE 52002, JE 52003, JE 52004 and MMA 3569 + Vienna 3934/3937+ 9352). The arrangement of the data is in **horizontal** lines, except for the ship's log of Wadi el-Jarf (the oldest document) which is in **columns**: below a short horizontal line indicating each day, two vertical columns contain the progress report about the activity of the crew on that specific day.

The distinction between account journals and event journals must be stressed, since this aspect is of primary importance in order to understand our Deir el-Medina texts. Account journals are all those day-to-day notes that record mainly **lists** (of food deliveries, tools, income and expenditure), while event journals register the **activities**, the events happening. **Both** record these notes daily, in a mostly respected **chronological order**, and both are journals, nonetheless they describe different aspects.

The main point in our working definition of *journal* (see Introduction) is that a Necropolis journal should present a series of day-to-day entries recording events. we will therefore concentrate on event journals. Amongst the selected material the texts more similar to Deir el-Medina journal are those recording activities, the event

journals (Wadi el-Jarf papyri¹⁴¹ and other ship's logs, the Middle Kingdom Tax Assessor's Day-book, and the tomb construction journal of Saqqara), and it is therefore here that we have to look more closely for the features that will allow us to formulate precise criteria.

A further feature observed, which might not be immediately relevant to the notion of 'journal', is the gradual change in time in the format of the recording technique of the selected material of this chapter, from the presence of grids to the reduction to guidelines and finally their absence. Although this is a feature observed in the documents earlier than the Necropolis journal of Deir el-Medina, it deserves attention. This background might be the base for the brief and concise style and the use of recurrent formulas found in the Deir el-Medina journals, and it is therefore useful to summarize here its development.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RECORDING TECHNIQUES IN ANCIENT EGYPT:

From the overview of documents such as annals and day-books presented, it is clear that during the **Old Kingdom**, data were mostly included in **grids composed of horizontal and vertical lines**, and written in red or black ink. This documentation is dominated by an analytical attitude and by a purely geometric appearance resembling the offering lists as for example in the Palermo Stone, where the text formatted as a table shows how this analytical mindset was present since the beginning of Egyptian history, and in the Abusir Papyri and the Gebelein Papyrus III recto, where the accounts have been arranged within a grid. The accounts of the Wadi el-Jarf papyri are also organized in grids, whereas the ships' log is recorded in columns, with the indication of the day at the top of the page horizontally, and below it two columns registering the events. In the following periods, in the administrative texts written on papyrus we can observe a gradual change in the pattern, an evolution from a layout in columns to one in horizontal lines. Religious texts, literary texts and letters show a different development. Most of the first category (on papyrus, wood or linen, like Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, Amduat, etcetera) continue to be written in the old pattern, with headings in horizontal lines and text in columns below. Literary texts and letters were also written in vertical lines until the end of the Middle Kingdom.

The layout of texts on stone follows instead a different pattern. Early texts like the Pyramid Texts are arranged in columns, as also the royal decrees (texts containing royal

¹⁴¹ For the category of documents containing the ships' log that records the progress report corresponding to the activity of the crew on that specific day.

commands, *wḏ-nswt*¹⁴², written with an introductory horizontal line and a series of vertical columns below this). In temple texts and many other texts on stone this pattern is preserved until the very end of the Egyptian history¹⁴³.

Another typical feature observed in the Old Kingdom documents presented, is that **red ink was used extensively** in texts written on papyri. In the various monthly tables, a single or double red line separates the spaces in which the headings of the tables were entered from the spaces allotted to the days of the month. However, the use of red ink is not restricted to the lines of the grids. It is also used in the headings of duty tables, and in the monthly accounts, when specifying the origin or quality of the deliveries. In the inventories, the material from which objects are made may be written in red and also the records of the objects which have been damaged. In the accounts, numerals are written in both red and black. The sums and the total numbers of objects of one kind in the inventories are generally written in red. Instead of clarifying things, this excessive use of red ink results in a rather confusing document (to the modern reader at least).

Throughout the **Middle Kingdom**, this system remained in use, although slightly different: **the grid is gradually reduced** even if labels and sum lines still intersect on a rather large page and **the use of red ink is reduced**. P. Reisner I and III, e.g. include sections arranged in tabular form with the lines closely spaced. Horizontally, ruled lines have been drawn at regular intervals so that usually five lines of text are included in each ruled space. As an aid to the proper alignment of the columns, five vertical lines are also used. The year and its numeral are written in black with the month and day in red. The lines, horizontal and vertical, are used for the obvious purpose of aligning the figures in columns with their respective entries to the right. Also in the Illahun documents, the previous grid is reduced gradually and red ink is not used as much as in the previous period.

Some documents among the Ramesseum Papyri show accounts with ruled lines (e.g. P. Ram. XIII verso: a diary of an embalming process with ruled lines recording in vertical columns 77 consecutive days divided into seven-day periods) as also appear the Middle Kingdom Tax Assessor's Day-book and Papyrus Boulaq 18.

During the **New Kingdom**, the account documents are simplified. We see a gradual **abandonment of grids**, which facilitates reading of the pages. The scribe can now make the most of the surface format of the papyrus, avoiding the need to leave blank spaces and unused spaces within the grids. The **horizontal line** becomes

¹⁴² Vernus 1991, 239 and Vernus 2013.

¹⁴³ In a demotic text on ostrakon (O. Strasbourg D 283) with measures of the daily level of the Nile and dated to 221 BC, the text is arranged in columns organized below a horizontal line (Kaplony-Heckel 2010, 257-260).

standard and the **use of red ink is moderate**. The accounts are no longer bristling with titles, subtitles and tracks marked in red. All this leads to a simplified arrangement. The red ink has a more effective role in the distinction of accounting transactions; its usage is more limited but more effective. For example, in Papyrus Louvre E. 3226 all four texts present a simple and homogeneous appearance and the transactions recorded follow a clear chronological order. Each page contains a limited number of lines and the space is never overloaded. This clarity results in easy reading and verification. The accounts are both concise and complete and the resulting layout of the document is neat and clear. Also in Papyri Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B, even if the content it is still a matter of debate, the grids and the horizontal lines are abandoned, just as in the Rollin Papyri, where the absence of the grids and the use of horizontal lines facilitates reading and red ink is used more moderately.

Finally, in The Ship's logs of Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016 and the tomb construction journal of Saqqara, the daily notes are organized in horizontal lines and red ink is used only in the dates, the headings of the *inw*-entries and in the calculations of the daily rations.

PURPOSE AND FORMAT

After having outlined the development in time of the recording techniques, it is also interesting to investigate if documents that fulfill a similar purpose also follow a similar format. Does the content and the final use of the text determine its format? A first clear distinction we need to mark is between texts inscribed on durable materials (annals like Palermo and South Saqqara stone, the annals of Amenemhat II and those of Thutmose III) and those written on papyrus. The purpose of annals is indeed very different from other kinds of day-books: they record on stone, and narrate to people -probably as a royal propaganda more than as an objective historical record¹⁴⁴-, events which took place under a king's reign, and they are intended to be visible forever. With day-books written on papyrus, instead, we are in front of an administrative process of recording an ongoing project, an activity, where certain information has to be most probably retrievable later on.

Among the day-books written on papyrus listed in this chapter, we can identify four main types according to purpose:

¹⁴⁴ Eyre 1996, 416; Hoffmeier 1993, 291-299.

- 1- Texts accounting the activities of a team of workmen involved in a **construction project** of a temple, a tomb, etc. (papyri of Wadi el-Jarf, Gebelein papyri, Reisner papyri, tomb construction journal of Saqqara). We mostly find here a number of workdays, daily or monthly deliveries of food with amounts, expenditures and remainders. These records may have been prepared for a spending or fiscal department of the Pharaonic government to serve as a supporting document for the expenditure of rations.
- 2- Texts known as **ship's logs** (ships' log of Wadi el-Jarf, Papyri Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B, Ship's log of Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016), recording in chronological order daily movements of ships, the nature of their cargo, crew rations with deliveries and calculations. We know little about where they would have been kept or deposited, or to what extent they would have been consulted after the ships returned home. It seems reasonable to assume that in the case of ships belonging to institutions this would have happened, yet, "what processes of checking and accounting might take place at that stage, remains largely unknowable¹⁴⁵".
- 3- Texts related to the **daily affairs of the temple** or the **granaries** (Abusir Papyri, Illahun archives, Papyrus Louvre E. 3226), including duty rosters, lists of people involved, inventories, registers of income and expenses, records of inspections, a series of notes which were probably required by the central administration, in order to document the daily routine of a temple or a granary.
- 4- Texts dealing with the **expenses of the royal palace** (Papyrus Boulaq 18, Rollin Papyri), consisting mainly of accounts of income and expenditure, with totals and remainders, of the deliveries provided for the supply of the residences.

Observing the four groups here gathered and considering the summary given above on the development of the recording techniques, it is clear that the content and the final use of the text did not necessarily determine its format. We can indeed observe that the format or layout including tables, grids or horizontal guidelines, is only following a chronological development and it is not caused by a different purpose of the document. For example, the accounts found among the papyri of Wadi el-Jarf and those in the Reisner Papyri do not show the same format even if both fulfilled a very similar purpose,

¹⁴⁵ Hagen-Soliman 2018, 130.

the organisation of a work project. In the first, we have both accounts data inserted in a table and a ships' log, while for the second only guidelines are used. It seems therefore that the chronological development observable concerning the format most certainly applies to scribal tradition in general and does not follow the purpose of the texts.

Before proceeding to the next chapter, where the criteria for the selection of the Deir el-Medina Necropolis journals will be listed, the main features of all the analysed documents and the similarities between them and the so-called Necropolis journal will now be presented together in a table for a general summary.

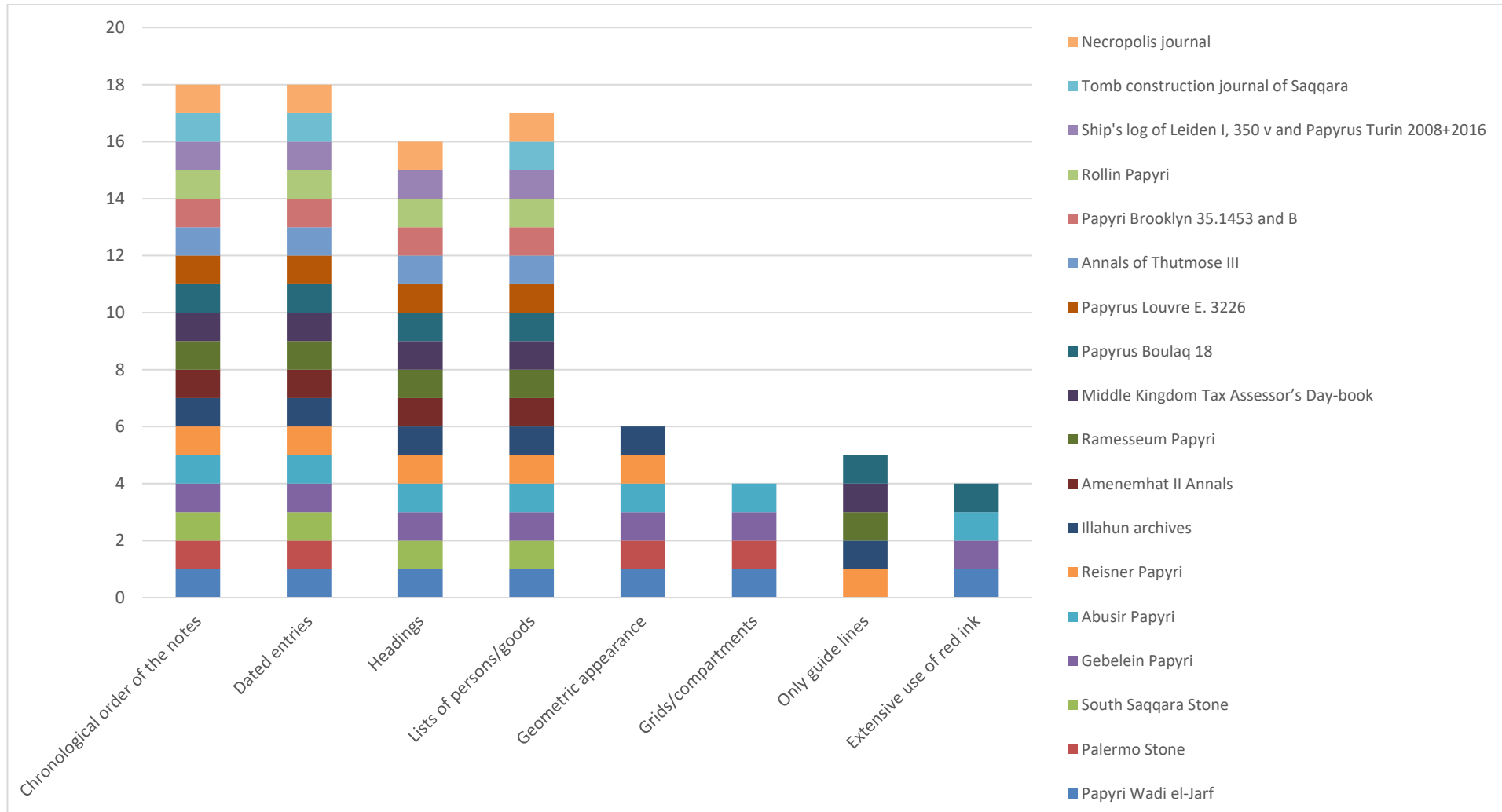
TABLE AND CHART OF THE FEATURES PRESENT IN THE ANNALS AND DAY-BOOKS ANALYZED

FEATURES DOCUMENTS	CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE NOTES ¹⁴⁶	DATED ENTRIES	HEADINGS ¹⁴⁷	LISTS OF PERSONS/GOODS	GEOMETRIC APPEARANCE	GRIDS/ COMPARTMENTS	ONLY GUIDE LINES	EXTENSIVE USE OF RED INK
Papyri of Wadi el-Jarf	X	X	X?	X	X	X		X
Palermo Stone	X	X			X	X		
South Saqqara Stone	X	X	X	X				
Gebelein Papyri	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Abusir Papyri	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Reisner Papyri	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Illahun archives	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Amenemhat II Annals	X	X	X	X				
Ramesseum Papyri	X	X	?	X			X	
Middle Kingdom Tax Assessor's Day-book	X	X	?	X			X	
Papyrus Boulaq 18	X	X	X	X			X	X
Papyrus Louvre E. 3226	X	X	X	X				
Thutmose III Annals	X	X	(partial)	X				
Papyri Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B	X	X	X	X				
Rollin Papyri	X	X	X	X				
Ship's logs of Leiden I 350 v° and of Papyrus Turin 2008+2016	X	X	X	X				
Tomb construction journal of Saqqara	X	X	X	X				
Necropolis journal	X	X	X	X				

From the above table and following bar-chart, it is clear that some changes occurred over the years. The changes were probably due to the development of accounting techniques, with the main features remaining the same over the whole period. As we have seen, the geometric appearance of the layout of the first period, with grids and compartments or horizontal guidelines, gradually disappeared just like the extensive use of red ink in the day-books. What remains the same during the whole period analysed is what can be defined as the main feature: a chronological order of the notes and the inclination to dated entries. This is also the main characteristic of Necropolis journals: a collection of dated notes organised in chronological order, recording a variety of events and activities of an institution.

¹⁴⁶ Yearly or daily.

¹⁴⁷ With the term "headings", we mean title, section or even formula.



Summing up: **what do the different kinds of annals and day-books have in common with the so-called Necropolis journal? What features are similar?**

As can be seen from the table and from the chart, what can be defined as the main feature in common is a **chronological order** of the notes and generally **dated entries**; thus a collection of dated notes organised in chronological order, recording a variety of events and activities of an institution.

In the Necropolis journal, there are different practices: sometimes the year is in black with the month and day in red, sometimes all are in black - which perhaps depended on the whim of the scribe¹⁴⁸.

With respect to the **contents**, what never changes in the course of time is the fact that the notes contain various lists (of persons, food, goods) and events/activities and always include headings, titles for the sections or standardised formulas. The notes can obviously vary depending on the institution that keeps them, but we find a sort of standard form both in the layout and in the syntax. In general, we can say that the day-books and annals of the previous period share the main features with the so-called Necropolis journal and they can therefore be compared.

Concerning the contents, it seems self evident to note that a Necropolis journal is most similar to documents related to activities comparable with the work and necessities of the Deir el-Medina community. The recently discovered administrative papyri of Wadi el-Jarf, for example, with both the monthly account reports of the deliveries and the ships' log recording the activities of the number of workmen operating in the harbour, is most likely very close to the conception of Necropolis journal (a complete publication is not yet available), as are the other ship's logs (Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016) recording the daily notes about the events aboard a ship, the transport of different kinds of goods, and crew rations, recalling the distribution of grains and goods to the workmen of the Village of Deir el-Medina¹⁴⁹.

According to the ancient Egyptian point of view, a journal, with all its variants depending on the institution that produced it, would look like a document which records **a series of events and activities** through chronologically ordered entries. The fact that

¹⁴⁸ Even in the small notes about a few days, the normal *routine* is followed: the date indicating the day and the simple grammatical construction (i. a. see the Strike Papyrus dated to Ramesses III).

¹⁴⁹ It is worth noting that the Taxation Papyrus of the reign of Ramesses XI (P. Turin 1895 + P. Turin 2006) also shows elements of a ship's log.

the word “day” is the base from which the term is derived (both in our language and in ancient Egyptian) underscores the importance of the calendric notation.

On a daily basis, the scribe would first observe the facts of a given situation and then write these down in the form of dated entries. To make it easier to retrieve the notes, he would add headings to entitle each different section. Syntactically, in this type of document defined as “day-book”, there is constant recourse to the “absolute” use of the infinitive¹⁵⁰, i.e. the narrative infinitive, a general brevity of style, a preference for unintroduced prepositional phrases, and the use of recurrent formulas and terms. The common terminology found in annals and day-books is also present in the texts from the Deir el-Medina community (account and event journals).

Here follows a list of the most frequent ones:

FROM EARLIER DOCUMENTS

- *ḥ* quantity, amount, number (Papyri Reisner, Papyrus Boulaq 18)
- *dmḏ* total (Abusir Papyri, Gebelein Papyri, Papyri Reisner, Kahun Papyri, Papyrus Boulaq 18)
- *hry-ḥ* arrears, refers to the remainder to be paid (Abusir Papyri, Kahun Papyri. In the form *hryt-ḥ* in Papyrus Boulaq 18)
- *hsb.w* account
- *im.y-rn=f* name-list
- *ini* to bring (Papyri Reisner)
- *mn* balance due (Papyrus Louvre E 3226, Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso)
- *pr* expenses (Abusir Papyri, Gebelein Papyri, Kahun Papyri, Papyrus Boulaq 18)
- *rht* list, anticipated amount, refers to the quantity that should have been delivered (Abusir Papyri, Gebelein Papyri, Papyri Reisner, Kahun Papyri, Papyrus Boulaq 18)
- *snn* list/account
- *sh3.w* memorandum
- *wd3t* remainder, the rest left after a transaction has been carried out (Abusir Papyri, Gebelein Papyri, Papyri Reisner, Kahun Papyri, Papyrus Boulaq 18, Papyrus Louvre E 3226)

¹⁵⁰Gardiner 1957, §306. The infinitive may be used as the equivalent of a sentence, i.e. as significant and complete in itself. It often occurs in headings, titles and the like.

FROM NECROPOLIS JOURNAL

Some of the most used terms and formulas (not including all the variants):

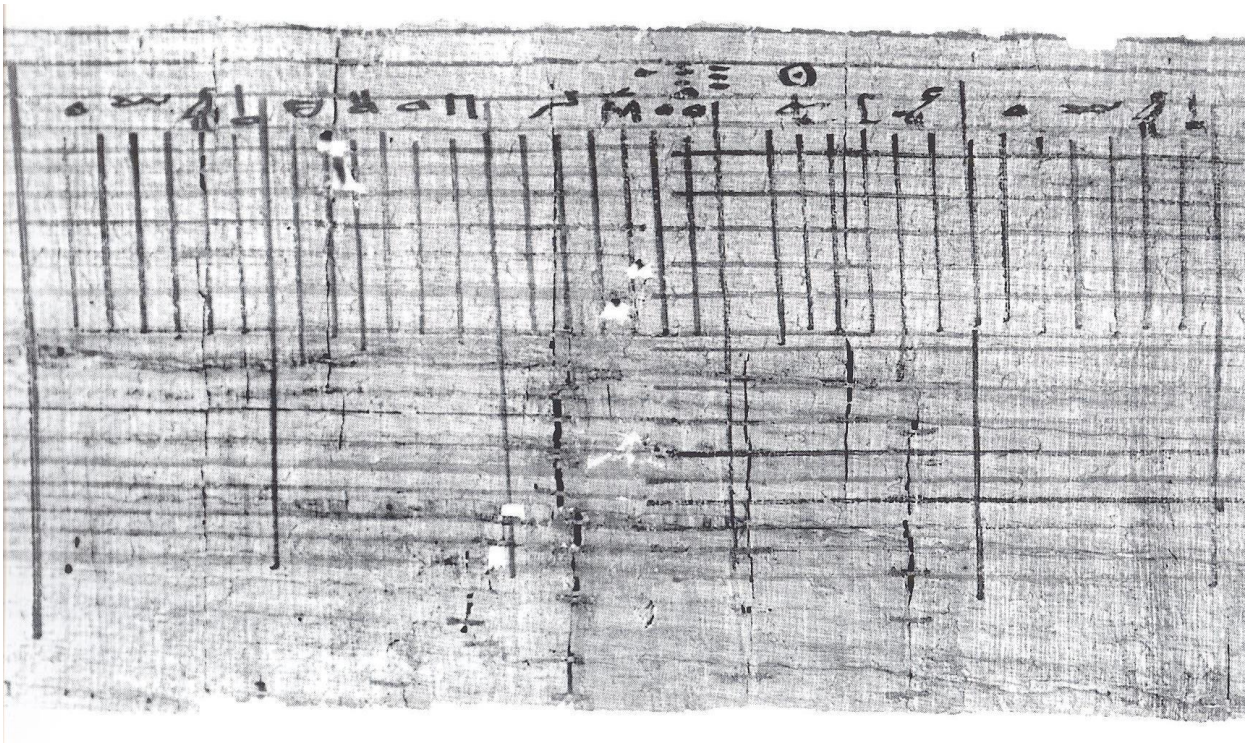
- *ḥ* quantity, amount, number
- *ḥkw* regular supplies
- *bḥkw* when they worked
- date + *šsp m dr.t NN* ...received from NN
- *di.t di.w n 3bd x* giving grain rations of month x
- *diw* indicated the first payment of rations, while *dni* indicated each additional one
- *dmd* total
- *ḥsb.w* account, can be of grain rations, of deliveries of vegetables, etc.
- *ḥtri* deliveries
- *inw* supplementary deliveries
- *im.y-rn=f* name-list
- *ini* to bring
- *iw m dr.t NN* entered from NN, recording deliveries of various commodities
- *mkw* rewards, for special occasions to high authorities consisting of salt, oil, meat, natron, garments, sandals, etc.
- *mn* balance due
- *snn* list/account, series of numbers/calculations; introduces lists of names or series of items and numbers, with calculations of totals and deficits
- *sh3.w* memorandum; used either as checkmark next to journal entries (often in red or larger in size), or used in expressions such as “memorandum/charge concerning”, “memorandum of deficit”, “memorandum of deliveries”
- *wḏ3t* remainder
- *wrš* they were on duty
- *wsf* they did not work

Before concluding this section, a few more points should be mentioned. First of all, the conclusions drawn by Redford 1986 do not consider the background of the day-book documents overviewed, nor their origin. It is quite clear that the habit of writing day-books and journals did not start in the New Kingdom *ex nihilo*. Redford states that it was in the Middle Kingdom, in the 12th Dynasty, when “day-books of various institutions, both governmental and private, make their first appearance” (p. 334), but we now know that there are several earlier documents to be considered as well: the papyri of Wadi el-Jarf, the Abusir and Gebelein Papyri. We obviously have to bear in mind that Redford

published his book in 1986, when these earlier documents were not yet available, or not fully available.

Additionally, what do all these types of day-books tell us about their background? Looking at their layout, a question arises spontaneously: how were they composed? There must have been a common background of knowledge. Perhaps not in the form of guidelines from a proper business school, but there must have been some sort of tradition and background to record keeping. The scribe who sat down and started writing needed to have a basic idea, a scheme to make use of. There was most likely a common knowledge, from some original source, that was transmitted over the years as a basic standard to follow.

What if -at least at the beginning- it was the administration who provided the sheets already laid out with the grids? It is obvious that the grids were drawn before the text was included (see illustration below). This would also explain why the text is often either too squeezed or there is much blank space left, or again, some entire columns are left blank, as if the person who drew the grid was not aware of the real space needed and just sketched a standard grid. At least initially, this system could have provided a standard, and then, after having learned the scheme to follow (or according to a different administration system required), the scribe found the grid to be no longer of use and a more brief and concise style of recording data remained.



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								
16								
17								
18								
19								
20								
21								
22								
23								
24								
25								

Fig. 37 Papyrus Gebelein III, after Posener-Kriéger 2004, recto (Pl. 22) above and a modern empty Excel sheet below. If we compare the grid made on the ancient papyrus with the Excel page, a modern spreadsheet for calculation and organisation of data, we can see many similarities. The space is divided into grids by means of columns and lines and usually headings are written at top of the page in order to organise the information.

4.3.a Other scribal traditions

A short paragraph should be devoted to a brief and not exhaustive overview on other scribal traditions, namely, how *journals/annals/day-books* look like in other cultures and if similarities are to be seen.

The **Hittite royal Annals**, those of Muršili II of *Hatti*, for example, demonstrates some similarities with the Annals of Thutmose III. Both have a prologue and epilogue stating that the annals contain the campaigns conducted within a certain period of years, even if the Egyptian Annals are then more specific about dating to the day, month and year of the king's reign than the Hittite ones. Both sovereigns were concerned with publishing their brave or divine deeds for posterity, and the annalistic style arose in both cases as one way of doing this¹⁵¹.

Babylonian chronicles are a series of tablets in cuneiform script compiled by scribes recording chronologically noteworthy political and religious events in Babylonian history. The corpus includes about forty-five Chronicles, written from the reign of Nabonassar up to the Parthian Period¹⁵². The Babylonian chronicles thus narrate a period of more than 2000 years. Even if the genre is ill-defined ("there is no consensus about the combination of stylistic, thematic, functional, or redactional characteristics that should set the chronicles apart as a genre from other types of historiography written in first-millennium Babylonia, such as annals, king lists, and epics"¹⁵³), the Babylonian chronicles -as well as Assyrian Chronicles¹⁵⁴- mainly contains notes about political, military, judicial, and religious events that happened in the recent or distant past and that were often, though not always, arranged in chronological order. It seems that, as source of the Babylonian Chronicles, were the astronomical diaries, day-books containing systematic records of astronomical observations and political events, as well as predictions based on astronomical observations¹⁵⁵. Neither Babylonian nor Assyrian chronicles can stand the comparison with Roman Annals and later medieval annals, which have a much broader spectrum of events.

Amongst the many **Roman Annales**, we will mention those written by the Roman historian Titus Livy and by the historian and senator Publius Tacitus.

Livy wrote a monumental history of Rome, covering the period from the earliest legends of the City before its foundation in 753 BC through the reign of Augustus.

¹⁵¹ Van Seters 1997, 150-151.

¹⁵² Waerzeggers 2012, 285-298.

¹⁵³ Waerzeggers 2012, 287.

¹⁵⁴ Olmstead 1915, 344-368.

¹⁵⁵ Geller 1990 and Rochberg-Halton, 1991.

Nowadays we usually refer to this history of Rome as *Ab Urbe Condita*, even if Livy himself called his work *Annales*. The form of Livy's history follows indeed the annalistic tradition. Livy's style alternates between historical chronology and narration, often interrupting the story to announce the election of a new consul. This was in fact the system used by the Romans to take account of the years. Livy bases his chronology on pontifical chronicles, called *Annales Maximi*, in which the most important events of the year were recorded and which played a central role in shaping the form of the Roman annalistic tradition. "From the time when the pontifical records were published,...the history of the Roman Republic rested upon an authoritative collection of material, set in a chronological framework, that imposed its tradition upon Roman historiography" (McDonald 1957, 155).

Tacitus traces the history of the Roman Empire from the reign of Tiberius to that of Nero (14-68 AC). Even if today those 16 books are known as *Annals* from their year-by-year structure, their original title was *Ab Excessu divi Augusti*. The style is far removed from the one of Egyptian annals or day-books. The books are written in a narrative, very descriptive style, filled with commentaries and frequent political observations. What Tacitus describes is a tragic historiography, full of dramatic events. The style he adopts is complex, with intricate expressions, rare grammatical forms, and frequent omissions.

On a completely different side, archaeological excavations in **China** since the 1970s have produced many examples of a type of manuscript called *rishu* 日書 "**day-book**" ¹⁵⁶, present in the Chinese cultural sphere of the late Warring States, Qin, and Western Han periods (ca. 3rd-1st centuries BC). They describe practical methods of selecting auspicious times and places for a variety of activities in daily life (travel, marriage, planting crops, seeking an audience, or burying the dead), but they also incorporate a range of other miscellaneous subjects with the result that no two daybooks are exactly alike¹⁵⁷.

Clearly, Chinese day-books, even if organized chronologically, belong to a very different category than our journals/day-books: in the last mentioned events which happened have been recorded, while the *rishu* are closer to the idea of almanac¹⁵⁸. Their main

¹⁵⁶ The term is taken from the title that appears on one of the day-books discovered in 1976 at Shuihudi, tomb 11 (ca. 217 BC). Lagerwey-Kalinowski 2008, 386.

¹⁵⁷ Harper-Kalinowski 2017.

¹⁵⁸ Almanacs are still present in Italian popular tradition, as the religious one of Frate Indovino, printed since 1945, in which we find for every day of the year the appropriate saints, feasts, meteorological forecasts, lunar phases, and practical advice for farmers and housewives. The popularity of almanacs in Italy was such that between 1976 and 1994 Rai 1 (Italian national TV channel) produced a television broadcast called *Almanacco del giorno dopo* which provided indication of the position and movement of celestial bodies, a brief biography of the saint of the day and a TV-column called 'Tomorrow happened', with historical films, dedicated to an event that happened in the past the day after.

content concerns hemerology or “knowledge of favourable and unfavourable days”¹⁵⁹, and are intended for everyday use. They show a connection to almanacs still popular in Chinese communities today as well as to hemerological literature in medieval Europe and ancient Babylon when tables were produced in order to predict lunar and planetary phenomena¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁹ In this respect they remind us of the ancient Egyptian Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days.

¹⁶⁰ Glick-Livesey-Wallis 2005, 29.

5. List of Necropolis journals from Deir el-Medina

5.1 The creation of the list: criteria

Genre classification amongst the mass of administrative texts produced in the Deir el-Medina community during the Ramesside period constitutes a tough matter. The diversity of texts, including accounts, lists and a variety of dated notes, makes it complicated to distinguish clearly and outline what a journal would or should have looked like. Some texts can be clearly defined, like letters, oracles, oaths, hymns, while others, belonging to the large group of administrative documents, are less clearly identifiable¹⁶¹. Primary among those are journals. Such a difficulty was certainly also encountered in compiling the impressive Deir el-Medina Database, where documents very similar in contents and format (deliveries of firewood or lamps, for example), are sometimes called *journal* and in other instances *account list*, confirming the huge complexity of a genre classification amongst these documents.

In the introduction of the present study, we outlined how previous works approached and discussed the problem concerning the definition of the genre. Now, the criteria used in this work to define what a Necropolis journal is must be set out. How can we distinguish such documents from others? After looking at the collection of material in the previous chapter, especially the day-to-day records of the Old, Middle and New Kingdom, and after observing the shared features with Necropolis journals, we want to formulate the guidelines which will allow us to create a list of criteria to select the material for this study and thus identify a document as journal.

The following documents are those called at the end of the previous chapter '**event journals**' and therefore share most of the similarities with our Deir el-Medina journal.

The oldest administrative papyri so far discovered, those of Wadi el-Jarf, provide a very interesting set of documents. We see meticulous accounts organized in monthly tables and a detailed ships' log for every working day recording the daily activities and events of a team commissioned to build the funerary monument of king Cheops. The use of the infinitive verbal form immediately after the date, the concise style and the chronologically organized notes, are features shared with the Deir el-Medina texts, even if here the information is organized in columns and not in lines.

Texts recording the activities of a crew of workmen involved in a construction project of a temple, a tomb, etc., obviously provide the closest features comparable with Deir el-Medina journals dealing with the activities concerning the construction of the royal

¹⁶¹ See here introduction to chapter 2 and Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 85-123, for a classification according to Egyptian text denominatives.

tombs. These texts present dated records keeping track of the number of workdays, and others recording deliveries of food to the team with the totals and the remainders. The notes produced are organized chronologically and written in short columns (or grid for the oldest documents). Papyri JE 52002, JE 52003, JE 52004 and MMA 3569 + Vienna 3934/3937 + 9352, in particular, concerning the notes of a private tomb construction project at Saqqara, show close similarities to the subject of this thesis. The papyri were in fact drawn up by a scribe responsible for the construction of the funeral monument for a high functionary. The text contains the daily notes (covering about eight months) of the construction project, recording everything from the scribe's arrival on the site and his delivery of the necessary documents and permits, to his assembly of a crew of workers, and then the ongoing work.

The border journal (Semna Dispatches) and the ship's logs (Wadi el-Jarf Papyri, P. Leiden I 350 verso and P. Turin 2008+2016) are also closely similar in many respects to our Necropolis records, especially to those written on papyri¹⁶². The Semna Dispatches consist of a daybook roll recording events that took place over a period of three weeks, mainly concerned with tracking the movement of people; the ship's log record the daily notes about the events aboard a ship, the transport of different kinds of goods, and crew rations. Papyrus Turin 2008+2016 contains a list of the cargo and a day-by-day log, noting the progress of the boat since its departure. The Leiden papyrus records the collection and distribution of daily rations of food to the crew of the ship.

Before providing criteria for selection in order to compile a list of Deir el-Medina journals, we want to illustrate which kind of texts the large group of administrative documents discovered in Deir el-Medina include. As we said, **Necropolis journal should present a series of day-to-day entries recording events**, which is 'event journal' (see Introduction: *the* Necropolis Journal -with the article *the*- is a label put on certain documents by Egyptologists since 1928 and this is undeniably a form of event journal). Nonetheless there are other texts which are also journals, i.e. recording day-to-day notes. Even though there seem to be no distinctive terms, there are at least clearly two types: 'account journals' and 'event journals'. In the first, the focus is on deliveries and accounts, in the second the focus is on events, movements, work (both are found already among the Wadi el-Jarf papyri, see above); of course slight overlaps can be expected.

¹⁶² Not included in the overview of the previous chapter because still awaiting publication, but worth to be mentioned, is Papyrus Turin 2098+2100/306 verso, a Late Ramesside ship's log containing a series of day-book notes recording a journey to Middle Egypt by the Necropolis scribe Dhutmose (Demarée conference in Liège, October 2014, forthcoming).

Now first we will discuss three types of journals that are not event journals, and are therefore not included in the list 5.2:

- **Account journals** (see point **e** below): records containing mainly dated lists of goods or detailed ration distributions, but without any further information on activities/events. Most probably, some of these were used to fill some data in the event journals, like probably O. Cairo CG 25799, O. Cairo CG 25719 + O. KV 47/182, O. DM 257, O. Gardiner AG 95 (very small) and O. BM EA 66412 (= O.Zouche H 6)¹⁶³. They all record deliveries and therefore will not be included here, but they deserve to be mentioned since they all seem to have lines of texts that also appear in P. Greg (from year 5 and 6 of Sethi II) and therefore look like possible preliminary account notes used sometimes later for inclusion in a journal.

- **Day notes.** When only one date is preserved on a document, the choice is extremely subjective. As an example, O. Cairo 25581 of year 2 of Merenptah II *3h.t* day 30, is, in our opinion, part of an event journal. It records the work done in the royal tomb and lists the craftsmen to be brought to the village in order to prepare the great place of Pharaoh and it might be one note from a longer list. A similar case is O. Cairo 25645 dated to Ramesses II. Alternatively, O. DM 1-18 and related ostraca from the reign of Seti I (O DM 22-24, O. DM 28, O. Demarée H 5-7, O. Ashmolean Museum 43, O. Or. Inst. 18878), also mostly registering one date only, will not be included since they merely briefly list deliveries of pottery, firewood or dung and therefore belong to the type 'account journal'. (see further point **e** below).

