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OF MARKS AND MEN

THE FUNCTIONAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE
WORKMEN'S MARKS OF THE ROYAL THEBAN NECROPOLIS

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF ADDITIONAL OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD.

LIST OF OSTRACA NOT TREATED IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEWS OF CHAPTERS 3, 4 AND 5.

§ 1. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH DYNASTY, LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6528 and ONL 6674

ONL 6528 displays a series of marks (𐀀, 𐀁, 𐀂 and 𐀃) that approaches the ordered list of O. Schaden 16, and the document should therefore date around the same period. ONL 6674 contains only traces of an inscription, but the arrangement of marks 𐀄, 𐀀 and 𐀁 is clearly related to O. Schaden 16 as well.

O. Schaden 166

Because of its fragmentary state O. Schaden 166 can be interpreted in two ways. If the left mark is preserved in its entirety it is mark 𐀄, and the mark left of it could be 𐀅. On the other hand we may suppose that the sign on the left is a damaged mark 𐀃, which would suggest the right mark is 𐀄 as both marks fill adjacent positions on O. Schaden 16.

O. Schaden 105 and O. Schaden 153

O. Schaden 105 may be related to O. Schaden 16 despite the occurrence of marks 𐀆 and 𐀇 (the latter is perhaps not completely preserved), because the other three marks 𐀄, 𐀀 and 𐀁 are listed according to their relative position in the ordered sequence. A similar ostrakon is O. Schaden 153, with marks 𐀈 and 𐀉. We know the latter mark from the 20th Dynasty, and although it is rare on ostraca from the 19th Dynasty (two instances) it is attested on pottery fragments from 19th Dynasty funerary contexts.¹ Mark 𐀊 on the same piece refers most probably to the scribe of the tomb, as it did in the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6532

Although it is only partly preserved, we discern marks 𐀋, 𐀌 and 𐀍 on ONL 6532, known from ostraca from the middle of the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6318

The ostrakon is inscribed with marks 𐀎 and 𐀏 and therefore clearly related to ostraca attributed to the middle of the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6406

The document is poorly preserved, but the marks that are discernable appear to be 𐀐, 𐀑, 𐀒 and 𐀓, which belong to the workmen who are listed in positions 9 – 12 of O. Schaden 1.

ONL 6496

Only a single mark, 𐀔, is preserved on this ostrakon, but the arrangement of the marks in what appear to be columns is also known from ostraca such as O. Schaden 1.²

¹ In TT 335 (Nakhtamun (ii)), see Bruyère, *Rapport 1924-1925* III, 178; and in DM 1164, probably the tomb of Amek (i), see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928* II, 102, fig. 58 nr. 105; 107, fig. 60 nr. 29 and nr. 31; 109, nr. 29.

² For a discussion of this layout, see chapter 5, 5.3.2.2.

ONL 6446

Inscribed on this ostrakon are 𐀀 and 𐀁 , which belong to workmen of the left side on O. Schaden 1 and O. Schaden 16. However, these marks are attested in later periods as well and the date of ONL 6446 is therefore uncertain.

ONL 6491+

The document records marks 𐀂 , 𐀃 , 𐀄 , 𐀅 , and 𐀆 , all belonging to members of the left side and featured in the same relative position as found on ostraca O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 16 and O. Schaden 44.

An ostrakon from the village of Deir el-Medina³

Apart from strokes and dots the ostrakon is inscribed with sign 𐀇 , attested in the middle of the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6527, ONL 6500 and ONL 6199

The marks on ONL 6527 are not arranged according to an ordered sequence attested elsewhere. The occurrence of marks 𐀈 , 𐀉 and 𐀊 relates it to pieces such as O. Schaden 1 and O. Schaden 16. However, it is also inscribed with mark 𐀋 , which is attested on later pieces as well. ONL 6527 could therefore also date to the second half of the 19th Dynasty. The date of ONL 6500 is uncertain. It is inscribed with at least three marks and perhaps a fourth unidentifiable one. The secured marks 𐀌 , 𐀍 and 𐀎 are all known from O. Schaden 16 and could refer to workmen of the left side at the time of Ramesses II, but the marks are rather common and the ostrakon might just as well have been composed in the 20th Dynasty. The date of ONL 6199, inscribed with at least three marks of which only two can be identified, is also ambiguous. Marks 𐀏 and 𐀐 are situated in positions 14 and 15 on O. Schaden 1, but both marks are also attested in the 20th Dynasty.

§ 2. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH DYNASTY, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6476, ONL 6306 and ONL 6218

ONL 6476 is a fragment of an ostrakon, datable to the same period as O. Cairo JE 96336 because marks 𐀑 , 𐀒 and 𐀓 appear in the exact same sequence. Most probably related to O. Cairo JE 96336 as well as O. Hawass is ONL 6306. This ostrakon displays one damaged and unidentifiable mark, but the other marks are 𐀔 , known from O. Hawass, and 𐀕 and 𐀖 , present on O. Hawass and O. Cairo JE 96336. ONL 6218 is inscribed with five marks for members of the right side that occur on O. Hawass and O. Cairo JE 96636.

O. Schaden 137

This disorganised ostrakon is inscribed with marks that are often difficult to discern, and it is associated with the ostraca such as O. Hawass, O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 16 and particularly with ONL 6526, which has eight marks in common with O. Schaden 137 (𐀗 , 𐀘 , 𐀙 , 𐀚 , 𐀛 , 𐀜 , 𐀝 and 𐀞). Marks 𐀟 and 𐀠 are recorded on O. Cairo JE 96336 and O. Hawass, while mark 𐀡 is found on other related pieces such as ONL 6488 and O. IFAO C 7641.

³ Bonnet and Valbelle, 'Le village (suite)', 338, fig. 9, nr. 5.

O. Cairo JE 96573

Like O. Schaden 137 this ostrakon is cumbersome to read, as the marks are faintly inscribed with charcoal. We can assign it to the 19th Dynasty on the basis of the occurrence of mark 𐀀 , which like marks 𐀁 and 𐀂 occurs on O. Schaden 1 and O. Schaden 16. Mark 𐀃 on the other hand is found on O. Cairo JE 96336. Other traces of marks are unidentifiable.

ONL 6192

The ostrakon is related to ostraca of the middle of the 19th Dynasty because it is inscribed with mark 𐀄 , found on O. Schaden 1 and O. Schaden 16, mark 𐀅 , most probably an allomorph of 𐀆 that is included on ONL 6526 and O. Schaden 13, and with 𐀇 and 𐀈 present on O. Schaden 16 and ONL 6488.

ONL 6281

Fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6281 contains at least three marks that feature on O. Hawass: 𐀉 , 𐀊 and 𐀋 . It also displays mark 𐀌 , which we know from 19th Dynasty sources and may be related to 𐀍 on O. Hawass, and mark 𐀎 for a member of the left side of the crew.⁴

O. IFAO C 7641 and ONL 6526

Although this weathered ostrakon is hardly legible it can be associated with ostraca such as ONL 6526 on account of the occurrence of marks 𐀏 , 𐀐 and 𐀑 . Fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6451 is also related to the latter document, because of the occurrence of marks 𐀒 , 𐀓 and 𐀔 .

ONL 6505

This ostrakon is inscribed with marks present on O. Hawass and O. Cairo JE 96636, as well as 𐀕 , perhaps an allomorph of 𐀖 , and a mark that resembles 𐀗 . The identification of the latter mark is uncertain because this mark is not attested anywhere else in the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6324

The document might date to the middle of the 19th Dynasty because marks 𐀘 and 𐀙 and perhaps 𐀚 are attested on O. Schaden 16 and O. Schaden 1. Mark 𐀛 is attested on other associated ostraca such as ONL 6526. In fact, the sequence $\text{𐀙} - \text{𐀚} - \text{𐀛}$ occurs on both this piece and ONL 6324. The ostrakon also displays mark 𐀜 , which we may see as an allomorph of 𐀝 present on O. Hawass, in analogy with the 20th Dynasty variant of the same mark, suggesting the mark was used by a workman named or related to a Meryre. An individual of that name is attested during the 19th Dynasty, Meryre (v).⁵ The same individual may be attested on ONL 6274, which is otherwise inscribed with marks in adjacent positions on O. Schaden 16: 𐀞 and 𐀟 , and 𐀠 and 𐀡 .

ONL 6413 and ONL 6374

ONL 6413 is inscribed with marks of members of both the right side (𐀢 and 𐀣) and the left side (𐀤 and 𐀥). A comparable document is ONL 6374, which is clearly related to O. Hawass and associated ostraca on the one hand because of marks 𐀦 , 𐀧 , 𐀨 and 𐀩 , but on the other

⁴ Alternatively, signs 𐀌 and 𐀎 may be taken as a single mark 𐀌𐀎 , the mark of Khabekhnet (i). The fact that 𐀎 is considerably longer than 𐀌 , combined with the position of a number of strokes precisely below 𐀎 weighs in favour of reading the signs as two different marks.

⁵ Attested in the reign of Amenmesses, see e.g. O. DeM 277. His name is damaged but should be reconstructed in position 10 of the ordered list of the right side, recorded on O. Ashmolean HO 57 dating to the reign of Siptah, see Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 15 and 17. As proposed in chapter 5, 5.2.2.3, he may be the same individual as the ‘scribe’ Meryre (iii).

hand it is inscribed with marks 𓆎 , 𓆏 and 𓆐 ⁶ for members of the right side. Astonishingly, the ostrakon is also inscribed with mark 𓆑 , well known from the 18th Dynasty but not securely attested thereafter. The fact that it is not attested on other 19th Dynasty documents weighs against the idea that the mark is perhaps a remnant from the 18th Dynasty.⁷ The mark is either a very rare identity mark, or perhaps an allomorph of 𓆒 , abundantly attested in the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6477

Although this piece is fragmentary it can be said to be related to the previous ostrakon as well as O. Hawass because it is inscribed with marks 𓆏 , 𓆐 and 𓆑 .

ONL 6467

This ostrakon could date to the 19th Dynasty as well. It is inscribed with marks of which only 𓆒 and 𓆓 are clearly discernable. Both marks are present on ONL 6488, but the marks appear also in the 20th Dynasty.

§ 3. OSTRACA TENTATIVELY ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF SIPTAH

O. Cilli 23a

This is a small ostrakon fragment. It displays mark 𓆔 , with just above it a smaller sign \square . Perhaps this is a hieroglyphic *p*, here added as phonetic complement to the word *hṯp*. Alternatively the block-shaped sign may have served the same purpose as the element \square in mark 𓆕 , presumably an allomorph of 𓆖 , on the pavement of the Hathor temple.

O. Cilli 106a

The piece is very damaged, but traces of what may have been mark 𓆗 are preserved at the top of the ostrakon.

O. Cilli 201

The ostrakon is faintly inscribed in charcoal. Some numerals and signs are visible, among which is perhaps mark 𓆘 .

O. Cilli 291

The marks on this ostrakon are also written with charcoal and like the previous piece is extremely difficult to decipher. It seems likely that it is inscribed with identity marks, but none of them can be securely identified.

O. Cilli 271

The lines on O. Cilli 271 are better visible, but no workmen's marks are preserved on this fragmentary ostrakon.

O. Cilli 336

The ostrakon displays a sequence of marks that is in accord with that of O. Hawass, suggesting a date towards the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. But when we examine the marks of O. Cilli 336 we come to the conclusion that at least two out of three marks were still in use during the later part of the 19th Dynasty: mark 𓆗 is also attested on O. OIM 25356

⁶ This mark is not to be confused with the sign group 𓆙 on O. Schaden 1, see chapter 5, p. 455.

⁷ But see chapter 5, 5.2.3.2, ONL 6690.

and mark $\overline{\text{L}}$ is attested on the pavement of the Hathor temple. O. Cilli 336 may therefore date to the reign of Siptah, as suggested by its provenance.

O. Cilli 156

O. Cilli 156 may be of a later date. Indeed, all marks featured on this ostrakon are known from the 20th Dynasty, but they occur in the 19th Dynasty as well. Some of them are found on the anchor points of the late 19th Dynasty: mark † is attested on ONL 6690, mark Δ on O. OIM 25356, and marks ⊃ and ⊃ on O. Ashmolean HO 810 and in the Hathor temple. If mark AA is an allomorph of mark AA – for which there are no clear indications – then it corresponds to O. Ashmolean HO 810 which is inscribed with AA . A date for O. Cilli 156 is therefore not secured. We cannot rule out a 20th Dynasty date, certainly not since ostraca from that period have been discovered at the same location. But it is equally possible that the piece dates to the end of the reign of Siptah or the very early 20th Dynasty, which would explain the parallels with ostraca from that time.

§ 4. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESESSES III, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. Glasgow D. 1925.72

The hieratic text on the obverse of the ostrakon is dated to the reign of Ramesses III.⁸ Mark AA on the reverse is written in the same colour of ink, suggesting it could well be contemporaneous with the obverse. The mark is then straightforwardly identifiable as that of the workman of the right side of the crew called Nakhemmut (vi).

ONL 6551

This is small shard that may have belonged to a larger ostrakon. Identity marks \square and ± are preserved. Both marks are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty, but they are documented in subsequent slots in the turnus of the reign of Ramesses III, from about year 20 to year 30, I *zh.t*. The ostrakon is there tentatively attributed to the end of the reign of this king.

O. Florence 2631, O. IFAO no SA 284, ONL 6671, O. Turin N. 57144 and O. Turin N. 57145

The attribution of O. Florence 2631 is highly tentative, because we cannot interpret it satisfactory. We cannot compare the ostrakon well enough to other documents. In addition, it is damaged at some crucial points and the available image does not allow for exhaustive scrutiny. The ostrakon displays a large table consisting of at least 30 cells. It is unclear how much of the ostrakon is lost, but we may consider the possibility that each cell represents one day of the month. Interestingly, a crude hieratic date line can be deciphered in the traces of ink inscribed above the table. Here the wish could be the father of the thought, but we may cautiously read the signs as $[\text{rnp.t}] 18 \text{ zbd } 3 \text{ zh.t} [\dots]$. Such a high year number can only refer to the reigns of Ramesses II, Ramesses III, Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI. Additional signs follow our tentative date but they are rendered illegible by damage to the ostrakon. In the table of the ostrakon a workman's mark is inscribed in the right upper corner of each cell. Several marks are indiscernible. Each mark is accompanied by a large amount of dots, around 30 on average, written in rows. Three of the cells also contain hieratic numerals, while two cells may be inscribed with an additional sign or mark of unclear significance. Reading the cells from right to left and from top to bottom, we tentatively discern the following marks:

⁸ KRI VII, 285; McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 13.

... - \square^{\wedge} ? - Σ - φ - ...
 ... - $\ddot{\text{m}}$ - F - L - p + A ? - ...
 $\ddot{\text{m}}$ - p - \pm - F or \square ? - r - e
 ... - u - v - a - $\ddot{\text{m}}$ - r
 ... - a - ... - \pm - ...

It cannot be emphasized enough that this reading is very uncertain, but if it is correct, all marks appear to belong to members of the right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses III. The suggested year 18 should then fall into the reign of this king. And indeed, it cannot be a coincidence that several marks are listed in an order that agrees with the ordered sequence of the ostraca we have attributed to the period prior to year 24 of Ramesses III:⁹ marks \square^{\wedge} - Σ - φ in the upper row correspond to positions 1, 3 and 4; marks L - p in the second row correspond to positions 8 and 9; marks p - \pm in the third row correspond to positions 10 and 11; and marks u - v - a in the fourth row correspond to positions 16, 17 and 18. It appears therefore that the marks on O. Florence 2631 adhere at least to some extent to an earlier form of an ordered sequence of the right side of the crew, and the document may display a duty roster. The dots and numerals could represent quantities of a particular commodity that was delivered throughout one specific month. The mark A that accompanies p in one cell could be a member of the left side of the crew that assisted his colleague of the right side.¹⁰ We may briefly mention four other ostraca of a similar lay-out here as well: O. Turin N. 57144, O. Turin N. 57145, O. IFAO no SA 284 and ONL 6671. They are even less well preserved or accessible and their date is far from secured. Like O. Florence 2631, these ostraca display large tables filled with dots and often with a workman's mark in the upper right corner. Some are also accompanied by a hieratic numeral. An important difference with O. Florence 2631 however is the fact that these documents seem to record more members of the left side. Whether these four ostraca are also duty rosters is not certain. One of the cells in O. IFAO no SA 284 seems to depict an ass, which might be an indication of a donkey hire.¹¹ It is well known that donkeys were used in the 20th Dynasty for the transport of water and wood to the village of Deir el-Medina,¹² but there is not enough evidence to interpret the ostrakon as an account of water deliveries.

§ 5. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESES IV, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6434

The ostrakon is inscribed with five marks that are well attested in the duty rosters composed with marks. They belong to five workmen of the right side of the crew: v for Amenhotep (vi), u for Bakenamun (i), viii for Nebnakht (viii), vi for Neferher (vi) and \square^{\wedge} for Anynakht (i). The marks are inscribed in a sequence that is almost the same as that of the turnus of the reign of Ramesses IV, and this ostrakon most likely dates to that period.

ONL 6397

All marks belong to workmen of the right side. They are listed according to the sequence of the turnus known from the reign of Ramesses IV, with v for Harshire still between the marks of Amennakht (xxv) and Iyerniutef (iii). All marks are still attested together on ostraca dated

⁹ See chapter 3, 3.2.3.1.

¹⁰ Interpreted here as a variant of A in analogy to other ostraca such as O. BM 50716, see chapter 3, 3.2.7.5; chapter 4, 4.2.1.

¹¹ Perhaps the depiction is better interpreted as a cursive hieroglyphic spelling of the word e , with a t and ideogram stroke, cf. Janssen, *Donkeys at Deir el-Medina*, 69.

¹² Janssen, *Donkeys at Deir el-Medina*, 73; *passim*.

to later periods, but because the sequence is that of the time of Ramesses IV, ONL 6397 dates most likely that the reign of that king.

ONL 6474

All workmen are attested on ostraca with duty rosters, and belong to the right side of crew active under Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. The fact that Ꞗ, the mark of Harshire (i), is not inscribed immediately next to the mark of the scribe could be an indication that Harshire did not work with the senior scribe of the tomb yet, suggesting the ostrakon was made prior to the reign of Ramesses V.

ONL 6470

This ostrakon contains all 30 marks of the turnus of the reign of Ramesses IV. They are not listed according to the sequence of the turnus, but it is very plausible the ostrakon dates to the time of this king because no marks of later times are included.

ONL 6256

Only marks Ꞗ, ꞗ, and Ꞙ are preserved on this shard, but as they are presented according to the sequence of the turnus of the time of Ramesses IV, the document most likely dates to this period.

§ 6. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESES III – RAMESES IV, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6684

This much weathered ostrakon appears to be datable to the beginning of the 20th Dynasty and records members of the right side of the crew exclusively. The particular shapes of the marks are reminiscent of the hand of the scribe who created the duty rosters with marks during the first half of the 20th Dynasty. At first glance an attribution to the reign of Ramesses IV may seem most plausible because of the occurrence of mark Ꞗ for Nebnakht (viii) and perhaps ꞗ for Amennakht (xxvi), who partook in the duty roster of that period. However, ONL 6684 is not a duty roster, also indicated by the inclusion of marks ꞗ and Ꞙ for the scribe and the foreman of the right side of the crew. The majority of the other marks on the ONL 6684 such as ±, †, □, ✱, ✱, ♀, ⊥, ⊥, ♯ and ⊕ and perhaps ⊃, are attested in the duty rosters of the time of Rameses III, others in the duty roster from the reign of Ramesses IV. Yet, a date in the reign of Ramesses III is suggested by the presence of mark ꞗ, which we have encountered exclusively on ostraca from that time (O. Ashmolean HO 1247, ONL 6420, ONL 6554). Nebnakht (viii) and Amennakht (xxvi) may have already been active in the reign of Ramesses III. Alternatively, the man referred to by mark ꞗ was still active in the reign of Ramesses IV.

O. UC 39661

This ostrakon is attributed to the period between year 30 of the reign of Ramesses III¹³ and to the reign of Ramesses IV¹⁴ on the basis of the hieratic inscription on the obverse of the ostrakon. The signs on the reverse are poorly preserved. They could be marks, and may tentatively be identified as Ꞗ, ⊕ and ꞗ. The latter is attested in the turnus lists from the time of Ramesses IV onwards.

¹³ Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 318.

¹⁴ *KRI VI*, 170.