-The corpus of texts presenting **workmen's marks**, thoroughly studied by Soliman (Soliman, D. M., unpublished PhD Thesis 2016). These contain partly dated lists of people and partly accounts.

Based on the discussions in the previous paragraphs there now follows a list of criteria applied to include/exclude documents in/from the list in 5.2.

¹⁶³ The Basel expedition working in the Valley of Kings found more fragments of similar texts; all together they form a kind of small dossier of such account or delivery texts from years 5 and 6, almost certainly used as notes to be included in a journal: i.a., O.Cairo 25641 is completed by a fragment 166 with dates from year 6 II *3h.t* day 4 and Cairo 25719 is completed by a fragment 182 with dates from year 6 I *pr.t* day 12. The study is unfortunately still unpublished and the documents are therefore not available (the contribution of Cilli 2014 is only an overview of her PhD thesis, without a detailed study of the specific documents).

CRITERIA FOR THE INCLUSION/EXCLUSION OF A TEXT:

Layout and style

- a. The most important criterion, without which, in our opinion, one cannot refer to a(n event) journal, is that the collection of entries has to be **ordered following calendrical notations, usually in their chronological order**, showing that the intention was to produce a daybook. A **general day-by-day** organization of the notes is expected, but not necessarily strictly consecutive.
- b. The style has to be **concise**, with brief sentences, headings and titles for the sections, and **recurrent formulas** and terms (see p. 112 for a list of the most common terms). Immediately after the date (year, month and day) follows a **verbal construction**, usually a narrative infinitive. The date is related to an event, **an action**, which is directly noted at the beginning of the sentence.

Content

- c. The document has to record events, **a series of daily activities** connected with or concerning the workmen or artisan community of Deir el-Medina and their construction work for the tomb of Pharaoh.
- d. Guard duty rosters or turnus lists (*wrš*) are features characteristic of many event journals texts (not of all), and consist in the indication, mostly immediately after the date, of the name of the workman who was responsible for the receipt of certain supplies on that particular day¹⁶⁴.
- e. Lists with dates but recording mostly only deliveries.
Dated documents containing detailed information on rations distributions or only mere account lists of goods (lamps, firewood, plaster, fish, beer, natron, dung, etc.), but without any further information about the activities of the day, will not be considered journals (see below for examples). When a brief account list is part of a more extensive text, containing notes on daily activities, the text is then considered an event journal. The same applies to those texts mentioning simply the actual grain rations deliveries ("salary" payments) within a wider context.

¹⁶⁴ Janssen 1997, 91-94 and Collier 2004.

- f. A special word must be devoted to the absence lists with dates. They certainly constitute a particular case, since they include events, even though only in the form of reasons for the absence (O. BM EA 5634 dated to Ramesses II is a list of absences, but it is a summary, organized according to names and not to calendar dates, and is therefore not considered a journal here¹⁶⁵).

The selection of documents included in the following list is, however, open for discussion. One has to bear in mind that the distinction between a journal and what could be a journal is sometimes based only on a single fragment of text and is therefore inevitably debatable and subjective. A genre is not a mutually exclusive class, not “all (of whose) characteristic traits need be shared by every other embodiment of the type” (Fowler 1982, 38). It is important to stress that even if we try to establish criteria – which is fundamental in order to proceed with the creation of a corpus of documents, and therefore a study of this kind – it is extremely difficult to identify or classify a document as belonging exclusively to the genre of journal or not. Name-lists, accounts, registers, memoranda, are all dated administrative notes written by the same scribes of the village. Unfortunately, specific terms used by the Egyptians denoting textual genres are very limited and “their occurrences give only little information on the use and format of the texts referred to”¹⁶⁶ (see also chapter 4.1).

Understandably the dividing line is fluid. As already briefly remarked above in the paragraph on Day notes, texts containing basically just only accounts like lists of lamps, plaster, natron, firewood, grain deliveries, fish, etc., that is all kinds of accounts simply listing goods, but without any further information about the “action”, the events, the activities of the day, will be excluded from the list. As we have seen, they are journals, but ‘account journals’.

It may be useful to give two examples to illustrate point e. of criteria above: lamp accounts and plaster deliveries (more could be given with i.a. firewood, fish or pottery deliveries).

Lamps (*hbs* ) accounts (see Černý 1973b, chapter V and Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 56-64)¹⁶⁷ are deliveries, most of the time issued daily; are they then

¹⁶⁵ This document must be based on day-to-day records; it seems indeed highly unlikely that the scribe would have been able to provide a workmen's register for 280 days of the year without consulting previous documentation.

¹⁶⁶ Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 122.

¹⁶⁷ Lamps were extremely important for the work in the royal tombs where lighting was scarce. These documents record the number of lamps (*hbs*, which were not “whole” lamps but rather

to be considered journals? According to the criteria listed above, no. They are account journals, therefore excluded from the list in 5.2. They look more like “drafts”, brief notes possibly to be used later into a journal (see note 169).

Nonetheless, in the classification of journals according to the type of information and contents (see further below Chapter 7.3.a) Type A, labelled as “Deliveries/provisions” includes daily consumption of lamps/torches issued. A clarification is needed. It was decided to include these documents in the corpus of journals because they are not “pure” lamp accounts, but journals in which a part is dedicated to lamp accounts, that is, lamp accounts are written here on the same document together with notes on other Necropolis matters and activities¹⁶⁸. When, instead, a document only contains lists of lamps, it was decided not to include it in the corpus of journals (see above point e.)¹⁶⁹.

The same can be said about the plaster (*kd* | | ) deliveries (see Černý 1973b, chapter IV), even if those were much more irregular and not issued daily (in O. DM 330 we can indeed see that the entries were made for every ten days).

I am fully aware of the fact that the dividing line between an events journal and a “simple” accounts journal is fluid. We can try to describe what a journal should look like, but this does not mean that the identification of this kind of document is always clear and objective. Furthermore, if we consider that there are most likely more documents to be

“wicks”) and amounts of lamp oil delivered. They were issued to the right and left side of the gang, sometimes even divided into morning and evening deliveries.

¹⁶⁸ In the corpus there are many journals which, among other matters, list lamp accounts. Those are i.a.: O. Cairo 25502, O. Cairo 25516, O. Cairo CG 25266, O. Cairo 25536, O. Turin 57031, O. Turin 57033, O. Turin 57034, O. Turin 57044, O. Turin 57047, O. Turin 57055, O. Turin 57032 (in the list of the documents not dated with certainty), O. Cairo 25249 (in the list of the documents not dated with certainty), O. Cairo 25511 (in the list of the documents not dated with certainty), O. Cairo 25816 (in the list of the documents not dated with certainty), O. Valley of Queens 6 (in the list of the documents not dated with certainty), O. Strasbourg H. 136 (in the list of the documents not dated with certainty).

¹⁶⁹ What we can consider “pure” lamp accounts are i.a: O. Cairo 25539 (lamp/wick account for c. 1 month), O. Cairo 25540 (lamp/wick account for 8 days), O. Cairo 25541 (lamp/wick account for ca. 3 weeks), O. Cairo 25542 (lamp/wick account for right and left sides during several months), O. Cairo 25543 verso (lamp/wick account), O. Cairo 25544 (lamp/wick account), O. Cairo 25547 (arrival with lamps/wicks from the storehouse), O. Cairo 25550 (lamps/wicks of right and left side), O. Cairo 25570 (issue and use of lamps/wicks), O. Cairo 25814 (list of the amounts of lamps used on days 1-4 of III *šmw*), O. Cairo 25817 (lamps used and left over on a number of days in I and II *pr.t*), and O. Cairo 25818 (amounts of lamps taken from the storehouse on a series of days). Moreover, we can easily see that all the texts mentioned concerning “pure” lamp accounts are written on ostraca. Does this give us a sign that they were considered a different type of document than a journal?

What is more, if we take as an example O. Cairo 25515 and O. Cairo 25516 (matching lamp account, that is, each time the crew is said not to have come to work, the lamp account appropriately shows no entry because obviously no lamps were used on that day), written probably by the same scribe (see Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 57), they show a probable combined recording system by the same scribe who was therefore working on two different kind of documents: journal and lamp account.

discovered, the list created must be considered open to new records and not as a definitive one.

Nonetheless, a new list of Necropolis journals from Deir el-Medina has been compiled. Each document (either ostrakon or papyrus) will then be examined, if possible directly from the photos of the original or, if not available, using the transcriptions made by earlier scholars like Černý.

The approach taken was to collect all the available documents which, according to the criteria formulated above, could be classified as Necropolis journals and arrange them in a table list¹⁷⁰. The first result of an initial general bibliographic research regarding lists of Necropolis journals was the list of Valbelle, even though this list is limited to documents dated with certainty¹⁷¹. A more complete list then resulted from consultation of the online Deir el-Medina database, where it was possible to find information about more documents, and finally from the Notebooks of Černý, where transcriptions of unpublished documents were found.

The chronological table list of all the documents is arranged according to the following:

- Date (Dynasty and if possible the name of the pharaoh)
- Number and type of document and related bibliography¹⁷²
- Provenance

5.2 The list¹⁷³

The list of documents is divided into two sections. The first section is dedicated to the documents dated with certainty. Documents which are not attributed to a specific king with certainty are presented in the second section¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷⁰ Dr. Demarée kindly informed me about more unnumbered journal fragments at the Turin Museum and in the IFAO (clearly written by the scribe *Hr-šri*), unfortunately unpublished and not available for consultation, therefore not included in the list.

¹⁷¹ Valbelle 1985, 49-54.

¹⁷² The bibliography of each document is mainly taken from the Deir el-Medina database (<http://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>) with the addition of the most recent publications.

¹⁷³ As already stated this list should be considered as an open and preliminary one.

¹⁷⁴ During the collecting of documents, many ostraca and papyri not yet dated with certainty to a specific pharaoh were found. As the aim of this work is far from presenting a dating study, we did not analyse them to determine a specific and precise date, but they are included in a separate section in the table list. In the present work, we will only deal with documents dated with certainty.

5.2.a First section: documents dated with certainty

DATE	NUMBER OF DOCUMENT	TYOLOGY OF DOCUMENT	PROVENANCE
DYNASTY 18			
day 12, 14	O. Ashmolean Museum 0007 Černý 1957 7 and pl. XXII-XXIIa no. 1.	ostracon	No indication
DYNASTY 19			
RAMESSES II			
-Year 20, II 3_{h.t.}, day 11	O. Cairo 25645 Černý 1935b, 47-48, 68* and pl. LXIV; Helck 2002, 55; KRI III, 509.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907-1908; mark: House HO (workmen's houses between KV 17 and KV 21).
-Year 24, II 3_{mw}, day 22	O. Cairo 25803 Černý 1935b, 93, 115*, pls. CVIII, CX; Helck 2002, 55; KRI III, 510.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, beside entrance of KV 9; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1920-1921.
-Year 20+x, IV 3_{h.t.} day 28, 20+x; I pr.t, day 11, 23, 26	O. Cairo 25502 Černý 1935b, 1, 1*, pl. I; Helck, Helck 1963b, (701); KRI III, 509-510; Helck 2002, 58.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, beside entrance of KV 9; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906.
- III 3_{mw} day 6; I 3_{mw} day 16-20	O. Cairo CG 25815a Černý 1935b, 96, 117*, pl. CXIII; KRI III, 567.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, beside entrance of KV 9; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1920-1921.
- day 14-15	O. Cairo CG 25815b Černý 1935b, 96, 117*, pl. CXIII; KRI III, 567.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, beside entrance of KV 9; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1920-1921.
II 3_{h.t.} day 16, 21-30; III 3_{h.t.} day 1-5	O. University of Memphis Expedition n. 97 Demarée 2016/2017, 117-121.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, in front of KV 10, University of Memphis Expedition.
MERENPTAH			
-Year 2, II 3_{h.t.} day 30	O. Cairo 25581 Černý 1935b, 29, 52*, pl. XLII; Davies 1997, 245-248; KRI IV, 151-152; McDowell 1999, 228-229 n. 179; Helck 2002, 48.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1917-1918; valley between KV 7 and KV 9.
-Year 3, I pr.t, day 17	O. Cairo 25552 Černý 1935b, 20, 42*, pl. XXV; KRI IV, 154; Helck 2002, 51.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1917-1918; valley between KV 7 and KV 9.

-Year 7, IV epagomenal day	O. Valley of Kings, Area A, Square G 0, between KV 62 and KV 7 Fisher 2010, 93-100.	ostracon	Flood debris in the Valley of Kings, Area A, Square G 0, between KV 62 and KV 7.
-Year 7, III <i>3h.t</i> day 11-23; IV <i>šmw</i> day 13-20	O. Cairo 25504 Černý 1935b, 2, 2*-3*, pl. II; Daressy 1927, 167-168 II-III; KRI IV, 155-158; Wimmer 1995 1, 40-41; McDowell 1999, 223-225 no. 173; Helck 2002, 87-88.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs.
-Year 8, II <i>3h.t</i> day 13-20			
-Year 8, III <i>pr.t</i> day 5	O.DM 594 Sauneron 1959, 9, pls. 22 and 22a; Helck 2002, 88; KRI IV, 407-408.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; Qurnet Murai North, 20-01-1951.
-Year 10, I <i>3h.t</i> day 17	P. Berlin 23300 and 23301 Fischer-Elfert 2012, 47-73, pl. 1-9.	papyrus	Probably Georg Möller's excavations at Deir el-Medina in 1911 and 1913.
- day 10+x; IV <i>pr.t</i> ; III <i>pr.t</i> day 21, 24; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 1+x(?); IV <i>pr.t</i> day 21; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 11, 15, 26	P. Ashmolean Museum 1960.1283 Eyre 1980b, 108-119, pls. XII and XIII; KRI IV, 164-166.	papyrus	Bought by N. de Garis Davies for A.H. Gardiner ('together with papyrus fragments from the Theban tomb of Sunero' (TT 331)), donated by the latter to the Ashmolean Museum in 1958 or 1960.
AMENMESSE			
-Year 1, I <i>3h.t</i> day 18, 22-23, 25-28; II <i>3h.t</i> day 2-3, 6-9, 11-18, 22, 27-28; III <i>3h.t</i> day 2-3, 12-17, 21-23	O. Cairo 25779 Černý 1935b, 86, 98*-101*, pls. CI and CII; KRI IV, 211-216; Helck 2002, 100-102.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47. Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922.
-Year 2, I <i>3h.t</i> day 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 IV <i>šmw</i> day [...]	O. Varille 26 Kitchen KRI VII, 236-237; Helck 2002, 105.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 2, day 4	O. Ashmolean Museum 0290 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 81.10; Helck 2002, 109.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 3, IV <i>pr.t</i> , day 2-3, 5-9, 20-21, 23-28	O. Cairo 25780 Černý 1935b, 86, 102*, pl. CII; KRI IV, 220-221; Helck 2002, 116-119.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47. Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922.
-Year 3, IV <i>pr.t</i> day 27-28; I <i>šmw</i> day 4-6, 8, 11-13, 15-18, 22-26	O. Cairo 25782 Černý 1935b, 87, 103*-104*, pl. CIII; KRI IV, 221-223; Helck 2002, 116-119.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47.

			Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922.
-Year 3, I <i>šmw</i> day 27-28; II <i>šmw</i> day 1-3, 13-14, 27-28; III <i>šmw</i> day 1-8, 11, 15-17	O. Cairo 25783 Černý 1935b, 87, 105*-108*, pl. CIV; KRI IV, 224-227; Helck 2002, 119-121.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47. Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922.
-Year 3, III <i>šmw</i> day 14-18, 20-26, 28; IV <i>šmw</i> day 3-7	O. Ashmolean Museum 0167 KRI VII, 242-243; Helck 2002, 110.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 3, day 24-28	O. Ashmolean Museum 0174 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 45.77; Helck 2002, 115.	ostracon	No indication
Year 3 (?) day 6-7	O. Ashmolean Museum 0291 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 81.11; Helck 2002, 112.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 4, III <i>šmw</i> , day 18, 21-23, 25-26, 28-29	O. Cairo 25784 Černý 1935b, 87, 109*, pl. CV; KRI IV, 227-228; Helck 2002, 120-121.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47. Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922.
- III <i>šmw</i> day 6, 8; III <i>šmw</i> day 6; III <i>šmw</i> day 5; III <i>šmw</i> day 4; III <i>šmw</i> day 11; III <i>šmw</i> day 3-5, 26; IV <i>šmw</i> day 4 III <i>šmw</i> day 12	O. DM 898 Grandet 2003, 3-4, 70-71, 310-313.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 16-12-1950.
SETHI II			
-Year 1, lost month <i>pr.t</i> day 16; III <i>šh.t</i> day 12-13, 15-18, 21-22; 12-19	HO 64, 1 (O. MMA 14.6.217) Černý 1957, 18, pl. 64-64A no. 1; KRI IV, 298-299; Helck 2000, 130.	ostracon	Davis excavations. Valley of Kings before 1913.
-Year 1, III <i>pr.t</i> day 23-30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 1-30; I <i>šmw</i> day 1-13; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 21	O. Cairo 25509 Černý 1935b, 4, 6*, pl. IV-V; Daressy 1927, 172-173; Černý 1929, 250; Helck 1969, (985); KRI IV, 299-302; Wimmer 1995 1, 43-44; McDowell 1999, 209-210 no. 158; Helck 2000, 128-129.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs.
-Year (2)? IV <i>pr.t</i> day 16-18, 21, 24-26; I <i>šmw</i> day 13	O. Cairo 25510 Černý 1935b, 5, 7*, pl. VII; KRI IV, 332-333; Wimmer 1995 1, 44-45; Helck 2000, 130-131; Collier 2004, 80-81, 155.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; excavations Th. Davis.
-Year 3 (Sethi II?) IV <i>šh.t</i> day 1; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 6(?)	O. Berlin P 14842 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Village, excavations G. Möller 1913; pencil mark: 'D'.
-Year 4, day 11, 13, 18; I <i>šh.t</i> day 20	O. DM 889 Grandet 2003, 3, 63, 298-299; Grandet 2003b, 215-217, 228.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits 14-03-1949.

-Year 5, I <i>šmw</i> day 24-30; II <i>šmw</i> day 1-5, 10-29; III <i>šmw</i> day 1-15, 18-30; IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-30; day 1-15 (?)	O. Cairo CG 25529 Černý 1935b, 13-14, 29*, pl. XIX; Helck 2002, 133-135.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; excavations Th. Davis.
-Year 6, I <i>šmw</i> , day 20+x; 24-28; II <i>šmw</i> day 6; III or IV <i>šmw</i>	O. Cairo 25512 Černý 1935b, 5-6, 9*-10*, pl. VI; KRI IV, 313-315; Wimmer 1995, 1, 46-47; Helck 2002, 141; Collier 2004, 31-33, 155.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs.
-Year 6, I <i>pr.t</i> day 17-18, 23-29; II <i>pr.t</i> day 4, 6, 12, 13-15, 16-17, 21-24	O. Cairo 25516 Černý 1935b, 7-8, 13*-14*; KRI IV 328 and 384-387; McDowell 1999, 83 no. 54; Helck 2002, 161-163; Collier 2004, 33-34, 155.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906.
-Year 6, day 24; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 27; I <i>šmw</i> day [...]; IV <i>šmw</i> day 9; II <i>šh.t</i> day 12; II <i>šh.t</i> day 10	O. Cairo 25517 Černý 1935b, 8-9, 15*-17*, pl. X-XI; Helck 2002, 140, 166-167; Helck 2002, 143; KRI IV, p. 320-321, 387-389; McDowell 1999, 35 no. 10; Wimmer 1995, 1, 48-50; Collier 2004, 25-27, 34-35, 155.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; excavations Th. Davis.
-Year 6, II <i>šmw</i> day 16, 25	O. Cairo 25538 Černý 1935b, 16, 34*, pl. XXIII; KRI IV, 315; Wimmer 1995 1, 58.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs.
-Year 6, II <i>šmw</i> day 16-30; III <i>šmw</i> day 1-30; IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-30; epagomenal day 1-5; I <i>šh.t</i> day 1-30; II <i>šh.t</i> day 1-30; III <i>šh.t</i> day 1-30; IV <i>šh.t</i> day 1-10, 11-30; I <i>pr.t</i> day 1-30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 16	O. Cairo 25515 Černý 1935b, 7, 11*-12*, pl. VIII-IX; Daressy 1912, 39-52 (transcription, but not of JE 50340 d-e, which were added later); KRI IV, 322-327 and 382-384; McDowell 1999, 205-206 no. 154; Helck 2002, 141-147.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906.
SIPTAH			
-Year 1, II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-25; I <i>pr.t</i> day 29; I <i>pr.t</i> day 24; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 21			
-Year 1, II <i>šh.t</i> day 12; IV <i>šh.t</i> day 2; III <i>šh.t</i> day 28; I <i>pr.t</i> day 11; I <i>pr.t</i> day 8; X <i>pr.t</i> day 17; year 2 I <i>pr.t</i> day 4-6, 11-13, 15-18, 25	O. Cairo CG 25536 Černý 1935b, 16, 33*, pl. XXIII; KRI IV, 402-404; Wimmer 1995 1, 56-57; McDowell 1999, 216-217 no. 166; Helck 2002, 169 and 171, 166-169.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; excavations Th. Davis.
-Year 1, II <i>pr.t</i> day 25; III <i>pr.t</i> day 28; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 5-7; II <i>pr.t</i> day 12-	O. Cairo 25516 Černý 1935b, 7-8, 13*-14*; KRI IV 328 and 384-387; McDowell 1999, 83 no.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906.

16; III <i>pr.t</i> day 26-28; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 6	54; Helck 2002, 161-163; Collier 2004, 33-34, 155.		
-Year 1, IV <i>šmw</i> day 12	O. Cairo 25525 Černý 1935b, 12, 27*, pl. XIX; KRI IV, 394; Wimmer 1995 1, 54-55; Helck 2002, 165; Collier 2004, 44-45, 156.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs.
-Year 1, II <i>3h.t</i> day 13, 15	O. Cairo 25518 Černý 1935b, 9, 18*, pl. XII; KRI IV, 390; Wimmer 1995 1, 50; Helck 2002, 166-167; Collier 2004, 44, 155.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; excavations Th. Davis.
-Year 1, II <i>3h.t</i> day 15-18, 21, 22-28	O. Cairo 25517 Černý 1935b, 8-9, 15*-17*, pl. X-XI; Helck 2002, 140, 166-167; Helck 2002, 143; KRI IV, 320-321, 387-389; McDowell 1999, 35 no. 10; Wimmer 1995 1, 48-50; Collier 2004, 25-27, 34-35, 155.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; excavations Th. Davis.
-Year 1, II <i>3h.t</i> day 21; III <i>3h.t</i> day 1-3; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 8, 11-12, 14	O. Cairo 25519 Černý 1935b, 9-10, 18*-19*, pl. XIII; KRI IV, 390-392; Wimmer 1995, 1, 51-52; Helck 2002, 166-169; Collier 2004, 35-36, 155.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs.
-Year 1, I <i>šmw</i> day 12	O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text) Collier 2004, 46-47, 157; description and transcription by Černý, Notebook 106.99.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings. Davis excavation; according to Journal d'entrée.
-Year 1 (?) [x +] I <i>šmw</i> day 25	O. DM 908 Grandet 2003, 3, 81-84, 328-329; Grandet 2003b, 213-214, 226.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 25-03-1950 (or 19-03-1950?).
-Year 1, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 15,17, 24, 27-28; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 15-16,23-24,27-28	O. Cairo 25521 Černý 1927b, 184-200; Černý 1935b, 10-11, 22*-25*, pl. XV-XVI; Helck 2002, 170-171, 174-175; KRI IV, 397-402; Wimmer 1995 1, 52-54; Collier 2004, 36-37.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs.
-Year 2, [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 4-6; I <i>pr.t</i> day 11-13, 15,17-18,10 + X, 26-27; II <i>pr.t</i> day 5-6; I <i>pr.t</i> day 4-5,11-12 (?); I <i>pr.t</i> day 17-18, 21, 23, 25; II <i>pr.t</i> day 7			
-Year 2, III <i>3h.t</i> day 10 + X; III <i>3h.t</i> day 5; III <i>3h.t</i> day 7	O. Ashmolean Museum 0118 KRI VII, 252-253; Helck 2002, 178-179; Collier 2004, 47-48, 154.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 3, I <i>3h.t</i> day 11-14; III <i>šmw</i> day 21-24; day 12-15	O. DM 10052 Grandet 2006, 57-58, 242-243; Grandet 2003b, 211-212, 222 (note 2), 224-225.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kôm du Grand Puits, 16-12-1950.
-Year 3, III <i>3h.t</i> day 16; year 3 IV <i>3h.t</i> day 20	O. Cairo JE 72451 KRI IV, 404; Helck 2002, 181.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, Davis excavations According to the

			Special Register at Cairo Museum.
-Year 4, III <i>šmw</i> day 10-13	O. DM 10051 Grandet 2006, 55-56, 241; Grandet 2003, 214-215, 222 (note 10), 227.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 5, I <i>3h.t</i> day 1; epagomenal days; I <i>3h.t</i> day 17-20; I <i>3h.t</i> day 11-22, 27-29; II <i>3h.t</i>	P. Greg P. UC 34336 KRI V, 437-448; Janssen 1997, 111-130; Janssen-Janssen 1997, 32-34; www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk ; Černý Mss, 17.48, 2-14.	papyrus	no indication
-Year 6, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 15-18; I <i>pr.t</i> ; IV <i>3h.t</i> ; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 19, 20; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 11-20; 21-28			
-Year 7, I <i>pr.t</i> day 12; II <i>3h.t</i> ; IV <i>3h.t</i> ; I <i>pr.t</i> day 13-18			
Siptah (?) III <i>3h.t</i> day 21-22, 26-29; III <i>3h.t</i> day 21-24	O. DM 899 Grandet 2003, 3, 71-73, 314-315.	ostracon	no indication
- III <i>šmw</i> day 6; [...] day 14	O. DM 909 Grandet 2003, 3, 84-85, 330.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 18-12-1950.
-	O. DM 910 Grandet 2003, 3-4, 85-86, 331-332; Grandet 2003b, 215, 216-217, 229.	ostracon	no indication
DYNASTY 20			
RAMESES III¹⁷⁵			
-Year 7, I <i>3h.t</i> day 10	O. DM 99 Černý 1935a, 26, pl. 57; KRI V, 449; Helck 2002, 225.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 18.1.30 KS (18-01-1930).
-Year 8, III <i>3h.t</i> day lost and II <i>pr.t</i> day 19			
-Year 9			
-Year 15, III <i>pr.t</i> day 12, 17	O. DM 253 Černý 1939, 4, pl. 4; Helck 2002, 233; KRI V, 460.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 24-01-1930; mark: 24.1.30 KS
-Year 16,	O. Turin 57020	ostracon	Valley of the Queens,

¹⁷⁵ An unpublished Turin Papyrus (recto) with the temporary number 8538 is a journal probably belonging to Ramesses III. Dr. Demarée kindly informed me on the ongoing studies in Turin; a publication is expected soon.

III <i>pr.t</i> day 23; I <i>šmw</i> day 5	Lopez 1978, 23, pl. 12-12a; KRI V, 461; Helck 2002, 234; Černý, Notebook 20, 1; Černý, MSS. 1. 481; Schiaparelli 1923, 170 and fig. 125.		excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 18, I <i>pr.t</i> day 21; I <i>pr.t</i> day [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> day 20, 25	O. Varille 36 KRI VII, 287; Helck 2002, 237.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 18¹⁷⁶, IV <i>šh.t</i> day 13, 22; I <i>pr.t</i> day 13; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 3	O.DM 422 Černý 1951, 22, pl. 21; Helck 2002, 237; KRI V, 468-469.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found in Grand Puits to the north of the temple, 07-01-1950.
-Year 22, II <i>šmw</i> day 4-8; 11-17, 21-28	O. Turin 57034 Lopez 1978, 27, pl. 23-23a; Helck 2002, 244. Černý, Notebook 20, 26a; Schiaparelli 1923, 172 and fig. 128.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens; excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 22, III <i>šh.t</i> day 25-30; IV <i>šh.t</i> day 1-14; III <i>šh.t</i> day 20; IV <i>šh.t</i> day 12,15-18	O. Turin 57047 Lopez 1978, 32, pl. 30-30a; KRI V, 483; Helck 2002, 246-247. Černý, Notebook 20, 17; Schiaparelli 1923, 172-3 and fig. 129; Černý 1962, 143.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens; excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 23¹⁷⁷, [...] day 28; II <i>šh.t</i> day 1-5, 7-8	O. Turin 57026 Lopez 1978, 24-25, pl. 15-15a; KRI V, 487-488; Helck 2002, 249. Černý, Notebook 20, p.3; Černý, MSS 1. 484 and 1. 485; Schiaparelli 1923, 170-1 and fig. 126; Bruyère 1930, 42.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens; excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 23, I <i>pr.t</i> day 11; III <i>pr.t</i> day 2	O. DM 625 Černý 1970, 1, pl. 2; Helck 2002, 251 and 252; KRI V, 486.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 13 March 1950, 15-03-1950 and 17-03-1950.
-Year 23, II <i>pr.t</i> day 11, 26-27, 23, 25; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 30	O. Turin 57027 Lopez 1978, 25, pl. 16-16a; KRI V, 486; Helck 2002, 251; Černý, Notebook 20, 4; Černý, MSS 1. 481.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 24, III <i>šmw</i> day 18	O. Turin 57046 Lopez 1978, 31, pl. 29-29a; KRI V, 491-492; Helck 2002, 253; Černý, Notebook 20, 25.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 24, IV <i>šmw</i> day 23-24	O. Turin 57039 Lopez 1978, 29, pl. 25-25a; KRI V, 491; Helck 2002, 254; Černý, Notebook 20, 20; Bruyère 1937, 55, 119.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens; excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 24, epagomenal day 1-5; I <i>šh.t</i> , day 1, 18-22	O.DM 164 Černý 1937a, 15 and 16, pl. 41; KRI V, 488 and 489; Helck 2002, 254 and 255.	ostracon	no indication

¹⁷⁶ O. Berlin P 11254, dated to year 19 of Ramesses III, III *šh.t*, day 12, is a short note on the delivery of beer to the Place of Pharaoh by *Nḥw-m-mwt*, probably also to be considered as journal, but not included here for its brevity.

¹⁷⁷ A papyrus in Turin Museum (unpublished) inside “cartella F 370 b”, with no number, also belongs to year 23 of Ramesses III.

-Year 24, I <i>3h.t</i> day 5-7	O. Turin 57029 Lopez 1978, 26, pl. 16-16a; KRI V, 492; Helck 2002, 255. Černý, Notebook 20, 7; Černý, MSS 1. 481 and 1. 482; Schiaparelli 1923, 174 and fig. 131; Bruyère 1937, 119.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 24, III <i>3h.t</i> day 4-7, 11-13, 15-17	O. IFAO [unnumbered]+O. Varille 06 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 107.47; Helck 2002, 257-258.	ostracon	Bought at Luxor in January 1934 (01-1934) and found at Deir el-Medina during season 1933-1934.
-Year 24, I <i>pr.t</i> day 26-30; II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-8, 14-18, 22	O. Turin 57028 Lopez 1978, 25, pl. 17-17a and 18-18a; Helck 2002, 260; KRI V, 493-494. Černý, Notebook 20, 5-6; Černý, MSS 1. 486 and 1. 487; Schiaparelli 1923, 174 and fig. 132; Bruyère 1930, 42; Bruyère 1937, 57, 119.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens; excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 24, II <i>pr.t</i> day 26-27; III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-2, 22-23, 25-26	O. Turin 57056 Lopez 1978, 34, pl. 34-34a; KRI V, 494-495; Helck 2002, 259, 261. Černý, Notebook 20, 18; Černý, MSS 1. 491 and 1. 492; Bruyère 1930, 42; Bruyère 1937, 55, 57, 119.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens; excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 24, IV <i>pr.t</i> day 9, 11	O. Gardiner AG 139 KRI VII, 291; Helck 2002, p. 262.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 24, I <i>šmw</i> day 18, 20-25	O. Turin 57055 Lopez 1978 34, pl. 34-34a; KRI V, 495; Helck 2002, 263-264; Černý, Notebook 20, 12; Černý, MSS 1. 490; Schiaparelli 1923, 174 and fig. 130.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 24, I <i>šmw</i> day 25-28; II <i>šmw</i> day 1-8, 11-18, 21-26 [...] <i>šmw</i> day 27, 28; III <i>šmw</i> day 1-8	O. Turin 57033 Allam 1973, 247-249 no. 251 and pl. 62-63 (published as O. Turin 5656); Lopez 1978, 27, pl. 22-22a; KRI V, 496-497; Helck 2002, 265; Černý, Notebook 20, 22; Schiaparelli 1923, 178 and fig. 135.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.
-Year 25, IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-4, 6-8, 10-24, 25-26, 27-30, epagomenal days, epagomenal day 1, day 30	O.DM 32 Černý 1935a, 7-8, pl. IX-XI; KRI V, 497-499; Helck 2002, 266-267.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 25, I <i>3h.t</i> day 1-10, 13-25	O. UC 39648 Černý 1957, 6 and pl. 19-19A no. 1; KRI V, 499-500; Helck 2002, 267-268; www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk	ostracon	no indication
-Year 25, II <i>3h.t</i> day 22-26	O. UC 39626 Černý 1957, 10 and pl. 34-34A no. 1; KRI V, 501-502; Helck 2002, 269; www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk	ostracon	no indication
-Year 25, I <i>pr.t</i> day 25-30; II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-8, 12, 18-24	O. Turin 57031 Lopez 1978, 26, pl. 20-20a; KRI V, 502-503; McDowell 1999, 193 no. 148B; Helck 2002, 270-271; Černý, Notebook 20, 8-9; Černý, MSS 1. 488; Schiaparelli 1923, 175 and fig. 133.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903-1905.