§ 7. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESES IV, LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6246

This piece contains several groups of marks that are related to the sequence of marks of O. ARTP 99/27. The reverse is inscribed with marks , , and , marks number 20, 21 and 23 on O. ARTP 99/27, and with marks  and  which succeed each other in the list of O. ARTP 99/27 as well. The obverse repeats marks , , , and , and adds mark  for the deputy Hay (vii).

ONL 6250

ONL 6250 includes all marks from the left side of the crew, and one mark of member of the right side,  for Anynakht (i). Anynakht (i) might have been active as deputy of the right side already at the end of the reign of Ramesses IV,¹⁵ and this title may explain his inclusion in a document otherwise exclusively dedicated to workmen of the left side of the gang. Indeed, the remaining marks are all found on O. ARTP 99/27, and they are listed in their relative positions.

ONL 6478

This small ostrakon is inscribed in two columns. The first two marks of the left column are  and , which are found in exactly that sequence on O. ARTP 99/27, O. BTdK 550 and ONL 6289. Presumably ONL 6478 is later than O. Cairo JE 72491, as mark  is no longer included in the former list. The third mark on ONL 6478 is , and the damaged fourth mark might be tentatively reconstructed as . If the identification of this mark is correct, the sequence  –  is the same as on ONL 6303, which would in turn date ONL 6478 to the period between O. Cairo JE 72491 and O. ARTP 99/27. The fifth mark  in the right column of ONL 6478 is present in both of these documents.

ONL 6481

This document lists workmen of the left side in accordance with the ordered sequences of O. ARTP 99/27 and O. Cairo JE 72491. It records  followed by . The next mark is , situated around the middle of the ordered sequence. The marks after that are  and , which are separated by a single mark on O. ARTP 99/27, followed by  and  as on O. ARTP 99/27 and O. Cairo JE 72491.

ONL 6243

The ostrakon is inscribed with marks that are presented in a sequence that is not attested elsewhere. It displays marks that are found in the top of the order of workmen of O. ARTP 99/27, such as  and , as well as at the lower regions of the same list, such as  and . Nevertheless, all marks are included in O. ARTP 99/27 and seem therefore to refer to the workmen of the left side of the gang during the reign of Ramesses IV exclusively.

ONL 6430

On ONL 6430 four marks can be discerned, of which  is only tentatively identified. The other three marks are , , and , all attested in the list of workmen of the left side recorded on O. Cairo JE 72491. Like that ostrakon, ONL 6430 probably dates to the reign of Ramesses IV.

¹⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 115-116.

ONL 6507

Four marks are identifiable on this fragmentary ostrakon. Apart from 𓂏 for the scribe of the tomb, the marks appear to be related to the lower section of the ordered sequence of O. ARTP 99/27: discernable are 𓂏 , 𓂏 and perhaps the rarely attested mark 𓂏 although written upside-down. If these identifications are correct, the similarity with O. ARTP 99/27 dates ONL 6507 to the reign of Ramesses IV.

O. BTdK 555

Dorn's remark¹⁶ that the upper mark on this ostrakon is perhaps 𓂏 instead of 𓂏 is probably correct, and with the following marks 𓂏 and 𓂏 it conforms nicely to the sequence attested on O. ARTP 99/27, O. BTdK 550 and O. Cairo JE 72491.

ONL 6217

Ostrakon ONL 6217 is inscribed with eight marks that are all included in the lists of O. ARTP 99/27 and associated pieces, suggesting the document is only concerned with workmen of the left side of the crew. However, the marks on ONL 6217 occur also on lists of the left side datable to the reign of Ramesses V, such as O. Turin N. 57008. Since the marks on ONL 6217 are not inscribed in an ordered sequence, we can only attribute it to the time of Ramesses IV – Ramesses V.

§ 8. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESES IV, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. BTdK 556

This piece is probably datable to the reign of Ramesses IV. It is inscribed with marks of the right and left side of the crew. Mark 𓂏 , not very frequent in the 20th Dynasty, is attested in slot 2 in the ordered list of the left on O. Cairo JE 72491. We have not identified this man yet, but there is a chance that it refers to a man named *Neferrenpet*.¹⁷ Mark 𓂏 is situated in slot 3 in the same list. The other three marks 𓂏 , 𓂏 and 𓂏 probably refer on O. BTdK 556 to workmen of the right side and occur in turnus lists from the time of Ramesses IV. All three marks refer to draughtsmen: Pentaweret (iv), Amenhotep (vi) and Harshire (i). We may therefore assume that mark 𓂏 refers here to the draughtsman *Neferrenpet* (vi) who was active around the middle of the 20th Dynasty.¹⁸

O. Cilli 111

This small ostrakon might be datable to the reign of Ramesses IV. At the top of the ostrakon we discern traces of ink that may represent mark 𓂏 for the draughtsman Amenhotep (vi). Below this mark we see 𓂏 over 𓂏 , the two marks listed for positions 3 and 4 on in the ordered list of workmen of the left side recorded on O. Cairo JE 72491. Left of these marks 𓂏 is inscribed over 𓂏 , the two marks that are situated in positions 3 and 4 in the ordered sequence of the right side during the time of Ramesses IV.

¹⁶ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 374.

¹⁷ Compare mark 𓂏 in the 19th Dynasty, see chapter 5, 5.2.2.2.

¹⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 57-58.

§ 9. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESSES V, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. IFAO C 2470

This ostrakon displays marks $\overline{\text{d}}$ and what is probably mark $\overline{\text{v}}$. Like the attestation of the former mark on O. Cairo CG 25651 we are again not completely sure whether the signs represent a single mark or two separate marks, but the combination of the two is only securely attested at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses V. The purpose and meaning of the cursive hieroglyph for $\overline{\text{sn}}$ left of mark $\overline{\text{v}}$ is unclear. It may be a workmen's mark.¹⁹ In all likelihood O. IFAO C 2470 dates somewhere in or around the reign of Ramesses V.

ONL 946

The ostrakon is inscribed with workmen of the right side of the crew exclusively. Apart from the marks $\overline{\text{w}}$ and $\overline{\text{v}}$ for the foreman and deputy of the right side, marks $\overline{\text{L}}$, $\overline{\text{v}}$, and $\overline{\text{w}}$ are present, which are situated in subsequent slots in the turnus lists of the reign of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. Marks $\overline{\text{z}}$, $\overline{\text{z}}$, $\overline{\text{r}}$, $\overline{\text{r}}$, and $\overline{\text{v}}$, found close to each other on the obverse of this piece, are found in subsequent positions in the hypothetical 45 days turnus known from the reign of Ramesses V. A date in or around this period is also suggested by the presence on this ostrakon of marks $\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{d}}$, $\overline{\text{L}}$, $\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{H}}$, $\overline{\text{S}}$, and $\overline{\text{r}}$, which are attested together in the 45 days turnus as well.

ONL 773

The marks $\overline{\text{H}}$ and $\overline{\text{d}}$ on this ostrakon are associated with the hypothetical 45 days turnus from the reign of Ramesses V. Both marks are not securely attested before and after the reign of this king. The obverse of the ostrakon appears to contain a hieratic inscription that may be read as 'year 3' or 'year 4', but it is not clear if obverse and reverse are contemporaneous.

ONL 6537

On this weathered ostrakon traces of an inscription in black ink are discernable. These traces appear to be marks $\overline{\text{z}}$, $\overline{\text{v}}$, $\overline{\text{r}}$, $\overline{\text{v}}$, $\overline{\text{L}}$, and $\overline{\text{z}}$. On the basis of mark $\overline{\text{r}}$, only attested in combination with these other marks in duty rosters displaying the hypothetical 45 days turnus, ONL 6251 should date in or around the reign of Ramesses V.

ONL 6563

The six identity marks (if $\overline{\text{r}}$ on the obverse is indeed to be interpreted as an identity mark) on this ostrakon represent workmen that belong to the right side of the crew. Although the marks do not reflect a sequence known from other documents, ONL 6563 can be dated by the occurrence of marks $\overline{\text{d}}$ and $\overline{\text{L}}$, both referring to workmen in the 45 days turnus from the reign of Ramesses V. ONL 6563 was most probably composed in or around this time.

ONL 6581

The ostrakon is inscribed with two lines of identity marks, but several are no longer discernable. The document can nevertheless be attributed to the time in or around the reign of Ramesses V because marks $\overline{\text{r}}$, $\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{r}}$, and $\overline{\text{L}}$ are exclusively attested together on ostraca associated with his reign.

¹⁹ It is very infrequently attested in the 20th Dynasty, and it is difficult to ascertain if it is a variant of mark $\overline{\text{z}}$. O. Stockholm MM 14129 would argue against this idea, see chapter 4, p. 365. The sign also occurs on O. DeM 556, see below, § 8, but it is not clear if it is used there as an identity mark or not.

ONL 6586

This ostrakon is very weathered. The only identifiable marks are ϖ and \mathbb{A} . The latter is only securely attested on ostraca that date to the reign of Ramesses V. ONL 6586 probably dates to the same period.

O. Cairo JE 46857

This ostrakon is inscribed with three marks: \mathbb{F} , \mathbb{R} , and \sphericalangle . They are the marks of workmen of the right side of the crew, attested together in ostraca recording the hypothetical 45 days turnus from the reign of Ramesses V. O. Cairo JE 46857 dates therefore to about the same period.

O. Schaden 215

The ostrakon is inscribed on the obverse and reverse with identity marks of workmen of the right side. All are attested on ostraca that display the hypothetical 45 days, but the marks on Schaden 215 are not presented in a sequence known from other documents. The presence of marks \perp , Δ , \mathbb{D} , and \mathbb{T} , only attested together on ostraca associated with the reign of Ramesses V, indicate that O. Schaden 215 must date to approximately the same time.

ONL 6458

The marks that are inscribed on this ostrakon all belong to workmen of the right side. The majority of the marks belongs to the group of workmen that entered the right side of the gang around the beginning of the reign of Ramesses V. They were supplemented to the turnus and are mostly found in the group of workmen in positions 31 to 45. Of this group of workmen, nine are present on ONL 6458, some of which are listed according to the sequence of the hypothetical 45 days turnus: ∞ , \mathbb{P} , Δ , \mathbb{R} , \mathbb{T} , \mathcal{S} , \mathbb{A} , \mathbb{M} , \mathbb{D} , and \mathbb{I} . The other marks on the ostrakon belong to workmen of the right side of the gang as well. The evident relation of this document to the 45 days turnus places it in the reign of Ramesses V. Marks such as \mathcal{S} , \mathbb{A} , and \mathbb{D} are not securely attested on ostraca before or after that period.