-Year 25, II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-19	O. Glasgow D.1925.67 McDowell 1993, 4-5, pls. II-IIa, III-IIIa; KRI VII, 292-293.	ostracon	Probably bought by Colin Campbell in Luxor and given by him to the Hunterian Museum- Glasgow- in 1925.
-Year 25, II <i>pr.t</i> day 14; II <i>pr.t</i> day 29	O. Ashmolean Museum 0221 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 31.24; Černý 1973a, 90; Helck 2002, 271.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 25, III <i>pr.t</i> day 18-30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 1-16	O. Glasgow D.1925.76 McDowell 1993, 15-16, pl. XIV-XIVa, XV-XVa; KRI VII, 293-295; Helck 2002, 272-273.	ostracon	Probably bought by Colin Campbell in Luxor and given by him to the Hunterian Museum-Glasgow- in 1925.
-Year 25, III <i>pr.t</i> day 23-25; day 10, 14-23	O. Berlin P 12295 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Acquired at Thebes. Donated to the Museum by W. Wreszinski, 01- 1910.
Regnal year must be year 25 Ramesses III in view of the names in the turnus list (Demarée) III <i>3h.t</i> day 8, 10-11	O. Turin 57475 Lopez 1984, 17, pl. 162-162a.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1909.
-Year 26, [...] day 12 + x; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 19-27	O. DM 654 Černý 1970, 7, pl. 14; KRI V, 616; Helck 2002, 275.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 15- 04-1949
-Year 26, I <i>šmw</i> day 10 (+ X); I <i>šmw</i> day 16-19; I <i>šmw</i> day X	O. Hildesheim 5464 Gutgesell 1984, 227-229 with pl. 11; Gutgesell 1989, 18.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 26, II <i>šmw</i> day 11-21; 22-28	O. Turin 57044 Lopez 1978, 31, pl. 28-28a; KRI V, 510; Helck 2002, 275. Černý, Notebook 20, 16; Černý, MSS 1. 488; Schiaparelli 1923, 175 and fig. 139.	ostracon	Valley of the Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903- 1905.
-Year 26, III <i>3h.t</i> ..., day 14-15, 16-30	O.DM 148 Černý 1937a, 10, pls. 21-23A; Christophe 1953, 113-144; Helck 2002, 277-278; KRI V, 505-506.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village 19-01- 1930.
-Year 26, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 21, 29	O. IFAO 00284 + O. IFAO 00285 + O. IFAO 00286 + O. IFAO 00287 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.115; Helck 2002, 280.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; belonging to the series found in January 1930.
-Year 26, IV <i>pr.t</i> day 25-30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 20; I <i>šmw</i> day 9-15	O. Turin 57153 Lopez 1980, 26, pl. 68-68a; Lopez 1984, pl. 198; Helck 2002, 231, 282; Černý, Notebook 18, 65.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1905.
Year 26, 27 -Year 26 III <i>pr.t</i> day 11, 22; III <i>pr.t</i> day 5-6, 14-15; IV [...]; day 22; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 28;	O. DM 911 Grandet 2003, 4, 86-88, 333-339; Janssen 1984, 303-306, pl. 18-19 (O. IFAO 01254).	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 14- 03-1949 (O. IFAO 0 1254 fragment (a)), 16-03-1949 (O. IFAO 1254

-Year 27 I <i>šmw</i> day 13, 14-16, 22, 24-25; II <i>šmw</i> day 22, 25-26, 22; day 28; III <i>šmw</i> day 2-3, 8, 18, 21-22, 25; IV <i>šmw</i> [...]; day 14; I <i>3h.t</i> day 11-13; II <i>3h.t</i> day 12; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 12, 24, 27			fragment (b)), 28-02-1949 (O. IFAO 0 1904 fragment (a)), 14-03-1949 (O. IFAO 0 1904 fragment (b)), 28-04-1949 (O. IFAO 0 1904 fragment (c)); marks: 14.3.49 (GP); 16.3.49 (GP).
-Year 27, day 10 + x; IV <i>šmw</i> day 10 + x; day 17; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 15; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 17, 18; I <i>3h.t</i> day 4-8	O. DM 653 Černý VII, 7, pl. 13; KRI V, 615; Helck 2002, p. 283 and 284.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 13-03-1949
-Year 27, I <i>3h.t</i> day 17, 19-23, 29; day 7, 8	O. DM 633 Černý 1970, 3, pl. 5; Helck 2002, 284.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 26-03-1949
-Year 27, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 1-9, 26-30	O. DM 33 Černý 1935a, 8, pl 11-12; KRI V, 511-512; Helck 2002, 286-287.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (20-01-1930)
-Year 27, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 10-11; IV <i>3h.t</i> day [...]; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 25(?) -26	O. IFAO 00253 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.114; Helck 2002, 286.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found 17.1.30 (17-01-1930), KS (Kom de decombres au sud du village, according to Clere MSS)
-Year 27, IV <i>pr.t</i> day 4-20; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 22-30	O. DeM 00034+O. Heidelberg Inv.Nr. 567 Demarée 2002b, 109-114, tafel XVII-XIX; Černý 1935a, 8, pl. 13-14; KRI V, 512-513; Helck 2002, 289-290.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: KS 17.1.30 (17-01-1930). Heidelberg fragment bought by U. Hölscher in 1930/31 and later given to the Ägyptologisches Institut.
-Year 27, III <i>pr.t</i> [...]; day 2-5, 8-9, 14, 19, 21, 24, 26-27	O. Ashmolean Museum 0255 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 31.58; Helck 2002, 289.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 28, year 18 + x (Černý, Kitchen: year 28) III <i>šmw</i> day 8-11, 15-17, 19, 21-27, 29; day 10 + x; day 25-28; epagomenal day 1-5; year 10 + x I <i>3h.t</i> day 1-5, 7-8; IV <i>šmw</i> ; I <i>3h.t</i>	O. DM 427 Černý 1951, 23, pl. 22; KRI V, 521-523; Helck 2002, 293-295.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found in Grand Puits to the north of the temple, 26-03-1949.

-Year 28, III <i>šmw</i> day 1, 2-6; IV [...]; IV <i>šmw</i> [...]; epagomenal day 2-5; day 30	O.DM 156 Černý 1937a, 13, pl. 33; KRI V, 519-520; Helck 2002, 294-295.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village, 02-01-1930 and 09-01-1930.
-Year 28, I <i>3h.t</i> day 17	O. Berlin P 10663 Wente 1973, 223-234; Endesfelder 1967, 65-66, pl. 21; KRI V, 558-559; Helck 2002, 296, 304; Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Deir el-Bahari; acquired by the Egyptian Museum in Berlin from K. Sethe in 1905.
-Year 28, II <i>pr.t</i> day 17-18	O. Turin 57007 r° Lopez 1978, 19, pl. 8-8a; Lopez 1984, pl. 194; KRI V, 533-534; Helck 2002, 299, 307. Černý, MSS 1. 420 A.	ostracon	Drovetti collection.
-Year 29, [end of I <i>3h.t</i>]; II <i>3h.t</i> day 4	O.DM 284 Černý 1939, 11, pl. 12; Helck 2002, 303; KRI V, 529.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; Kom de decombres au sud du village, 18-01-1930.
-Year 29, II <i>3h.t</i> day 21 and 23	O. Berlin P 10633 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de ; Allam 1973, 29 no. 8; Edgerton 1951, 137-138; Helck 2002, 304; Helck 1963b, (582); Herman 1911, pls. XXXVI-XXXVla; KRI V, 529-530; Warnemünde 2007, 34.	ostracon	Bought on the West Bank of Thebes.
-Year 29, III <i>3h.t</i> day x and day 1	O. Berlin P 14689 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	No indication
-Year 29, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 15, 18, 16	O. DM 604 Sauneron 1959, 11, pls. 25 and 25a; Helck 2002, 305; Helck 1963b, (651); KRI V, 615.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; Grand Puits, 07-01-1951
-Year 29, I <i>pr.t</i> day 26, 27-30; II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-5	O. Turin 57007 v° Lopez 1978, 19, pl. 8-8a; Lopez 1984, pl. 194; KRI V, 533-534; Helck 2002, 299, 307; Černý, MSS 1.420.	ostracon	Drovetti collection.
-Year 29, II <i>pr.t</i> day 10-13	O. Cairo 25530 Černý 1935b, 14, 30*, pl. XX; KRI V, 542; Helck 2002, 308.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; excavations Th. Davis.
-Year 29, II <i>pr.t</i> day 10-13, 15-17, 18	O. IFAO 1255+O.Varille 39 KRI VII, 300-302; Helck 2002, 309-310; Frandsen 1989, 117-122; Grandet 2016.	ostracon	Grand Puits (IFAO 1255)
-Year 29, II <i>pr.t</i> day 15, 16, 17 (?).	O. Brussel E. 7359 verso Verso unpublished. Notebook of R. J. Demarée.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 29, II <i>pr.t</i> day 10, 20, 30; III <i>pr.t</i> day 6	O. DM 330 Černý 1939, 24, pl. 30; Helck 2002, 308, 310-311; Helck 1969, (1009) and (1010); KRI V, 534.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 29 (Černý, <i>Community of Workmen</i> , proposes a date between year 16 and 29 of	P. Turin 2006+1961 Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 134-135 pls. 98-99 (description and facsimile of Cat. 2006, commentary); other fragments unpublished; Černý Mss 3.551 and 552 (transcription of Cat. 1961); Černý	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino

Ramesses III, but on p. 344 he opts for a date in the reign of Ramesses VI; Valbelle, <i>Ouvriers</i> , prefers year 29 of Ramesses III; Gutgesell, <i>Datierung</i> , year 29). Day 19-20; III <i>pr.t</i> day 2-5; III <i>pr.t</i> day 11-18; III <i>pr.t</i> day 14; rnp.t-sp 16; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day [...]; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 16-19	Notebook 15.82 (transcription of a fragment at the left of the recto, added by G. Botti); Helck 2002, 311-314.		Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
Year 29, 30, -Year 29 III <i>3h.t</i> day 2; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 30; I <i>pr.t</i> day 2; I <i>pr.t</i> ; II <i>pr.t</i> day 10, 11, 12, 13, 17; II <i>pr.t</i> [...]; III <i>pr.t</i> ; year 29 IV <i>pr.t</i> day 28; I <i>šmw</i> day 2; I <i>šmw</i> ; I <i>šmw</i> day 13, 16, 25; -Year 30 II <i>3h.t</i> day 10; II <i>pr.t</i> [...]; III <i>3h.t</i> day 10 + x; IV <i>3h.t</i> [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> day 3 + x	P. Turin Cat. 1880 Gardiner 1948, xiv-xvii, 45-58, no. XVIII; Allam 1973, 310-312, no. 276; Baer 1965, 431; Černý 1973a, 185, 186, 188, 189; Demichelis 2002, 208 and 209, no. 162; Donadoni Roveri 1988, 170; Edgerton 1951, 137-145; Frandsen 1989, 117; Frandsen 1990, 166-199; Helck 2002, 304, 308-310, 313-315, 318; see also <i>ibid.</i> , 306; McDowell 1999, 36 no. 12, 192-193 no. 147, 235-236 no. 187; Müller 2004, 165-184; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 50-65, pls. 35-48; Polis 2011, 387-401; Ventura 1986, 90, 101, 121-123, 139 and 140; Vernus 1980, 121-124.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 30¹⁷⁸ , IV <i>3h.t</i> day 27	O.DM 98 Černý 1935a, 26, pl. 57; KRI V, 541.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS).
-Year 31 , III <i>3h.t</i> day 1; II <i>3h.t</i> day 30; III <i>3h.t</i> day 2-11; I <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 12-18, 20; III <i>3h.t</i> day 21; III [...] day 30; III <i>3h.t</i> day 22	O. Prague H 14 KRI VII, 302-303; Helck 2002, 352-354.	ostracon	Fragment (a) acquired at Luxor 01-1930. Fragment (c) Deir el-Medina, Kom Sud (cf. Clère Mss), found 19-01-1930.
-Year 31 , I <i>šmw</i> day 26, 28-29	O.DM 55 Černý 1935a, 15, pl. 45-45a; KRI V, 557; Helck 2002, 321-322.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom a l'est de la chapelle votive no. 1213: Chapelle du Gebel (according to Clere MSS.); mark: K2 14.1.29 (14-01-1929)

¹⁷⁸ Dr. Demarée kindly informed me on some fragments of papyrus held in Turin Museum (no number, inside "Cartella F 47") dating to year 30 of Ramesses III. From the few fragments it is nonetheless understandable the general outline of the documents: the columns are narrow, similar to the contemporary ostraca, and the information provided not too much detailed.

-Year 31, epagomenal day 1-5; IV <i>šmw</i> day 30; I <i>3h.t</i> day 1-4, 7	O.DM 158 Černý 1937a, 13 and 14, pl. 35; KRI V, 555; Helck 2002, 324.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 01-01-1930 and 02-01-1930.
-Year 31, I <i>pr.t</i> day 19, 29, 30 II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-4, 14-18 IV <i>3h.t</i> ; I <i>pr.t</i> day 10, 20; I <i>pr.t</i> day 30; II <i>pr.t</i> ; II <i>pr.t</i> day 5 (?); II <i>pr.t</i> day 12, 20	O.DM 36 Černý 1935a, 9, pl. 16, 29; KRI V, 547-548; Helck 2002, 330-331.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 18.1.30 KS / 19.1.30 KS
-Year 31, II <i>pr.t</i> day 30	O.DM 578 Sauneron 1959, 6, pls. 13 and 13a; Helck 2002, 331; KRI III, 512.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; Grand Puits, 04-01-1951
-Year 31, III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-19	O.DM 37 Černý 1935a, 9, pl. 17; KRI V, 548-549; Helck 2002, 331-332.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 31, III <i>pr.t</i> day 10 [+X]; day 16 [or day 26]; III <i>pr.t</i>	O. Michaelides 073 Goedicke-Wente 1962, 19, pl. LXV; Helck 2002, 332; KRI V, 556.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 32, II <i>šmw</i> day 1-30; I <i>šmw</i> day 30; I <i>šmw</i>	O.DM 38 Černý 1935a, 10, pl. 18-19; KRI V, 551-552; Helck 2002, 334-335.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 19.1.30 KS / 20.1.30 KS (19-01-1930 and 20-01-1930)
-Year 32, III <i>šmw</i> day 1-29; II <i>šmw</i> day 30; II <i>šmw</i> day 20, 30 Maybe year 1 of Ramesses IV in view of the announcement of the death of the king.	O.DM 39+174 Černý 1935a, 10; pl. 20-21 [O. DM 00 039]; Černý 1937a, 18-19, pl. 46 [O. DM 00174]; KRI V, 552-553; Helck 2002, 335, 351.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 18.1.30 KS / 19.1.30 KS / 11.1.31 KS (O. DeM 39 (18-01-1930, 19-01-1930 and 11-01-1931)); 19.1.30 KS (O. DeM 174 (19-01-1930))
-Year 32, IV <i>3h.t</i> 1-16; III <i>šmw</i> [...] Maybe year 1 of Ramesses IV in view of the announcement of the death of the king.	P. Turin 1949+1946 Černý 1936, 110-111; Helck 2002, 335 and 351; KRI V, 557-558; KRI VI, 880; recto unpublished except for a note in Černý Notebook 16.94.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> ,

			2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
Between year 10 Ramesses III and year 20 Ramesses III (Lopez); Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 20 Ramesses III (Helck) II <i>pr.t</i> day 11-30; III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-14; II <i>pr.t</i> day 11-22; day 22-30; III <i>pr.t</i> day 1	O. Turin 57432 Lopez 1982, 41-42, pl. 139-139a and 140-140a; KRI VII, 317-318; Helck 2002, 241-242.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1909.
- day 24-25, 27 (O. IFAO 0268); day 28 (O. IFAO 0278)	O. IFAO 00268 + O. IFAO 00278 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.115.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; O. IFAO 0268 found 19-01-1930 Kom de decombres au sud du village, according to Clere MSS; O. IFAO 0278 belongs to the series found in January 1930.
- day 4-5; day 16-23	O. Turin 57156 Lopez 1980, 27, pl. 70-70a.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, excavations Schiaparelli 1905.
- II <i>šmw</i> day 15	O. Berlin P 14255 S. Allam 1982, 57, pl. 5 n.2; KRI VII, 316. Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations G. Moller
- III <i>šmw</i> day 14, 15; IV <i>šmw</i> day 8	O. Louvre E 13160 Caillaud 1821-1862, [ii], pl. 25 nos 3-4; Chabas 1867, 37-40; Černý 1957, 19 and pl. 65-65A no. 1; KRI V, 618; Helck 2002, 336.	ostracon	No indication
- day 10 + X; day 14; day 10 + X; day 14-15	O. Louvre E 25325 Grandet 2002, 204 no. 154; Keimer 1941, 13 and pl. 11 no. 33; Černý 1957, 21 and pl. 72-72A no. 4; Letellier 1978, 76-77 no.113; KRI V, 604-605.	ostracon	No indication
RAMESSES IV			
-Year 1, Maybe year 1 of Ramesses IV in view of the announcement of the death of the king.	O.DM 39+174 Černý 1935a, 10; pl. 20-21 [O. DM 00 039]; Černý 1937a, 18-19, pl. 46 [O. DM 00174]; KRI V, 552-553; Helck 2002, 335, 351.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village; mark: 18.1.30 KS / 19.1.30 KS / 11.1.31 KS (O. DeM 39 (18-01-1930, 19-01-1930 and 11-01-1931)); 19.1.30 KS (O. DeM 174 (19-01-1930))
-Year 1, Maybe year 1 of Ramesses IV in view of the	P. Turin 1949+1946 Černý 1936, 110-111; Helck 2002, 335 and 351; KRI V, 557-558; KRI VI, 880; recto unpublished except for a note in Černý Notebook 16.94.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum

announcement of the death of the king.			from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 1 , IV <i>šmw</i> day 1- epagomenal days	O. Berlin P 12631 Deir el Medine online; Černý, Notebook 32.51-6; Gutgessel, 1983, 41; Helck 2002, 352f.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina. Excavation Möller 1911.
-Year 1 , I <i>3h.t</i> day 1 (O. Strasbourg H 42, 2); I <i>3h.t</i> day 3-30 (O. DM 40); epagomenal days (O. DM 40)	O.DM 40+O.Strasbourg H. 042 Černý 1935a, 10, pls. 22-22 A and 23; KRI VI, 106 and 107 and VII, 329 and 330; McDowell 1999, 225 no. 174, Koenig 1997, 3, pl s. 13 and 105; Helck 2002, 354-355.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 19.1.30 KS (19-01- 1930)
-Year 1 , II <i>3h.t</i> day 1-17, 18- 30	O.DM 41+ O. Berlin P 12626 Černý 1935a, 11, pl. 23-25; KRI VI, 107-109; Helck 2002, 355-356.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 18.1.30 KS / 19.1.30 KS / 20.1.30 KS (18-01- 1930, 19-01-1930 and 20-01-1930)
-Year 1 , III <i>3h.t</i> day 1-21	O.DM 42 Černý 1935a, 11, pl. 26-26 A, pl. 27; KRI VI, 109-110; Helck 2002, 357-358.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 20.1.30 KS
-Year 1 , IV <i>3h.t</i> day 1-9, 10, 11, 14; 5-6, 7-17; I <i>pr.t</i> day 10; IV <i>3h.t</i> ; I <i>pr.t</i>	O.DM 43 Černý 1935a, 11, pl. 28-29; KRI VI, 110-111; Helck 2002, 358-359.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 20.1.30 KS
-Year 1 , I <i>pr.t</i> day 18-30 (?); II <i>pr.t</i> day 1 (?)-30; III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-4	O. DM 47 Černý 1935a, 13, pl. 39-41; KRI VI, 111-113; Helck 2002, 360-361.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 19.1.30 KS / 20.1.30 KS (19-01- 1930 and 20-01- 1930)
-Year 1 , III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-4, 11-30	O. Berlin P 12641+12628 Deir el Medine online; Černý, Notebook 32.64-66; Gutgessel, 1983, 45; Helck 2002, 362.	ostracon	Excavation Moller 1911. Deir el-Medina.
-Year 1 , II <i>šmw</i> day 13; III <i>šmw</i> day 3	O.DM 161+O.Berlin P 12640+ Strasbourg H82	ostracon	O. DM 161, Deir el-Medina. Excavation Moller

	Černý 1937a, 14-15, pls. 37-38; KRI VI, 114 and 115; Koenig 1997, 7, pls. 26, 27 and 110. Helck 2002, 363, 365-366; Černý Notebook 35.64		1911. O.Berlin P 12640 and O. Strasbourg H82 no provenance.
-Year 1, III <i>šmw</i> day 1-30	O.DM 44 Černý 1935a, 12, pl. 30-33, 30A-33A; KRI VI, 116-118; McDowell 1999, 238 no. 189B; Helck 2002, 366-370.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 19.1.30 KS / 20.1.30 KS (19-01-1930 and 20-01-1930)
-Year 2, III <i>šmw</i> day 15; IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-2, 7-30; epagomenal day 1-4; I <i>šmw</i> day 18; IV <i>šmw</i> day 3-6, 14, 16			
-Year 1, 2 year 2 I <i>3h.t</i> day 20; II <i>3h.t</i> day 19	O. IFAO 00295 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.123; Helck 2002, 356, 370.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found 22.1.32 (22-01-1932) S 268 (Tomb no. 268, according to Clere MSS)
-Year 2, II <i>3h.t</i> day 1-20, 22 (?) -30; III <i>3h.t</i> day 1-5; I <i>3h.t</i> day 30; II <i>3h.t</i> ; III <i>3h.t</i> ; II <i>3h.t</i> day 30	O.DM 45 Černý 1935a, 12, pl. 3-35, 34A-35A; KRI VI, 119-121; McDowell 1999, 207 no. 156; Helck 2002, 370-372.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: 20.1.30 KS (20-01-1930). Provenance of O. Berlin P 12651 and O. Vienna H 4: no indication.
-Year 2, III <i>3h.t</i> day 1-23, 24-30; II <i>3h.t</i> day 30	O.DM 46 Černý 1935a, 12-13, pl. 36-36 A and 37-38; KRI VI, 121-124; Helck 2002, 372-374.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.).
-Year 2, III <i>3h.t</i> , day 28	P. Turin 1891 r° KRI VI, 76-77; Černý 1973a, 103; Helck 2002, 374; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 66-67, pl. XLIX; Ziegler 2002, 477 cat. n. 234; recto line 13 is not given in the published facsimile, but was transcribed by Gardiner in his Notebook 149.48. Text collated with Černý's transcription in Mss 3.535 by R.J. Demarée, May 9, 1990.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 2, I <i>pr.t</i> day 1-30	HO 73, 1 (O. Ashmolean Museum 0113) Černý 1957, 21 and pl. 73-73A no. 1; KRI VI, 124-125; Helck 2002, 376-377.	ostracon	no indication

-Year 2¹⁷⁹, III <i>pr.t</i> day 4-9	O.DM 401 Černý 1951, 17, pl. 16; KRI VI, 125; Helck 2002, 379-380.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found in Grand Puits to the north of the temple, 14- 03-1949.
-Year 3, III <i>šmw</i> day 15-24	O. MMA 14.6.216 Demarée 2017, 101-106.	ostracon	Found by Harold Jones while working for Theodore Davis in 1908-1909 in front of KV 57.
-Year 3, IV <i>šmw</i> day 7, 8; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 11; [...] day 12; IV <i>šmw</i> day 14-18, 21-28; I <i>3h.t</i> day 4-7; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 13, 14	O. Cairo CG 25266 Daressy 1901, 68, pl. LV; Helck 2002, 384-385; Černý, Notebook 101.54.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Piacentini, Orsenigo, <i>La Valle dei Re riscoperta</i> , 282, note 11: possibly from excavations V. Loret 1899, KV 37; Orsenigo, <i>GM 216</i> (2008), 71.
-Year 3, IV <i>pr.t</i> day 7	O.DM 398 Černý 1951, 16, pl. 16; Helck 2002, 388; KRI VI, 251.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found in Grand Puits to the north of the temple, 24- 02-1949.
-Year 4, IV <i>3h.t</i> day [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> day 1-3	O. Ashmolean Museum 0070 Černý 1957, 14 and pl. 48-48A no. 1; Helck 2002, 391.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 4, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 10	O. Cairo CG 25271 KRI VI, 151; KRI VII, 455; Daressy 1901, 69, pl. LVI; Helck 2002, 391; Černý Notebook 101.24.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings
-Year 4, III <i>pr.t</i> day 3, 13	O. IFAO 00383 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 104.108; Helck 2002, 393.	ostracon	Bought at Luxor by the IFAO on 24-01- 1933.
-Year 4 (Ramesses IV?) II <i>šmw</i> day 12,13	O. Cairo CG 25272 Daressy 1901, 70, pl. LVI; Černý Notebook 101.33.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings
-Year 5, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 24, 25	O. Berlin P 09897 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Acquired by G. Möller
-Year 6, I <i>3h.t</i> day 12	O. Cairo CG 25274 Daressy 1901, 7; KRI VI, 145; Spiegelberg 1898b 13 no. III; Helck 2002, 399. Černý, Notebook 101.44.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings
-Year 6 (Ramesses IV?) I <i>3h.t</i> day 15	O. Berlin P 09906 (a graffito) Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Bought in Luxor (from Todrus, a dealer).
-Year 7, I <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 16; IV [...]	O. DM 657 Černý 1970, 8, pl. 15; Helck 2002, 405; KRI VI, 158.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 12- 04-1949

¹⁷⁹ According to Soliman D. M., unpublished PhD Thesis 2016, 268, “...after year 2 of Ramesses IV hieratic journal texts on ostraca recording the duty roster and daily deliveries **ceased to be produced** on a regular basis. During the reign of Ramesses V, such documents were predominantly created by the scribe of the ostraca with marks, and [...] no longer by hieratic scribes”. In reality, we think that this feature is not that strongly marked. There was not a neat end for the production of such documents, instead, their number simply declined.

-Year 7, [...] <i>šmw</i> day 26; IV <i>šmw</i> ; III <i>šmw</i> day 18; II <i>šmw</i> day 23 + x; II <i>pr.t</i> day 21	P. Turin PN 109 (Provv. 6258) Helck 2002, 404; Černý Notebook 152.19 and 20.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
- IV <i>3h.t</i> day 23, day 21	O. DM 393 Černý 1951, 15, pl. 14; KRI VI, 175.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found in Grand Puits to the north of the temple, 16- 04-1949.
- I <i>pr.t</i> day 1-4, 9-16	O. DM 617 Sauneron 1959, 13, pls. 29 and 29a; KRI VI, 179.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; Kom du Grand Puits, 30-12-1950.
- day 27-30; III <i>pr.t</i>	O. DM 10049 Grandet 2006, 53, 239.	ostracon	no indication
- [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 22; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 23	O. Cairo CG 25303 KRI VI, 150; KRI VII, 455 (revised transcription); Daressy 1901, 78.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings.
RAMESESSES V			
-Year 1, III <i>šmw</i> day 18-23 (?); III <i>šmw</i> day 28- 30; IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-2, 5, 7-26	O. Cairo 25609 Černý 1927c, 207-208; Černý 1935b, 37, 60*, pl. LIII; KRI VI, 245-246; Helck 2002, 419.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907- 1908; mark: House <i>lambda</i> 4 (workmen's houses between KV 17 Seti I and KV 21).
-Year 1, I <i>šmw</i> day 24- 25, 30, I <i>pr.t</i> , day 11-13, 27	P. Turin 2044 KRI VI, 340-343; Helck 2002, 417, 418, 420 and 421; McDowell 1999, 221, 227 and 228, nos. 170 and 178; for additional (unpublished) fragments Demarée 1993, 144.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 1, I <i>šmw</i> , day 7	P. Turin 2002 r° Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 137-141, pls. CII- CXI; Allam 1973, pls. 132 and 133; Bruyère 1930b, 235; Helck 2002, 418 and 481; Helck 1969, (60) and (961); KRI VI, 244 and 245; McDowell 1999, 222 and 223, no.172; transcription of the entire text, including some small fragments added after the publication by Pleyte-Rossi, in Cern MSS.3.571, 723-731.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).

RAMESSES VI			
-Year 1, II <i>pr.t</i> day 22	HO 68, 1 (O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + 660) Černý 1957, 20, pls. LXVIII and LXVIII A, no. 1; Bierbrier 1982, 44, fig. 25; Černý 1935b, 70 and 71, 89*, pl. LXXXVI; Demarée 2002a, 33, pl. 115; KRI VI, 364; McDowell 1999, 206, no. 155; Dorn 2011, 153, 215, 412, pl. 535-537.	ostracon	BM fragment purchased from M. Mohassib, Luxor, 1912. Cairo fragment: Valley of the Kings, workmen's houses between KV 17 and KV 21; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907-1908.
-Year 2, II <i>3h.t</i> day 1-2	O. Cairo 25254 KRI VI, 343; Daressy 1901, 66, pl. LIV; Helck 2002, 447; McDowell 1999, 225-226 no. 175; Peden 2001, 83-88; Spiegelberg 1898b, 13 no. IV; Wimmer 1995, I, 39-40.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings.
-Year 2, II <i>3h.t</i> day 6	O. Cairo 25256 KRI VII, 331, Daressy 1901, 66; Helck 2002, 371.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings.
-Year 2, II <i>3h.t</i> day 22	O. BtdK 659 Dorn 2011, vol. I, 410-411, vol. III pl. 529-534.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings.
-Year 2, IV <i>pr.t</i> day 7-11, 13-14	O. Ashmolean Museum 0160 KRI VII, 362-363; Helck 2002, 442.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 2, day 24; II <i>šmw</i> day 18-19; day 20 + X; day 21	O. Ashmolean Museum 0302+O. Ashmolean Museum 0342 rev. Černý 1957, 28 and pl. 106 no.1; Helck 2002, 445.	ostracon	no indication
-Year 3, II <i>3h.t</i> day 14; II <i>3h.t</i> ; I <i>3h.t</i> day 18	P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1 KRI VI, 339 and 340; Helck 2002, 447 and 448.	papyrus	no indication
-Year 4, III <i>3h.t</i> day lost	O. Cairo 25566 Černý 1935b, 24-25, 47*, pl. XXXIII; KRI VI, 369; Helck 2002, 448.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907-1908; mark: House HO (workmen's houses between KV 17 and KV 21).
-Year 4, III <i>3h.t</i> day 18	O. Cairo 25269 Daressy 1901, 69, pl. LV; Spiegelberg 1902, 325; Helck 2002, 448; a revised transcription by Černý, Notebook 101.44.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, excavations V. Loret 04-04-1899, tomb KV 37, mark: 33857. Piacentini, Orsenigo, <i>La Valle dei Re riscoperta</i> , 282 and 283, notes 10 and 17; Orsenigo, <i>GM 216</i> (2008), 65 and 71.
-Year 7, II <i>šmw</i> day 4	P. Turin 1885 v° Carter-Gardiner 1917, 130-158, pls. XXIX and XXX; Badawy 1948, 235-241; Helck 2002, 450 and 455; KRI VI, 58-60, 223, 224, 371 and 424; McDowell 1999, 202-205, no. 153 and fig. 23; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 100-102, pl.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823

	LXXI and LXXII; Scamuzzi 1965, pl. LXXXVII; Von Beckerath 2000, 1-7.		(see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45). Papyrus fragments found in tombs 1336, 1337 and 1340 at Deir el-Medina belong to the same document according to J. Cern and G. Botti: Bruyère, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Medineh 1933-1934</i> , 79 and 80.
RAMESSES VII			
-Year 1 , I <i>3h.t</i> day 18, 21, 25; II <i>3h.t</i> day 5?	P. Turin 1885 v° col. III, l. 3-8 Carter-Gardiner 1917, 130-158, pls. XXIX and XXX; Badawy 1948, 235-241; Helck 2002, 450 and 455; KRI VI, 58-60, 223, 224, 371 and 424; McDowell 1999, 202-205, no. 153 and fig. 23; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 100-102, pl. LXXI and LXXII; Scamuzzi 1965, pl. LXXXVII; Von Beckerath 2000, 1-7.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45). Papyrus fragments found in tombs 1336, 1337 and 1340 at Deir el-Medina belong to the same document according to J. Cern and G. Botti: Bruyère, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Medineh 1933-1934</i> , 79 and 80.
-Year 2 , IV <i>šmw</i> day 30; epagomenal days; I <i>3h.t</i> day 1 -Year 7 , III <i>3h.t</i> day 9	P. Turin 2070/154 Muszynski 1977, 183-200, pls. IX and X; Allam 1973, 327 and 328, no. 281, pls. 120 and 121; Helck 2002, 405, 472 and 473; KRI VI, 426-428.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 8 , IV <i>šmw</i> , day 25 Valbelle, <i>Ouvriers</i> , 39: Ramesses IX	P. Turin 1883+2095 KRI VI, 431 and 432; Helck 2002, 461; Helck 1969, (981); Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 41 and 42, pl. XXIX.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the

			Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
- III Ax.t day [...]; III Ax.t day 26-30	O. Cairo CG 25297 KRI VI, 434; KRI VII, 457 (revised transcription); Daressy 1901, 75-76, pl. LVIII; Helck 2002, 455.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, excavations V. Loret 1899, tomb KV 37, mark: 37. Piacentini, Orsenigo, <i>La Valle dei Re riscoperta</i> , 282, note 10.
RAMESSES IX¹⁸⁰			
-Year 1-2 Year 1 , I 3h.t day 10; year 2 II 3h.t day 8; I 3h.t day 11	O. Ashmolean Museum 0187 rev. Unpublished; Černý Notebook 45.89 and 107.23; Helck 2002, 472.	ostracon	Bought in Luxor 20-02-1934.
-Year 4 (might be of Ramesses XI), 9 Year 4 II pr.t, day 3, 8; year 4, III šmw, day 14; year 4, IV šmw ..., pr.t, day 17; year 4, IV pr.t, day 3; year 4, II šmw, day 19; year 4, IV šmw, day 3; I 3h.t, day 3-15; II 3h.t, day 10. Year 9 , II 3h.t, day 11-15, 22-27.	P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 Demarée 2010, 55-78, pl. I-II, Ia-IIa; KRI VI, 608-609; Helck 2002, 488; Tiradritti 1999, 133; Cerny Notebook 17.21-24	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 4, 5, 6, 7 (?), 8 , IV šmw; I 3h.t; III šmw; II 3h.t Year 4 II šmw day 1; [...] 3h.t day 4; III 3h.t; Year 5 II 3h.t day 1; [...] day 1 r III šmw day 30; III šmw r I 3h.t, II 3h.t; [...] day 4 Year 6 II 3h.t day 4; III 3h.t; II 3h.t day 10+x; II 3h.t; II 3h.t day 30; [...] III 3h.t day 16; IV šmw; Year 3+x I pr.t day 19; IV 3h.t day 27 Year 8 IV 3h.t day 8	P. Turin 2013 + P. Turin 2050 + P. Turin 2061 KRI VI, 599-603 (transcription of recto I 1-13, x + 1-7, recto II 1-13, recto x + III and verso I x + 1-8); rest of text on recto and verso unpublished; see Černý Notebook 16.34-40, 52-57; Helck 2002, 478-480.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).

¹⁸⁰ Dr. Rob Demarée kindly informed me on some unpublished documents (not included here) in Turin (Egyptian Museum) concerning year 2, 3, 8 and 14 of Ramesses IX. The documents/fragments are being investigated and conserved at the moment. Dated to year 13 of Ramesses IX is also the verso of papyrus Prov. 6289, according to the words of Demichelis (Demichelis 2016, 38).

Year 5, 6, 7, 8, 18 Year 5 I <i>pr.t</i> day 30 Year 6 I <i>šmw</i> day 29 Year 7 I <i>pr.t</i> day 21; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 8, 24; I <i>pr.t</i> day 20; I [...] day 10 + x; II <i>pr.t</i> day 30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 23; I <i>3h.t</i> day 8; I <i>pr.t</i> day 14; II <i>šmw</i> day 3 + x; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 29; I <i>pr.t</i> day 10, 23, 26, 29; II <i>pr.t</i> day 2; III <i>pr.t</i> day 18; III <i>pr.t</i> day 23; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 10 Year 8 III <i>3h.t</i> day 29; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 9; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 3, 5; II <i>pr.t</i> day 3 Year 18 IV <i>3h.t</i> day 6	P. Turin 1881 + P. Turin 2080 + P. Turin 2092 KRI VI, 609-619; Allam 1973, 313-317, no. 277, pls. 108-110; Caminos, 1954, 465-474; Gardiner 1937, xx, 125-128, no. XIII; Helck 2002, 483-490, 492; Helck 1963a, (500) and (501); Janssen 2005a, 42-43; Menu 1973, 85-89, no. 6; republished in: Menu 1982, 241-245, no. 6; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 9-21, pls. II (B), III-X; Donadoni Roveri 1989, 127 and 128.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i>, 2nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 7-8, Year 7 I <i>3h.t</i> day 2; II <i>šmw</i> day 24; I <i>3h.t</i> day 4. Year 8: I <i>pr.t</i> day 15; I <i>3h.t</i> day 4; III <i>pr.t</i> day 13; I <i>pr.t</i> day 15, 23	P. Turin 2002 r° (col. IV end of line 21 and lines 22-23) + P. Turin 2002 v° Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 137-141, pls. CII-CXI; Allam 1973, pls. 132 and 133; Bruyère 1930b, 235; Helck 2002, 418 and 481; Helck 1969, (60) and (961); KRI VI, 244 and 245; McDowell 1999, 222 and 223, no.172. Transcription of the entire text, including some small fragments added after the publication by Pleyte-Rossi, in Černý MSS.3.571, 723-731.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i>, 2nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
Year 7, 8, 9 Year 7 III <i>3h.t</i> day 8, 25; III <i>pr.t</i> day 13; year [...]; IV <i>šmw</i> day 24, 30; I <i>3h.t</i> day 16; [...] day 5; II <i>3h.t</i> day 9; III <i>3h.t</i> day 2; IV <i>3h.t</i> [...]; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 12; Year 8 I <i>pr.t</i> day 7, 15; I <i>pr.t</i> day 10 + x; II <i>pr.t</i> day 10, 20 + x; I <i>šmw</i> [...]; III <i>šmw</i> [...] Year 9 I <i>3h.t</i> day 1; II <i>3h.t</i> day 20; III <i>3h.t</i> [...]; IV <i>3h.t</i> day ...; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 30.	P. Turin 1906 + P. Turin 1939 + P. Turin 2047 KRI VI, 624-630; Helck 2002, 481, 482, 486-491, 494-497.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i>, 2nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).