ONL 6251

This fragment must have been part of a larger ostrakon displaying at least three columns of marks. That is suggested by the fact that marks \mathbb{F} and \mathbb{M} are found in subsequent positions in the hypothetical 45 days turnus. The same is true for \mathbb{P} and \mathbb{K} , situated two slots down in the turnus. According to the sequence of this turnus, mark \mathbb{X} is followed by mark \perp , but on ONL 6251 these two marks are inscribed in reversed order. The association with the 45 days turnus dates ONL 6251 in or around the reign of Ramesses V.

ONL 6469

Most marks on this ostrakon are poorly preserved. The column farthest to the left is the most informative as it displays the beginning of what appears to be an ordered list of workmen's marks. It lists \mathbb{X} , the mark of the chief workman of the right side in the first position, and continues not with the mark of the scribe of the tomb, but ϖ for the deputy Anynakht (i). ONL 6469 can therefore be no earlier than the reign of Ramesses V. A date after the reign of Ramesses IV is also suggested by the fact that in the fourth position of the same column mark \mathbb{H} of Harshire is situated, suggesting that he had already assumed the role of assistant to the scribe. Apart from mark \mathbb{Y} right of this column, the other marks are very difficult to discern.

ONL 6512

On this ostrakon four marks are preserved in their entirety while a fifth mark is damaged. In the light of the other marks, the traces of this fifth mark are probably best interpreted as mark

⤿. All marks represent workmen of the right side of the crew who were added to the lower region of the list of workmen around the beginning of the reign of Ramesses V. Marks ⤿, ⤿, and ⤿ are attested together on O. Cairo CG 25651, which dates to I *šmw* of year 1 in the reign of Ramesses V. Marks ⤿, ⤿, and ⤿ (evidently an allomorph of ⤿) are found close to each other on ostracon ONL 6458, which is associated with the hypothetical 45 days turnus that is attested around year 2 of Ramesses V. In turnus lists from that time mark ⤿ is included as well. We may therefore propose to date ONL 6512 somewhere in the reign of Ramesses V, between I *šmw* year 1 and year 2 or a slightly later year.

ONL 6429

This small ostracon is inscribed with marks ⤿, ⤿, and ⤿, listed according to the sequence of the 45 days turnus. The latter mark probably refers to the workman Itefnefer, son of Hori. He is not securely attested before year 6 of Ramesses IV. Theoretically ONL 6429 could thus date to the end of the reign of Ramesses IV, but the association to the sequence of the 45 days turnus suggests that the document is slightly later. It is best situated in or around year 2 of Ramesses V.

ONL 6301

This document is inscribed with identity marks, 32 in total, of workmen of the right side only. The sequence of the marks adheres to a great extent to the 30 days turnus known from the reign of Ramesses IV and the first 30 slots of the 45 days turnus, but there are a few differences. In the position of Reshupeteref we find mark ⤿ of Penmennefer. The mark ⤿ of Pentaweret is still situated between that of Wesekhmetet and Nakhemmut as in the turnus of Ramesses III. Yet, the sequence ⤿ to ⤿ is mostly in accordance with the hypothetical 45 days turnus. The only exception is the situation of mark ⤿ of Maaninakhtuf on ONL 6301. It is inscribed as the last mark of the sequence, after mark ⤿, while in the 45 days turnus it is placed between ⤿ and ⤿.

The sequence of marks on ONL 6301 thus suggests that it is to be dated in the period between the last secured attestation of the 30 days turnus of Ramesses IV in year 4 of his reign, and the hypothetical 45 days turnus we have dated around year 2 of Ramesses V. Yet, ONL 6301 includes marks ⤿, ⤿, ⤿ and ⤿, belonging to workmen who newly entered the turnus around year 2 of Ramesses V, which indicates that the ostracon is closer associated to that period. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that ONL 6301 lists ⤿, the mark of Anuynakht (i) at the beginning of the sequence, implying that he had already assumed his position as deputy of the right side. Because the workman Tasherī is already replaced by ⤿ on ONL 6301, the ostracon must have been produced after O. BM 50716, O. Cairo JE 96328 and hieratic ostracon O. Cairo CG 25609 (which dates to year 1 of Ramesses V). Oddly enough, the mark of Harshire ⤿ is still situated in a position close its original slot, while in O. BM 50716 and O. Cairo JE 96328 the mark is listed after that of the deputy of the right side. This should perhaps not surprise us, since we have seen that other marks are listed on this ostracon in a position that does not agree with the turnus. ONL 6301 thus dates in all likelihood in or just before year 2 of Ramesses V.

O. Turin N. 57523

Several workmen's marks are inscribed next to depictions of pieces of furniture. Although they are not given in an ordered list, it seems probable that these are the marks of workmen of the right side of the gang exclusively. All marks are attested together in the duty rosters of the time of Ramesses V and associated ostraca. The mark ⤿ for Penmennefer (II) is indicative of the date of O. Turin N. 57523. His mark is not securely attested before the reign of Ramesses V. Similarly, there is no clear evidence from other sources that he was active during the reign

of Ramesses VI or later kings. It is then most likely that O. Turin N. 57523 is no later than the reign of Ramesses V as well. In theory it could have been produced during the reign of Ramesses IV, when Penmennefer (II) and Pahemnetjer (ii), also recorded on this ostrakon, were already active according to hieratic sources.

O. BTdK 540

The marks inscribed on both sides of this ostrakon are not arranged in an ordered sequence, but they are clearly related to the turnus of the reign of Ramesses V. All marks belong to workmen of the right side and are situated in positions 19-21, 24-25, 29, 34-36, and 42-43 of the hypothetical 45 days turnus.

O. BTdK 545

The marks on O. BTdK 545 are similarly difficult to distinguish. We can probably recognize marks $\overline{\text{I}}$, L and M , all attested for workmen of the right side during the reign of Ramesses V. Another mark in the upper row may or may not be $\overline{\text{I}}$, for Amennakht (xxvi), active on that side as well. The ostrakon is therefore tentatively attributed to the reign of Ramesses V.

O. BTdK 546

The marks on this ostrakon are all attested in the turnus of the time of Ramesses V (positions 7, 9, 15, 20, 24, and 40), indicating they refer to workmen of the right side of the crew. The provenance of this piece in the settlement near the tomb of Ramesses X is in agreement with such a date.

O. BTdK 548

The reverse of O. BTdK 548 is very weathered, but may display marks $\overline{\text{I}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$, attested in the 20th Dynasty for workmen of the left side. The marks on the other side of the ostrakon are most probably marks of workmen of the right side, as suggested by marks $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$. By association mark $\overline{\text{I}}$ on the same side refers most probably to a workman of the right side as well. This would date the ostrakon to the (first part of the) reign of Ramesses V, when the mark occupied slot 29 in the turnus of the right side.

O. ARTP 99/29

This ostrakon is inscribed with marks that belong exclusively to workmen of the right side and feature together in the hypothetical 45 days turnus. They are not ordered in accordance with their position in this roster, but it is clear that the majority is situated around the middle of the list. Their exact positions are slots 1, 7, 9, 14, 16, 20, 22-25 and 35.

§ 10. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESES III – RAMESES V, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6468

Only traces of ink have remained on this ostrakon, but the marks that are still discernable are $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$, and $\overline{\text{I}}$. They all belong to workmen who served on the right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses III, and marks $\overline{\text{I}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$, as well as $\overline{\text{I}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$ are presented one above the other as in duty rosters. Under Ramesses III workman Qenna (i) belonged to the right side as well, but he was transferred to the left side of the crew probably towards the last years of the reign. Mark $\overline{\text{I}}$ for this workman appears to be discernable on this ostrakon. The ostrakon should therefore date to the reign of Ramesses III, provided it deals with workmen of the right side exclusively. We cannot prove that this is the case, so the ostrakon could have been inscribed during the reign of Ramesses IV or V as well.

§ 11. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESES III – RAMESES V, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. Stockholm MM 14129

The hieratic inscription on the obverse of this ostrakon, which mentions Anynakht (i), was thought to date to the first half of the reign of Ramesses III in the opinion of Killen and Weiss, who suggested that the text was later than the depictions of drawings accompanied by workmen's marks.²⁰ It would however make more sense that the hieratic inscription is earlier and that the depictions of furniture were drawn around the two lines.²¹

The first secured attestations of mark \perp , present on the obverse and reverse of the Stockholm ostrakon, are dated to the reign of Ramesses V where it is used for a workman of the right side of the crew. Since Anynakht (i) was certainly still active during this period, the hieratic inscription does not contradict such a date. The other marks on this ostrakon are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty for members of the right and the left side, and do not narrow down a possible date. There are however three enigmatic signs or marks that are not all attested elsewhere. Sign ∇ might be a variant of workmen's mark ∇ , but instead it may be interpreted as the hieroglyph $\downarrow sn$, probably attested on O. IFAO C 2470 as a workman's mark. Coincidentally the latter ostrakon dates to the reign of Ramesses V too. The sign in the lower right corner may be a depiction of an unidentified part of furniture, but sign \updownarrow is inexplicable. It resembles a seated deity with a sun disk on its head. Although this mark is not attested on other ostraca, we may relate it to a mark inscribed on a potsherd discovered at the Grand Puits.²² We can only conclude that the ostrakon remains mysterious, and in the light of a possible connection with the hieratic text it cannot be dated any more precise than to the reigns of Ramesses III – Ramesses V.

§ 12. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESES IV – RAMESES V, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. ARTP 99/29

The obverse and reverse of this ostrakon are inscribed with marks, most of which are well attested in lists of workmen's marks of the right side from the reign of Ramesses IV. The other marks \square and \perp belong to workmen who served on the left side during the reign of Ramesses IV, but they are attested on the right side in the reign of Ramesses V. The fact that marks ∞ , \perp , \downarrow , and \sphericalangle on the reverse are inscribed very close to each other suggests that a date in the reign of the latter king is more probable, as these marks are situated in subsequent positions in the 45 days turnus. Hence, the entire document concerns workmen of the right side.

O. BTdK 537

This ostrakon is inscribed with four columns of marks that appear in the relative positions they occupy in the ordered sequence of the reign of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V, except for marks \boxtimes – $\#$ – \square . In the ordered sequence these marks are listed as $\#$ – \square – \boxtimes . Nevertheless, we seem to be dealing with a document that lists workmen of the right side of the crew. Perhaps it originally contained a list of the entire side.

²⁰ Killen and Weiss, 'Markings on objects', 143-144.

²¹ The other way around would mean that an ostrakon fully inscribed with drawings had been picked up by a scribe to squeeze in two hieratic lines, which is less plausible.

²² Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVI, nr. 115.

ONL 6427

This small ostrakon displays three identity marks, $\text{ⲟ}\text{ⲏ}$, $\text{ⲙ}\text{ⲏ}$, and $\text{ⲙ}\text{ⲏ}$, which we have identified as the workmen Anynakht (i), Pentaweret (iv) and Maaninakhtuf (iii). The latter workman is not securely attested in hieratic documentation before the reign of Ramesses IV,²³ but all workmen are attested in the turnus lists of the reigns of Ramesses IV and V. They occur on ostraca with marks from that period as well, such as O. IFAO C 7638 and associated ostraca. ONL 6427 must therefore date to a time after the reign of Ramesses III.

ONL 6220

Apart from mark $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$, all five other marks on this ostrakon are known from the duty rosters of the reign of Ramesses IV. The date of this piece depends on the association of the workman referred to by mark $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$. His mark is attested in lists of workmen of the left side of the crew in documents from the reign of Ramesses IV, such as O. ARTP 99/27 (allomorph $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$). Yet, during the reign of Ramesses V he may have been transferred to the right side of the gang, as we find his mark in duty rosters such as O. Glasgow D. 1925.80. The mark is still attested on the right side on documents such as O. IFAO C 7638 and associated pieces, but there mark $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$ is no longer present. ONL 6220 dates therefore most likely to the period covered by the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V.

ONL 6259

Marks $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$ and $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$ belonging to Neferher (vi) and Amennakht (xxvi) are preserved on this small fragment. Amennakht (xxvi) is not securely attested after the reign of Ramesses V in textual sources.²⁴ Likewise, his mark is found on ostraca that can be dated to the reign of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V, not evidently earlier or later. In all probability ONL 6259 dates to the reign of one of these two kings.

O. MMA 09.184.785

This ostrakon contains two columns of identity marks that can be identified as workmen of the right side of the crew. Several entries seem to have been erased, but the marks of Wesekhnemtet (i), Reshupeteref (i), Maaninakhtuf (iii), his father Khaemnun (i), Anynakht (i) and Pahemnetjer (ii) are clearly visible. Interestingly, an abbreviated name is inscribed in cursive hieroglyphs at the bottom of the left column, which reads Wasetnakht. This can only be Wasetnakht (i), a daughter of Khaemnun (i).²⁵ On the basis of the individuals mentioned, the document must date to the first half of the 20th Dynasty. Pahemnetjer (ii) and Wesekhnemtet are not securely attested before the reign of Ramesses IV in hieratic sources.²⁶ Wasetnakht appears in documents dated²⁷ and attributed²⁸ to the reign of Ramesses V. The marks on O. MMA 09.184.785 are also attested on ostraca from the middle of the 20th Dynasty, and therefore the ostrakon should date to the period between the reign of Ramesses IV and the middle of the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6502 + ONL 6510 (?)

Although there is no direct join between these ostrakon fragments, the provenance, the appearance of the ceramic and the lay-out of the two fragments suggest that they once belonged to a single document. On ONL 6502 three marks $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$, $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$, and $\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲏ}$ are preserved in

²³ *Deir el-Medina Database*.

²⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 254.

²⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 252.

²⁶ *Deir el-Medina Database*.

²⁷ P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.97.

²⁸ P. DeM 23 and P. DeM 25.

their entirety. They are listed according to the sequence of the turnus known from the time of Ramesses IV and the hypothetical 45 days turnus of the time of Ramesses V. That is also true for marks \square , \times , and \Leftarrow , as well as \AA , \dagger , and \ddagger on ONL 6510. The ostrakon dates therefore most probably to the reign of one of these kings.

ONL 6440

All four marks are attested for workmen of the right side of the crew. They appear together on ostraca from the reign of Ramesses IV onwards, but they are listed on ONL 6440 according to the sequence of the hypothetical 45 days turnus. It is therefore very plausible that this document dates to the reign of Ramesses V.

O. Berlin P 10842

As in O. OIM 19215, the mark of Harshire is listed before those of the other workmen of the right side of the gang. After his mark, marks \ddagger to X follow the sequence of the turnus of Ramesses IV and the hypothetical 45 days turnus of Ramesses V. Hence the document probably dates to the end of the reign of Ramesses IV or the reign of Ramesses V.

§ 13. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESES IV – RAMESES V, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. BTdK 554

On the basis of the sequence of marks in the right column of O. BTdK 554 the piece can be attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV or Ramesses V. As in the turnus lists of that period, we observe the sequence $\dagger - \ddagger - \text{X}$. The marks in the left column are not preserved well enough to identify. One mark may be \Leftarrow or \Rightarrow , but the traces of the other marks do not agree with any of the attested ordered sequences of the 20th Dynasty. The marks may belong to workmen of the left side of the crew.

§ 14. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESES IV – RAMESES VI, LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6435

This ostrakon, probably preserved in its entirety, is inscribed with workmen's marks that appear throughout the 20th Dynasty. It probably records workmen of the left side of the crew exclusively. Apart from mark \times , all marks on ONL 6435 are also included in the list of O. ARTP 99/27. Still, the ostrakon probably dates to the middle of the 20th Dynasty. First of all, marks \times , \square , \ddagger , III , \Rightarrow , \dagger and \Leftarrow are also recorded on O. Cairo JE 46862, and others are found on ostraca related to O. Cairo JE 46862. More significantly, the order of marks in the columns of ONL 6435 seem to be related to the ordered sequence of the left side recorded in O. Turin N. 57008, O. Prague NM P 3836 and associated ostraca. On ONL 6435 marks X , \ddagger and \Rightarrow are recorded in the same relative position of the latter ostrakon. That is also true for marks \square and \ddagger , and the sequence recorded on O. Cairo JE 96614. Ostraca O. Cairo JE 72499 and ONL 6693 indicate that mark \Leftarrow also featured in lists of workmen of the left side during the same period. On ONL 6435 this mark is followed by III and \dagger , found in reversed positions on O. Turin N. 57008 and O. Prague NM P 3836.

O. Cairo JE 72497

The marks in the right column of this ostrakon are situated in almost the same relative position as in the list of O. ARTP 99/27. The high position of mark \Rightarrow is paralleled by ONL 6289, like O. ARTP 99/27 attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV. The two discernable marks

in the left column, 𓆎 and 𓆏 , occur in lists of the time of Ramesses IV as well. Nevertheless, all marks are also attested for workmen of the left side of the crew in the time of Ramesses V on documents such as O. Turin N. 57008. We can therefore not exclude a date in the reign of Ramesses V.

O. BTdK 454

An indication of the date of this document is the cartouche of Ramesses VI written on one side of this ostrakon. We cannot ascertain if the marks on the other side are contemporaneous, but this does seem likely. The marks are not inscribed in an ordered sequence, but all are included in ostraca with lists of members of the left side from the middle of the 20th Dynasty such as O. Turin N. 57008 and O. Prague NM P 3836.

O. MMA 14.6.218

There is a possibility that this ostrakon is related to lists of workmen of the left side such as O. Turin N. 57008 and O. Cairo CG 25318. We cannot be sure about this because O. MMA 14.6.218 only contains five marks, two of which are not legible. The remaining three marks are 𓆎 , 𓆏 and 𓆐 , listed in the middle and bottom of the second column of O. Turin N. 57008 and in the list of O. Cairo CG 25318.

§ 15. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESSES IV – RAMESSES VI, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. BTdK 539

The ostrakon is inscribed with members of the right and left side of the crew and does not seem to have been created with an ordered sequence in mind. We recognize mark 𓆑 for the scribe of the tomb. The workmen of the right side are represented by marks we know from duty roster of the time of Ramesses IV: 𓆒 , 𓆓 , 𓆔 , 𓆕 , 𓆖 , 𓆗 , 𓆘 , 𓆙 and 𓆚 . The latter mark is interesting, because we have seen it disappear from the duty roster at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses V. The members of the left side are mostly known from O. ARTP 99/27: 𓆛 , 𓆜 , 𓆝 , 𓆞 , 𓆟 , 𓆠 , 𓆡 , 𓆢 , 𓆣 , 𓆤 , 𓆥 , and 𓆦 . These marks suggest a date in the reign of Ramesses IV to the early reign of Ramesses V. Mark 𓆧 is readable as *p<n>-niw.t*. This cannot be Penniut (i), the workman of the left side of the crew whom we have linked to mark 𓆩 . A better candidate is Penniut (IV) son of Mose, a workman of the right side who is first attested in the reign of Ramesses IV.²⁹ Up to this point we have not yet encountered mark 𓆪 . We cannot securely identify this man, but it is tempting to relate the mark to *Patjaudiamun* (ii) who is attested around the middle of the 20th Dynasty.³⁰ The meaning of sign 𓆫 and the rounded sign above it, perhaps forming a single mark, is unclear.³¹ Similarly enigmatic is the rectangular sign right of mark 𓆬 on the reverse of the ostrakon, which is not attested elsewhere as a workmen's mark. It could be a narrower variant of mark 𓆭 , present on the obverse, but it is also conceivable that it is hieratic sign 𓆮 , here used in the same as sign 𓆯 was used in combination with mark 𓆰 for the *šri* 'son' of *Wesekhnemtet* (i), *Nebamun* (iv).

ONL 6874

Despite the large number of marks with which this large amphora is inscribed, establishing a date for this document is not an easy task. To begin with, the neat columns of marks do not appear in an ordered sequence, and there is no apparent distinction between the right side and

²⁹ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütter*, 387, nr. 607; 396, nr. 622.

³⁰ O. Cairo CG 25287; P. Bulaq 10.

³¹ If the upper sign is readable as *nb*, the mark may refer to a man named *nb-<i>mn*.

the left side of the crew. While marks such as \perp and C° clearly point towards a date in the 20th Dynasty, marks β and Γ are very odd in this period. The latter mark could be a variant of ff , the former perhaps of E^{β} . One may see in this the habit of the scribe of this document to abbreviate his marks. If this interpretation is correct we can state that all marks are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty, with the exception of mark H , perhaps for Patjaudiamun (ii). In the 20th Dynasty this mark occurs also on O. BTdK 539, dated to the middle of the 20th Dynasty. ONL 6874 is therefore tentatively attributed to the same period.