-Year 8, I <i>3h.t.</i>, day 27-30 II <i>3h.t.</i>, day 1-7, 14-18	P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin fragment gamma + P. Turin 2074 <u>Recto</u>: Demarée 2010, 55-78. KRI VI, 608 and 609; Helck 2002, p. 488. Data from unpublished fragments based on Černý Notebook 17.11-2 and notes by R.J. Demarée and B.J.J. Haring. For the Milan and Turin fragments as part of the same documents, see Demarée 1993, 105. <u>Verso</u>: Demarée 2010, 55-78. Tiradritti 1999, 133; verso of Turin fragments unpublished; Černý Notebook 17.21-24. Data from unpublished fragments based on Černý Notebook 17.21-24 and notes by R.J. Demarée; see also Černý 1955, 29. For the Milan and Turin fragments as part of the same documents, see Demarée 1993 105.	papyrus	Turin fragments presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i>, 2nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 9, I <i>3h.t.</i>, day 6-11 -Year 10, II <i>šmw</i>, day 10+x...	P. Turin 2072/142 Allam 1973, 330, no. 283, pls. 128-130; Helck 2002, 497, 499-501; KRI VI, 630-633.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i>, 2nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 4, 9 Year 3 + x [...] day 25; Year 2 + x [...] day 26; Year 4 IV [...] [...] IV <i>pr.t</i> day 21; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 30; [...] <i>šmw</i> day [...]; I <i>šmw</i> day 13; I <i>šmw</i> day 25; I <i>3h.t</i> [...]; I <i>3h.t</i> day 6; [...] IV <i>šmw</i> day 2; [...] IV <i>šmw</i> day 14; epagomenal day 1; I <i>3h.t</i> day 16; IV <i>3h.t</i> [...]; Year 9 IV <i>3h.t</i> day 12; III <i>3h.t</i> day 12; II <i>3h.t</i> day 10; II <i>3h.t</i> day 13; II <i>3h.t</i> day 15; II <i>3h.t</i> day 17-19; III <i>3h.t</i> day 2; III <i>3h.t</i> day 15; III <i>3h.t</i> [...]	P. Turin 1900 + P. Turin 2048 + P. Turin 2088 + P. Turin 2093 + P. Turin 2097 + P. Turin 2101 KRI VI, 619-624 and 684; Harris 1961, 124, 231 and [266]; Helck 1984, 242-247; Helck 2002, 477, 495, 496 and 540.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i>, 2nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 10	P. Turin [unnumbered 1]¹⁸¹	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the

¹⁸¹ Dr. Demarée kindly informed me on some more fragments belonging to this papyrus and held in Turin Museum inside “Cartella F 103” (unnumbered and unpublished).

day 3 + x; day 10 + x; day 21; day 23; -Year 12 II 3 _{h.t} day 10 + x	Helck 2002, 502-503; partial transcription (without beginnings of recto 3-5 and 2 nd column on verso) in Černý Notebook 16.68; additional data from notes R.J. Demarée.		government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 10 , IV <i>pr.t</i> day 9; II <i>šmw</i> day 24; II <i>šmw</i> [...]; II <i>šmw</i> day 1; IV <i>šmw</i> day 27; I <i>pr.t</i> day 16; III 3 _{h.t} day 12; IV 3 _{h.t} day 7; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 19; II <i>šmw</i> day 26, 28	P. Turin 54021 KRI VI, 633-636; Demichelis 2002a; Helck 2002, 498, 499 and 501; Janssen 2005a, 59-60.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 10 , IV <i>šmw</i> day 13-18; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 21	O. Cairo CG 25305 Daressy 1901, 78; Helck 2002, 502.	ostrakon	Valley of the Kings.
-Year 10 , IV <i>šmw</i> day 26-30 epagomenal day 1; I 3 _{h.t} day 2-7 -Year 11 , [...] <i>šmw</i> day 29; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 2	P. Turin 2071/224 [140]+frgt KRI VI, 637-638; Helck 2002, 503-504; McDowell 1999, 226-227, no. 176.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 11 II 3 _{h.t} day 29	P. Turin 1891 v° KRI VI, 636-637; Helck 2002, 503; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 67, pl. L; Ziegler 2002, 477 cat. n. 234; text collated with Černý's transcription in Mss 3.535 by R.J. Demarée, May 9, 1990.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 13 III <i>pr.t</i> day 9; III <i>pr.t</i> day [...]	P. Turin 2087 v° Allam 1973, 309, no. 275, pl. 107; Helck 2002, 504; KRI VI, 640.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> ,

			2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 13, epagomenal days; [IV] <i>šmw</i> day 30; epagomenal day 1; III <i>šmw</i>; IV <i>šmw</i>; epagomenal days; I <i>3h.t</i>; epagomenal day 2-5; I <i>3h.t</i> day 1- 6, 9-20 -Year 14, I <i>3h.t</i> day 24	Giornale, pl. 4-7 (P. Turin 1999 + P. Turin 2009 v°) Botti, Peet 1928, 8-10, 12, 13, pls. a and 4-7; Helck 2002, 504-506; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 113-114, pls. CLII and CLIII; KRI VI, 563-566.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 14, III <i>3h.t</i> day 14-15	O. Léningrad 2973 r° Černý 1931, 395-399, pl.III; KRI VI, 659-660; Bogoslovsky 1973, 88-93, fig.4; Wimmer 1995, I, 92-93; Helck 2002, 506.	ostracon	J. Černý's fragment purchased by J. Černý in Luxor from M. Mohasseb in 1930. Leningrad fragment bought by Turajev in Luxor in 1909.
-Year 14, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 1-4	O. Cairo 25299 Daressy 1901, 76, pl. LV; KRI VI, 666; Helck 2002, 507.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, Tomb KV 6.
-Year 14, III <i>3h.t</i> day 20-24	HO 69, 1 (O. BM EA 05672 + O. Cairo CG 25649) O.BM 5672 + O. Cairo CG 25649: Černý 1957, p. 20, pl. LXIX-LXIXA.1; O. Cairo CG 25649: Černý 1935b, p. 49, 69*, pl. LXIV; O. BM 5672+O. Cairo CG 25649: KRI VI, 660-661; Demarée 2002a, 20 and pl. 43-44; Helck 2002, 507.	ostracon	O. BM 5672: Valley of the Kings; O. Cairo CG 25649: Valley of the Kings; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1915; mark: 138 (WV 22 Amenhotep III 'upper stratum' burial chamber J).
-Year 14, IV <i>3h.t</i>, day 25-27 -Year 15, II <i>3h.t</i>, day 16, 24	P. Turin 2071/224+1960 Allam 1973, 329, no. 282, pls. 122-127; Helck 2002, 508-510; KRI VI, 641-644.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year [15] epagomenal day 5; I <i>3h.t</i> day 1 -Year 16, I <i>3h.t</i> day 21-27; II <i>3h.t</i> day 11, 19; III <i>pr.t</i> day 13	P. Turin Cat. 1884 + P. Turin Cat. 2067 + P. Turin Cat. 2071 + P. Turin Cat. 2105 KRI VI, 644-650; Helck 2002, 511-514; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 112, 113, pl. 76.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).

-Year 15 I <i>šmw</i> day 24, 30; II <i>šmw</i> day 7, 18; IV <i>šmw</i> day 14; I <i>3h.t</i> [...]; II <i>pr.t</i> day 30 -Year 16 I <i>šmw</i> [...]; III <i>šmw</i> day 20; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 1; I <i>3h.t</i> day 1; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 30; I <i>3h.t</i> day 17 -Year 17 I <i>3h.t</i> day 1; IV <i>pr.t</i> [...]; I <i>3h.t</i> [...]; I <i>3h.t</i> day 23; II <i>3h.t</i> day 1; III <i>3h.t</i> day 11; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 3 + x; I <i>šmw</i> [...]; II <i>pr.t</i>; III <i>pr.t</i>; IV <i>pr.t</i>; I <i>šmw</i> day 1; II <i>šmw</i> day 1; II <i>pr.t</i> day 1; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 24; III <i>šmw</i>; IV <i>šm</i>; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 30; I <i>3h.t</i>; IV <i>3h.t</i>; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 2	P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P. Turin Cat. 2083 verso (Giornale year 17B) Botti, Peet 1928, 15-18 and 27-39, pls. b and 27-43; Allam 1973, 331-335; Helck 2002, 510, 511, 516-521; KRI VI, 581-594; McDowell 1999, 211, no 160.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 17 I <i>pr.t</i> day 14-17	P. Turin Cat. 2001 + P. Turin Cat. 2005 + P. Turin Cat. 2029 + P. Turin Cat. 2078 recto (Giornale year 17A) Botti, Peet 1928, 14 and 15, 19-21, pls. b and 8-13; Helck 2002, 521-523; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 128-131, pls. XCII and XCIV; KRI VI, 567-570.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 17, II <i>pr.t</i> day 6-14, 15-30; III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-5, 7-14; II [...]day 3; [...]day 15; II <i>pr.t</i> day 25; III <i>pr.t</i> day 15-21, 23	P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P. Turin Cat. 2083 recto (Giornale year 17B) Botti, Peet 1928, 15-18 and 22-27, pls. b and 14-26; Helck 2002, p. 523-529; KRI VI, 570-581; McDowell 1999, 198, no 151 A.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 17 II <i>pr.t</i> day 20	P. Turin Cat. 2001 + P. Turin Cat. 2005 + P. Turin Cat. 2029 + P. Turin Cat. 2078 verso (Giornale year 17A) Botti-Peet 1928, 27-29, 39-41, pls. b and 44-48; Helck 2002, 525, 527 and 528; KRI VI, 595-598; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 128-131, pls. XCIII and XCV.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).

-Year 17 (Botti-Peet, Helck, Kitchen)	P. Turin Cat. 2106 + P. Turin Cat. 2107 Botti-Peet 1928, 41 and 42, pl. 49; Helck 2002, 528; KRI VI, 598, 868 and 869; McDowell 1999, 198 and 199, no 151 B.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-	O. Cairo CG 25314 KRI VI, 666; KRI VII, 459 (revised transcription); Daressy 1901, 81.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, excavations V. Loret 1899, tomb KV 37. Piacentini, Orsenigo, <i>La Valle dei Re riscoperta</i> , 282, note 10; Orsenigo, <i>GM</i> 216 (2008), 73.
RAMESSES X¹⁸²			
-Year 3¹⁸³ , II <i>pr.t</i> , day 24; II <i>3h.t</i> , day 2; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 24; III <i>pr.t</i> day 13 + x; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 26; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 17; III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-21, 23-24, 26-30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 1-2, 4-5, 9-10, 12, 16-30; I <i>šmw</i> day 2-30; II <i>šmw</i> day 1-30; III <i>šmw</i> day 1-10; I <i>3h.t</i> day 1; II <i>3h.t</i> ; III <i>šmw</i> day 11-22, 24-30; IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-6, 8; III [...]; IV <i>šmw</i> day 11, 16; IV <i>šmw</i> [...]; IV <i>šmw</i> day 30; epagomenal day 1 epagomenal day 3-5; I <i>3h.t</i> day 1-2, 6, 10 + x, 19-20, 22-24, 26, 28-29; II <i>3h.t</i> day 2	Giornale, pl. 50-63 (P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094) Botti-Peet 1928, 42-55 and 27-39, pls. c and 50-63; Von Beckerath, 1994, 29-33; Helck 2002, 541-554, 561; KRI VI, 687-699, 850 and 851; Lieblein-Chabas 1868, 4-41, pls. I-IV; Schneider 2000, 88-104.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
- day 10+x; day 23-30	O. Cairo CG 25244 KRI VII, 385; Daressy 1901, 63, pl. LI.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings.

¹⁸² Dr. Rob Demarée kindly informed me on some unpublished documents (not included here) in Turin (Egyptian Museum) concerning year 2 and 3 of Ramesses X. The documents/fragments are being investigated and conserved at the moment.

¹⁸³ A papyrus preserved in Turin Museum, inside “cartella F 351”, without number, belongs to year 1 of Ramesses X, specifically to month IV of *3h.t*. Furthermore, an unpublished ostracon found by Davies in the Valley of Kings in 1907/08 (O. MMA 09.184.733, kindly mentioned to me by Dr. Demarée) is probably dated to year 1 of Ramesses X.

RAMESSES XI¹⁸⁴ -Year 1 I 3 _{h.t} day 20 + x; III 3 _{h.t} day 30	Giornale, pl. 50-63 (P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094) Botti-Peet 1928, 42-55 and 27-39, pls. c and 50-63; Von Beckerath 1994, 29-33; Helck 2002, 541-554, 561; KRI VI, 687-699, 850 and 851; Lieblein-Chabas 1868, 4-41, pls. I-IV; Schneider 2000, 88-104.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
Year 12 and year 14 -Year 12 II 3 _{h.t} day 16, 21; III 3 _{h.t} day 19, 23, 28-29; IV 3 _{h.t} day 12-14; IV 3 _{h.t} day 12, 18, 20, 24; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 5; I <i>šmw</i> day 9; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 13 -Year 14 I 3 _{h.t} day 10-11, 25; II 3 _{h.t} day 7; II 3 _{h.t} day [...].	P. Turin 1895 + P. Turin 2006 Gardiner 1948, xiii and xiv, 35-44, no. XVII; Gardiner 1941, 22-37; Lieblein 1870, 141-152; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 83, 84, 132, 133, 135, 136, 216-218, pls. 65 (c), 96, 97, 100, 101, 155-157.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
Year 14, 15, IV <i>šmw</i> ; day 16, 17, 18; year 10 [+ x] IV <i>šmw</i> day 1; year 14 III <i>šmw</i> day 26, 28-30; IV <i>šmw</i> day 1, 5-7, 27-30; epagomenal day 1-4; year 10 [+ x x +] III <i>šmw</i> day 4 [+ x]; III <i>šmw</i> day 10; III <i>pr.t</i> day 29; II <i>šmw</i> day 12 year 15 I 3 _{h.t} day 10; II 3 _{h.t} day 7; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 10 [+ x]; II 3 _{h.t} day 10 [+ x]	P. BM EA 09997 KRI VII, 389-394; Demarée 2015, 335-340.	papyrus	From the Henry Salt Collection (Černý Notebook 50.44).
-Year [17] III <i>pr.t</i> day 11; IV <i>šmw</i> day 24; III <i>pr.t</i> day 11; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 10 + x; I <i>šmw</i> day 20, 22, 28, 29; II <i>šmw</i> day 7, 10, 15; III <i>šmw</i> day 10, 13, 19 -Year 18	Gardiner, RAD, 64-68 (P. Turin 1888 + P. Turin 2085) Gardiner 1948, xx and xxi, 64-68, no. XXII; Helck 2002, 565 and 566; Pleyte-Rossi 1869, 77 and 78, pl. 61.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo</i>

¹⁸⁴ A new document written by the scribe of the Tomb *Dḥwty-ms*, belonging to year 9 of Ramesses XI, month IV of 3_{h.t}, and concerning the collection of grain for the Tomb (recto, while the verso contains a ship's log), was found in Turin Museum with the number 2098+2100/306. The document is unpublished but a forthcoming article by R. J. Demarée is expected soon.

IV <i>šmw</i> day 24			<i>Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 2 of <i>wḥm</i> <i>ms.w.t</i> I <i>pr.t</i> day 2; II <i>pr.t</i> day 18, 19, 23; IV <i>šmw</i> day 19, 21; year 2 <i>m wḥm ms.w.t</i> I <i>pr.t</i> day 19; II <i>pr.t</i> day 29; I <i>pr.t</i> day 9, 10, 19; III <i>pr.t</i> day 3; II <i>pr.t</i> day 29	P. Turin 2094 [1] KRI VI, 865-868; Helck 2002, 568-570.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
- day 7-30; day 3-23.	O. Cairo CG 25243 KRI VI, 870-872; KRI VII, 462-463 (revised transcription); Daressy 1901, 62-63, pl. LII; Wimmer 1995, I, 38-39; Helck 2002, 572-573.	ostracon	Valley of the Kings, Tomb KV 6, excavation in 1890.

5.2.b Second section: documents not dated with certainty

Even if these documents will not be analyzed in detail, they will be here listed for completeness.

Dyn.18 or 19			
First half dyn. 19 (Černý); Seti I (Kitchen), perhaps rather dyn. 18 (R.J. Demarée).	O. Cairo CG 25501 Černý 1935b, 1, 1*, pl. I; KRI I, 370.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; excavations Th. Davis; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
Dyn. 19 or 20			
Ramesses II (Černý-Gardiner; Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III); Year 2 Ramesses IV and year 3 Ramesses IV (Helck); year 3 Ramesses IV (Demarée); year 3 Ramesses IV and year 4 Ramesses IV (Janssen; Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII) [...] + I <i>pr.t</i> day 5; year 3 II <i>3h.t</i> day 14	O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067 Černý 1957, 6, pl. 19-19A, no.2; Demarée 2002a, 34-35 and pl. 131-132; Helck 2002, 380, 386; www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk ; Janssen 1992, 117-122, pl.2; KRI III, 573 and VII, 333-334.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, based on internal evidence (Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 34).
Dyn. 19, year 9 Merenptah;	O. Ashmolean Museum 0115 KRI VII, 283; Helck 2002, 226.	ostracon	No indication

dyn. 20, year 9 Ramesses III (Kitchen, Helck) II <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 20			
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 (Koenig), year 28 Ramesses III and year 29 Ramesses III (Helck); year 29 Ramesses III (Kitchen) I <i>šmw</i> day 10+x; I <i>šmw</i> day 20, 30; II <i>šmw</i> day 10, 13, 20, 30; III <i>Smw</i> day 1 -Year 29 I <i>pr.t</i> x; epagomenal days; II <i>3h.t</i> ; IV <i>3h.t</i>	O. Strasbourg H. 026 Koenig 1997, 4, pl. 7, 8, pl. 103; KRI VII, 298; Helck 2002, 301, 302 and 306.	ostracon	No indication; note that many of the Strasbourg ostraca were excavated by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1895-1896 and given to the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1918 (Koenig 1997, 1; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 58 (1923), 25, note 4).
End dyn. 19 - beginning dyn. 20 (Černý); dyn. 20, year 1 Ramesses VI (Kitchen, Helck) II <i>3h.t</i> day 12, 15; year 1 I <i>3h.t</i> day 22	O. Cairo CG 25654 Černý 1935b, 50, 70*, pl. LXVIII; KRI VI, 364-365; Helck 2002, 441.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912; mark: DM
End Dyn. 19 or beginning Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 4 Siptah-Tausert (Helck, Kitchen) II <i>šmw</i> day 9; III <i>šmw</i> day 16, 25; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 10	O. Cairo CG 25794 Černý 1935b, 90, 112; Altenmüller 1996, 6); Helck 2002, 182 and 183; KRI IV, 361.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 381 A; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 330.
End dyn. 19 or beginning dyn. 20 (Lopez); Siptah- Tausert (Kitchen); year 3 Siptah (Helck); late years Seti II to early years Siptah (Collier) II <i>pr.t</i> day 12-14, 16- 17, 23; II <i>pr.t</i> day 10 + X	O. Turin 57388 Lopez 1982, 29, pl. 125-125a; KRI VII, 255-256; Helck 2002, 180; Collier 2004, 52-53, 160.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1909.
Late dyn. 19 or early dyn. 20 (Grandet) I <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 22; II <i>3h.t</i> day 14; [...] day 6+x	O. DM 733 Grandet 2000, 5, 30-31, 135.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 17-12-1950, mark: KGP 17.12.50.
Dyn. 19 or Dyn. 20 [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 24+x	O. Berlin P 10644 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Bought by K. Sethe at Deir el-Bahari
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 III <i>3h.t</i> day 29; I <i>pr.t</i> day 30; day 23-25	O. Strasbourg H. 012 Koenig 1997, 3, pl. 5, pl. 102.	ostracon	No indication; note that many of the Strasbourg ostraca

			were excavated by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1895-1896 and given to the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1918 (Koenig, <i>Ostraca Strasbourg</i> , 1; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 58 (1923), 25, note 4).
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 I <i>pr.t</i> day 11-13	O. Strasbourg H. 023 Koenig 1997, 4, pl. 6, pl. 103.	ostrakon	No indication; note that many of the Strasbourg ostraca were excavated by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1895-1896 and given to the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1918 (Koenig, <i>Ostraca Strasbourg</i> , 1; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 58 (1923), 25, note 4).
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 day 25; day 20+x; day 20+x	O. Strasbourg H. 032 Koenig 1997, 4, pl. 9, pl. 103.	ostrakon	No indication; note that many of the Strasbourg ostraca were excavated by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1895-1896 and given to the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1918 (Koenig, <i>Ostraca Strasbourg</i> , 1; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 58 (1923), 25, note 4).
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 day 16-24, 27	O. Valley of Queens 03 Koenig 1988, 116, Document III.	ostrakon	Valley of Queens, found 03-1986 or 04-1986 near tomb 48
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 II <i>šmw</i> day 27; IV [...]; epagomenal days	O. Turin 57247 Lopez 1980, 54, pl. 86.	ostrakon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1905.

Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 IV <i>pr.t</i> [...]; I <i>šmw</i> day 5	O. Turin 57152 Lopez 1980, 25-26, pl. 67.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1905.
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20	O. Qurna 630/3 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Qurna; excavated 1983 immediately in front of the German House.
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 day 24; day 26	O. Michaelides 088 Goedicke-Wente 1962, 23, pl. LXXXVIII.	ostracon	no indication
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 IV <i>šmw</i> day 8; year 8 IV <i>šmw</i> day 20	O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14127 rev. Peterson 1973, 84 no. 52, pl. 31.	ostracon	Luxor or Deir el-Medina. Presented to the Medelhavsmuseet by R. G. Gayer-Anderson in 1935. Mark: "E 4127", and mark: "127 R. G. Gayer-Anderson Collection".
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 I <i>pr.t</i> [...]; day 15-17	O. DM 946 Grandet 2003, 4, 119-120, 387.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 07-01-1950.
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 I <i>šmw</i> [...]; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 21; I <i>šmw</i> day 21-24	O. DM 456 Černý 1951, 31, pl. 30.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Trou creuse par Schiaparelli a l'est du no. 290 (according to Clere MSS.), 09-03-1929; mark: TS NO 9.3.29
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 year [...]; day 2-4; I <i>šmw</i> day 6, 7	O. Strasbourg H. 057 Koenig 1997, 6, pl. 16, 17, pl. 106.	ostracon	No indication; note that many of the Strasbourg ostraca were excavated by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1895-1896 and given to the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1918 (Koenig, <i>Ostraca Strasbourg</i> , 1; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 58 (1923), 25, note 4).
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 day 12 or day 17, day 18, 24	O. Strasbourg H. 060 Koenig 1997, 6, pl. 19, pl. 107.	ostracon	No indication; note that many of the Strasbourg ostraca were excavated by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1895-1896 and given to the Bibliothèque Nationale et

			Universitaire by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1918 (Koenig, <i>Ostraca Strasbourg</i> , 1; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 58 (1923), 25, note 4).
Dyn. 19 or dyn. 20 III <i>šmw</i> day 20, 27; IV <i>šmw</i> day 10; I <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 18, 30; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 6+x	O. Strasbourg H. 074 Koenig 1997, 7, pl. 23, pl. 109.	ostracon	No indication; note that many of the Strasbourg ostraca were excavated by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum in 1895-1896 and given to the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire by W.M. Flinders Petrie in 1918 (Koenig, <i>Ostraca Strasbourg</i> , 1; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 58 (1923), 25, note 4).
Dynasty 19			
Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Kitchen); year 3 Amenmesse (?) (Helck); late Seti II - Siptah (Collier) [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 8; III <i>pr.t</i> day 12.	O. Cairo CG 25505 Černý 1935b, 3, 4*, pl. IV; KRI IV, 233-234; Helck 2002, 114; Collier 2004, 112-113, 155.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; excavations Th. Davis; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
Dyn. 19, Siptah (Černý, Kitchen); year 2 Amenmesse (Helck) II <i>3h.t</i> day [...]; III <i>3h.t</i> day day 13, 10 + X; III <i>3h.t</i> day day [...]; III <i>3h.t</i> day day 16-17; IV <i>3h.t</i> day day 2-5, 7; III <i>3h.t</i> day 12, 23, 25-28, IV <i>3h.t</i> day 2-3,4, 6-8.	O. Cairo CG 25520 Černý 1935b, 10, 20*-21*, pl. XIV; KRI IV, 392-394; Helck 2002, 106-107.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; excavations Th. Davis; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
Dyn. 19 (Černý); Merenptah (Kitchen); year 3 Ramesses II (Helck) IV <i>šmw</i> day 21-25; IV <i>šmw</i> day 21-28; IV <i>šmw</i> day 20-25.	O. Cairo CG 25524 Černý 1935b, 12, 27*, pl. XVII; KRI IV, 174; Helck 2002, 49.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1917-1918; mark: 151 (valley between KV 7 Ramesses II and KV 9 Ramesses VI); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 325.

Dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); year 1 Siptah (Helck); mid-late years Siptah (Collier) II <i>3h.t</i> day 2; II <i>3h.t</i> day 4	O. Cairo CG 25793 Černý 1935b, 90, 112*, pl. CVII; KRI IV, 361; Helck 2002, 165; Collier 2004 92-93, 157.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, lower stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 416; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 331.
Dyn. 19, year 2 Seti II (Helck); Dyn. 19, year 2 Siptah (Kitchen) I <i>pr.t</i> day 8-27, 30; II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-2	O. Cairo JE 72452 KRI IV, 404; Helck 2002, 131-132.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations in 1905-1906 north-east of KV 13 at base of cliffs; marks on two of the six fragments: X. 6; X 60; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 298-299.
Dyn. 19, year 6 Siptah (Helck); year 6 Seti II or Siptah (Collier) IV <i>3h.t</i> day 4 + x; III <i>pr.t</i> day 7, 8, 12	O. Cairo JE 72461 Helck 2002, 188; Collier 2004, 114-115, 157.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, Davis excavation; according to Journal d'Entree.
Dyn. 19, Amenmesse (Kitchen); dyn. 19, year 3? Amenmesse (Helck). I <i>pr.t</i> [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> day 15, 17-18, 21	O. Černý 07 KRI VII, 243; Helck 2002, 113.	ostracon	Donated by J. Clere to J. Černý.
Černý: dyn. 19; Kitchen: dyn. 19 (Amenmesse); Krauss: year 2 Seti II; Helck: year 2 Amenmesse year 2 III <i>šmw</i> day 25-30; year 2 IV <i>šmw</i> day 1, 4, 18, 23; IV <i>šmw</i> day 21-23, 24; III <i>šmw</i> day 28, 29-30; year 2 IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-2, 6, 10, 20,, 22, 24, 25, 29-30; epagomenal days; year 2 I <i>3h.t</i> 1-3	O. DM 209 Černý 1937b, 5, pl. 7-8; KRI IV, 217-219; Krauss 1997, 165-169; Helck 2002, 103-105.	ostracon	No indication
Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Kitchen); year 3 Amenmesse(?) (Helck) II <i>3h.t</i> day 3, 26; III <i>3h.t</i> [...]	O. DM 353 Černý 1951, 4, pl. 4; KRI IV, 236 and 237; Helck 2002, 111.	ostracon	no indication
Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Kitchen); year 2	O. DM 389 Černý 1951, 14, pl. 13; KRI IV, 237 and 238; Helck 2002, 108 and 109.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, 10-03-1940. Provenance is probably area east

Amenmesse(?) (Helck) I <i>šmw</i> day 15-18; II <i>šmw</i> day 1-5			of Hathor temple precinct; cf. Bruyere, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Medineh</i> 1935-1940, fasc. I, p.11; fasc. II, pp. 151 and 152.
Dyn. 19, Seti II or Siptah (Burkard, Fischer-Elfert)	P. Berlin P 14449i + P. Berlin P 14485d Fischer-Elfert 2000, 101, 104, 106 and 107, pls. XX and XXI; Burkard-Fischer-Elfert 1994, 75-76, no. 104; Lüddeckens-Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 70, no. 210.	papyrus	no indication
Dyn. 19, Seti II or Siptah (Burkard, Fischer-Elfert) IV <i>šmw</i> [...]; IV <i>šmw</i> day 11	P. Berlin P 14485a Fischer-Elfert 2000, 101, 102, 106 and 107, pls. XX and XXI; Burkard-Fischer-Elfert 1994, 75-76, no. 104.	papyrus	no indication
Dyn. 19; late years Seti II to Siptah (Collier) [...] day 10 + x; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 16-17; [...] day 4 + x	P. DM 32 Černý 1986, 6, pl. 22; Collier 2004, 118-119, 159.	papyrus	Fragments formerly in Černý's possession, together with a number of fragments of Greek papyri and found back by him 08-10-1943 according to a note of his. He did not remember the provenance, but he thought it likely that this was Deir el-Medina. Now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford?
Dyn. 19 IV <i>šmw</i> day 26-30.	O. Cairo CG 25528 Černý 1935b, 13, 28*, pl. XIX.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907-1908; mark: House <i>omega</i> 7 (workmen's houses between KV 17 Sety I and KV 21); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 307.
Dyn. 19 IV <i>3h.t</i> day 25-30; I <i>pr.t</i> day 3-6; day [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> day 10-13; day 4-6; day [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> day 19-25; day 10 + x; I <i>pr.t</i> day 29-30; II [...]; II <i>pr.t</i> day 3-8, 11-14; day 5, 16; day 10 + x; II <i>pr.t</i> day 19-24, 30; III <i>pr.t</i> day 1	O. DM 340 Černý 1951, 1, pl. 1.	ostracon	no indication

Dyn. 19 I <i>šmw</i> day 5, 6, 8, 11, 14	O. Louvre N 0694, 3 Koenig 1991, 96-97.	ostracon	no indication
Dyn. 19 III <i>pr.t</i> day 24, 25	O. Michaelides 021 Goedicke-Wente 1962, 21, pl. LXXVI.	ostracon	no indication
Mid Dyn. 19			
Mid Dyn. 19 (Demarée), Ramesses II (Haring) III <i>pr.t</i> day 2-7	O. Ashmolean Museum 0219 + O. BM EA 25289 Haring 2004, 216-219; Demarée 2002a, 24, pl. 69.	ostracon	O. BM EA 25289 probably bought by Reverend W.H. Mill in Luxor in 1838, passed on to Mrs M.E. Webb and presented by her to the British Museum in 1894; note in pencil: "from Thebes March 1838". O. Ashmolean Museum 219 probably acquired by R. Curzon, Baron Zouche, in Luxor in 1838, then bought by Sir A.H. Gardiner at Sotheby's in 1922 and presented by him to the Ashmolean Museum.
Second half Dyn. 19			
Late dyn. 19 (Goedicke-Wente 1962), Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); year 2 Siptah (Helck); late years Seti II to Siptah (Collier) [.] <i>šmw</i> day 15; II <i>šmw</i> day 4; II <i>3h.t</i> day 13, 14; day 5	O. Michaelides 071 Goedicke-Wente 1962, 20, pl. LXIX; Helck 2002, 176 and 178; KRI IV, 424-425; Collier 2004, 119-120, 160.	ostracon	no indication
Second half Dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); year 2 Siptah (Helck); after year 5 Siptah (Collier) day 3-7, 6-20; day 3 + x	O. Cairo CG 25796 Černý 1935b, 91, 113*; KRI IV, 431 and 432; Collier 2004, 58, 61-64, 157. Helck 2002, 175.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, lower stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 409; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 331.
Second half dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah - Tausert (Kitchen); year 2 Siptah (Helck); year 5 Siptah (Collier)	O. Cairo CG 25507 Černý 1935b, 3-4, 5*, pl. III; KRI IV, 427-428; Helck 2002, 179; Collier 2002, 84-86, 155.	ostracon	Mark: DM; excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912

day 28; day 24, 25, 26; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 11; day 10 + X; day 11			
Second half Dyn. 19 (Černý) [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 11 + x	O. Cairo JE 72456 obverse Černý, Notebook 106.8.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis excavation; according to Journal d'Entree.
Seti II or Siptah (Burkard, Fischer-Elfert); mid to late years Siptah (Collier) I <i>šmw</i> day 24, 25; [...] day 4; [...] day 5; III <i>šmw</i> [...]; day 11; day 10 + x	P. Berlin P 14485b+c Fischer-Elfert 2000, 101-104, 106 and 107, pls. XX and XXI; Burkard-Fischer-Elfert 1994, 75-76, no. 104; Collier 2004, 120-121, 154.	papyrus	no indication
Seti II - Siptah [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 21	O. DM 10054 Grandet 2006, 59, 245.	ostracon	no indication
Seti II, year 6 - Siptah	O. DM 10055 Grandet 2006, 60, 245.	ostracon	no indication
Year 6 Seti II, or Siptah IV <i>šmw</i> day 1+x	O. DM 904 Grandet 2003, 3, 77-78, 322-323.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 18-12-1950; mark: KGP 18 12 50.
Year 6 Seti II, or Siptah III <i>3h.t</i> day 15	O. DM 905 Grandet 2003, 3, 78-79, 324.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 25-12-1950; mark: KGP 25 12 50.
Year 6 Seti II, or Siptah [...] <i>šmw</i> day 2; III <i>šmw</i> day 2; IV <i>šmw</i> day 7	O. DM 906 Grandet 2003, 3-4, 79, 325.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 21-03-1950
Year 6 Seti II, or Siptah I <i>pr.t</i> day 22-23; I <i>pr.t</i> [...]; II <i>pr.t</i> day 5	O. DM 907 Grandet 2003, 3-4, 80-81, 326-327.	ostracon	No indication, mark: 3 .
Year 4 Seti II or year 5 Seti II (Grandet); year 3 Siptah or year 4 Siptah(?) (Collier) III <i>pr.t</i> [...]; IV <i>pr.t</i> [...]; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 26	O. DM 876 Grandet 2003, 2, 51-53, 272-273; Collier 2002, 104-105, 158.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 17-12-1950; mark: ... 17.12.50.
Amenmesse - Siptah day 24; day 20 + x; III <i>šmw</i> day 28, 29-30; day 1, 2; day x	O. DM 10053 Grandet 2006, 58-59, 244.	ostracon	no indication
Amenmesse, or Seti II, or Siptah II <i>šmw</i> day 14; II <i>šmw</i> [...]; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 7; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 8	O. DM 902 Grandet 2003, 3, 75-76, 320.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 03-02-1950, mark: KGP 3.2.50.
Amenmesse, or Seti II, or Siptah [...] <i>šmw</i> day 9-10; III <i>šmw</i> day 22	O. DM 903 Grandet 2003, 3-4, 76-77, 321.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 20(?) -03-1950.

Amenmesse, Seti II, or Siptah [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 17; III <i>pr.t</i> day 20-24; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 19-21; IV <i>pr.t</i> ; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 24-25	O. DM 900 Grandet 2003, 3, 73-74, 319-319.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 29-12-1950, mark: KGP 29 12 50.
Amenmesse, or Seti II, or Siptah I <i>pr.t</i> day 15; [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 18; I <i>pr.t</i> day 21	O. DM 901 Grandet 2003, 3, 75, 319.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 24-03-1950, mark: KGP 24 3 50.
Amenmesse (Kitchen); Demarée: late dyn. 19 (Seti II-Siptah); year 4 Merenptah (Helck) Year X+4 III <i>pr.t</i> day 5, 8, 13; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 7, 9, 13; I <i>šmw</i> day 18, 23; II <i>šmw</i> day 9, 14, 21; III <i>šmw</i> day 4; II <i>šmw</i> day 7	O. BM EA 05635 Birch 1868, pl. 16; Černý 1957, 23 and pl. 87 no. 1; Helck 1965, 846; KRI VII, 238-239; Demarée 2002a, 18 and pl. 29; Helck 2002, 86-87.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, based on internal evidence (Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 18).
Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); dyn. 19, year 3(?) Siptah (Helck); early-mid years Siptah (Collier) I <i>pr.t</i> day 22-23; I <i>pr.t</i> [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> [...]; II <i>pr.t</i> day 5	O. Gardiner AG 032 KRI VII, 254-255; Collier 2004, 82, 159; Helck 2002, 180.	ostracon	no indication
Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); year 4 Siptah (Helck); early-mid years Siptah (Collier) I <i>pr.t</i> day 10+X, 15+X, 26-27; II <i>pr.t</i> day 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13-14	O. Ashmolean Museum 0037 Černý 1957, 8 and pl. 26-26A no.3; KRI IV, 446-447; Helck 2002, 181-182; Collier 2004, 78-79, 154.	ostracon	no indication
Mid/End Dyn.19			
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Kitchen); year 3 Amenmesse? (Helck) IV <i>šh.t</i> day 7-8, 11-18, 21-24	O. Cairo CG 25785 Černý 1935b, 88, 110*, pl. CV; KRI IV, 234 and 235; McDowell 1999, 219 and 220, no. 169; Helck 2002, 112.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah) ("This group in small shelf in rock over hut ... Wrapped in mat"); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 405; see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 331.
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Kitchen); year 2 Amenmesse (Helck)	O. Cairo CG 25786 Černý 1935b, 88, 111*, pl. CVI; KRI IV, 235; Helck 2002, 108.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922;

III <i>pr.t</i> day 28; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 2			mark: 391; see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 330.
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Helck, Kitchen) I <i>pr.t</i> day 5; I <i>pr.t</i> day 10; I <i>pr.t</i> day 12; I <i>pr.t</i> day 24	O. Cairo CG 25789 Černý 1935b, 89, 111*, pl. CVI; Helck 2002, 122; KRI IV, 235.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, valley between KV 7 (Ramesses II) and KV 9 (Ramesses VI); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1920-1921; mark: 279; see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 328.
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Kitchen); year 2 Seti II (Helck) I <i>šmw</i> day 20 + x; I <i>šmw</i> day 23-24; I <i>šmw</i> day 24 + x	O. Cairo CG 25790 Černý 1935b, 89, 111*, pl. CVII; KRI IV, 236; Helck 2002, 131.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, undisturbed stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 390; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 330.
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Amenmesse (Kitchen); year 2 Seti II (Helck)	O. Cairo CG 25791 Černý 1935b, 89, 111*, pl. CVII; KRI IV, 235 and 236; Helck 2002, 131.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, lower stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 417; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 331.
End dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah - Tausert (Kitchen); Amenmesse (Wimmer); year 3 Amenmesse (?) (Helck) [...] <i>šmw</i> day 27; I <i>3h.t</i> day 7-8	O. Cairo CG 25506 Černý 1935b, 3, 4*, pl. III; KRI IV, 425-426; Wimmer 1995, 1, 42-43; Helck 2002, 111.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: Np (80 metres northeast of KV 47); Černý, <i>Ostraca hieratiques</i> , 3, remarked that there is also a pencil mark saying Ep 1, which would correspond to a findspot 80 metres northeast of KV 29; cf. Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 298.
End dyn. 19 (Černý); Seti II (Kitchen); Amenmesse (Wimmer); year 2 Amenmesse (Helck) I <i>pr.t</i> day 1-8, 21-25	O. Cairo CG 25514 Černý 1935b, 6-7, 10*, pl. VII; KRI IV, 333-334; Wimmer 1995, 1, 47-48; Helck 2002, 107-108.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; excavations Th. Davis; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
End dyn. 19, year 3 Merenptah or year 3 Seti II (Demarée) IV <i>pr.t</i> day 14-23	O. BM EA 66409 Demarée 2002a, 45, pls. 211-212.	ostracon	Acquired by the British Museum in 1979; mark: 1979 1-8 38 66409 Z.

End Dyn. 19			
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah (Helck); Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); after year 5 Siptah (Collier) day 26-27	O. Cairo CG 25781 Černý 1935b, 86, 102*, pl. CVI; Helck 2002, 194; KRI IV, 426 and 427; Collier 2002, 65-66, 157.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, rubbish of Davis excavation east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 361a; see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 330.
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Merenptah (Kitchen); year 6 Merenptah (Helck) epagomenal day 3; epagomenal day 4 or epagomenal day 5; I 3 _{h.t} day 1-4.	O. Cairo CG 25788 Černý 1935b, 88, 111*, pl. CVI; Helck 2002, 87; KRI IV, 158 and 159.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, valley between KV 7 (Ramesses II) and KV 9 (Ramesses VI) ; Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1920-1921; mark: 278; see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 328.
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); year 4 Siptah (Altenmüller) ; year 7 Siptah-Tausert (Helck) II 3 _{h.t} day 24; IV 3 _{h.t} day 19-22	O. Cairo CG 25792 Černý 1935b, 89 and 90, 112*, pl. CVIII; Altenmüller 1999, 13-18; Altenmüller 1996, 1-9; Helck 2002, 192 and 193; Helck 1992, 270; Krauss 1977, 150 and 151; KRI IV, 414 and 415; Ventura 1986, 147.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, lower stratum east of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 415; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 331.
End dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah or Tausert (Kitchen); year 1 Siptah (Helck) III šmw [...]; III šmw day 12, 16, 20	O. Cairo CG 25503 Černý 1935b, 1-2, 1*, pl. I; KRI IV, 425; Helck 2002, 164.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: N.Tb. 7 (KV 47 Siptah); Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 298.
End dyn. 19 (Černý); year 3 Siptah - Tausert (Kitchen); year 3 Siptah (Helck) IV 3 _{h.t} day 11-14 (?)	O. Cairo CG 25508 Černý 1935b, 4, 5*, pl. V; KRI IV, 426; Helck 2002, 181; Collier 2004, 93, 155.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; excavations Th. Davis; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
End dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); possibly Siptah (Helck); Siptah (Collier)	O. Cairo CG 25513 Černý 1935b, 6, 10*, pl. VI; KRI IV, 433; Helck 2002, 193; Collier 2004, 113-114, 155.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: Np? (80 metres northeast of KV 47); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 298.
End dyn. 19 beginning dyn. 20 I 3 _{h.t} day 6-8, 10-12	O. DM 103 Černý 1935a, 27, pl. 58.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark:

			23.1.30 KS (23-01-1930)
End dyn. 19 (Černý); year 1 Siptah (Kitchen, Wimmer); year 1 Siptah, year 2 Siptah (Helck) year 1 II <i>3h.t</i> day 12; III <i>3h.t</i> day 12; year 2 IV <i>3h.t</i> day 28; I <i>pr.t</i> day 11; year 6 II <i>šmw</i> day 6 (older text, 1); I <i>šmw</i> (older text, 2)	O. Cairo CG 25537 Černý 1935b, 16, 34*, pl. XXII; Daressy 1927, 175-176; KRI IV, 396; Wimmer 1995 1, 57-58; Helck 2002, 171, 166-169.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: X.27, X.34 and X.43 (northeast of KV 13 at base of cliffs); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 299.
End Dyn. 19 (Černý); Siptah-Tausert (Kitchen); year 2 Siptah (Helck); after year 5 Siptah (Collier) day 2, 30; IV <i>šmw</i> day 1-10	O. Cairo CG 25797 Černý 1935b, 92, 113*, pl. CVIII; KRI IV, 432 and 433; Collier 2004, 58, 61-64, 157; Helck 2002, 177 and 178.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, loose rubbish before and on both sides of KV 47 (Siptah); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1922; mark: 429; see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 331.
End dyn. 19 day 28; II <i>pr.t</i> day 6	O. Cairo CG 25549 Černý 1935b, 20, 41*.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; excavations Th. Davis; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
End dyn. 19 [I] <i>3h.t nfr.y.t r</i> II <i>3h.t</i> day 18; II <i>3h.t</i> day [...]; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 22; I <i>3h.t</i> day [...]; [...] day 3; III <i>3h.t</i> day 13, 15; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 7; [...] day 28; III <i>3h.t</i> day 3; III <i>3h.t</i> day 11; III [...]	O. Cairo JE 72469 Černý, Notebook 106.17.	ostracon	Valley of Kings. Davis excavation; according to Journal d'entrée.
End dyn. 19 I <i>pr.t</i> , day 8	Ashmolean HO 679 Hudson 2015, 45-54.	ostracon	no indication
End dyn. 19 ...day 16; II <i>3h.t</i> day 17	Ashmolean HO 808 Hudson 2015, 45-54.	ostracon	Probably Valley of Kings
End dyn. 19	P. Berlin P 14448 Fischer-Elfert 2000, 101, 105-107, pl. XXII; Lüddeckens- Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 78-79, no. 209.	papyrus	no indication
End dyn. 19	P. Berlin P 14449c+g Fischer-Elfert 2000, 101, 105-107, pls. XX and XXI; Lüddeckens- Kaplony-Heckel 1986, 79, no. 210.	papyrus	no indication

Beginning Dyn. 20			
Beginning Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 31 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) day 20	O. Cairo CG 25686 Černý 1935b, 60, 83*, pl. LXXX; Helck 2002, 333; KRI V, 557.	ostracon	Probably Valley of Kings, Davis excavations; for site, cf. Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321.
Beginning Dyn. 20 IV šmw day 19, 24	O. DM 320 Černý 1939, 21, pl. 24.	ostracon	no indication
Dynasty 20			
Ramesses III (end of reign) or Ramesses IV (Grandet) day 21; II 3h.t day 12; III 3h.t day 15, 24; day 16; day 18	O. DM 856 v° Grandet 2003, 2, 36, 236.	ostracon	no indication
Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 2 Ramesses VI (Helck) day 21-27, 29; year 2 IV šmw day 1, 25-30; III šmw day 1-4	O. UC 39624 Černý 1957, 14 and pl. 45-45A no. 2; KRI V, 598-599; Helck 2002, 443, 445; www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk	ostracon	no indication
Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 3 Ramesses V (Helck) V šmw day 10-11; IV šmw day 14, 24, 26-29; epagomenal day 1; epagomenal day 4; I 3h.t day 3, 5, 26; [...] day 2; II 3h.t day 6, 26, 21	O. Ashmolean Museum 0016 Černý 1957, 8 and pl. 24-24A no.2; KRI V, 597-598; Helck 2002, 429-430.	ostracon	No indication
Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 5 Ramesses IV (Helck) I pr.t day [...]; day 14, 18, 26-30; day [...]; day [...]	O. DM 655 Černý 1970, 7-8, pl. 14; KRI V, 616-617; Helck 2002, 395 and 396.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 13-03-1949 and 17-03-1949
Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 5 Ramesses IV (Helck) day 16-17; day [...]	O. DM 656 Černý 1970, 8, pl. 14; KRI V, 617; Helck 2002, 395 and 396.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits
Ramesses III or Ramesses IV (Grandet) II pr.t day 27; III pr.t day 1, 13; III 3h.t day 16-19, 21, 25-26, 28, 30	O. DM 10012 Grandet 2006, 18-20, 197-198.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 16-03-1949 and 16-04-1949
Ramesses III or Ramesses IV (Grandet) day x; day 11-13, 15-16	O. DM 10047 Grandet 2006, 52, 238.	ostracon	No indication; mark: '69'
Ramesses III or Ramesses IV	O. DM 10009	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 14-

(Grandet); year 31 Ramesses III (Helck) III <i>3h.t</i> day 27; I <i>pr.t</i> day 25-29	Grandet 2006, 15-16, 193-194; Helck 2002, 328 and 330.		03-1949; mark: 14.3.49 (GP)
Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 3 Ramesses IV (Kitchen, Helck) IV <i>pr.t</i> day 22; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 12, 13	O. Cairo CG 25563 Černý 1935b, 23-24, 46*, pl. XXXII; KRI VI, 136; Helck 2002, 389.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907- 1908; mark: House <i>delta</i> 1 (workmen's houses between KV 17 Seti I and KV 21); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 307.
Dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses IV (Kitchen); year 5 Ramesses IV (Helck) III <i>3h.t</i> day 21; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 7	O. Cairo CG 25565 Černý 1935b, 24, 47*, pl. XXXII; KRI VI, 142-143; Helck 2002, 394, 395.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Jones excavations 1908- 1909; mark: House J.2 (in front of Horemheb KV 57?); Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 309.
Dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses IV (Kitchen); year 5 Ramesses IV, year 6 Ramesses IV (Helck) II <i>šmw</i> day 1; day 22; day 17; day 1; day 26; day 13; day 24	O. Cairo CG 25658 Černý 1935b, 51, 71*, pl. LXVII, LXVIII; KRI VI, 177-178; Helck 2002, 397, 399.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907- 1908; mark: House <i>theta</i> 7 (workmen's houses between KV 17 Seti I and KV 21); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 307.
Dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses III (Kitchen) day 13, 14	O. Cairo CG 25709 Černý 1935b, 65, 86*, pl. LXXXIII; KRI V, 622.	ostracon	Probably Valley of Kings, Davis excavations; for site, cf. Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321.
Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 31 Ramesses III and year 32 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) IV <i>pr.t</i> day 30; IV <i>pr.t</i> ; I <i>šmw</i> day 4-17, 21-30	O. DM 153 Černý 1937a, 11 and 12, pls. 28 and 30; Helck 2002, 332 and 333; KRI V, 549 and 550.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 19-01- 1930; mark: 19.1.30 KS
Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 22 Ramesses III (Helck); Ramesses III (Kitchen) III <i>3h.t</i> day 6, 8; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 1, 3, 5-6, 8, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28; I <i>pr.t</i> day 3-7; I <i>pr.t</i> day 4 + x, 11; I <i>pr.t</i> [...]; I <i>pr.t</i> day 14	O. DM 339 Černý 1939, 26, pl. 33; Helck 2002, 246 and 247; KRI V, 618 and 619.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Bruyere 1921-1922
Dyn. 20, Ramesses III	O. Michaelides 033	ostracon	no indication

(Goedicke-Wente, Kitchen); year 2 Ramesses IV (Helck) [III <i>3h.t</i>] day 30; IV <i>3h.t</i>] day 1-2, 3, 4, 5, 6-7, 9; III <i>3h.t</i>] day x	Goedicke-Wente 1962, 20, pls. LXVII and LXVIII; KRI V, 612-613; Helck 2002, 374 and 375.		
Dyn. 20, Ramesses III (Lopez); year 14 Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 13 Ramesses III (Helck) III <i>šmw</i> day 30 (1); IV <i>3h.t</i> day 3; year 14 III <i>šmw</i> day 19	O. Turin 57024 Lopez I, 24, pl. 14-14a; KRI V, 458; Helck 2002, 229 and 230.	ostracon	Valley of Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903- 1905.
Dyn. 20, prob. Ramesses III (Lopez); year 26 Ramesses III (Helck) II <i>3h.t</i> day 1-8, 13- 14,18; III <i>3h.t</i> day 16-18 [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 6	O. Turin 57025 Lopez I, 24, pl. 14-14a; Helck 2002, 276-278, 281.	ostracon	Valley of Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903- 1905.
Dyn. 20, Ramesses III (Lopez, Kitchen); year 24 Ramesses III (Helck) day 3; day 1	O. Turin 57030 Lopez I, 26, pl. 19-19a; KRI V, 619- 620; Helck 2002, 261-262.	ostracon	Valley of Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903- 1905.
Dyn. 20, Ramesses III (Lopez, Kitchen); year 24 Ramesses III (Helck) I <i>3h.t</i> day 1-6, 8, 11- 14; day 10 + x; day 18, 28; II <i>3h.t</i> day 4- 8, 11-17	O. Turin 57032 Lopez I, 27, pl. 21-21a; KRI V, 620- 621; Helck 2002, 255-257.	ostracon	Valley of Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903- 1905.
Dyn. 20, year 10, 20 or 30 Ramesses III (Lopez); year 11 Ramesses III (?) (Kitchen); year 11 Ramesses III (Helck) year 10 + x [...] <i>šmw</i> day 6-12	O. Turin N. 57035 Lopez I, 29, pl. 19-19a; KRI V, 454; Helck 2002, 228.	ostracon	Valley of Queens, excavations Schiaparelli 1903- 1905.
Dyn. 20, Ramesses III (?) (Lopez); Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 2 Ramesses IV (Helck) I <i>šmw</i> day 5	O. Turin N. 57125 Lopez 1980, 18, pl. 58-58a; KRI V, 599; Helck 2002, 381.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1905.
Dyn. 20, probably Ramesses III (Lopez); year 24	O. Turin N. 57282 Lopez 1980, 64, pl. 90-90a; Helck 2002, 264.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1905.

Ramesses III (Helck) [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 7			
First half dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses IV (Kitchen, Helck)	O. Cairo CG 25532 Černý 1935b, 14, 30*, pl. XX; KRI VI, 178-179; Helck 2002, 410.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: Ep (80 metres northeast of KV 29); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 298.
First half dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses IV (Kitchen); year 3 Ramesses IV (Helck) III <i>šmw</i> day 21 - I <i>3h.t</i> day 3	O. Cairo CG 25533 Černý 1935b, 15, 31*, pl. XXI); Dorn 2006, 80 and 81; KRI VI, 175-177; Helck 2002, 384, 385, 386.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; excavations Th. Davis; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 2 Ramesses IV? (Kitchen); year 1 Ramesses IV (Helck) [...] <i>šmw</i> day 1, 22-30; II <i>šmw</i> day 2-11; II <i>3h.t</i> day 2; III <i>3h.t</i> ; III <i>3h.t</i> day 15	O. DM 160+O. Strasbourg H. 005 Černý 1937a, 14, pl. 36; KRI VI, 119; Koenig 1997, 3, pls. 1 and 100; Helck 2002, 364.	ostracon	DeM 0160: Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 17-01-1930 and 18-01-1930; marks: 17.1.30 KS and 18.1.30.
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 1 Ramesses IV (Helck, Kitchen) day 20, 28; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 29, 30; I <i>šmw</i>	O. DM 162 Černý 1937a, 15, pl. 40; KRI V, 489; Helck 2002, 362 and 363.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 18-01-1930 and 19-01-1930; marks: 18.1.30 KS; 19.1.30 KS; SK
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 24 Ramesses III (Helck); Ramesses IV (Kitchen) IV <i>3h.t</i> day 9, 10	O. DM 180 Černý 1937a, 20 and 21, pl. 50; KRI VI, 174; Helck 2002, 259.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Region basse au sud du temple (Campagne 1931), Region au sud du temple (Campagne 1934-1935) (according to Clere MSS.); mark: ST
Either Ramesses III or Ramesses IV	O. IFAO 00276 Unpublished, Černý Notebook 103.111.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found together with similar fragments in January 1930, KS (Kom de decombres au sud du village, according to Clere MSS)
Either Ramesses III or Ramesses IV (Burkard)	O. Qurna 625/5 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Qurna; excavated 1983 immediately

III <i>pr.t</i> day 11, 13			in front of the German House.
Dyn. 20 III <i>pr.t</i> day 1; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 1; I <i>šmw</i> day 1	O. DM 365 Černý 1951, 7, pl. 6; Helck 1965, (921).	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; 'Kom de decombres au sud du village' (according to Clere MSS.), 27-01-1930; mark: 27.1.30 KS.
Dyn. 20 II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-3	O. IFAO 00252 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.114.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; belonging to the series found in January 1930.
Dyn. 20 III <i>šh.t</i> day 21-23	O. Michaelides 040 Goedicke-Wente 1962, 19, pl. LIX.	ostracon	no indication
Dyn. 20 day 10 + x; day 19-24	O. Turin N. 57103 Lopez 1980, 11-12, pl. 54-54a.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1905.
Dyn. 20 year 22 III <i>šmw</i> day 1-5; III <i>šmw</i> day x; day 11; day 12(?), 16-18, 20(?), 22-23	O. Valley of Queens 06 Koenig 1988, 120-121, Document VI.	ostracon	Valley of Queens, found 03-1986 or 04-1986 near tomb 48
Dyn. 20	P. Florence 10063 Botti 1964, 224, no. 7, pls. CVI and CVII.	papyrus	Presented to the Egyptian Museum of Florence by E. Schiaparelli in 1884 or 1885.
Dyn. 20 (?) [...] day 19; IV <i>šmw</i> ; IV <i>šmw</i> day 20, 22-24	O. Berlin P 10672 Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de	ostracon	Bought at Deir el-Bahari by K. Sethe
First half Dyn. 20			
First half dyn. 20 (Černý); year 6 Ramesses III (Kitchen, Helck) year 6 III <i>šh.t</i> day 4	O. Cairo CG 25531 Černý 1935b, 14, 30*, pl. XX; KRI IV, 437; Helck 2002, 401.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: G.8; see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 298.
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 25 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) IV <i>pr.t</i> day 17-30 (O. Berlin P 12633); I <i>šmw</i> day 2, 4 (O. DM 0169); day 2 + x (O. DM 0169); I <i>šmw</i> day 11-25 (O. Berlin P 12633, O. DM 0169); I <i>šmw</i> day 27, 30 (O. DM 0169)	O. Berlin P 12633 + O. DM 00169 Černý 1937a, 17, pl. 44; KRI V, 500 and 501; electronic publication of O. Berlin P 12633 at Deir el Medine online, see Deir el Medine online ; Helck 2002, 273.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations G. Möller
First half dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses III (Kitchen); year 28 Ramesses III (Helck) II <i>pr.t</i> day 1-30; III <i>pr.t</i> day 20, 30; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 1-3	O. DM 35 Černý 1937a, 9, pl. 15-15 A; KRI V, 520-521; Helck 2002, 299-300.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.); mark: KS janvier 1930

First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 26 Ramesses III IV <i>3h.t</i> day 4, 6-8, 18, 22, 27; I <i>pr.t</i> day 2; IV <i>Ax.t</i> ; I <i>pr.t</i> ; III <i>3h.t</i> ; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 29	O. DM 142 Černý 1937a, 8, pls. 15 and 15*.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 20-01-1930; mark: 20.1.30 KS
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 31 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) day 16; day 10 + x; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 10 + x; II <i>šmw</i> day 20-22, 24-30	O. DM 154 Černý 1937a, 12, pls. 29 and 30; KRI V, 542 and 543; Helck 2002, 322 and 323.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 17-01-1930 and 19-01-1930; marks: 17.1.30 KS and 19.1.30 KS
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 31 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) II <i>3h.t</i> day 4-30; III <i>3h.t</i> [...]; day 10	O. DM 155 Černý 1937a, 12, pls. 31 and 32; KRI V, 544 and 545 (transcription); Helck 2002, 324 and 325.	ostracon	no indication
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 31 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) IV <i>3h.t</i> day 5-10, 11; III <i>3h.t</i> [...]; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 12, 13, 14-24	O. DM 157 Černý 1937a, 13, pl. 34; KRI V, 546 and 547; Helck 2002, 328 and 329.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 18-01-1930; mark: 18.1.30 KS
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 24 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) III <i>3h.t</i> ; IV <i>3h.t</i> day 24-27,30; III <i>3h.t</i> day 10, 20, 30; IV <i>3h.t</i> [...]	O. DM 163 Černý 1937a, 15, pl. 40; KRI V, 489; Helck 2002, 259.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 19-01-1930; mark: 19.1.30 KS
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses III (Kitchen) day 14; day 10 + x	O. DM 166 Černý 1937a, 16, pl. 42; KRI VI, 173.	ostracon	no indication
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 27 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) day 30; II <i>3h.t</i> day 12, 13, 15-18	O. DM 167 Černý 1937a, 16 and 17, pl. 43; KRI V, 510 and 511; Helck 2002, 285.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 08-01-1930; marks: 8.1.30 KS; P 1230; "P 1230" refers to one of the pits excavated in 1930 according to Clere MSS.; see Bruyere, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Medineh 1930</i> , pl. I.

First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 31 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) day 10 + x; I <i>3h.t</i> day 15-18; day 10	O. DM 170 Černý 1937a, 17 and 18, pl. 44; KRI V, 544; Helck 2002, 324.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 08-01-1930; mark: 8.1.30 KS
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 24 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) IV <i>pr.t</i> day 13-22; IV <i>pr.t</i> [...]	O. DM 171 Černý 1937a, 18, pl. 45; KRI V, 490; Helck 2002, 262.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 10-01-1930; mark: 10.1.30 KS
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 31 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) III <i>šmw</i> day 11-22	O. DM 172 Černý 1937a, 18, pls. 45 and 46; KRI V, 543 and 544; Helck 2002, 323.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 01-01-1930; mark: KS 1.1.30
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 24 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) III <i>pr.t</i> day 15-18	O. DM 173 Černý 1937a, 18, pl. 46; KRI V, 490; Helck 2002, 261.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 06-01-1930; mark: 6.1.30 KS
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); year 30 Ramesses III (Helck, Kitchen) day 13, 15; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 17; IV [...]; I <i>šmw</i> day 10 + x	O. DM 175 Černý 1937a, 19, pl. 47; KRI V, 538 and 539; Helck 2002, 320 and 321.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom de decombres au sud du village (according to Clere MSS.), 02-01-1930; mark: KS 2.1.30
First half Dyn. 20 (Černý); Ramesses III (Kitchen) day 3; III <i>3h.t</i> day 4; day 10 + x	O. DM 325 Černý 1939, 23, pl. 27; KRI V, 614.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; 'Region basse au sud du temple' (according to Clere MSS.), 11-01-1931; mark: ST 11.1.31
First half dyn. 20 day 22-23, 26, 27	O. Cairo CG 25643 Černý 1935b, 47, 67*, pl. LXII.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907-1908; mark: House <i>pi</i> 5 (workmen's houses between KV 17 Seti I and KV 21); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 307.

Mid Dynasty 20¹⁸⁵			
Ramesses IV-VI or VII	P. Turin Cat.1927 verso Unpublished	papyrus	no indication
Mid dyn. 20 Month x, day 5; year 2, III <i>pr.t</i> , day 29	P. SC 5 verso (part of the Stato Civile) Demarée-Valbelle 2011, 105-109, Pl. 8-8A.	papyrus	Deir el Medina
Ramesses V (Kitchen); year 2 Ramesses VI (Helck) II <i>šmw</i> day 13-18; 21-28; III <i>šmw</i> day 1-3, 14-18, 21-25; IV <i>šmw</i> day 22-28; I <i>šh.t</i> day 3-6	O. Ashmolean Museum 0011 Černý 1957, 8 and pl. 25-25A no. 2; KRI VI, 248-249; Helck 2002, 445-446.	ostracon	no indication
Ramesses IV or Ramesses V (Grandet) year 7 Ramesses IV (Helck) IV <i>šh.t</i> day 8-14	O. DM 10019 Grandet 2006, 27-28, 208-209; Helck 2002, 406.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 14-03-1949 and 21-03-1949
Ramesses IV, year 1 (?); year 2 Ramesses V (Helck) Year 1 I <i>šh.t</i> day 16, 17; I <i>šh.t</i> [...]; II <i>šh.t</i> [...]	O. IFAO 00384 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 104.109; Helck 2002, 426, 427.	ostracon	Bought at Luxor by the IFAO on 24-01-1933.
Ramesses IV, year 1 or year 1 Ramesses V (Demarée); year 1 Ramesses VI (Helck) I <i>pr.t</i> day 20-25	O. Ashmolean Museum 0145 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 45.47; Helck 2002, 441-442.	ostracon	No indication
Ramesses IV, year 2 (Kitchen, Helck); year 2 Ramesses VI (Janssen) II <i>pr.t</i> day 9-13, 28-30; II <i>pr.t</i> day 5; IV <i>Ax.t</i> ; II <i>pr.t</i> day [...]; III <i>pr.t</i> ; II <i>pr.t</i> day 8, 9	O. Ashmolean Museum 0131 KRI VII, 331-332; Janssen 1997, 131-133; Helck 2002, 378, 379.	ostracon	No indication
Ramesses IV, year 2 (Lopez) or year 2 Ramesses V (Lopez, Kitchen, Helck) IV [...] day X + 10; day X + 10; day 21; day 26	O. Turin 57441 Lopez 1982, 44-45, pl. 147-147a and 148-148a; KRI VII, 356-357; Helck 2002, 428.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; excavations Schiaparelli 1909.
Ramesses IV, year 2, or year 2	O. DM 894 Grandet 2003, 3, 67-68, 305.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 13-

¹⁸⁵ Some unpublished fragments of papyri held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (P. B.N. 237, carton 3, 5, 7, 16, 22 and 27), and which cannot be connected to any specific Pharaoh, seems to date to the mid dynasty 20. These fragments of necropolis journal contain lists of absent workmen and deliveries to the community. The outline of the text, narrow columns with few, basic information, is clear even from the poor preservation of the fragments.

Ramesses V (?) (Grandet) [...]; II <i>3h.t</i> day 25; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 26; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 1			03-1950 (O. IFAO inv. no. SA 00420) and 15-04-1949 (O. IFAO inv. no. SA 04302).
Ramesses IV, year 2, or year 2 Ramesses V (Grandet) [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 20; year 2 III <i>3h.t</i> [...]; III <i>3h.t</i> [...]	O. DM 895 Grandet 2003, 3, 68-69, 306-307.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 15-04-1949 (left fragment), 27-02-1949 (right fragment).
Ramesses IV-VII (?) -	O. Ashmolean HO 563 Hudson 2015, 45-54.	ostracon	no indication
Mid dyn. 20 day 10	O. IFAO 00245 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.113.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found 18.1.30 (18-01-1930), KS (Kom de decombres au sud du village, according to Clere MSS)
Mid dyn. 20 III <i>3h.t</i> day 30	O. IFAO 00250 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.114.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; no precise information on place and/or date of find available. Belongin g to the series of fragments found in January 1930.
Mid dyn. 20	O. IFAO 00277 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 103.114.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina; found 17.1.30 (17-01-1930), KS (Kom de decombres au sud du village, according to Clere MSS)
Second half Dyn. 20			
Ramesses IV, year 4 - year 5 Ramesses IV (Grandet); year 4 Ramesses IX - year 5 Ramesses IX (Helck) I <i>šmw</i> ; III <i>šmw</i> day 8; I <i>3h.t</i> day 19; year 5 III <i>3h.t</i> day 29	O. DM 10005 Grandet 2006, 11-12, 187-188; Helck 2002, 476.	ostracon	no indication
Ramesses IV, year 4 (Kitchen); year 4 Ramesses IX (Helck) II <i>šmw</i> day 23-25; III <i>šmw</i> day 16; year 4 III <i>šmw</i> day 22; year 4 III <i>šmw</i> day 23; year 4 IV <i>šmw</i> day 3-5, 7	O. Cairo CG 25247 KRI VII, 334-335; Daressy 1901, 64-65, pl.LII; Helck 2002, 475-476; McDowell 1999, 212-213 no. 163 B; Spiegelberg 1902, 321-324.	ostracon	Valley of Kings.
Second half dyn. 20	O. Cairo CG 25564 Černý 1935b, 24, 46*, pl. XXX.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton

II <i>pr.t</i>			excavations 1905-1906; mark: P.M. (KV 53); Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 297.
End Dyn. 20			
End dyn. 20 (Černý); year 10 Ramesses IX (Kitchen, Helck) I <i>šmw</i> day [...]; II <i>šmw</i> day 1, 4, 7, 11, 13, 15-16, 19, 22	O. Cairo CG 25647 Černý 1935b, 48, 69*, pl. LXIII; KRI VI, 659; Helck 2002, 499-501.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: PM (KV 53); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 297.
End dyn. 20 (Černý); year 10 Ramesses IX (Helck) I + x <i>šmw</i> day 8; II <i>šmw</i> day 16	O. Cairo CG 25648 Černý 1935b, 48, 69*, pl. LXV; Helck 2002, 500-501.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; very probably excavations Th. Davis; mark: <i>beta</i> ; Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 292-321, with figs. 96-97 on p. 300 and 302, showing some of the site designations used by Davis.
End dyn. 20 IV <i>pr.t</i> day 10 + X; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 20 + X; I <i>šmw</i> day 4, 5	O. Cairo CG 25535 Černý 1935b, 15, 32*, pl. XXII.	ostracon	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1905-1906; mark: P.M. (KV 53); see Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings</i> , 297.
End Dyn. 20	P. Turin frgt. Delta Unpublished, Černý Notebook 152.4.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
End Dyn. 20 or beginning Dyn. 21			
-Year 6	P. Turin 2089 Unpublished; Černý MSS.3.628.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-Year 6 I <i>3h.t</i> 16	O. Cairo JE 49557 Černý Notebook 101.21.	ostracon	Valley of Kings. According to Černý Nb 101.21 and

			additional data collected during a survey visit in February 2003 by R.J. Demarée and J. Toivari.
-Year 12 III <i>3h.t</i> [...]	O. Ashmolean Museum 0281 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 81.3.	ostracon	No indication
-Year 31 IV <i>pr.t</i> [...]; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 12, 14	O. DM 10023 Grandet 2006, 31, 212.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 17-03-1949; mark: 17.3.49 (GP)
- Day 20+X; day 24-28; day 29; IV <i>šmw</i>	Ashmolean Museum 0048 Černý 1957, 8 and pl.26-26A no. 1.	ostracon	No indication
- III <i>šmw</i> day 12; I <i>3h.t</i> day 22; IV <i>šmw</i> day 10	O. Ashmolean Museum 0124 Černý 1957, 20, pl. 68-68A no. 4.	ostracon	No indication
- II <i>3h.t</i> day 5-6, 11-12; II <i>3h.t</i> day 11+x; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 2	O. Ashmolean Museum 0225 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 31.27.	ostracon	No indication
- I <i>pr.t</i> day 17-23; I <i>šmw</i> [...]	O. Ashmolean Museum 0270 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 31.72.	ostracon	No indication
- II <i>pr.t</i> day 30; II <i>pr.t</i> day [...]; III <i>pr.t</i> day 25; III <i>pr.t</i> day [...]; IV <i>pr.t</i> day [...]; day 20; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 1; I <i>šmw</i> day 5, 9	O. Cairo CG 25245 Daressy 1901, 63-64, pl LI.	ostracon	Valley of Kings.
- II <i>3h.t</i> day 14, 15; year 5 IV <i>šmw</i> day 1; IV <i>šmw</i> [...]; day 10+x	O. Cairo CG 25265 Daressy 1901, 68; Černý 1927a, 186 note 1; Donker van Heel 1992, 20; McDowell 1999, 96-97 no. 67.	ostracon	Valley of Kings.
- [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 4-12	O. Cairo CG 25298 Daressy 1901, 76.	ostracon	Valley of Kings, excavations V. Loret 1899, t omb KV 37. Piacentini, Orsenigo, <i>La Valle dei Re riscoperta</i> , 282, note 10.
- [...] day 8; day 11; II <i>pr.t</i> day 13; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 6	O. Cairo CG 25301 Daressy 1901, 77, pl. LVIII; a revised transcription by Černý, Notebook 101.41.	ostracon	Valley of Kings.
- [...] <i>pr.t</i> day 3; III <i>pr.t</i> day 10	O. Cairo CG 25302 Daressy 1901, 77-78; Černý 1973a, 93.	ostracon	Valley of Kings.
- IV <i>pr.t</i> day 7, 16, 20, 24; day [...]; day 29; I <i>šmw</i> day 3; [...] <i>šmw</i> day 3	O. DM 703 Černý 1970, 18, pl. 28.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, found on the slope of Qurnet Murai, 16-03-1940
- IV <i>šmw</i> day 30; I <i>3h.t</i> day 5, 13; day 25;	O. DM 00712 Grandet 2000, 5, 16, 111.	ostracon	Frgts. 1 and 3: Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 12-04-1949,

[...] <i>3h.t</i> day 10; [...] <i>3h.t</i> day 15, 16, 24; day [...]			frgt. 2: Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 13-03-1949.
- II <i>šmw</i> day 1; year 8 I <i>šmw</i> day 30	O. DM 757 Grandet 2000, 6, 44, 158.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kom du Grand Puits, 28-12-1950.
- III <i>pr.t</i> day 21; III <i>pr.t</i> day 23; III <i>pr.t</i> day 24	O. DM 760 Grandet 2000, 6, 46, 161.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 12-04-1949, mark: 12.4.49 (GP).
- III <i>pr.t</i> [...] (1); III <i>pr.t</i> day 6; III <i>pr.t</i> day 7	O. DM 896 Grandet 2003, 3, 69, 308.	ostracon	Donated by A. H. Gardiner to the IFAO.
- III <i>3h.t</i> [...]; III <i>3h.t</i> day 30	O. DM 897 Grandet 2003, 3, 69, 309.	ostracon	Donated by A. H. Gardiner to the IFAO.
- IV <i>3h.t</i> day 5-7	O. DM 10008 Grandet 2006, 15, 192.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Kôm du grand puits, 14-12-1950
- day 9, 13, 10, 16-17, 21-22; day 4	O. DM 10015 Grandet 2006, 22-23, 202-203.	ostracon	no indication
- day 8-19, 21-26; day 20 + x; day 23 + x	O. DM 10028 Grandet 2006, 33-34, 216-217.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 27-02-1949; mark: 27.2.49 (GP)
- day 13-14; day 10 + x; day 17; day 9; day x	O. DM 10050 Grandet 2006, 53-54, 240.	ostracon	Deir el-Medina, Grand Puits, 13-03-1949
- III <i>pr.t</i> day 1-5; IV <i>pr.t</i> day 1-12; I <i>šmw</i> day 1-5	O. IFAO 00009 Unpublished; Černý Notebook 102.10.	ostracon	Seen at M. Aboul Haggag (Mohamed Abou el-Haggag), 16.4.33 (16-04-1933)
- day 10 + x; day 17-26; day 5-7; [...] II <i>3h.t</i> day 13; [...] day 16	O. UC 31937 www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk	ostracon	no indication
- day 10 + x	P. Turin [unnumbered 3] Unpublished; Černý Notebook 17.20.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
-	O. Ashmolean Museum 0117 Černý 1957, 15 and pl. 50-50A no. 3.	ostracon	no indication
-	P. Turin [unnumbered 4] Unpublished; Černý MSS.3.629.	papyrus	Presumably acquired by the government of Piedmont for the Turin museum from Bernardino Drovetti

			in 1823 (see e.g. S. Curto, <i>Storia del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2 nd ed., Turin 1976, 45).
--	--	--	--

6. The study of the journals

See separate Appendix

In this chapter/appendix, the relevant documents, both on papyri and ostraca, belonging to the first part of the list (documents dated with certainty), will be investigated. Photos (when available) or facsimiles, together with a transcription from hieratic to hieroglyphic and a translation in English will be provided. The purpose of the present work is not a philological study and therefore no transliterations or notes to the translations are provided. The aim is to create a workable and searchable tool as an indispensable service to the reader, so he/she can quickly check any query or text passage without having to load his/her desk with a pile of publications.