O. Ashmolean HO 5

The obverse of this ostrakon contains a hieratic letter to the guardian Khay, which was written over three columns of workmen's marks inscribed in red ink. The hieratic text was attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV by Kitchen³² and to the period of Ramesses IV – V by Wenté.³³ According to Kathrin Gabler, the text must date after year 4 of Ramesses IV, at which time Khay was still a doorkeeper.³⁴ The marks in the columns are not organized in accordance with any known sequence. In fact, the marks \simeq , A , and \perp are inscribed in two columns, which gives the impression that each column concerns a separate entry. Moreover, mark H for the foreman of the right side does not appear at the top of a column, suggesting we are not dealing with an ordered list. Marks A , β , and ξ are not attested in 20th Dynasty lists of workmen of the right side of the crew. Mark \perp , presumably referring to draughtsman Amenwa (i) is not securely attested before the turnus lists of Ramesses V. Nevertheless, this draughtsman is attested already in the reign of Ramesses IV in a hieratic graffito.³⁵ Theoretically the list of workmen's marks on O. Ashmolean HO 5 could thus date to the reign of Ramesses IV, but a date in the reigns of Ramesses V or a later king is equally plausible.

ONL 6241

This ostrakon lists workmen of the right and left side of the gang, although the column farthest to the left seems to be headed by the foreman of the right side and the scribe. Immediately after the scribe the identity mark of Harshire, H , is inscribed, suggesting he is recorded here in the capacity of assistant scribe. Hence the ostrakon dates most likely to the end of the reign of Ramesses IV or the reign of Ramesses V, when Harshire was active as assisting scribe.

O. UC 45733

The identity marks on this ostrakon are inscribed in a rather disorganised fashion. Nevertheless, the relatively great number of marks allows us to propose a date for this piece. It clearly documents both workmen of the right and left side. The occurrence of mark \simeq on O. UC 45733 might be indicative of a date around the middle of the 20th Dynasty, as it is attested on ostraca attributed to the period of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI such as O. Cairo JE 46862.

ONL 6506

Three marks are completely preserved and a fourth mark could be H . The sequence of the marks, $\text{H} - \text{H} - \text{H} - \text{H}$, approaches that of a section in ONL 6303, an ordered list of workmen of the left side from the reign of Ramesses IV. This may however be coincidental, because mark H was used at the time for Weserhat (ii), a workman of the right side. It is therefore problematic to associate ONL 6506 with ordered lists of the left side. Mark H does occur for a

³² *KRI VI*, 221.

³³ Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 140, nr. 177.

³⁴ Based on Theban Graffito 1381. Kathrin Gabler, personal communication, 2014.

³⁵ Theban Graffito 839, Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, 68.

workman of the left side in the reign of Ramesses IX, but during that period mark 𐀓 is no longer securely attested. This mark seems to have been used from about the reign of Ramesses IV to the reign of Ramesses VI (O. UC 31939+ and related ostraca) and ONL 6506 probably dates to the same time.

ONL 6453

Four marks have been preserved on this ostrakon, which probably records members of the right and the left side. Marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 are situated in the same relative positions as in the ordered lists of O. ARTP 99/27, but since the following mark is that of Nakhtmin (vi), a member of the right side, this may be coincidental. We cannot provide a very precise date for ONL 6453, but the occurrence of mark 𐀓 suggests a date in the period of Ramesses IV – Ramesses VI.

ONL 6539

This ostrakon, also known as O. Gardiner AG 8, is inscribed on one side with a hieratic text that mentions Hormin (i). No date is mentioned in the text but it was attributed to the reign of Ramesses V.³⁶ The marks on the same ostrakon do not contradict such a date, but because they are not listed in an ordered sequence we cannot verify this date either. All marks appear throughout the 20th Dynasty and probably belong to members of the right side (𐀓, 𐀓, 𐀓) and the left side (𐀓, 𐀓, 𐀓). On the basis of the hieratic inscription, ONL 6539 must date to the middle of the 20th Dynasty.

O. Cilli 156

The 10 marks on this ostraca are attested from the reign of Ramesses IV to about the reign of Ramesses VI, but it could be of a slightly earlier or later date as well. The marks belong to workmen of the right side (𐀓, 𐀓, 𐀓, 𐀓 and 𐀓) and the left side (𐀓, 𐀓 and 𐀓). Mark 𐀓 is used for Bakenwerel (vii) who served on the left side under Ramesses IV, but may have been transferred to the right side from the reign of Ramesses V onwards. Mark 𐀓 is not attested until later in the 20th Dynasty, but we cannot exclude the possibility that it is here a variant of 𐀓 or perhaps even 𐀓.

§ 16. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESSES IV – RAMESSES VII, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. BTdK 136, O. BTdK 520 and O. BTdK 536

The three ostraca cannot be accurately dated on the basis of their inscription, but are attributed to the period of Ramesses IV – Ramesses VII because they were discovered in the settlement of huts in the Valley of the Kings that was in use during this time. O. BTdK 520 is a small ostrakon fragment with three marks. The lower two marks are perhaps two specimen of the same mark 𐀓; the upper mark is 𐀓. Both marks occur throughout the 20th Dynasty.

Only traces of the marks on O. BTdK 536 are still visible. Securely identifiable are marks 𐀓, 𐀓 and 𐀓, all three attested for workmen of the right side during the entire 20th Dynasty. Among the faint remains of ink may be mark 𐀓 or 𐀓. The latter is connected with a workman of the left side active during the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

It is very uncertain if O. BTdK 136 is inscribed with workmen's marks as well. Among the traces of ink a sign group is perhaps legible as 𐀓, indeed attested as a mark during the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

³⁶ KRI VII, 356.

§ 17. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESES V, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6851

The ostrakon is poorly preserved and only traces of marks are visible. The marks that are discernable belong to workmen of the right and the left side of the gang. The presence of Δ , the mark for the workman Penmennefer who is not securely attested before the reign of Ramesses V,³⁷ suggests a date around the middle of the 20th Dynasty.

O. BTdK 547 and O. BTdK 543

O. BTdK 547 is inscribed with several poorly executed marks that are difficult to interpret. The presence of marks \equiv , \square , and \ddagger date the piece to the middle of the 20th Dynasty, since they are all present in positions 41, 43 and 44 of the 45 days turnus from the time of Ramesses V. Two other marks appear to be $\underline{\text{e}}$ and λ , representing workmen Reshupeteref (i) and Neferhotep (xii) of the right side. Below mark \ddagger we observe a mark that could be Γ , perhaps an abbreviated form of mark Π for the workman Pahemnetjer. The other three marks are Ψ , probably Merysekhmet (iii), C° for Menna (i) and $\bar{\Gamma}$ for Qenna (i), all workmen of the left side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses IV. Mark λ at the bottom of the piece is also known to have been used for a member of the left side. The sequence of marks \square , $\underline{\text{e}}$, and \ddagger found on O. BTdK 547 is also inscribed on the rather damaged ostrakon fragment O. BTdK 543, making it likely that both ostraca date to the same period. The other marks on O. BTdK 543 cannot be identified, although traces in the top of the right column suggest the presence of mark λ .

ONL 1371

This ostrakon is inscribed with numerous signs, among which are 30 identity marks. They are not presented in a sequence known from other documents, although the inscription on this ostrakon does begin with the foreman of the right side of the crew. The majority of the identity marks on this ostrakon belong to workmen of the right side of the crew. Depending on the date of the document, marks \perp , E , and W could belong to the right or left side. The occurrence of mark N suggests a date in or just before the reign of Ramesses V. If such a date is correct, marks \perp , E , and W refer most likely to workmen of the right side. The absence of mark H for Tasherri and the presence of mark E support such a date. Mark C is not attested elsewhere as a workmen's mark, but because it is a perfectly legible hieratic sign we may propose it refers to an individual with a theophoric name containing the element 'Seth'. In our examination of O. ARTP 99/27 we had assigned mark \square to the workman Seti (ii), who seems to be the only man of this name in the 20th Dynasty. Whether the scribe of ONL 1371 preferred to employ a hieratic sign over an identity mark to record this very man is a question we cannot answer with any certainty. It is nevertheless obvious that the scribe of ONL 1371 had the hieratic repertory of signs in mind when he inscribed the ostrakon, because the ductus of marks such as X , Y , Z , H , A , B and C is evidently hieratic. Alternatively, sign C may refer to the 'smd.t scribe' Setimose who is attested around the reign of Ramesses V.³⁸

³⁷ Contra Davies, *Who's who*, 197. The Penmennefer mentioned in O. Turin N. 57028 is probably not a workman, as he is not attested in any other name lists of the right side of the time (Ramesses III, year 24), and his mark is not found in contemporaneous documents. O. DeM 175 (attributed to Ramesses III, year 30) mentions a Penmennefer but again it is unclear whether the workman or the guardian is meant. The same is true for P. Turin 1966 (Ramesses IV, year 6), see Černý MSS 3.649, but the document is rather damaged at the point where Penmennefer is mentioned. The first secure attestation of the workman Penmennefer in fact is in the duty roster of O. Cairo CG 25609, the document which we had attributed to year 1 of the reign of Ramesses V (see chapter 3, 3.2.7.2), and which corresponds well to ostraca with his identity mark Δ .

³⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 129.

ONL 6255

Although the majority of marks on this fragmentary ostrakon point towards a date around the middle of the 20th Dynasty, two marks are problematic. First of all there is the damaged mark on the middle of the obverse. It consists of two components, A and a vertical sign. Were this a 19th Dynasty ostrakon, we could interpret the mark as A or A^\dagger ,³⁹ but both signs are not attested in the 20th Dynasty. We may see two separate marks in these signs, but it appears more probable to take A as an allomorph of A or AA that is not elsewhere attested as such. Indeed we have seen that both marks appear in various forms. Similarly difficult is mark M , not elsewhere attested either. Without any further evidence we can only carefully propose that is an allomorph of mark P . A damaged mark at the right end of the obverse must be R , which is only securely attested as the mark of Itefnefer (I) in the reign of Ramesses V. ONL 6255 may well date to the same period. It would then record the marks of other members of the right side (H , A , Y and P), as well as marks of members of the left side (EE , M , U and UU), attested as such on O. ARTP 99/27 (Ramesses IV) as well as O. Turin N. 57008 and associated pieces (c. Ramesses V).