Much effort was invested in the production of this comprehensive chapter, even if previous publications, including commentary and translations, offered mainly by Allam 1973, Kitchen (*Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations* = RITA and *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments* = RITANC), and Helck 2002 were often available. In order to have easy access to the various texts to be analyzed, we needed to be able to consult the documents - photos, transcriptions and translations - quickly. Constantly looking for the different translations in publications was not convenient. Many existing translations of texts are in fact often fragmentary or selective (only the recto or the verso of the document, or only some columns, considered useful for the purpose of the author). It was necessary to make transcriptions (in VisualGlyph) and translations in order to be able to appreciate the material in its entirety. Also, some of the texts were hitherto completely unpublished.

The Deir el-Medina database is definitely a much appreciated tool, which allows to search according to preferred keywords, nonetheless these do not cover all possible search terms that one might want and of course in the end one always has to refer to and consult a publication.

For each document in the appendix (listed in chronological order) is indicated:

- Name of document
- Date written in the document
- Photo or facsimile (when available)
- A clear transcription (made in VisualGlyph 2.0)
- A translation
- The indication of the provenance
- The principal bibliography

PART III



7. Discussion

7.1 The concept of a Necropolis journal

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

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

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

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

¹⁸⁷ See Mandeville 2014.

¹⁸⁸ Parkinson 1996, 297.

¹⁸⁹ Parkinson 1996, 299.

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

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

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

7.2 Readership of the day-books

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

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

¹⁹¹ Eyre 2013, 251-252.

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

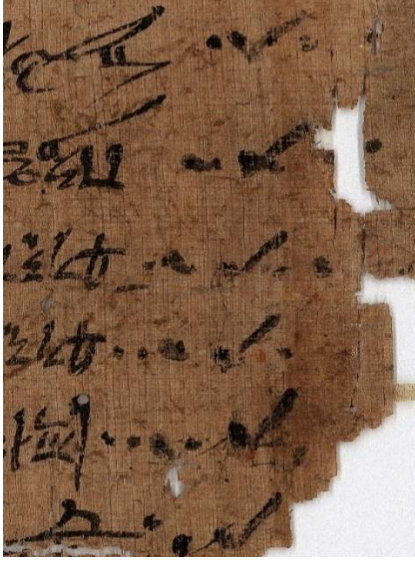
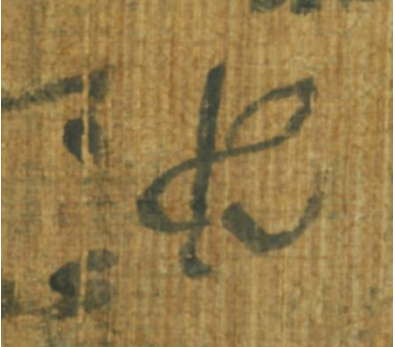
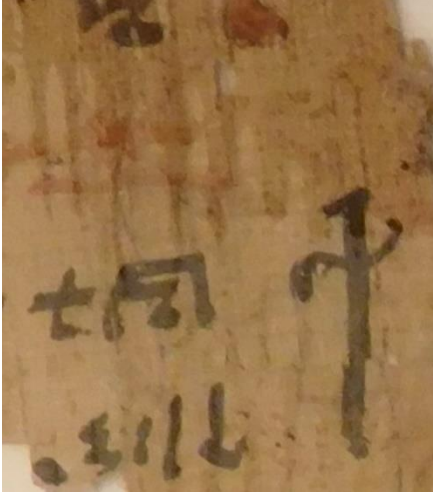
Cartella F 495) indicated as a large man with hand to mouth  (*snhi* = to check, to verify¹⁹²) at the right of the column.

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

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

¹⁹² See Helck 1974, 62 and 131.

Illustration with examples of check or control marks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹⁴ Černý 1986, 5, pls. 18-19a.

¹⁹⁵ KRI IV 361, 6.

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

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

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

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

7.2.a Day-books for internal use?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.b Day-books to be audited?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Journals had different audiences and different purposes.

7.3 Different types of journal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁰⁴ See Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 68.

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

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

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

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

3- of their grain rations. Day 11, likewise. 4- Month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 13, the chief of the police... 5-...to provide their...	they reached the temple of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i>. 4- The chief of police <i>Mntw-[ms]</i>...to the gang: "Stop what you are doing! 5- Go back!" [Month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 13, likewise. They took their 6- women. He made an oath to the lord I.p.h., not to... ..then he came back to see them saying:... 7- but they did not go. ...<i>P3-3-h.t</i> made them bring 9 goats...and 1600 fish(?) 8- List of what came to them (in) month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 15:...10 sacks of grain.	the secret(?) tomb, the 2 foremen, the 2 deputies, 4- and the 2 <i>3t.w</i>-officers. Calling to them saying: "come in! They swore great oaths 5- (saying): "may you (?) come! We have matter for Pharaoh I.p.h.". Spending the day in this place, spending the night in the Necropolis. 6- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 11. They passed again. Reaching the gate of the southern boundary of the mansion of <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i>. 7- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 12. Reaching the mansion of <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i>, spending the night in disorder(?) in its gate. Entering into its interior... VERSO Col. Ia Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 11, brought by the scribe <i>Pn-T3-wr.t</i> of the Tomb: <i>s^cb</i>-cakes 28, Col. III 1- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 10. Passing the 5 walls of the Necropolis by the entire crew. Reaching the innermost chamber(?) of the mansion of Pharaoh. Starting(?) by the 3 chiefs, the deputy and the 2 <i>3t.w</i>-officers. Finding them seated at the rear of the mansion of <i>Mn-hpr-R^c</i> in the outer road of year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day... 24- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 17. Giving the rations of the month II....	3- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 17(?)... 4-Holding back the gardeners... 5- Month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day... Col. II 1-... 2-... 3-... 4- The gang was on the back of the temple... 5- <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i> (Ramesses II)... 6-...
---	--	---	---

In this example, other than in the previous ones dealing with two different kind of texts (i.e. recording two different kinds of data), the four documents report almost the same information about an important event (“the passing of the walls” = the strike). Why? We have three ostraca and one papyrus. Were the ostraca perhaps used as a draft and the information later copied onto P. Turin Cat. 1880? Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered, at least for the time being. What seems obvious is that each one was written for a different purpose. At least for O. IFAO 1255 and Turin Cat. 1880, the scribe seems to be the same, Amenakhte, son of Ipuy²⁰⁵. What then was the need to write two different documents reporting the same event by the same scribe? Maybe the documents had different use and purpose?

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

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

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

²⁰⁵ See Grandet 2016, 328.

²⁰⁶ See Donker van Heel 2003, 77-78.

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

Papyrus Turin 1949+1946 v. Col. I, 5-16	Ostrakon DM 39+174 r. 10-16
5-...day 11, they did not work.	10- Day 11, <i>Hr.</i> From <i>Pth-ms</i> wood 340.
6-...day 12, in this place, 2 <i>ds</i> -jars, 1 portion of dates.	11- Day 12, <i>Wsr-ḥ3.t.</i> 270 from <i>B3k-n-Hnsw</i> .
7-...day 13 in this place.	12- Day 13, <i>Mnw-ḥ</i> .
8-...day 14, in this place, 2 <i>ds</i> -jars, 1 portion of dates, x portions of vegetables.	13- Day 14, <i>Tr.y-ḥ</i> . 2 <i>ds</i> -jars, 1 portion of dates, right side.
9-...day 15, they worked. 8 <i>bi3</i> -loaves and x <i>psn</i> -loaves...	14- Day 15, <i>Hr-šri.</i> 8 <i>psn</i> -loaves, 8 <i>bit</i> -loaves. From <i>Mh.y</i> fish 277.
10- [day 16], in this place...	From
11-...arrival of the chief of the police <i>Mntw-ms</i> ...	15- the wood cutter <i>Imn-ḥtp</i> wood 480.
12-...[to tell] those of the Tomb: "the Falcon has risen up [to the sky]...	16- Day 16, <i>Ti-r-niw.t=f.</i> 2 <i>ds</i> -jugs.
13-...the king <i>Wsr-m3ḥ.t-Rḥ Mry-Imn</i> son of Ra <i>Rḥ-ms-sw Ḥq3-Twn.w</i> l.p.h.	It was announced that the falcon went to the sky (Ramesses III died).
14-...[and the king] <i>Wsr-m3ḥ.t-Rḥ Stp.n-Imn</i> son of Ra <i>Rḥ-ms-sw Mry-Imn</i> l.p.h.	
15-...sits on the throne of Ra in His place.	
16-...[the gang of] the Tomb rejoices all day until sunset.	

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

²⁰⁷ Janssen 2005.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²¹² Janssen 2005, 156.

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

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

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

- **Type A: DELIVERIES/PROVISIONS²¹⁴**

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

- **Type B: ABSENCES/PRESENCES²¹⁵**

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

- **Type C: WORK COMPLETED**

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

²¹⁴ See Mandeville 2014.

²¹⁵ See Janssen 1980.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²²² P. BM EA 09997 (Ramesses XI).

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

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

²²⁵ O. Berlin P 10633, ll. 7-8.

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

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

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

7.3.b Charts of the data obtained

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

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

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

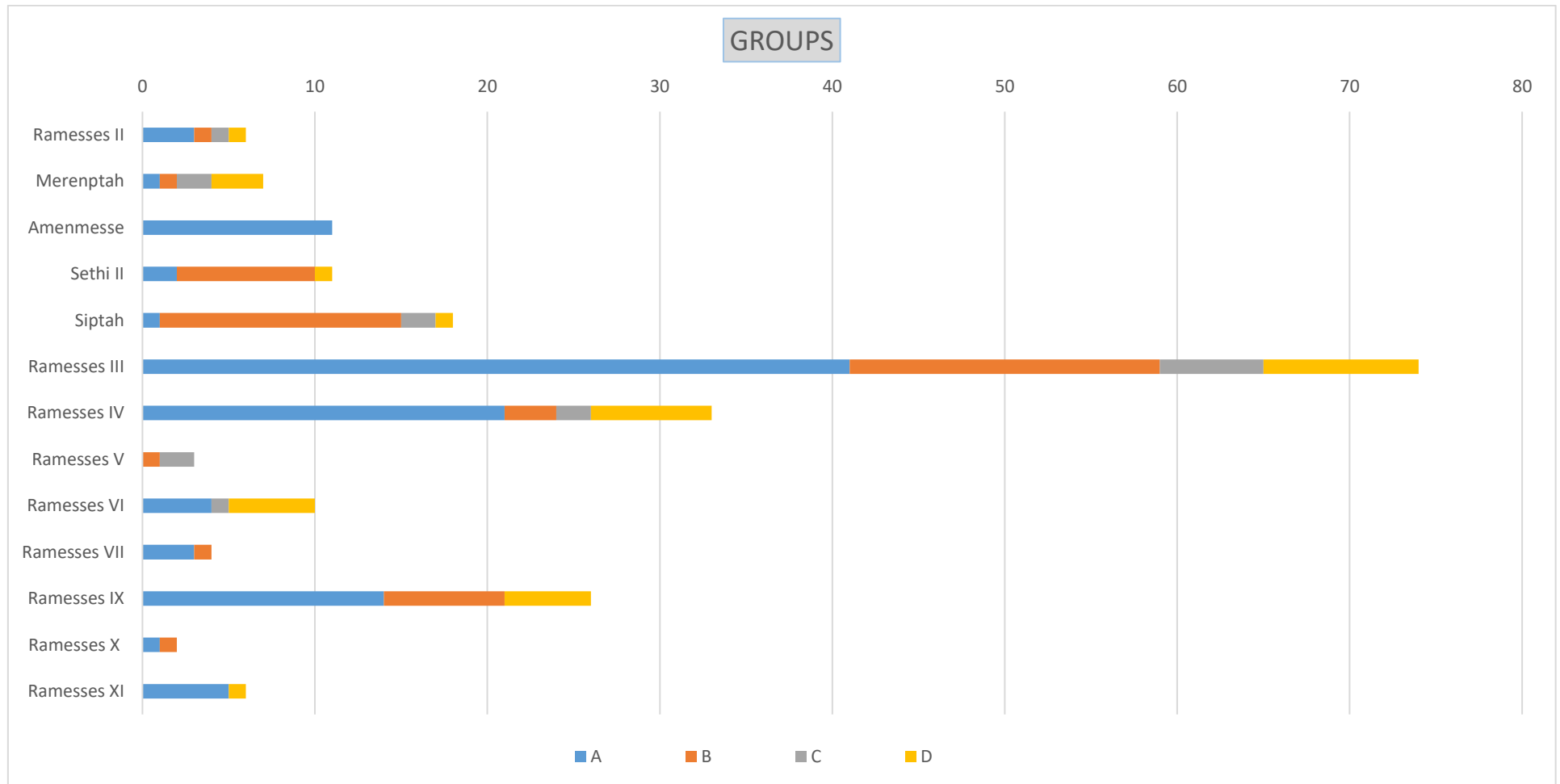


Fig. 38 Chart representing the groups of documents divided per single pharaoh (the results are obviously limited to the fact that there are some short and some long reigns; the chart does not give us firm statistics, but merely an indication)

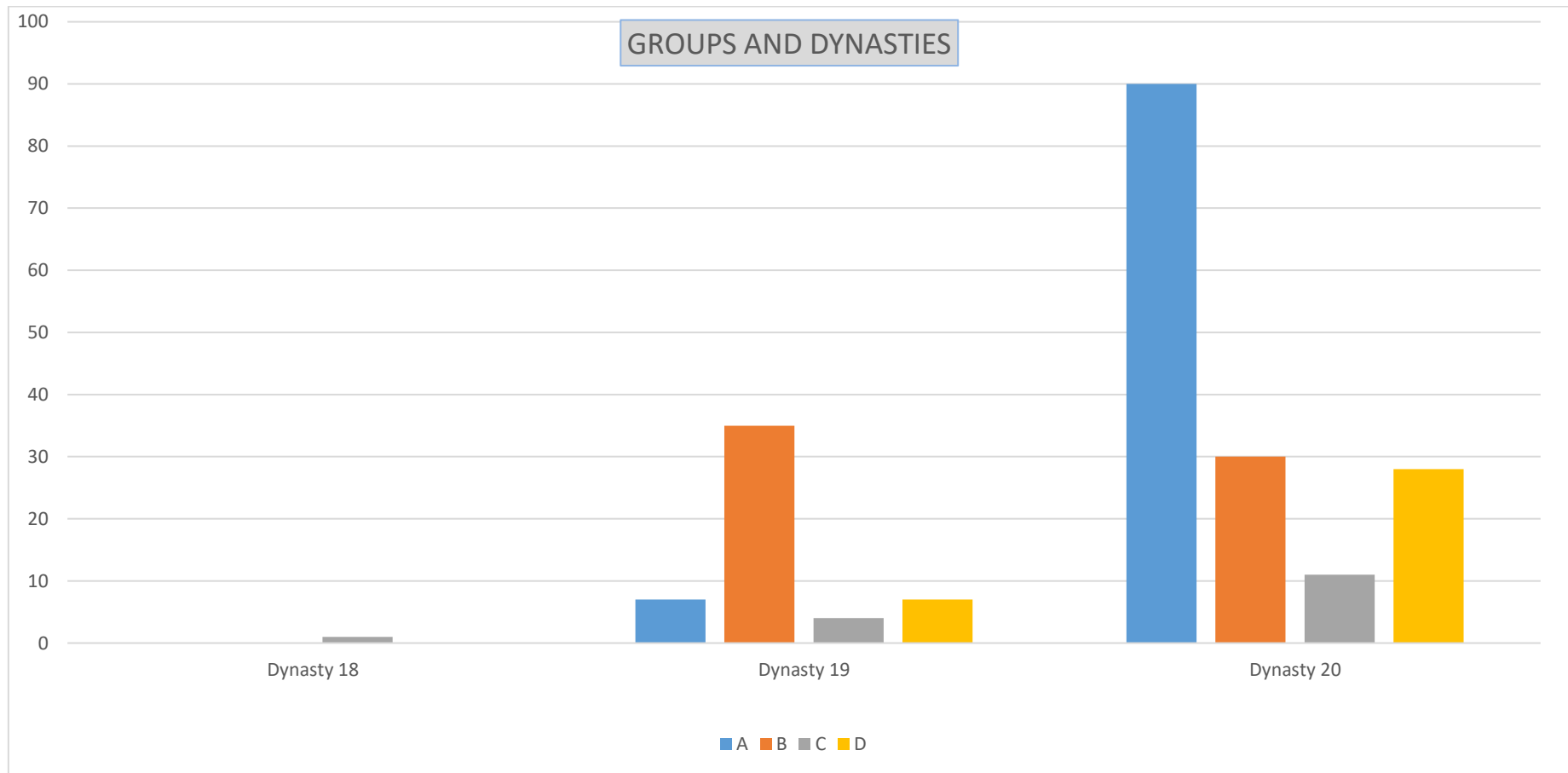


Fig. 39 Chart representing the groups of documents divided per dynasty

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

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

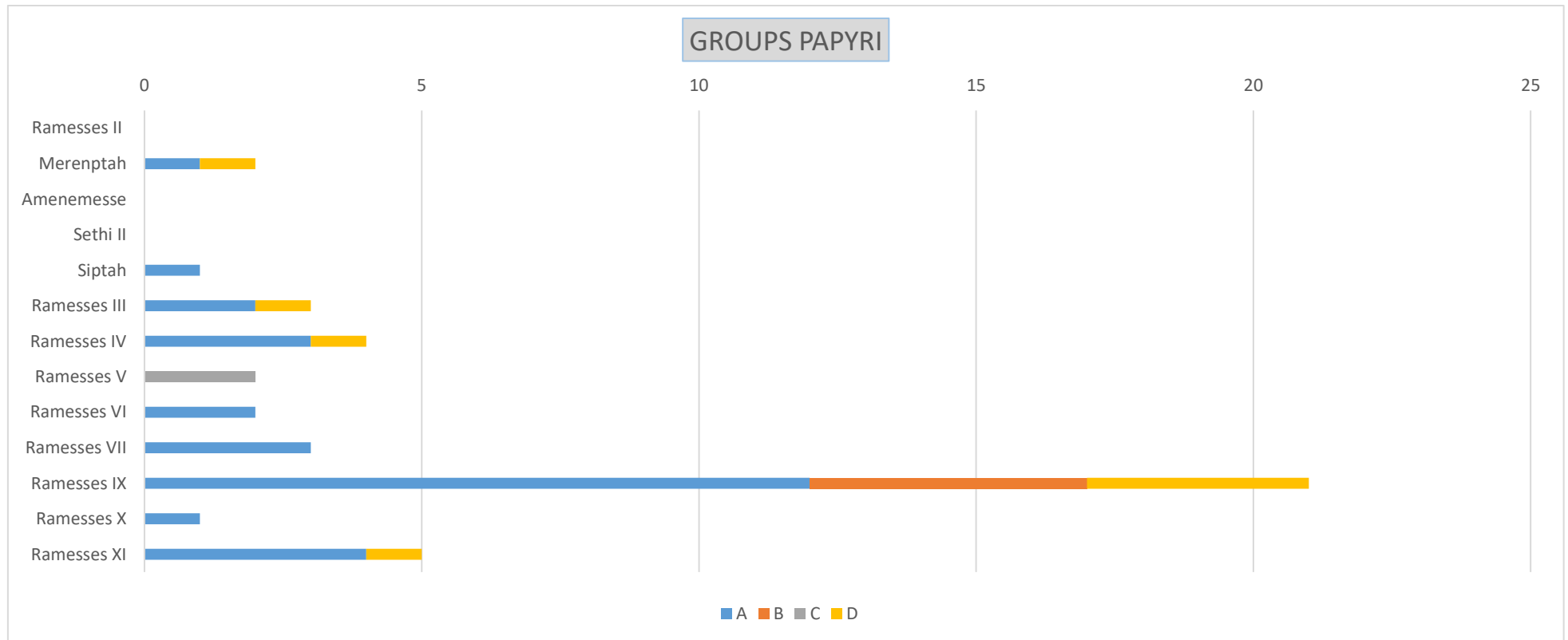


Fig. 40 Chart representing the documents on papyri divided per group

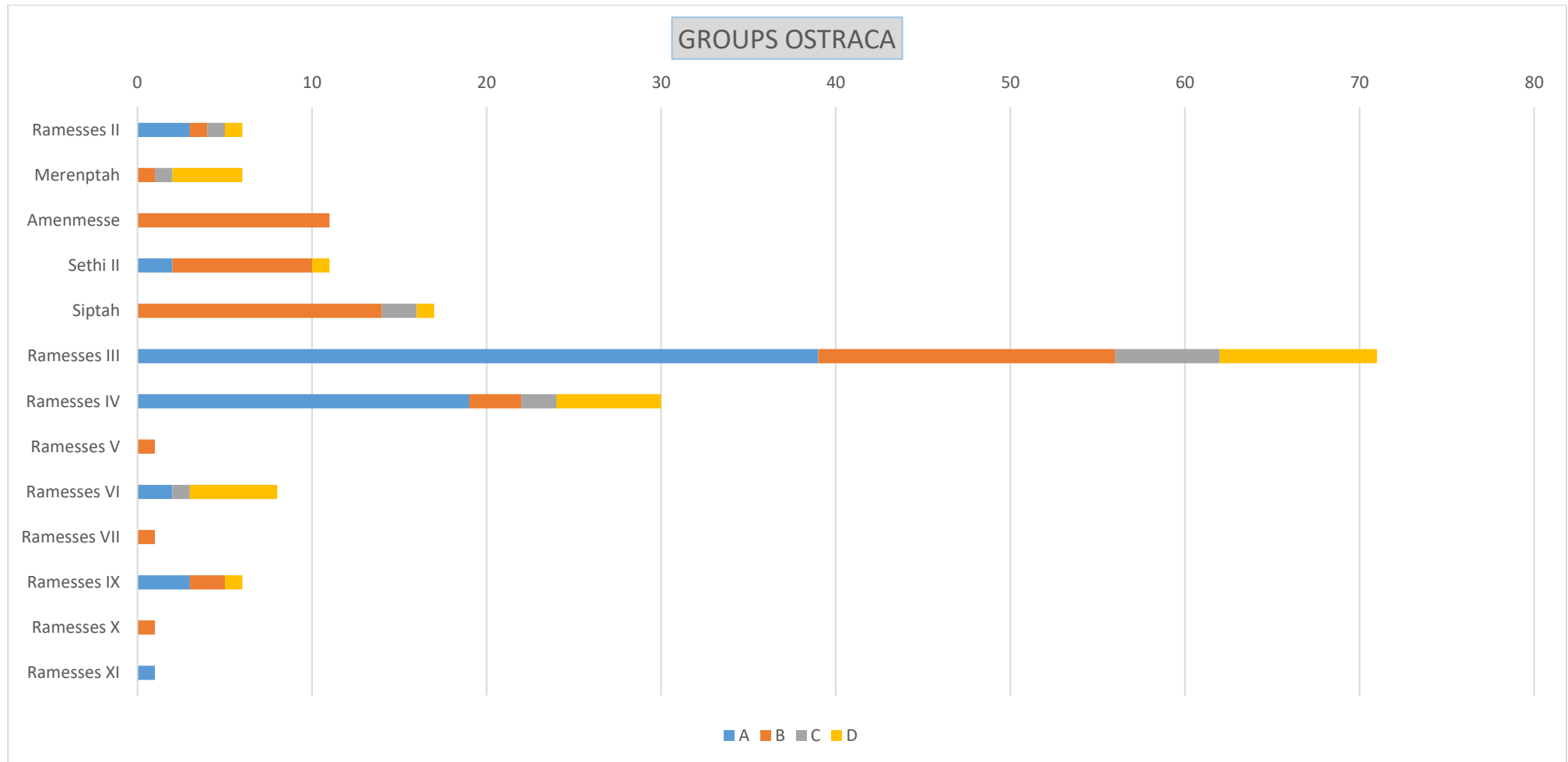


Fig. 41 Chart representing the documents on ostraca divided per group

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

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

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

7.4 The database

7.4.a The initial idea

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

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

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

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

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

7.4.b The website

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

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

Fig. 42 Example of a page of the database

The fields of the database are:

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

- group (A, B, C or D)²³⁰

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

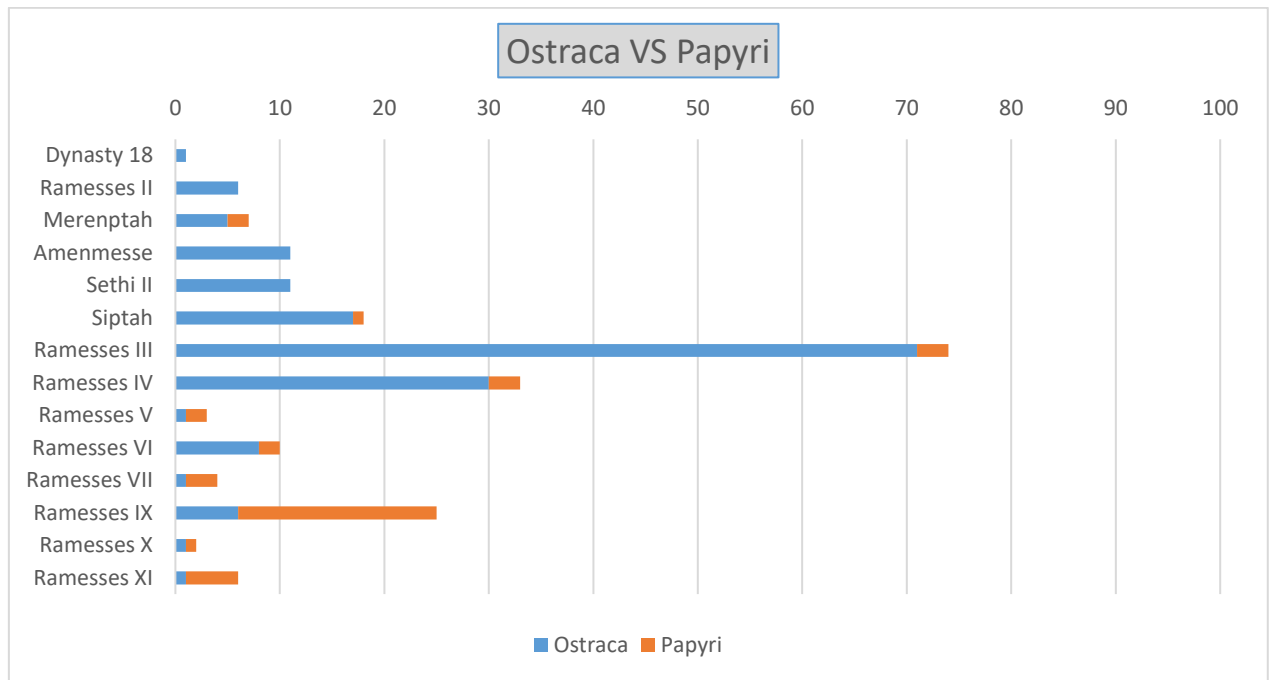


Fig. 43 Chart representing distribution in time of journals written on ostraca vs journals written on papyri (only documents dated with certainty). Considering what was stated on p. 28, that 40% of the papyri is palimpsest, we can imagine that papyri with records now dated to R. IX, X or XI earlier may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

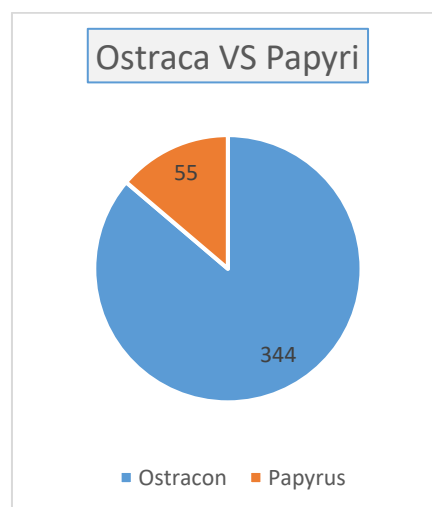


Fig. 44 Chart representing the number of ostraca vs the number of papyri (the whole corpus)

²³⁰ See above 7.3.a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³⁶ Eyre 2013, 235.

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

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

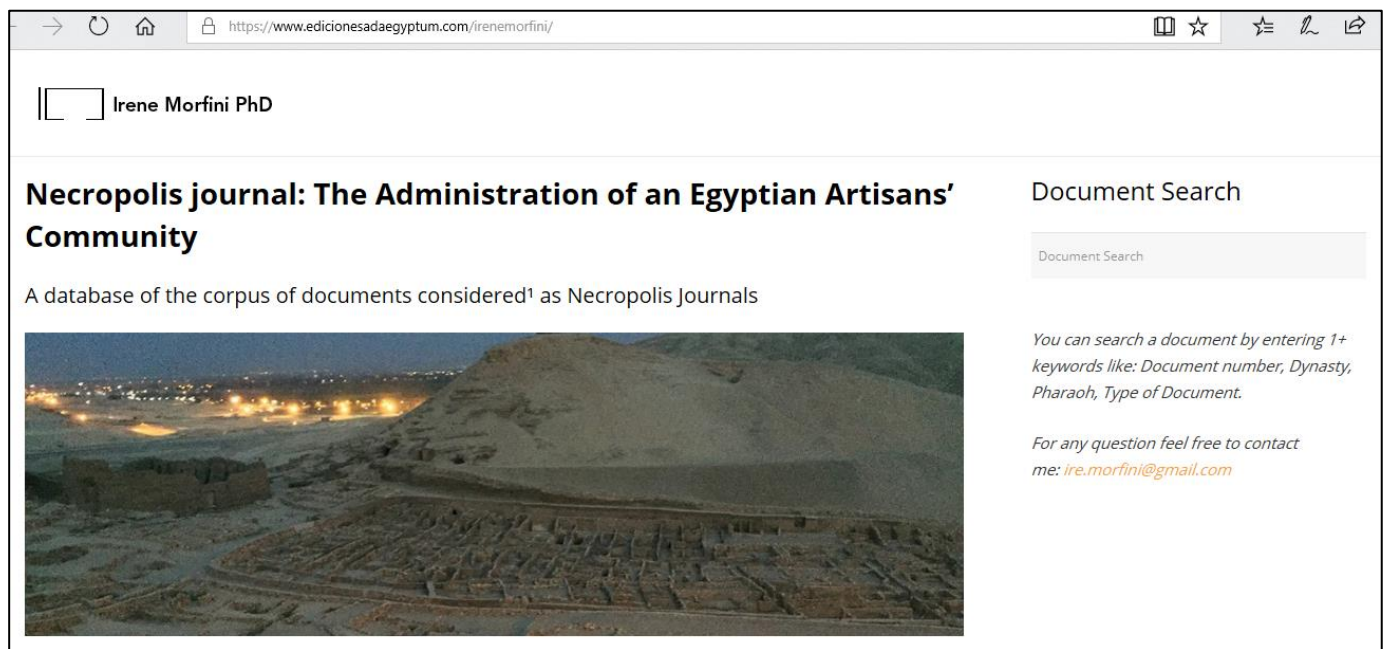


Fig. 45 The homepage of the website

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

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

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

After having provided an introduction on the *status quaestionis* concerning the Necropolis Journal as a label for certain documents described in publications by Egyptologists since 1928, the research context has been outlined, and sets of research questions and a methodology have been formulated.

In order to determine whether the notes of the so-called *journals* would be considered as such according to an ancient Egyptian standpoint, this work examined the notion of “journal” in earlier views and in a broader Egyptian perspective. An overview of annals and day-books was presented in order to identify common features and differences between these records and the so-called Necropolis journal. The common features provided the guidelines to formulate the criteria for the distinction of a Necropolis journal. A list of texts from Deir el-Medina was then created according to these criteria (see Chapter 5.1), and it was divided into two sections: documents dated with certainty and documents not dated with certainty (Chapter 5.2 a and b). All documents dated with certainty were then collected and investigated (with photos, transcriptions and translations when available). These documents all appear in a separate appendix for reasons of space and in order to be consulted easily (an online database is also available). The total number of documents dated with certainty is 211 of which 19 were previously totally or partly unpublished.

We have demonstrated that in ancient Egyptian administration there were two main types of journal, namely ‘accounts journal’ and ‘events journal’. Both types record the notes daily, in a mostly respected chronological order, and both are journals, nonetheless they describe different aspects. We have focused upon the latter type because that is the best comparable with the so-called Necropolis journal documents known from publications since 1928 (Botti-Peet). The event journal in Deir el-Medina was not an end product in itself. The presence of control marks on the documents and internal references to documents sent, received and requested, clearly show that the journals were used for internal and external readership and were checked or accessed to retrieve information. It has become also clear that most probably ostraca and papyri had different audiences and different purposes.

Of course, we have seen that there is not a clear cut division line and account journals and event journals slightly overlap from time to time, something that we nowadays would not prefer. Yet, this is how the ancient Egyptian scribes created their administrative records. This is not unsystematic, but only confusing to our mind. It seems that we have

to conclude and accept that there were no fixed rules or prescriptions on how to draw up journals in ancient Egypt.

Some last considerations are needed:

“LA REALTÀ NON É COME CI APPARE”

In chapter 7.2 (*Readership of the day-books*) we tried to determine the intended readership of journals based on their layout and in 7.2.a (*Day-books for internal use?*) we tried to identify the features of those day-books most probably written for internal use. When a document was used for various purposes, for example, we suggested that it would be quite improbable that such a document would end up in the hands of an outside authority. There are for example documents with both literary and administrative/journal texts (i.a. O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39, O. Cairo 25517, O. MMA 14.6.216, and O. Ashmolean Museum 0302 + O. Ashmolean Museum 0342 verso, and see note 197) and others with both journal and magical/ritual texts (e.g. P. Turin 54021 and P. BM EA 9997), or even temple administration in between journal notes (P. Turin 1900 + P. Turin 2048 + P. Turin 2088 + P. Turin 2093 + P. Turin 2097 + P. Turin 2101, recto III²³⁹) and religious texts with journal notes (papyrus Turin Provv. 6289 mentioned in Demichelis 2016, 32-38 bears a version of BD 168 on recto and on verso journal notes dated to year 13 of Ramesses IX).

Why were these journals, just like the annals and day-books discussed in Chapter 4, included in a broader collection of different texts such as letters, literary texts, hymns, medical and mathematical fragments, legal documents, religious and magical texts? We are tempted to conclude that those day-books were most probably written for internal use and not intended as “official documents”. Why, otherwise, would the scribe place or keep these documents together with other kinds of texts?