O. UC 45702

Although this ostrakon contains several illegible signs, the upper row of marks does suggest a date in the first half of the 20th Dynasty. The first mark from the right is damaged, but the next sign is clearly recognizable as A . In O. Cairo JE 72491, an ordered list of workmen's marks of the left side from the reign of Ramesses IV, it is situated in slot 18. We have seen that this mark disappears in later ordered lists of the left side. In such lists, mark M had shifted upwards in the ordered sequence to fill position 21 in O. ARTP 99/27 and position 19 in ONL 6273. It is exactly this mark that follows A on O. UC 45702, indicating that there may have been a time were both marks featured together in the ordered sequence around slots 18 and 19. The next mark on O. UC 45702 may then be a hieratic variant of mark M , which is situated in the slot after M in ostraca O. ARTP 99/27 and ONL 6273. Such an interpretation would be in agreement with the hieratic ductus of marks M and what is perhaps U in the lower row. The second mark from the left in the upper row is U , also present in lists of the left side from the reign of Ramesses IV. The mark between U and M is probably A , attested in the reign of Ramesses V exclusively. The ostrakon is therefore tentatively attributed to this period, although a slightly earlier date may also be considered. The signs or marks in the lower row are completely unclear. One sign resembles U but is not attested as a mark in the 20th Dynasty. We may assume it refers to an actual basket with content. Alternatively it could be a variant of mark E for another workman of the left side of the crew. The meaning of the sign left of U is unclear.

³⁹ For these marks see chapter 5, 5.2.2.7 and 5.2.2.9.

§ 18. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. Cairo JE 96529

Two identity marks are completely preserved on this ostrakon, 𐎃 for Nakhtmin (vi) and 𐎄 for his son Nebnakht (viii). The shape of the latter mark is very comparable to that of the same mark on O. Turin N. 57523, discussed above. A date in the 20th Dynasty for O. Cairo JE 96529 is therefore likely. Nebnakht appears in the turnus of the right side under the reign of Ramesses IV, but his mark is attested in several later ostraca. It is thus difficult to propose a very precise date for O. Cairo JE 96528, but it is best situated in the period after the reign of Ramesses III.⁴⁰

ONL 6437

Only marks 𐎃 and 𐎄 have survived on this fragment of an ostrakon inscribed with a column of marks. These marks occupy subsequent positions in the ordered sequence of the right side during the end of the reign of Ramesses III, the reign of Ramesses IV and the reign of Ramesses V, suggesting the ostrakon is datable to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6439

The marks on this ostrakon, all attested for workmen of the right side of the crew, probably date to the first half of the 20th Dynasty. Indeed, the sequence of the marks in the upper row of the piece resembles the ordered lists of the reigns of Ramesses III – Ramesses V.

ONL 6548

The sequence of marks 𐎃 – 𐎄 – 𐎅 recorded on this ostrakon together with mark 𐎆, probably for the deputy Anynakht (i), dates this document to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6574

This ostrakon is very weathered and only marks 𐎃 and 𐎄 are discernable. It can be dated to the 20th Dynasty on the basis of mark 𐎄, which is not securely attested in the 19th Dynasty. The particular shape of the mark on ONL 6574 is somewhat similar to that of several other instances of the mark in duty rosters composed with marks. ONL 6574 is therefore hesitantly attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

An ostrakon from the Grand Puits⁴¹

A drawing of this ostrakon depicts a row of marks that all belong to workmen of the right side of the crew during the reigns of Ramesses III – Ramesses V, except for mark 𐎃. This mark is attested in the 18th Dynasty exclusively, and must have been misread by Bruyère. We can only guess as to the actual shape of this mark. Perhaps it resembles a rather diagonally written mark 𐎃. In the 20th Dynasty this mark is not securely attested before the reign of Ramesses V, and if our reading of this mark is correct the ostrakon dates most likely to this reign. In the absence of photographs of the ostrakon we can only tentatively date it to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

⁴⁰ The *Deir el-Medina Database* does not contain any records of Nebnakht (viii) that date to the reign of Ramesses III.

⁴¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII, nr. 7.

§ 19. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY, LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 533

This small ostrakon seems to be preserved in its entirety and is inscribed solely with marks  and . In the 20th Dynasty these marks refer respectively to a man named Hay and Penamun (V), both members of the left side of the crew. Around the middle of the 20th Dynasty, their marks are situated in subsequent positions in the list of O. Turin N. 57008 and associated ostraca.

O. BTdK 572

One side of this small but completely preserved piece is inscribed in hieratic with the names of a Neferhotep and an Amenemone, while the other side is inscribed with marks  and . One would expect the two marks to be related to the names,⁴² but this is not quite congruent with our understanding of the marks. We have connected mark  with the workman Pentaweret (vii), who is not attested as a relative of a Neferhotep or Amenemone.⁴³ Similarly, mark  was used for Penniut (i) who seems to have inherited it from his grandfather Nebimentet (i), and no Neferhotep or Amenemone is known to have been an ancestor or son of Penniut (i). It is therefore doubtful if the obverse and reverse of O. BTdK 572 are related, and it is thus difficult to assign a date to the piece. Marks  and  are both recorded for workmen of the left side from the reign of Ramesses IV (O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca) to about the middle of the 20th Dynasty (O. Cairo JE 46862), and our ostrakon most probably dates somewhere in this period.

§ 20. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. Cilli 335

Apart from the column of marks on the right half of the ostrakon, no marks can be recognized in other traces of ink on this piece. The column is headed by the mark of the scribe of the tomb, but it does not seem to list marks strictly in an ordered sequence as the series is not attested elsewhere. Mark  below it refers probably to a workman of the right side of the crew, whereas the following four marks are probably members of the left side. These marks are , ,  and , and the last three are found in almost the exact same sequence in the list of O. Cairo JE 72491 and ONL 6303 dated to the reign of Ramesses IV. Yet we may also consider the sequence of ostraca such as O. Turin N. 57008, which feature the series  –  – . O. Cilli 335 dates therefore probably to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

O. BM 14214

Most of the marks on this piece occur on ostraca from the first as well as the second half of the 20th Dynasty for members of both the right and the left side of the crew, but  provides an indication of the date of O. BM 14214. Mark  for Bakenamun (i), a workman of the right side of the crew, disappears from our lists with marks of workmen of the right side of the crew after the reign of Ramesses V. Indeed, he is seemingly no longer listed in ostraca such as O. Turin N. 57008, O. IFAO C 7658 and O. BM 5642. O. BM 14214 is therefore best situated in the first half of the 20th Dynasty and is likely to date to the reigns of Ramesses IV or Ramesses V. If this assumption is correct, mark  must here be a reference to Harmose (ii)

⁴² Cf. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 377-378.

⁴³ Davies, *Who's who*, chart 8.

before he was appointed as foreman of the left side of the crew. Alternatively, A may be a variant of either AA or AA .

ONL 6323

The marks recorded on this ostrakon relate it to O. BM 14214, and like that document ONL 6323 dates somewhere in the first half of the 20th Dynasty on account of mark X for Bakenamun (i). The other marks on the ostrakon refer to workmen of the right and the left side.

O. Cairo CG 25569

Despite a hieratic inscription on this ostrakon, the piece is not securely dated. The three marks X , X and X do not point to a specific time either. The ostrakon was discovered in one of the huts near the tomb of Ramesses X, which suggests a date in the first half or middle of the 20th Dynasty.

§ 21. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESSES V – RAMESSES VI, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. BM 41649

An unpublished ostrakon, said to have been discovered in the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, may be discussed here. Despite its reported provenance, the ostrakon appears to be inscribed with marks that are almost certainly related to the workmen's marks of community of Deir el-Medina. Although the marks on the ostrakon do not appear in a known sequence, we recognize almost all signs as workmen's marks. In fact the only mark on O. BM 41649 that is not attested on ostraca from the Theban Necropolis is X . This mark appears to depict a seated god, and we may propose it is a variant of mark X . The latter mark is only attested for a member of the left side on ostraca datable to the reigns of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI such as O. UC 31939+. The third mark in the right column is smudged and cannot be identified, but all other marks appear throughout the 20th Dynasty as workmen of the left and right sides of the crew. We may therefore interpret the ostrakon as one of the documents from the Theban Necropolis, and tentatively attribute it to the middle of the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6229

The three marks on this ostrakon, X , X and X are attested together in duty rosters from the reign of Ramesses V. They are also inscribed in later lists of identity marks of workmen of the right side such as O. BM 5642. Yet, on O. IFAO C 7638, O. BM 50731 and ONL 6515, dated to the middle of the 20th Dynasty, these three marks are listed in subsequent positions, as they are on ONL 6229. It is therefore most likely that the latter piece dates to about the same time as O. IFAO C 7638 and associated documents.

O. Cairo JE 96321

Five of the marks on this ostrakon, X , X , X , X , and X feature in the order of the duty roster of the right side of the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. However, these rows of marks are headed by X , not attested for a workman of the right side at that time. The ostrakon is therefore associated with documents such as O. Cairo JE 46865, ONL 6268, O. BTdK 542 and O. BTdK 543. These ostraca too record workmen's marks of members of the right side, among which feature the marks on O. Cairo JE 46865, with mark X towards the beginning of the sequence. O. Cairo JE 46865 dates therefore somewhere in the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.

ONL 6485+

Although the marks on ONL 6485+ are well legible the document is not straightforwardly dated because the marks are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty. Less frequent are marks $\overline{\text{L}}$ and \oplus , both marks associated with the left side of the crew around the middle of the 20th Dynasty (O. UC 31939+ and associated ostraca; O. Cairo CG 25318 and associated ostraca such as O. Prague NM P 3836). Indeed, these ostraca also list other marks that appear on ONL 6485+ ($\overline{\text{L}}$, $\overline{\text{M}}$, $\overline{\text{N}}$, $\overline{\text{O}}$ and $\overline{\text{P}}$) as workmen of the left side. Mark $\overline{\text{A}}$ may here already refer to Harmose (ii), foreman of the left side, as in O. BM 5642 and related ostraca. Marks $\overline{\text{Y}}$ and $\overline{\text{Z}}$ on the other must refer to workmen of the right side of the crew.