Let us consider the conclusions of Quack 2014, 111-135, who takes as an example P. BM EA 9997, with medical/magical texts on the recto and accounts/journal on the verso. Quack says that we should not be surprised by the double use of the papyrus, since these kind of magical texts were certainly sacred but not holy. It was therefore

²³⁹ Does the fact that Necropolis texts have been added to temple accounts (which are the originals on this papyrus) mean that the two closely cooperated? Is it maybe a proof that the Necropolis workmen moved to Medinet Habu and the reason of the shift from ostraca to papyri (this last material largely available in the temple archives)? It can be an attractive idea, but we have to consider that this specific document was produced under Ramses IX, still too early for a resettlement of the Community within the walls of Medinet Habu. Or was the administration of Deir el-Medina directed from Medinet Habu already since mid 20th Dynasty?

perfectly acceptable to have other kinds of notes together with those texts. What then about our observation in 7.2.a where we say that a journal was for internal use when the recto or verso was already used for other kinds of note not related to the journal? This sounds quite contrary to the idea of Quack about the ancient Egyptian mentality. But if the ancient Egyptians did not care if magical texts were written on the same papyrus with other kinds of notes, would they not take a similar view in relation to journal notes?

In reality, there is another point to take into consideration: from all the documents we have seen recording the daily notes we can conclude that they seem to be the product of a rather unsystematic administration, or at least we would call it like that. But that's the important point: we. It seems that there is not a single document which we can "define" as the "perfect-looking Journal" according to our point of view (and from here the difficulty of compiling the list of journals as stated in chapter 5.1). But this is how the ancient administrators worked and our opinion is in fact irrelevant. We need to understand both the commonalities and the diversity of the documents produced for the administration of the Deir el-Medina community. This kind of unsystematic (for us) administration was working for them, since they kept on using it for centuries, during which the royal tombs were dug and decorated in the Valleys of Kings and the Queens which we can still admire today.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- Aeg. Helv. = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Basel)
- ArOr = Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague)
- BdE = *Bibliothèque d'étude* (Le Caire)
- BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
- BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
- CdÉ = Chronique d'Égypte. Fond. Egyptol. Reine Elisabeth (Bruxelles)
- CHM = *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* (Paris)
- CRIPeL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris/Lille)
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BSAK = Beihefte SAK (Hamburg)
- DFIFAO = *Documents de fouilles de l'Inst. Français d'archéologie orientale* (Le Caire)
- EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- FuB = *Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin)
- HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore/Boston/New Haven)
- JARCE = *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, (Boston, New York)
- JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
- JEH = *Journal of Egyptian History* (Swansea)
- JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
- JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
- KRI = Kitchen, K.A., *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*, Vol. I, Oxford 1975; Vol. II, Oxford 1979; Vol. III, Oxford 1981; Vol. IV, Oxford 1982; Vol. V, Oxford 1983; Vol. VI, Oxford 1983; Vol. VII, Oxford 1989; Vol. VIII, Oxford 1990
- LÄ = Lexikon der Ägyptologie, 7 vols., ed. W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf, 1972/5-, Wiesbaden.
- MÄS = *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin/Munich)
- Minerva = Minerva: the International Review of Ancient Art and Archaeology (London)
- NEA = *Near Eastern Archaeology* [formerly: Biblical Archeologist (BA)]
- OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Friburg, All., Göttingen)
- OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, (Leuven)
- OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Münster/Berlin/Leipzig)

OrAnt = *Oriens antiquus* (Rome)

PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London)

QuadAc= Quaderni di Acme. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Univ. degli stud. (Milan)

RAPH = Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire (IFAO, Le Caire)

RdÉ= *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)

Rec Trav = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris)

RITA = Kitchen, K.A., 'Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations', I ff., Oxford, 1993 ff.

RITANC = Kitchen, K.A., 'Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments', I ff., Oxford, 1993 ff.

SAK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg)

StudAeg = *Studia Aegyptiaca* (Budapest)

UGAÄ = *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*
(Hildesheim/Leipzig/Berlin)

URAÄ = *Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten* (Tübingen)

Urk. = *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*', 8 vols. ed. K.Sethe, H.W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O. Firchow, 1903-1957 (Leipzig/Berlin)

VA = *Varia Aegyptiaca* (San Antonio)

VDI = *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* (Revue d'Histoire ancienne) (Moscow/Leningrad)

Wb = A. Erman und H. Grapow (Hrsg.), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 13 Bände, Berlin 1982 (unveränderter 4. Nachdruck der Auflage von 1926-1953)

Allam 1968

Allam, S., "Sind die nichtliterarischen Schriftostraka Brouillons?", *JEA* 54, 1968, 121-128.

Allam 1973

Allam, S., *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, 2 vols, *URAÄ* 1, 1973.

Allam 1982

Allam, S., "Einige hieratische Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin", *FuB* 22, 1982, 51-62.

Allam 2009

Allam, S., "Using administrative archives in Pharaonic time", in: *Egyptian Archives*, Piacentini, P., Orsenigo, C. (eds). *QuadAc* 111, 2009, 61-70.

Altenmüller 1996

Altenmüller, H., "Das präsumtive Begräbnis des Siptah", *SAK* 23, 1996, 1-9.

Altenmüller 1999

Altenmüller, H., "Zwei Ostraka und ein Baubefund: Zum Tod des Schatzkanzlers Bay im 3. Regierungsjahr des Siptah", *GM* 171, 1999, 13-18.

Altenmüller 2015

Altenmüller, H., "Zwei Annalenfragmente aus dem frühen Mittleren Reich", *SAK Beihefte* 16, 2015.

Andreu 1985

Andreu, G., "La tombe de Thothermaktouf a Deir el Medina (TT 357)," *BIFAO* 85, 1985, 1-21.

Andreu 2002

Andreu, G., *Les artistes de Pharaon*, Paris, 2002.

Badawy 1948

Badawy, A., *Le dessin architectural chez les Anciens Egyptiens. Étude comparative des représentations égyptiennes de constructions*. Le Caire, 1948.

Baer 1965

Baer, K., "Ein Grab verfluchen?", *OLA* 34, 1965, 428-438.

Baines 2008

Baines, J., "On the evolution, purpose and forms of Egyptian annals", in: *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*. Dreyer, G.; Engel, E.V.; Müller, V.; Hartung, U. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008, 19-40.

Barns 1956

Barns, J.W.B., *Five Ramesseum Papyri*. Oxford. 1956

Baud-Dobrev 1995

Baud, M.; Dobrev, V., "De nouvelles annales de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Une "Pierre de Palerme" pour la VIe dynastie". *BIFAO* 95, 1995, 23-92.

Baud-Dobrev 1997

Baud, M.; Dobrev, V., "Le verso des annales de la VI^e dynastie. Pierre de Saqqara-Sud". *BIFAO* 97, 1997, 35-42.

Bellion 1987

Bellion, M., *Égypte ancienne: catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés*, Paris, 1987.

Bierbrier 1982

Bierbrier, M., *The Tomb-builders of the Pharaohs*, London, 1982.

Birch 1868

Birch, S., *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*, London, 1868.

Blackman 1926

Blackman, A. M., "Oracles in Ancient Egypt. II", *JEA* 12, 1926, 176-185.

Bogoslovsky 1973

Bogoslovsky, E., S. "Monuments and Documents from Dêr el-Medîna in Museums of the USSR. V", *VDI* 123, 1973, 78-104.

Bonnet-Valbelle 1975

Bonnet, C., Valbelle D., "Le village de Deir el-Médineh: Reprise de l'étude archéologique" *BIFAO* 75, 1975, 429-446.

Botti-Peet 1928

Botti, G., Peet, T.E., *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe (I papiri ieratici del Museo di Torino)*, Turin, 1928.

Botti 1964

Botti, G., "Frammenti di papiri ieratici della XX dinastia nel Museo Egizio di Firenze", *OrAnt* 3, 1964, 221-226.

Bruyère 1930a

Bruyère, B., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1929) Cairo (= FIFAO VII)*, 1930.

Bruyère 1930b

Bruyère, B., *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*, Cairo, 1930.

Bruyère 1937

Bruyère, B., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933-1934)* Cairo (= *FIFAO* XIV), 1937.

Burkard-Fischer-Elfert 1994

Burkard, G., Fischer-Elfert, H. W., *Aegyptische Handschriften*. Tl. 4, Stuttgart, 1994.

Burkard 2006

Burkard, G., "Das xtm n pA xr von Deir el-Medine", in: A. Dorn and T. Hofmann ed., *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, *Aeg.Helv.* 19, 2006, 31-42.

Caillaud 1821-1862

Caillaud, F., *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes et dans les déserts situés à l'Orient et à l'Occident de la Thébaïde fait pendant les années 1815, 1816, 1817 et 1818*, Paris, 1821-1862.

Camino 1954

Camino, R. A., *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, (Brown Egyptological Studies 1), London, 1954.

Carter-Gardiner 1917

Carter, H., Gardiner, A. H., "The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin Plan of a Royal Tomb", *JEA* 4, 1917, 130-158.

Černý 1927a

Černý J., "Le culte d'Amenophis I chez les ouvriers de la Nécropole thébaine", *BIFAO* 27, 1927, 159-203.

Černý 1927b

Černý, J., "Quelques ostraca hiératiques inédits de Thèbes au Musée du Caire", *ASAE* 27, 1927, 183-210.

Černý 1927c

Černý, J., "Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)", *JEA* 15, 1929, 243-258.

Černý 1929

Černý, J., "L'identité des 'Serviteurs dans la Place de Verité' et des ouvriers de la nécropole royale de Thèbes", *RdÉ* 2, 1929, 200-209.

Černý 1931

Černý, J., "Ostrakon Nr. 2973 der Staatl. Ermitage zu Leningrad", *ArOr* 3, 1931, 395-399.

Černý 1935a

Černý, J., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Cairo. Tome I (Nos 1 à 113), 1935 = Documents de fouilles, 3.

Černý 1935b

Černý, J., *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25501-25832: Ostraca hiératiques. Tomes I et II, Cairo, 1935.

Černý 1936

Černý, J., "Datum des Todes Ramses' III. und der Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV." *ZAS* 72, 1936, 109-18.

Černý 1937a

Černý, J., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Cairo. Tome II (Nos 114 à 189), 1937 = Documents de fouilles, 4.

Černý 1937b

Černý, J., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Cairo. Tome III (Nos 190 à 241), 1937 = Documents de fouilles, 5.

Černý 1939

Černý, J., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Cairo. Tome IV (Nos 242 à 339), 1939 = Documents de fouilles, 6.

Černý 1945

Černý, J. "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents," *JEA* 31, 1945, 42-53.

Černý 1951

Černý, J., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Cairo. Tome V (Nos 340 à 456), 1951 = Documents de fouilles, 7.

Černý 1954

Černý, J., *Prices and Wages in Egypt in the Ramesside Period*. CHM I, 4, 1954, 903-921.

Černý 1955

Černý, J., "The Storehouses of This", in: Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1843 - 4 giugno 1943), Vol. II, Pisa, 1955, 29-31.

Černý 1957

Černý, J., Gardiner, A.H., *Hieratic Ostraca*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1957.

Černý 1962

Černý, J., "Review of Wolfgang Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs," *BiOr* 19, 1962, 143.

Černý 1970

Černý, J., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Cairo. Tome VII (Nos 624 à 705), 1970 = Documents de fouilles, 14.

Černý 1973a

Černý, J., *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, *BdE* 50, 1973.

Černý 1973b

Černý, J., *The Valley of the Kings. Fragments d'un manuscrit inachevé*, *BdE* 61, 1973.

Černý 1985

Cerny, J., *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 1985.

Černý 1986

Cerny, J., *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir-el-Médineh*. T. II: Nos XVIII-XXXIV, documents de fouilles - *IFAO*; t. 22, Cairo, 1986.

Černý MMS

Černý, J., Unpublished manuscripts in the Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford.

Černý NB

Černý, J., Unpublished notebooks, with transcriptions of ostraca and papyri in the Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford.

Chabas 1867

Chabas, F., "Sur un ostracon de la collection Cailliaud", *ZÄS* 5, 1867, 37–40.

Chabas 1869

Chabas, F., "Sur quelques données des Papyrus Rollin", *ZÄS* 7, 1869, 85-92.

Christophe 1953

Christophe, L., A., "Les enseignements de l'ostracon 148 de Deir el-Médineh", *BIFAO* 52, 1953, 113-144.

Cilli 2014

Cilli, D., "A New Corpus of Hieratic Ostraca from the Valley of Kings (KV 47)", in: Toivari-Viitala, J. et al. (eds) *Proceedings of the Deir el-Medina Studies Conference, Helsinki/Finland, June 24th to 26th 2009*, The Finnish Egyptological Society - Occasional Papers 2, 2014, 7-15.

Collier 2004

Collier, M., *Dating late XIXth dynasty ostraca*, Leiden, 2004.

Collier-Quirke 2006

Collier, M., Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, Oxford, 2006.

Collier-Quirke 2004

Collier, M., Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, Oxford, 2004.

Collier-Quirke 2002

Collier, M., Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, Oxford, 2002.

Condon 1984

Condon, V., "Two Account Papyri of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty (Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B)", *RdE* 35, 1984, 57-82.

Condon 1986

Condon, V., "Two variant accounts?" by Janssen?, *VA I*, 3, 109-112, *VA II*, 1986, 23-29.

Daressy 1901

Daressy, G., *Ostraca* in Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos 25001-2535, Cairo, 1901.

Daressy 1912

Daressy, G., Ramsès-si-Ptah, *Rec Trav* 34, 1912, 39-52.

Daressy 1927

Daressy, M. G., "Quelques ostraca de Biban el Molouk", *ASAE* 27, 1927, 161-182.

Davies 1997

Davies, B.G., *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca 2, Jonsered, 1997.

Davies 1999

Davies, B. G., *Who'swho at Deir el-Medina. A prosopographic study of the royal workmen'scommunity*, *EgUit* 13, 1999.

Davies 2017

Davies, B. G., *Variations in the size of the Deir el-Medina workforce*. The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience. Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga. Camilla Di Biase-Dyson und Leonie Donovan (Eds.) *Ägypten und Altes Testament*, Vol. 85, 2017.

Deicher-Maroko 2015

Deicher, S., Maroko, E., *Die Liste. Ordnungen von Dingen und Menschen in Ägypten*, Deicher, S., Maroko, E., eds, *Ancient Egyptian Design, Contemporary Design History and Anthropology of Design*, 1, Berlin, 2015.

Demarée 1993

Demarée, R., J., "Recent Work on the Administrative Papyri in the Museo Egizio, Turin", in: Zacccone G.M. and di Netro T.R. ed., *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti II*, Turin, 1993, 101-105.

Demarée 2002a

Demarée, R.J., *Ramesside Ostraca*, London, 2002.

Demarée 2002b

Demarée, R.J., *O. Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 567: fragment of a necropolis journal*, ZAS 129, 2002, 109-114, tafel XVII-XIX.

Demarée 2004

Demarée, R.J., "Review of Helck, W., *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*" OLZ 99 (3), 2004, 285-294.

Demarée 2005

Demarée, R.J., *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri*, (British Museum Research Publication 155) London, 2005, 7-9, 34-37.

Demarée 2008

Demarée, R.J., *Reports on Tomb-Construction at Saqqara in the New Kingdom*, Saqqara Newsletter 6, 2008, 7-10.

Demarée 2010

Demarée, R.J., "Ramesside Administrative Papyri in the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche di Milano", *JEOL* 42, 2010, 55-78.

Demarée 2015

Demarée, R. J., "A Late New Kingdom Administrative Miscellany on the verso of a Magical Papyrus in the British Museum. Preliminary notes", in: Verhoeven-van Elsbergen, U., *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten I – II: neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik; Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013*, 2015, 335-340.

Demarée 2016

Demarée, R. J., "The workmen who created the royal tombs", in *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, Richard H. Wilkinson and Kent R. Weeks eds., Oxford-New York, 2016, 75-86.

Demarée 2016/2017

Demarée, R.J., "Announcement of the passing of Ramesses II", *JEOL* 46, 2016/2017, 117-121.

Demarée 2017

Demarée, R. J., "New information on the mining expedition to the Wadi Hammamat in year 3 of Ramesses IV", in: *Du Sinaï au Soudan: itinéraires d'une égyptologue. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Dominique Valbelle*, Paris, 2017, 101-106.

Demarée-Egberts 1992

Demarée, R.J., Egberts A. ed., *Village Voices. Proceedings of the symposium 'Texts from Deir el-Medīna and their interpretation', Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991* (CNWS Publications 13), Leiden, 1992.

Demarée-Egberts 2000

Demarée, R.J., Egberts A. ed., *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: a tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, EgUit 14, 2000.

Demarée-Haring 1999

Demarée, R.J., B.J.J. Haring, "The Deir el-Medina Database", in: Hafemann, I. ed., *Wege zu einem digitalen Corpus ägyptischer Texte. Akten der Tagung "Datenbanken im Verbund"* (Berlin, 30. September – 2. Oktober 1999) (Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae 2), Berlin, 2003, 41-48.

Demarée-Valbelle 2011

Demarée, R. J., Valbelle, D., *Les registres de recensement du village de Deir el-Medineh (Le "Stato Civile")*, Leuven, 2011.

Demichelis 2002a

Demichelis, S., *Il calendario delle feste di Montu. Papiro ieratico CGT 54021, verso* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, serie prima – monumenti e testi, 10), Turin, 2002.

Demichelis 2002b

Demichelis, S., "Le Papyrus de la grève", in: Andreu, G. ed., *Les artistes de Pharaon. Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, Paris 2002, 208 and 209, no. 162.

Demichelis 2016

Demichelis, S. "Ricomporre frammenti. Lavori in corso tra i papiri del Museo Egizio di Torino", in: Ciampini E., Demichelis S, *Dal Po al Nilo. Studi di filologia ed epigrafia egizia*, Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, vol. 40, Torino, 2016, 3-44.

Donadoni Roveri 1988

Donadoni Roveri, A. M., *Il Museo Egizio di Torino: guida alla lettura di una civiltà*, Novara, 1988.

Donadoni Roveri 1989

Donadoni Roveri, A.M., *Dal museo al museo. Passato e futuro del Museo Egizio di Torino*, (Archivi di archeologia), Torino, 1989.

Donadoni Roveri-D'Amicone-Leospo 1994

Donadoni Roveri, A. M., D'Amicone, E., Leospo E., *Gebelein: il villaggio e la necropoli*, Torino, 1994.

Donker van Heel 1992

Donker van Heel, K., "Use and Meaning of the Egyptian Term *w3ḥ-mw*" in: Demarée, R.J. and Egberts A. ed., *Village Voices. Proceedings of the symposium 'Texts from Deir el-Medîna and their interpretation', Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991* (CNWS Publications 13), Leiden, 1992, 19-30.

Donker van Heel 2003

Donker van Heel, K., "Clusters of individual handwritings and the duplication of information in the administrative documents from deir el-Medina" in: Donker van Heel, K. and Haring, B.J.J., *Writing in a Workmen's Village. Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina*, EgUit 16, 2003, 39-48.

Donker van Heel-Haring 2003

Donker van Heel, K. and Haring, B.J.J., *Writing in a Workmen's Village. Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina*, EgUit 16, 2003.

Dorn 2006

Dorn, A., "*M33-nht.w=f*, ein (?) einfacher Arbeiter, schreibt Briefe", in: A. Dorn and T. Hofmann ed., *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, Aeg.Helv. 19, 2006, 67-85.

Dorn 2011

Dorn, A., *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)*. [I]: Text- und Katalogband; [II]: Tafeln 1-480; [III]: Tafeln 481-784, Aeg.Helv. 23, 2011.

Dresbach 2012

Dresbach, G., *Zur Verwaltung in der 20. Dynastie: das Wesirat*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.

Edgerton 1951

Edgerton, W., F., "The Strikes in Ramses III's Twenty-Ninth Year", *JNES* 10, 1951, 137-145.

Eichler 1990

Eichler, S., "Untersuchungen zu den Wasserträgern von Deir el-Medineh I, SAK 17 (1990) 135-175.

Eisenlohr 1897

Eisenlohr, A., *Rollin Papyri and their Baking Calculations*. *PSBA* XIX, 1897, 91-104, 115-120, 147-155, 252-265.

Endesfelder 1967

Endesfelder, E., "Drei neuägyptische hieratische Ostraka", *FuB*, 8, 1967, Berlin, 65-69.

Engelbach-Gunn 1923

Engelbach, R., Gunn B., *Harageh*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, London, 1923.

Erman 1910

Erman, A., *Zwei Aktenstücke aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt*, Reimer, 1910.

Erman 1911

Erman, A., *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Hrsg. von der Generalverwaltung. 3. Bd, Schriftstücke der VI. Dynastie aus Elephantine. Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind. Ostraka. Leipzig, 1911.

Eyre 1980a

Eyre, C.J., *Employment and Labour Relations in the Theban Necropolis in the Ramesside Period* (diss., unpublished), Oxford, 1980.

Eyre 1980b

Eyre, C.J., 'An Accounts Papyrus from Thebes', *JEA* 66, 1980, 108-119, pls. XII and XIII.

Eyre 1987

Eyre, C.J., "Papyrus Deir el-Medīna XXIV: an Appeal for Wages?", *GM* 98, 1987, 11-21.

Eyre 1996

Eyre, C. J., "Is Egyptian historical Literature "historical" or "literary"?", in: Loprieno, A. ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden, 1996, 415-433.

Eyre 2009

Eyre, C. J., "On the Inefficiency of Bureaucracy", in: Piacentini, P., Orsenigo, C. eds, *Egyptian archives: proceedings of the first session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives/Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9–10, 2008*, Milano, 2009, 15–30.

Eyre 2013

Eyre, C. J., *The use of documents in pharaonic Egypt*, Series: Oxford studies in ancient documents, Oxford, 2013.

Ezzamel 1997

Ezzamel, M., *Accounting, Control and Accountability: Preliminary Evidence from Ancient Egypt*. Critical Perspectives on Accounting, Vol. 8, 1997, 563-601.

Ezzamel-Hoskin 2002

Ezzamel, M. and Hoskin, K., *Retheorizing the Relationship between Accounting, Writing and Money with Evidence from Mesopotamia and Ancient Egypt*. Critical Perspectives on Accounting, Vol. 13, 2002, 333-367.

Farazmand 2009

Farazmand, A., *Bureaucracy and Administration*, Public Administration and Public Policy 153, 2nd edition, CRC Press, 2009.

Faulkner 1962

Faulkner, R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1962.

Fischer-Elfert 2000

Fischer-Elfert, H.-W., "Rest in pieces: fragments of absence from work in Deir el-Medina (Pap. Berlin P. 14485 a+d+14449 c+g; I and 14448)", in: Demarée, R.J. and Egberts A. ed., *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: a tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, EgUit 14, 2000, 101-107.

Fischer-Elfert 2003

Fischer-Elfert, H.-W., "Representations of the Past in the New Kingdom Literature", in: Tait, J., W., *'Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's View of Its Past*, London, 2003, 119-138.

Fischer-Elfert 2012

Fischer-Elfert, H.-W., "A Strike in the Reign of Merenptah? Plus the Endowment of Three Cult Statu(ett)es on Behalf of the Same King at Deir el-Medina (Pap. Berlin P. 23300 and P. 23301)"; in: *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*, Lepper, V. M. (ed.), Berlin, 2012, 47-73, pl. 6-9.

Fisher 2010

Fisher, M., "A New Kingdom ostrakon found in the King's Valley", in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt. Studies in honor of Edward Brovarski*. Cahier N° 40. Hawass, Z., Der Manuelian, P., Hussein, R. eds., 201, 93-100.

Fowler 1982

Fowler, A., *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*. Oxford, 1982.

Frandsen 1989

Frandsen, P. J., "A Word for 'Causeway' and the Location of 'The Five Walls'", *JEA* 75, 1989, 113-123.

Frandsen 1990

Frandsen, P.J., "Editing reality: the Turin Strike Papyrus", in: *Studies in Egyptology*-presented to Miriam Lichtheim, II vol. Israelit-Groll, S., ed., Jerusalem, 1990. 166-169.

Frandsen 1991

Frandsen, P.J., *The Carlsberg Papyri I*, Copenhagen, 1991.

Gardiner 1931

Gardiner, A. H., *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bruxelles, 1931.

Gardiner 1937

Gardiner, A.H., *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca VII), Bruxelles, 1937.

Gardiner 1941

Gardiner, A. H., "Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn", *JEA* 27, 1941, 19-73.

Gardiner 1948

Gardiner, A.H., *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, Oxford, 1948.

Gardiner 1955

Gardiner, A.H., *The Ramesseum Papyri*, Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1955.

Gardiner 1957

Gardiner, A. H., *Egyptian Grammar*, Griffith Institute, Oxford, 3rd ed., 1957.

Gauthier 1914

Gauthier, H., *Le livre des rois d'Égypte: recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses et parents de rois, suivi d'un index alphabétique. T.III, de la XIX à la XXIV dynastie*, Cairo, 1914.

Geller 1990

Geller, M. J., "Babylonian Astronomical Diaries and Corrections of Diodorus", *BSOAS* 53 (1), 1990, 1-7.

Gitton 1975

Gitton, M., *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besancon, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 15), Paris, 1975.

Glick-Livesey-Wallis 2005

Glick, T. F., Livesey, S. J., Wallis, F., *Medieval science, technology, and medicine: an encyclopedia*, 2005, New York.

Goedicke-Wente 1962

Goedicke, H., Wente E. F., *Ostraka Michaelides*, Wiesbaden, 1962.

Golénischeff 1913

Golénischeff, W., *Les Papyrus hiératiques no. 1115, 1116a et 1116b de L'Ermitage Imperial à St. Petersburg*, St. Petersburg, 1913.

Grajetzki 2004

Grajetzki, W., *Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC*, London, 2004.

Grandet 2000

Grandet, P., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh VIII* (Nos. 706-830), Cairo, 2000 = *DFIFAO* 39.

Grandet 2002

Grandet, P., "Ostrakon: un ouvrier retrouve la tombe de ses ancêtres", in: Andreu, G. ed., *Les artistes de Pharaon. Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, Paris 2002, 294, no. 241.

Grandet 2003

Grandet, P., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh IX* (Nos. 831-1000), Cairo, 2003 = *DFIFAO* 41.

Grandet 2003b

Grandet, P., "Travaux, grèves et personnages célèbres aux XIXe et XXe dynasties", in: G. Andreu ed., *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois. La vie en Égypte au temps des*

pharaons du Nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002, Paris, 2003, 209-233.

Grandet 2006

Grandet, P., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh X* (Nos 10001-10123), Cairo, 2006 = *DFIFAO* 46.

Grandet 2016

Grandet, P., "Un document relatif aux grèves de Deir el-Médîneh en l'an 29 de Ramsès III et un fragment de l'Enseignement d'Amennakhté, §39-48: O. IFAO 1255 A-B (ONL 514 A-B)", in: *Aere perennius: mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus*. Collombert, P. & Al. (ed.). *OLA* 242, 2016, 327-359.

Grapow 1949

Grapow, H., *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des neuen Reiches*. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1949.

Griffith 1891

Griffith, F. L., "The account papyrus no.18 of Boulaq", *ZAS* 29, 1891, 102-116.

Griffith 1898

Griffith, F. L., *Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob: (principally of the Middle kingdom)*, London, 1898.

Gutgesell 1983

Gutgesell, M., *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*, Bd. 1. Hildesheim, 1983.

Gutgesell 1984

Gutgesell, M., "Eine neue Wachhabendenliste aus Hildesheim", *SAK* 11, 1984, 227–229.

Gutgesell 1989

Gutgesell, M., *Arbeiter und Pharaonen: Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Ägypte*, Hildesheim, 1989.

Hagen 2016

Hagen, F., "On Some Movements of the Royal Court in New Kingdom Egypt", in: *Another mouthful of dust. Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin*. J. Van Dijk (ed.). OLA 246, 2016, 155-181.

Hagen forthcoming

Hagen, F., "Libraries in Ancient Egypt, c. 1600–800 BC", in: Ryholt, K., Barjamovic, G. eda, *Libraries Before Alexandria*, Oxford.

Hagen-Soliman 2018

Hagen, F., Soliman, D., M., "Archives in Ancient Egypt, 2500–1000 BCE ", in: Bausi, A., Brockmann, C., Friedrich, M., Kienitz, S. (eds), *Manuscripts and archives: comparative views on record-keeping*, Studies in manuscript cultures 11, Berlin, 2018, 71-170.

Häggman 2002

Häggman, S., *Directing Deir el-Medina. The External Administration of the Necropolis* (Uppsala Studies in Egyptology 4), Uppsala, 2002.

Hari 1964

Hari, R., *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie*, Genève, 1964.

Haring 1993

Haring, B.J.J., "Libyans in the Theban region, 20th Dynasty", in: Zaccane G.M. and di Netro T.R. ed., *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti II*, Turin, 1993, 159-165.

Haring 1997

Haring, B.J.J., *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic aspects of the New Kingdom royal memorial temples in western Thebes*, EgUit 12, 1997.

Haring 1998

Haring, B.J.J., "Temple or domain? Critical remarks on the expression pr Imn in the New Kingdom Administrative Texts", in: *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge 3-9 September 1995*, C.J. Eyre (ed.). OLA 82, 1998, 539-545.

Haring 2000

Haring, B.J.J., "Towards Decoding the Necropolis Workmen's Funny Signs", *GM* 178, 2000, 45-58.

Haring 2003

Haring, B.J.J., "From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir el-Medina", *JESHO* 46, 2003, 249-272.

Haring 2004

Haring, B. J. J., "Hieratic varia", *JEA* 90, 2004, 215-221.

Haring 2006

Haring, B.J.J., Scribes and Scribal Activity at Deir el-Medina, in: A. Dorn and T. Hofmann ed., *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, *Aeg.Helv.* 19, 2006, 107-112.

Haring 2009a

Haring, B.J.J., "Workmen's Marks on Ostraca from the Theban Necropolis: A Progress Report", in: B.J.J. Haring & O.E. Kaper ed., *Pictograms or Pseudo Script? Non-textual identity marks in practical use in Ancient Egypt and elsewhere. Proceedings of a Conference in Leiden, 19-20 December 2006*, *EgUit* 25, 2009, 143-167.

Haring 2009b

Haring, B.J.J., "On the Nature of the Workmen's Marks of the Royal Necropolis Administration in the New Kingdom", in: P. Andrassy, J. Budka & F. Kammerzell ed., *Non-Textual Marking Systems, Writing and Pseudo Script from Prehistory to Modern Times* (*Lingua Aegyptia - Studia monographica* 8), Göttingen, 2009, 123-135.

Haring forthcoming

Haring, B. J. J., "Material matters. Documentary Papyri and Ostraca in Late Ramesside Thebes", in: Donker van Heel, K., Hoogendijk, C., eds., *Beyond Papyri: The Materiality of Ancient texts*, Leiden and Boston, forthcoming.

Haring-Soliman 2014

Haring, B.J.J., Soliman, D. M., "Reading Twentieth Dynasty Ostraca with Workmen's Marks", in: B.J.J. Haring, O.E. Kaper, R. van Walsem ed., *The workman's progress*:

studies in the village of Deir el-Medina and other documents from western Thebes in honour of Rob Demarée, EgUit 28, 2014, 73-93.

Harper-Kalinowski 2017

Harper, D., Kalinowski, M., *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China. The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*. Series: Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 4 China, Volume 33, Brill, 2017.

Hayes 1955

Hayes, W. C., *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*. Brooklyn Museum, reprint of the 1955 edition.

Helck 1963a

Helck, W., *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden. Vol. III, 1963.

Helck 1963b

Helck, W., *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden. Vol. IV, 1963.

Helck 1965

Helck, W., *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden. Vol. V, 1965.

Helck 1969

Helck, W., *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden. Vol. VI, 1969.

Helck 1974

Helck, W., "Altägyptischen Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausend", *MÄS* 31, 1974.

Helck 1984

Helck, W., "Der Anfang des Papyrus Turin 1900 und 'Recycling' im Alten Ägypten", *CdÉ* 59, 1984, 242–247.

Helck 1992

Helck, W., "Begräbnis Pharaos", in: U. Luft ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies presented to László Kákossy by friends and colleagues on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. StudAeg 14, 1992, 267-276.

Helck 2002

Helck, W., *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh* (Bearbeitet von A. Schlott) (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63), Wiesbaden, 2002.

Hoffmeier 1993

Hoffmeier, J., K., "The Problem of 'History' in Egyptian Royal Inscriptions", in: Zaccane G.M. and di Netro T.R. ed., *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti II*, Turin, 1993, 291-299.

Horváth 2009

Horváth Z., "Temple(s) and Town at El-Lahun: a study of Ancient Toponyms in the el-Lahun Papyri", in *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, New Haven-Philadelphia, 2009, 171-203.

Hoskin-Macve 1988

Hoskin, K., Macve, R., *The Genesis of Accountability: The West Point Connection*, Accounting, Organization and Society, Vol. 13, 1988.

Hoskin-Macve 1992

Hoskin, K., Macve, R., *Accounting and the Genesis of Managerialism: Towards an Understanding of the Springfield Armory Episode*, Working Paper, University of Warwick, 1992.

<http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/sammlung.php?sml=2> (last checked on August 2017).

<http://dmd.wepwawet.nl/> (last checked on August 2017).

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ramesseum_papyri/preface.aspx (last checked on April 2015).

Hudson 2015

Hudson, S., E., "Three New Deir el-Medina Absence Lists in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford", *ZAS* 142(1), 2015, 45-54.

Janssen 1961

Janssen, J. J., *Two ancient Egyptian ship's logs: Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008 + 2016*, Leiden, 1961.

Janssen 1975

Janssen, J.J., *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*, Leiden, 1975.

Janssen 1979

Janssen, J.J., "Background Information on the Strikes of Year 29 of Ramesses III", *OrAnt* 18, 1979, 301-308.

Janssen 1980

Janssen, J.J., "Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes", *SAK* 8, 1980, 127-152.

Janssen 1984

Janssen, J. J., "A curious error", *BIFAO* 84, 1984, 303-306.

Janssen 1985

Janssen, J. J., "Two variant accounts?", *VA* I, 1985, 109-112.

Janssen 1992

Janssen, J. J., "Gear for the tombs (O. Turin 57366 and O. BM. 50733 + O. Petrie 30)", *RdE* 43, 1992, 107-122.

Janssen 1997

Janssen, J.J., *Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medîna*, *EgUit* 11, 1997.

Janssen 2003

Janssen, J.J., *Woodcutters, potters and doorkeepers: service personnel of the Deir el-Medina workmen*, Leiden, 2003.

Janssen 2005

Janssen, J.J., "Accountancy at Deir el-Medîna: How accurate are the administrative ostraca?", *SAK* 33, 2005, 147-157.

Janssen 2005a

Janssen, J.J., *Donkeys at Deir el-Medina*, Leiden, 2005.

Janssen-Janssen 1997

Janssen, J., Janssen, R., "The Tale of a Lost Papyrus", *Minerva* 8/6 (November/December 1997), 32-34.

Jiménez 2004

Jiménez, A., *La piedra de Palermo: traducción y contextualización histórica*, Madrid, 2004.

Kaplony-Heckel 2010

Kaplony-Heckel, U., "Das Wasser-Ellen-Tagebuch auf dem Ostrakon Strasbourg D 283", in: *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, *OLA* 194, 2010, 257-260.

Keimer 1941

Keimer, L., *Études d'égyptologie*. IFAO. Cairo, 1941.

Kemp 2018

Kemp, B. J., *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 3rd edition, Routledge, 2018.

Kitchen 1982

Kitchen, K.A., *Pharaoh Triumphant. The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*, Warminster, 1982.

Koenig 1988

Koenig, Y., "Nouveaux textes hiératiques de la Vallée des Reines". *BIFAO* 88, 1988, 113-129.

Koenig 1991

Koenig, Y., "Les ostraca hiératiques du musée du louvre", *RdE* 42, 1991, 105.

Koenig 1997

Koenig, Y., *Les ostraca hiératiques inédits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*, Cairo, 1997.

Kóthay 2015

Kóthay, K., A., "Duties and Composition of the Personnel of the Cults as Lahun", in: Panagiotis Kousoulis and Nikolaos Lazaridis (eds), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists*, OLA 241, vol. 1, Leuven, 2015, 763-775.

Kraemer-Liszka 2016

Kraemer, B., Liszka, K., "Evidence for Administration of the Nubian Fortresses in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Semna Dispatches", *JEH* 9, 2016, 1-65.

Krauss 1977

Krauss, R. "Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse", *SAK* 5, 1977, 131-174.

Krauss 1997

Krauss, R., "Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse: Nachträge", *SAK* 24, 1997, 161-184.

Lagerwey-Kalinowski 2008

Lagerwey, J., Kalinowski, M., "Early Chinese Religion: Part One: Shang Through Han (1250 BC-220 AD)", *Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 4 China*, Volume: 21/1, 2008, 386.

Leach 2006

Leach, B., "A conservation history of the Ramesseum Papyri", *JEA* 92, 2006, 225–240.

Lesko 1994

Lesko, L. H., *Pharaoh's workers. The villagers of Deir el-Medina*, Cornell University Press, 1994.

Letellier 1978

Letellier, B., *Le Louvre présente aux Musées de Metz: La vie quotidienne chez les artisans de Pharaon: du 12 novembre 1978 au 28 février 1979*, Moulins les Metz, 1978.

Lieblein 1870

Lieblein, J. *Les récits de récolte datés dans l'ancienne Égypte comme éléments chronologiques*, *Rec. Trav.* 1.4, 1870, 141-152.

Lieblein-Chabas 1868

Lieblein, I., Chabas, F., *Deux papyrus hiératiques du Musée de Turin* (Mémoires de la Société des Sciences à Christiana), Christiania, 1868.

López 1978

CGT N. 57001-57092

López, J., *Ostraca ieratici*. Opera eseguita con il contributo del Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche. Museo egizio di Torino. Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche (Italy). Milano: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1978.

López 1980

CGT N. 57093-57319

López, J., *Ostraca ieratici*. Opera eseguita con il contributo del Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche. Museo egizio di Torino. Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche (Italy). Milano: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980.

López 1982

CGT N. 57320-57449

López, J., *Ostraca ieratici*. Opera eseguita con il contributo del Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche. Museo egizio di Torino. Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche (Italy). Milano: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1982.

López 1984

CGT N. 57450-57568. Tabelle Lignee N. 58001-58007

López, J., *Ostraca ieratici*. Opera eseguita con il contributo del Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche. Museo egizio di Torino. Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche (Italy). Milano: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1984.

Lüddeckens- Kaplony-Heckel 1986

Lüddeckens, E., U. Kaplony-Heckel, U., *Aegyptische Handschriften*. Tl. 3, Stuttgart, 1986.

Luft 1992a

Luft, U., *Das Archiv von Illahun: Briefe 1. Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 1,1, Berlin, 1992.

Luft 1992b

Luft, U., *Die chronologische Fixierung des agyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun*, Wien, 1992.

Luft 2006

Luft U., *Urkunden zur Chronologie der späten 12. Dynastie: Briefe aus Illahun*. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 34. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 7, 2006.

Mandeville 2014

Mandeville, R., *Wage accounting in Deir el-Medina*, Liverpool, 2014.

Mariette 1872

Mariette, A. *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*. Vol. II, Paris, 1872.

McDonald 1957

McDonald, A., The Style of Livy. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 47 (1-2), 1957, 155-172.

McDowell 1993

McDowell, A.G., *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow: (The Colin Campbell Ostraca)*, Oxford, 1993.

McDowell 1999

McDowell, A.G., *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs*, Oxford, 1999.

Megally 1971a

Megally, M., *Considérations sur les variations et la transformation des formes hiératiques du papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre*, BdE 31, 1971.

Megally 1971b

Megally, M., *Le papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre*, BdE 36, 1971.

Megally 1977a

Megally, M., *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe dynastie d'après le papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre*, BdE 46, 1977.

Megally 1977b

Megally, M., *Notions de comptabilité: à propos du papyrus E.3226 du Musée du Louvre*, BdE 47, 1977.

Menu 1973

Menu, B., "Le prêt en droit égyptien", *CRIPEL* 1, 1973, 59-141.

Menu 1982

Menu, B., *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancien Égypte*, Versailles, 1982, 217-300.

Michalowski 1989

Michalowski, P., *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, Winona Lake IN, 1989.

Miniaci-Quirke 2009

Miniaci, G., Quirke, S., "Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga" in: *BIFAO* 109, 2009, 339-383.

Möller 1927

Möller, G., *Hieratische Paläographie: die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der Fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Zweiter Band: Von der Zeit Thutmosis' III bis zum Ende der einundzwanzigsten Dynastie, mit acht Tafeln Schriftproben. Second edition, Leipzig, 1927.

Moreno García 2013

Moreno García, J., C., Eds., *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Leiden, 2013.

Müller 2004

Müller, M., "Der Turiner Streikpapyrus (P. Turin 1880)", in: Janowski, B. and Wilhelm G. ed., *Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben* (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge, 1), Gütersloh, 2004, 165-184.

Müller 2014

Müller, M., "Deir el-Medina in the Dark-the Amarna Period in the History of the Village: Workmen Moving to Akhetaten?", in: Toivari-Viitala, J. et al. (eds) *Proceedings of the Deir el-Medina Studies Conference, Helsinki/Finland, June 24th to 26th 2009*, The Finnish Egyptological Society - Occasional Papers 2, 2014, 156-168.

Muszynski 1977

Muszynski, M., "P. Turin Cat. 2070/154", *Or.Ant* 16, 1977, 183-200.

Neveu 1990

Neveu, F., "A propos du P. DM 28. Un conseil royal consacré aux affaires de «la tombe», *RdE* 41, 1990, 143-152.

Olmstead 1915

Olmstead, A.T., "The Assyrian Chronicle", *JAOS* 34, 1915, 344-368.

O' Mara 1979

O' Mara, P.F., *The Palermo stone and the archaic kings of Egypt*, California, 1979.

Oxford Dictionary 1982

Sykes, J.B., *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English*, Oxford, 1982.

Parkinson 1996

Parkinson, R., "Types of literature in the Middle Kingdom", in: Loprieno, A. ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Leiden, 1996, 297-312.

Parkinson 1999

Parkinson, R., *Cracking Codes. The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment*, London 1999.

Parkinson 2002

Parkinson, R., *Poetry and culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: a dark side to perfection*, London-New York, 2002.

Parkinson 2011

Parkinson, R. B., *The Ramesseum Papyri*, British Museum Online Research Catalogue, 2011.

Peden 2000

Peden, A.J., "The Workmen of Deir el-Medina and the Decline of Textual Graffiti at West Thebes in Late Dynasty XX and Early Dynasty XXI", in: Demarée, R.J. and Egberts A. ed., *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: a tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, *EgUit* 14, 2000, 287-290.

Peden 2001

Peden, A., J., "Where did Ramesses VI bury his nephew?", *GM* 181, 2001, 83-88

Peet 1930

Peet, T. E., "An Ancient Egyptian ship's log", *BIFAO* 30, 1930, 481-490.

Pelegrin-Andreu-Lanoë-Pariselle 2016

Pelegrin, J., G., Andreu-Lanoë, G., Pariselle, C., "La production des ostraca en calcaire dans la nécropole thébaine", *BIFAO* 115, 2016, 325-352.

Peterson 1973

Peterson, B., *Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt, Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung in Stockholm*. Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 7-8, 1973.

Petrie 1891

Petrie, W. M. F., *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob. 1889-90*. 1891, London.

Pleyte 1868

Pleyte, W., *Les papyrus Rollin de la Bibliothèque impériale de Paris*, Leiden, 1868.

Pleyte-Rossi 1869

Pleyte, W., Rossi, F., *Papyrus de Turin*. Texte et Planches, Leiden, 1869-1876.

Polis 2011

Polis, S. "Le serment du P. Turin 1880, v 2, 8-19: Une relecture de la construction *iw bn sdm.f* à portée historique" in: M., Collier and Snape, S. (Eds.), *Ramesside Studies, in honour of K. A. Kitchen*, Bolton, 2011, 387-401

Posener-Kriéger 1968

Posener-Kriéger, P. and J. de Cenival, *Hieratic papyri in the British Museum. Fifth series. The Abu Sir Papyri*, London, 1968.

Posener-Kriéger 1976

Posener-Kriéger, P., *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï: (Les papyrus d'Abousir) traduction et commentaire*, BdE 65, 1976.

Posener-Kriéger 1981

Posener-Kriéger, "Construire une tombe a l'ouest de *Mn-nfr* (P. Caire 52002)", *RdE* 33, 1981, 47-58.

Posener-Kriéger 1996

Posener-Kriéger, "Au plaisir des paléographes. Papyrus Caire JE 52003", in: P. Der Manuelian and R. Freed (eds.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Boston, 1996, II, 655–664.

Posener-Kriéger 2004

Posener-Kriéger, P., *I papiri di Gebelein - scavi G. Farina*, Demichelis, S. ed., 1935, Torino, 2004.

Posener-Krieger, Verner, Vymazalova 2006

Posener-Krieger, P., Verner, M. and Vymazalova, H., *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive. Abusir X*. Prague, Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2006.

Quack 2014

Quack, J. F., "Totenbuch und Getreideabrechnung" in: D. Luft, J.F. Quack (Ed.), *Erscheinungsformen und Handhabungen Heiliger Schriften*, MTK 5, 2014, 111-135.

Quibell 1896

Quibell, J.E., *The Ramesseum*. Egyptian Research Account 2, 1–21, pls 1–30a. London, 1896.

Quirke 1990

Quirke, S., *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, New Malden, 1990.

Redford 1965

Redford, D. B., "The coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II", *JEA* 51, 1965, 107-122.

Redford 1965

Redford, D. B., "The Meaning and Use of the Term *gnwt* "Annals"", in: Junge, F., ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, Göttingen, 1984, I, 327-341.

Redford 1986

Redford, D.B., *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, SSEA Publication IV, Mississauga, Ontario: Benben Publications, 1986.

Redford 2003

Redford, D. B., *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III: Volume 16 of Culture and history of the ancient Near East*, Netherlands: Brill, 2003.

Ridley 1979

Ridley, R.T., *The world's earliest annals: a modern journey in comprehension*, Roma, 1979.

Roccati 1982

Roccati, A., *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Paris, 1982.

Roccati 2006

Roccati, A., "A chi servivano i papiri di Gebelein?", in: *L'Ufficio e il Documento. I luoghi, i modi, gli strumenti dell'amministrazione in Egitto e nel Vicino Oriente antico. Atti delle giornate di studio degli Egittologi e degli Orientalisti italiani*, Milan, 2006, 87-91.

Rochberg-Halton 1991

Rochberg-Halton, F., "The Babylonian Astronomical Diaries", *JAOS* 111 (2), 1991, 323-332.

Sauneron 1959

Sauneron, S., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Medineh VI: numéros 550 à 623*.

Scamuzzi 1965

Scamuzzi, E., *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin*, New York, 1965.

Scharff 1922

Scharff, A., "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie", ZAS 57, 1922, 51-68, Tafeln 1**-24**.

Schiaparelli 1923

Schiaparelli, E., *Relazione sui lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto: esplorazione della "Valle delle Regine" nella necropoli di Tebe*, Volume I, Torino, 1923.

Schneider 2000

Schneider, T., "Ramses X.: Person und Geschichte", in: Jenni, H. ed., *Das Grab Ramses' X. (KV 18)* (Aeg. Helv. 16), Basel 2000, 81-104.

Schott 1990

Schott, S., *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990.

Sethe 1903

Sethe, K. H., *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, UGAÄ 3, 1903.

Simpson 1963

Simpson, W.K., *Papyrus Reisner I: the records of a building project in the reign of Sesostri I*, Boston, 1963.

Simpson 1965

Simpson, W.K., *Papyrus Reisner II: accounts of the Dockyard workshop at this in the reign of Sesostri I*, Boston, 1965.

Simpson 1969

Simpson, W.K., *Papyrus Reisner III: the records of a building project in the early twelfth Dynasty*, Boston, 1969.

Simpson 1986

Simpson, W.K., *Papyrus Reisner IV: personnel accounts of the early twelfth Dynasty*, Boston, 1986.

Smither 1941

Smither, P., "A Tax-Assessor's Journal of the Middle Kingdom", *JEA* 27, 1941, 74-76.

Smither 1945

Smither, P., "The Semnah Despatches", *JEA* 31, 1945, 3-10.

Spalinger 1977

Spalinger, A., "A Critical Analysis of the "Annals" of Thutmose III (Stucke V-VI)". *JARCE* 14, 1977, 41-54.

Spalinger 1985

Spalinger, A., "Notes on the day summary accounts of P. Bulaq 18 and the intradepartmental transfers", *SAK* 12, 1985, 179-241.

Spalinger 1986

Spalinger, A., "Foods in P. Bulaq 18", *SAK* 13, 1986, 207-247.

Spiegelberg 1895

Spiegelberg, W., "Das Geschäftsjournal eines ägyptischen Beamten in der Ramsesstadt aus der Regierung Ramses'II", *Rec.Trav.* 17, 1895, 143-160.

Spiegelberg 1896

Spiegelberg, W., *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches*, 1: Text; 2: Dreiundvierzig Tafeln. Strassburg: Trübner, 1896.

Spiegelberg 1898a

Spiegelberg, W., *Hieratic ostraka & papyri found by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum*, 1895-6, London, 1898.

Spiegelberg 1898b

Spiegelberg, W., *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte der Thebanischen Necropolis im Neuen Reich*, Strassburg, 1898.

Spiegelberg 1902

Spiegelberg, W., "Beiträge und Nachträge zu Daressys Publikation der hieratischen Ostraca des Museums von Gizeh", *OLZ* 5, 1902, 307-335.

St. John 1999

St. John, M., *The Palermo stone - an arithmetical view. Together with a computer graphics enhancement of the recto of the Palermo fragment*, London, 1999.

Tallet 2010

Tallet, P., "La fin des Devoirs du Vizir", in: Warmenbol, E., Angenot, V. éd, *Thèbes aux 101 portes-mélanges à la mémoire de Roland Tefnin*, Monumenta Aegyptica 12, Bruxelles, 2010.

Tallet 2016

Tallet, P., "Un aperçu de la région Memphite à la fin du règne de Chéops selon le "journal de Merer" (P. Jarf I-III)", in: *Décrire, imaginer, construire l'espace. Toponymie égyptienne de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, RAPH 39, 2016, 13-30.

Tallet 2017

Tallet, P., *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I. le « Journal de Merer » (P. Jarf A et B)*, MIFAO 136, 2017.

Tallet-Marouard 2014

Tallet, P., Marouard, G., "The harbor of Khufu on the Red Sea Coast at Wadi al-Jarf, Egypt", *NEA* 77/1, 2014, 4-14.

Tiradritti 1999

Tiradritti, F., "La documentazione di Deir el-Medina", in: *SESH, lingue e scritture nell'antico egitto*, Milano, 1999, 130-135.

Toivari-Viitala 2006

Toivari-Viitala, J., "Absence from Work at Deir el-Medina", in: A. Dorn and T. Hofmann ed., *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, Aeg.Helv. 19, 2006, 155-159.

Trapani 2009

Trapani, M., "La terminologie concernant les archives dans les textes du nouvel empire", in: *Egyptian Archives*, Piacentini, P., Orsenigo, C. (eds). *QuadAc* 111, 2009, 103-114.

Valbelle 1985

Valbelle, D., *Les ouvriers de la Tombe. Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside*, *BdE* 96, 1985.

Van den Berg-Donker van Heel 2000

Van den Berg, H., Donker van Heel, K., "A scribe's cache from the Valley of Queens? The palaeography of documents from Deir el-Medina: Some remarks", in: Demarée, R.J. and Egberts A. ed., *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: a tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, *EgUit* 14, 2000, 9–49.

Van den Boorn 1988

Van den Boorn, G., P., F., *The duties of the vizier: civil administration in the early New Kingdom*. London, 1988.

Van Dijk 1993

Van Dijk, J., *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies*, Groningen, 1993.

Van Seters 1997

Van Seters, J., *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Bible History*, Indiana, 1997, 150-151.

Ventura 1986

Ventura, R., *Living in a City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis*. *OBO* 69, 1986.

Verner 1995

Verner, M., *The pyramid complex of Khentkaus. Abusir III*. Prague: Universitas Carolina Pragensis, 1995.

Vernus 1980

Vernus, P., "Derechef les inscriptions de *S3-mwt* surnommé Kyky", *RdÉ* 32, 1980, 145-146.

Vernus 1991

Vernus, P., "Les 'décrets' royaux (*wḏ-nsw*): L'enoncé d'auctoritas comme genre", in: Schoske, S. ed., *Akten des 4. Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, BSAK 4, 1991, 239-246.

Vernus 2013

Vernus, P., "L'acte fondamentale du pouvoir dans l'Égypte pharaonique: l'ordre royal (*oudj-nesou*)", in: Bussi, S., ed., *Egitto dai Faraoni agli Arabi: atti del convegno Egitto: amministrazione, economia, società, cultura dai Faraoni agli Arabi. Milano, Università degli Studi, 7-9 gennaio 2013*, 2013, 21-35.

Vogel 2004

Vogel, C., *Ägyptische Festungen und Garnisonen bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, HÄB 46, 2004.

Von Beckerath 1994

Von Beckerath, J., "Papyrus Turin 1898 +, verso", SAK 21, 1994, 29-33.

Von Beckerath 1997

Von Beckerath, J., *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten: die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.*, Mainz, 1997.

Von Beckerath 2000

Von Beckerath, J., "Bemerkungen zu Papyrus Turin 1885 Verso II-III", in: Demarée, R.J. and Egberts A. ed., *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: a tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, EgUit 14, 2000, 1-7.

Waerzeggers 2012

Waerzeggers, C., "The Babylonian Chronicles: Classification and Provenance". *JNES* 71/2, 2012, 285-298.

Warnemünde 2007

Warnemünde, G., "Pharaos Arbeiter - gut genährt und wohl versorgt", *Kemet - Die Zeitschrift für Ägyptenfreunde* 16/3, 2007, 31-35.

Wente 1972

Wente, E. F., "Review of: Papyrus Reisner III: The Records of a Building Project in the Early Twelfth Dynasty by William Kelly Simpson", *JNES* 31, No. 2, 1972, 138-139.

Wente 1973

Wente, E. F., "A Prince's Tomb in the Valley of the Kings", *JNES* 32, 1973, 223-234.

Wilkinson 2000

Wilkinson, T.A.H., *Royal annals of ancient Egypt: the Palermo Stone and its associated fragments*, London, 2000.

Wimmer 1995

Wimmer, S., *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19 und 20 Dynastie*, vols. 1 (text) and 2 (tables) (*Ägypten und Altes Testament* 28), Munich, 1995.

Ziegler 2002

Ziegler, C., *The Pharaohs*, Milan, 2002.

Acknowledgments

Since I started working on my PhD at Leiden University, many things have changed in my life. I established a Publishing House in Canary Islands together with my friend and colleague Mila Álvarez Sosa, again with her I started an archaeological project in Luxor, and in the last years, our new projects brought us far away to discover Egypt in Cuba and Ghana, “writing every page together”. To her I owe the realization of all my dreams.

I would like to express here my sincere thanks to all the friends, colleagues and loved ones for their support and encouragement in writing this thesis.

In particular, I want to express my gratitude to Dr. Robert Demarée. Words fail to describe his fatherly concern and his support during the past years for the patience and the enormous help in providing me material and important data, for the enthusiasm shown for my work and for allowing me to make use of his knowledge on the thousands of fragmentary journals scattered all over the world. I am much indebted to Professor Olaf Kaper for the kindness and the patience in reading my thesis. Moreover, I am grateful to him for his feedback and interesting points of view. My sincerest thanks also to Jennifer Cairns for giving me comments on my English and to Maurizio Papalini for his help and the time he devoted to the database. Without him, the online version simply would not exist.

I am greatly indebted to my Italian “Clan”, my blood sister Elisa, Rosina, Chiara and Daniela together with Rumi, Bambo and Martino, friends since I have memory, who never stopped supporting me spiritually, even if far away, and who are now waiting me home. A special mention goes to Silvia, “polpetta” who appeared literally at the door of my life many years ago and never left, “ci sei sempre stata”; and to Valentina, who called me one day by chance, and then came to meet me, starting a longlasting friendship. The laughs and the tears since then are ours.

Many thanks are due to the new friends I made in Leiden during the years, especially Viviana and Filippo, for their support, their laughs, friendship and love in the difficult moments, and their help in arranging the day of my defence, and also, in no order, Cocky, Lara, Jeroen, Vera, Alice, Renz, Renata, Arianna, Ibrahim, Bianca, Irene, Fayola, Despi, Maxine, Maaïke, Julia, Nicole...and all the NINO. I am also grateful to all my colleagues, friends and roommates in the Netherlands who have made my life in Leiden much easier and also to all the people, Egyptologists and non-Egyptologists, who made it abundantly more complicated, pushing me to fight even harder for my dreams.

Finally, I direct my warmest thanks to my parents for always believing in me even when I did not, and for making it possible for me to continue my studies in Egyptology, and to Edgar for his never-failing support and patience, for his encouragement and especially for his love. He is and will always be on my side as my biggest supporter.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Irene Morfini was born in Lucca, Italy, in 1980. She started her studies in the field of Egyptology at the Faculty of Classical Studies, Pisa University, and achieved her MA (Laurea) in 2005 with the evaluation of 110/110. During 2000-2006 she started gaining field experience in Italy as field assistant in medieval and anthropological excavations. In 2006 she was the winner of the scholarship Summer School of Egyptology in Montepulciano (Italy) and started working in Egypt with the Italian Archaeological Mission to Luxor (MAIL) in the funerary complex of Harwa (TT37) and Akhimenru (TT404) as epigraphist, documenting, cataloguing and studying blocks and fragments of decoration and copying and identifying texts. She was a team member of the MAIL until 2011, when she was appointed Deputy-Director (and at the same time she was chosen as field assistant by the Dutch Expedition to the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara). In the same year she obtained her second MA in Egyptian Language and Culture, at Leiden University, and founded the Canary Association of Egyptology and the Publishing House Ediciones ad Aegyptum, both in Tenerife (Spain).

At the end of 2012 she decided to continue her studies in Leiden and started her PhD on the Necropolis journals of Deir el-Medina. In 2013 she obtained the permission from the Ministry of Antiquities to work in Egypt with her own archaeological mission, the Canarian-Tuscan Archaeological Mission in TT109, Luxor (Min Project), and in 2014 she founded the NGO "Preserving Heritage for the Development" in order to support her project in Egypt. In 2014 and 2015, the Min Project was the protagonist of two major discoveries (a new XVIII Dynasty tomb and a 'replica of the Osiris tomb') and as a result, she gave many interviews and presentations in Italy, The Netherlands, Spain, Egypt and Cuba. In 2015 she received the prize "Romano Silva" in Art and Culture by the Lions Club of Lucca, Italy.

Amongst her publications, articles in Spanish, English and Dutch, and two books: 'Tierras de Momias. La técnica de eternizar en Egipto y Canarias', concerning the mirlado, the mummification technique used in Canary Island, and the Catalogue of the Egyptian collection held in the National Museum of Fine Arts in Havana (Cuba), a project realized in cooperation with the Government of Tenerife. In 2016 she started working on a forgotten and unpublished Egyptian collection held in the storerooms of the National Museum of Accra, Ghana, with the intention of publishing a Catalogue of all the artifacts. Since 2017 she is a staff member of CAMNES (Center for Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies) in Florence, Italy, cooperating with them by giving lectures and organizing congresses.

SUMMARY

NECROPOLIS JOURNAL: DAILY RECORDS OF EVENTS IN AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ARTISANS' COMMUNITY

In Egyptological literature, Necropolis journals are considered as records written on papyri and ostraca concerning the activities of the workmen or artisan community of Deir el-Medina in Thebes. In these notes, written by the scribes in hieratic, information about the gang of workmen employed in the construction of the royal tombs in the Valleys of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens throughout the Ramesside period is given (c. 1300-1100 BC): their payments, presence or absence, collective administration, private problems concerning individual crew members, internal perturbations (strikes, trials, etc.), visits by officials and incursions from “foreigners”.

These documents are therefore of extreme interest as they provide detailed information about the life of the village and its inhabitants. They have been labelled ‘Necropolis journal’ ever since the first publication of such documents from the late 20th Dynasty by Botti and Peet 1928 (*“Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe”*). Since then, the idea of “a journal” and notably “an events journal” developed amongst Egyptologists and it appeared in almost all publications about the Deir el-Medina community, without really saying what in fact this would mean in practice. The question has arisen as to whether indeed this was a specific genre of document.

Is it correct to define such notes as journals? Would they be considered journals from an ancient Egyptian point of view? What is a Necropolis journal and did the concept of a Necropolis journal exist in the minds of the scribes of Deir el-Medina? What do the different kinds of annals and day-books have in common? Who was the intended readership? How many types of journal can we identify? How can the list of such documents called journals become a useful updatable tool available to all scholars interested in the subject?

These are our main research questions we tried to answer in this study.

This work examined whether the notes of the so-called Necropolis journal would be considered as such according to the ancient Egyptian point of view, i.e. if the concept of Necropolis journal existed. To this end, the concept of journal in a broader Egyptian perspective has been researched comparing material ranging from the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom in order to identify common features and differences between these records and the so-called Necropolis journal. Conclusions were then drawn in the form of criteria to identify what a Necropolis journal is.

A new list of documents considered as Necropolis journals was then created according to these criteria, and it was divided into two sections: documents dated with certainty and documents not dated with certainty. All the documents dated with certainty were then collected and investigated (together with photos, transcriptions and translations). These documents all appear in a separate Appendix for reasons of space and in order to be consulted easily.

We proceeded then to see if it was possible to understand for whom Necropolis journals were written, i.e. who was the intended readership. In our opinion examining the way the content of the notes is organised can tell us if they were meant for internal use or instead to be submitted to a higher authority or simply to be audited. We can indeed imagine that, if a document was written to be submitted to someone or to retrieve information later, the scribe would try to write it and present it orderly: neat and clear, with the intention of facilitating its reading. If, on the other hand, the document shows a disordered appearance or the notes are written randomly on the page and occupy all the available small spaces, it is rather improbable that such a document would end up in the hands of someone else to be checked.

Based on the available inventory of dated documents, we could identify two main groups according to their layout: on the one hand, sloppy and careless documents that seem to have been hastily written and on the other hand, a group of more precise day-books which are well-organised and written in neat and compact business-like handwriting. Nonetheless, it became clear that the question “Who was the intended readership of the day-books?” cannot be definitively answered. It is impossible to trace a real and clear-cut distinction and place the documents into categories affirming with certainty that some journals were for internal use and others were meant for a superior. We lack evidence and can only guess and wait until new findings might throw light on the issue. Surely, we can conclude that some documents, given the presence of control marks as traces of the act of accessing and retrieving information in the material, suggest that the scribes did not write simply for the sake of writing. Instead, these texts, at least some of them, were somehow used and “checked”. Others were written and remained documents for an internal use in the village.

Journals had therefore different audiences and different purposes.

There were thus different types of documents, all looking like journals, but they must have had different purposes. We attempted to identify and describe smaller subgroups of journal encountered according to their content (deliveries/provisions, absences/presences, work completed and events concerning the community, which we called respectively group A, B, C and D). For purposes of study only, we made note of and list the differences amongst the types of journals. We realized that Necropolis

journal, even if it existed as a concept in the minds of the scribes of Deir el-Medina, was not a fixed genre. But as a result of our research it has become clear that the Necropolis journal was a type of “events journal”, for which some parallels can be found in war diaries and ship’s logs.

The last objective of this study was finally to make the research done, not for its own sake, but share it with all Egyptologists interested, making the work done not an end point but a useful starting-point for further studies, answering thus to our question: How can the list become a useful updatable tool available to all scholars interested in the subject? To this aim, the Necropolis Journal database that was built and used during our work has been published online at <https://www.edicionesadaegyptum.com/irenemorfini/>. We are aware of the fact that the ongoing project of the papyrus database of the Museo Egizio of Turin (only for specialists so far), the available Deir el-Medina database and Trismegistos, already provide much useful information. Nonetheless, it is our aim to offer a Necropolis journal database, i.e. only dedicated to this kind of records, with the intention to facilitate the creation of a separate branch of texts amongst the vast number of 4506 records present for example in the Deir el-Medina database (last consulted on August 2018).

SAMENVATTING

NECROPOLIS JOURNAL: AANTEKENINGEN BETREFFENDE DAGELIJKSE GEBEURTENISSEN IN EEN OUD-EGYPTISCHE GEMEENSCHAP VAN AMBACHTSLIEDEN

In Egyptologische vakliteratuur worden Necropolis journals gedefinieerd als op papyri en ostraca geschreven aantekeningen betreffende de dagelijkse activiteiten van de groep gespecialiseerde arbeiders of ambachtslieden gevestigd in de nederzetting Deir el-Medina in Thebe. Deze door de schrijvers in het hieratisch genoteerde aantekeningen bevatten informatie over de groep ambachtslieden die verantwoordelijk waren voor de aanleg en de decoratie van de koninklijke grafmonumenten in de Vallei der Koningen en de Vallei der Koninginnen tijdens de Ramessiedische Periode (c. 1300-1100 v.Chr.): hun rantsoenen, aanwezigheid of afwezigheid, privé-kwesties van leden van de gemeenschap, bijzondere gebeurtenissen (stakingen, processen, enz.), bezoeken door hoge functionarissen en al dan niet vreedzame contacten met “vreemdelingen”.

Deze documenten zijn dus van bijzondere betekenis aangezien ze gedetailleerde informatie leveren over het dagelijks leven van het dorp en de inwoners. Ze worden “Necropolis journal” genoemd sinds de allereerste publicatie van dergelijke documenten uit de late 20e dynastie door Botti en Peet in 1928 (*“Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe”*). Sindsdien kwam het begrip “a journal” en met name “an events journal” in zwang onder Egyptologen en verscheen het in vrijwel alle publicaties over de gemeenschap van ambachtslieden van Deir el-Medina, zonder evenwel duidelijk omschrijven wat dit in de praktijk betekende. De vraag is derhalve gerezen of dit inderdaad een specifiek genre van documenten betrof.

Is het juist om dergelijke documenten met aantekeningen als “journals” aan te duiden? Zouden ze vanuit Oud-Egyptische standpunt als “journals” worden beschouwd? Wat is een Necropolis journal en kenden de schrijvers van Deir el-Medina het begrip Necropolis journal? Wat hebben de verschillende typen annalen en dagboeken met elkaar gemeen? Voor wie waren deze documenten bedoeld? Hoeveel typen journal kunnen we onderscheiden? Hoe kan een lijst van dergelijke als journal aangeduide documenten een bruikbaar hulpmiddel worden ten dienste van alle in het onderwerp geïnteresseerde wetenschappers?

Bovenstaande onderzoeksvragen staan centraal in de onderhavige studie.

In deze studie is onderzocht of de notities in de zogenoemde Necropolis journals ook naar Egyptisch inzicht zo zouden worden genoemd, m.a.w. of het concept van een

Necropolis journal feitelijk bestond. Voor dat doel werd het concept van het Necropolis journal in breder Egyptisch perspectief onderzocht door het te vergelijken met tekstdocumenten uit de periode van het Oude Rijk tot en met het Nieuwe Rijk om eventuele gemeenschappelijke kenmerken en verschillen tussen deze documenten en het zogenoemde Necropolis journal te identificeren. Uit dit onderzoek werden conclusies getrokken in de vorm van criteria om te bepalen wat een Necropolis journal is.

Op basis van de aldus verkregen criteria werd een nieuwe lijst samengesteld van documenten die als Necropolis journals kunnen worden aangeduid. Deze lijst werd onderverdeeld in twee delen: ten eerste documenten die met redelijke zekerheid kunnen worden gedateerd en ten tweede documenten die niet geheel zeker te dateren zijn. Alle met enige zekerheid dateerbare documenten werden verzameld en bestudeerd (op basis van foto's, transcripties en vertalingen). Deze documenten zijn in een aparte Appendix opgenomen, enerzijds omdat ze veel ruimte innemen en anderzijds om het raadplegen te vergemakkelijken.

Vervolgens werd onderzocht of het mogelijk was na te gaan voor wie Necropolis journals werden geschreven, m.a.w. wie de beoogde lezers/gebruikers waren van de informatie in de documenten. Naar onze mening kan onderzoek naar de wijze waarop de inhoud van de notities is georganiseerd ons vertellen of ze bedoeld waren voor intern gebruik of dat ze werden voorgelegd aan hogere instanties of warden gecontroleerd. We kunnen ons voorstellen dat, indien een document werd geschreven om aan een instantie voor te leggen of om de erin opgenomen informatie later te kunnen teruglezen, de schrijver zich zou inspannen om dit zorgvuldig en overzichtelijk te schrijven en te presenteren: netjes en duidelijk, met de bedoeling om het lezen en terugvinden van informatie te vergemakkelijken. Indien het document een rommelige indruk maakt of de notities slordig over de pagina verdeeld zijn en alle beschikbare ruimte vullen, dan is het daarentegen vrij onwaarschijnlijk dat zo'n document ter controle zou worden voorgelegd aan iemand anders.

In de samengestelde lijst van gedateerde documenten konden we gebaseerd op hun layout twee groepen onderscheiden: enerzijds de slordige en onzorgvuldige documenten die haastig geschreven lijken en anderzijds een groep veel nauwkeuriger dagboeknotities die goed georganiseerd zijn en geschreven in een net en compact zakelijk handschrift. Het is echter wel duidelijk geworden dat de vraag "Wie waren de beoogde lezers/gebruikers van de dagboeknotities?" niet definitief kan worden beantwoord. Het is niet goed mogelijk om een echt duidelijk onderscheid te maken en de documenten in categorieën te plaatsen en met redelijke zekerheid te stellen dat sommige journals voor intern gebruik bestemd waren en andere bedoeld waren om aan superieuren te worden voorgelegd. Duidelijke bewijzen ontbreken en we kunnen alleen

veronderstellingen uiten en verder wachten tot nieuwe vondsten licht kunnen werpen op de kwestie. Wel kunnen we, gezien de aanwezigheid in de documenten van controle-tekens die wijzen op raadpleging en gebruik van de gegevens, aannemen dat de schrijvers de teksten niet louter en alleen schreven om het schrijven zelf. Het is duidelijk dat deze teksten, in elk geval sommige, op de een of andere wijze werden gebruikt en “ge-checked”. Daarnaast bleven andere teksten ongetwijfeld alleen documenten voor intern gebruik in het dorp.

Journals waren derhalve bestemd voor verschillende gebruikers en verschillende doeleinden.

De verschillende typen documenten, die allemaal op journals lijken, moeten verschillende doeleinden hebben gehad. We hebben geprobeerd verschillende subgroepen van journals te identificeren en te beschrijven op basis van hun inhoud (leveranties/rantsoenen, afwezigheid/aanwezigheids-lijsten, werkrapportages en gebeurtenissen betreffende de dorpsgemeenschap, die we respectievelijk groep A, B, C en D hebben genoemd). Om meer inzicht te verkrijgen noteerden we de verschillen tussen de typen journal. We realiseerden ons dat het Necropolis journal, als het al bestond als concept in de gedachten van de schrijvers van Deir el-Medina, geen vastomlijnd genre was. Maar wel is duidelijk geworden dat het op basis van ons onderzoek een type “events journal” was, waarvan bijvoorbeeld parallellen te vinden zijn in oorlogsdagboeken en scheepsjournaals.

Het laatste doel van onze studie was tenslotte om het verrichte onderzoek ook beschikbaar te stellen voor alle geïnteresseerde Egyptologen, zodat het een bruikbaar startpunt kan zijn voor verdere studies en beantwoordt aan onze vraag: “Hoe kan de lijst een nuttig en aanvulbaar hulpmiddel worden voor alle in het onderwerp geïnteresseerde wetenschappers?” Om die reden is de bij ons werk gebruikte database beschikbaar via <https://www.edicionesadaegyptum.com/irenemorfini/>.

We zijn ons bewust van het feit dat het lopende project van de papyrus database van het Museo Egizio in Turijn (voorlopig alleen voor vakspecialisten), de beschikbare Deir el-Medina Database en Trismegistos reeds zeer veel bruikbare informatie verschaffen. Het beschikbaar stellen van een Necropolis journaal database, d.w.z. speciaal gewijd aan dit soort dagboeknotities, heeft alleen ten doel een aparte groep teksten bijeen te brengen binnen het enorme aantal van 4506 records die nu bijvoorbeeld raadpleegbaar zijn in de Deir el-Medina Database (laatste consultatie Augustus 2018).