ONL 6576

Some sections of the disordered arrangement of marks on ONL 6576 are not perfectly legible. The marks that are discernible are typical for the 20th Dynasty. Interesting is mark $\overline{\text{Q}}$, which is relatively rare. It is attested in the group of ostraca that records workmen of the left side during the reigns of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI, such as O. Cairo JE 46862. Indeed, this ostrakon also includes $\overline{\text{L}}$, $\overline{\text{A}}$ and $\overline{\text{O}}$, listed on ONL 6576 as well. Other marks refer is all probability to members of the right side. The most prominent mark on ONL 6576 is $\overline{\text{X}}$ for the foreman of the right side. Marks $\overline{\text{L}}$, $\overline{\text{Y}}$ and $\overline{\text{Z}}$ are mentioned among the workmen of this side on contemporaneous lists of workmen of the right side such O. Turin N. 57008. All three marks are also recorded on ONL 6576. On this ostrakon mark $\overline{\text{Z}}$ appears in a double variant $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{Z}}$, not attested elsewhere. We may suppose that it refers to a senior and his apprentice, perhaps Khaemnun (i) and a son of his. Like ONL 6576, O. Turin N. 57008 also records mark $\overline{\text{L}}$ for a member of the left side. The similarities with O. Turin N. 57008 and O. Cairo JE 46862 suggest that ONL 6576 is probably datable to the period of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI.

ONL 6311

The marks on this ostrakon refer to workmen of the right and left side, and as far as we are able to determine they are not inscribed in an ordered sequence. Marks $\overline{\text{L}}$ and $\overline{\text{X}}$ are attested for workmen of the right side throughout the 20th Dynasty, but marks $\overline{\text{Y}}$ and $\overline{\text{O}}$ are less common. The latter two marks are found together on O. Cairo JE 46866, dated to the period of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI. ONL 6311 may date to the same time.

O. Cairo CG 25325 and O. BTdK 494

On the obverse of this poorly preserved ostrakon the marks $\overline{\text{Z}}$, $\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{Y}}$, and $\overline{\text{M}}$ are visible. They are presented in the same relative position as the marks in the turnus lists of the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. The reverse of the ostrakon displays marks $\overline{\text{Z}}$, $\overline{\text{H}}$, $\overline{\text{I}}$ and $\overline{\text{O}}$. The latter three marks are only securely attested on ostraca from the reign of Ramesses V, where they belong to the right side of the crew. Mark $\overline{\text{H}}$ on the reverse is not attested on the right side. Instead, it seems to be a mark belonging a workman of the left side, as it is present on O. ARTP 99/27 and the reverse of OL 170+. Mark $\overline{\text{I}}$ is not found on well dated ostraca. Several other marks are difficult to discern. Mark $\overline{\text{V}}$ might in fact be two separate marks. O. Cairo CG 25325 is thus clearly associated with ostraca from the time of Ramesses V, but also contains marks which we have not encountered before. This suggests that the document might have been produced at a time after the reign of Ramesses V.

O. BTdK 494 seems to be related to O. Cairo CG 25325, but unfortunately O. BTdK 494 is in a similarly fragmentary state. It was discovered at the site of the workmen's huts close to the tomb of Ramesses X, and a date in the 20th Dynasty is very probable. The only well identifiable mark – if it can indeed be classified as such – is $\overline{\text{I}}$, also present on O. Cairo CG 25325. O. BTdK 494 dates therefore presumably to the same period. The mark left of $\overline{\text{I}}$

has the appearance of the hieroglyph  (Gardiner A7), a sitting man with hanging arms, but it might represent something completely different. The same mark could also be present on O. Cairo CG 25325, just above mark , but is damaged.

§ 22. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGNS OF RAMESESSES V – RAMESESSES VI, LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6253

This fragmentary ostrakon is inscribed with two columns of marks in a hand that is most probably the same as that of the author of O. Turin N. 57008. The marks are clearly those of members of the left side and occur throughout the 20th Dynasty. However, on the basis of similarities with O. Turin N. 57008 it is plausible that the ostrakon was created during the reigns of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI. Not only does the handwriting of ONL 6253 resemble that of O. Turin N. 57008, the sequence of marks on the ostrakon is also akin to that of O. Turin N. 57008 and related ostraca. The order of marks  –  –  resembles the sequence  –  –  on O. Turin N. 57008 and related ostraca. Lower in the sequence of O. Turin N. 57008 we observe  – , which are listed as such on ONL 6253. The subsequent positions of  and  on ONL 6253 are mirrored by O. Cairo JE 96614, related to O. Turin N. 57008.

§ 23. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESESSES IX, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6583

The document is inscribed with four marks listed more or less in two columns. The right column is headed by , the mark which we have identified as that of foreman Harmose. The other three marks , , and  are all found on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ as well, and are listed in the same relative position as on these documents. We can therefore assume that ONL 6583 roughly dates to same period as these two key ostraca.

ONL 6549

Only a fragment of this ostrakon has survived, but there are reasons to attribute it to the reign of Ramesses IX because marks  and  listed in a column on the left end of the piece are found in the same sequence in the list of workmen of the right side recorded on OL 170+ and ONL 6449. The column right of these marks includes mark  for the scribe of the tomb as well as mark , also attested for a workman of the right side and situated two positions above mark  in the list of OL 170+.

ONL 6591

ONL 6591 is not preserved in its entirety and is therefore difficult to interpret. It appears to depict objects and a hieratic numeral, but all are damaged. The only preserved marks are  and . Both marks are attested throughout the Ramesside Period and a date in the 19th Dynasty cannot be excluded. It could therefore be coincidental that  are and  are attested in subsequent positions in the top of the list of workmen of the right side recorded on O. BM 5642 and associated pieces. If a connection with these ostraca does exist, ONL 6591 probably dates to the reign of Ramesses IX.

§ 24. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESSES IX, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

Ashmolean HO 1118

A date in the reign of Ramesses IX may be considered for O. Ashmolean HO 1118. That is suggested by the fact that the order of marks in the right column are exactly in agreement with slots 12 and 13 for and on the reverse of OL 170+, and with slots 12 and 13 for and on the reverse of O. BM 5642. These marks belong to workmen of the left side of the crew, whereas and are listed on O. BM 5642 for workmen of the right side.

O. Ashmolean HO 999

The ostracon contains 14 identity marks of workmen who probably do not belong to the same side of the gang. The meaning of sign is puzzling, as it does not occur on any other ostracon, graffito or object from the Theban Necropolis, and is therefore probably not a workman's mark. That is also suggested by its slightly larger size. It is very difficult to date the ostracon, as the marks are not clearly arranged in a sequence that we know from other documents. Although the marks of O. Ashmolean HO 999 are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty, we may tentatively attribute it to the reign of Ramesses IX because it appears to be related to the sequence of marks on OL 170+, complemented with the sequence of O. BM 5642. Marks , , , , , and on O. Ashmolean HO 999 take in position 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13 of the left side of OL 170+ and O. BM 5642. Including the mark of the scribe, marks , , , , and are found in positions 1, 2, 3, 7, 15 and 16 of the ordered list of the right side on OL 170+ and O. BM 5642.

O. OIM MH 2666

The marks on this ostracon appears to be from the same hand that created O. Brooklyn 16118+. The hieratic inscription, discussed in more detail in chapter 4,⁴⁴ also dates it to the late 20th Dynasty. Marks and are listed on ostraca such as O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ as workmen of the left side of the crew. Mark is probably a variant of mark . This mark is recorded among the right side of the crew throughout the 20th Dynasty, but it is absent on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. The mark does still feature in lists of workmen of the right side on ostraca such as O. IFAO C 7638 and associated documents, which may date as late as the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IX. In addition, mark is perhaps attested on ONL 6685, attributed to the reign of Ramesses XI. A fourth damaged mark might be , which does not feature on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ but can be found among the marks on O. Cairo JE 46862 and associated pieces, dated to the reigns of Ramesses V and VI, as well as the ostraca from the Grand Puits group, dated to the reign of Ramesses XI.

O. Area K Unnumbered

Like several other pieces, the occurrence of mark dates O. Area K Unnumbered to the late 20th Dynasty. The ostracon is inscribed with four columns with marks, the majority of which belong to workmen of the left side of the crew (see the overview below). Mark features both in the rightmost as well as the leftmost column, suggesting each column records a different event. The order of the marks is not attested on other ostraca but is nevertheless related to the ordered lists of ostraca such as O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. The column farthest to the right is headed by marks and , the former doubtlessly a variant of . This sequence parallels the heading of the column of marks on the reverse of O. BM 5642. The other marks in the column are situated in positions 4 to 10 in the list of workmen of the left

⁴⁴ See chapter 4, p. 354-355.

side of O. BM 5642, as well as positions 17 and 18. The second column list marks that are found in the lower half of the ordered lists of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, apart from ΞE in position 6, not listed in the first column. Marks \oplus and Υ are both absent in the sequence of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, but Υ does appear in a similar list of workmen of the left side, ONL 411. Similarly, \oplus and Υ are found in subsequent positions on O. Cairo CG 25318, which is probably a list of workmen of the left side as well. Of all marks in the third column, only mark for $\text{scorpion controller}$ is found in the list of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. This column seems to record some workmen of the right side as well, as $\text{scorpion controller}$ is situated in position 18 of the ordered list of the right side on OL 170+, while it may here refer to the mark in the ninth position of the right side on O. BM 5642. This ostracon lists an allomorph of $\text{scorpion controller}$ in position 10. Marks $\text{scorpion controller}$, $\text{scorpion controller}$ and $\text{scorpion controller}$ are not found on these two ostraca, but they appear in almost the same sequence among workmen of the left side on O. Turin N. 57008. Mark $\text{scorpion controller}$ is attested for a workman of the left side around the middle of the 20th Dynasty on ostraca that also feature $\text{Amennakht (vi)/(xii) 'Pawonesh'}$. The last mark of the column seems to be that of Qaydjeret (i), the doorkeeper known from records of the late 20th Dynasty who is associated with the left side on O. Cairo JE 96647. The fourth column in turn seems to be solely devoted to four members of the left side. The last mark is tentatively identified as an eye-shaped sign, perhaps for Qaydjeret (i) . Ostracon O. Area K Unnumbered is clearly related to the ordered sequence of the reign of Ramesses IX, but also lists workmen's marks that hark back to ostraca from earlier in the 20th Dynasty. Therefore it is best dated around the reigns of Ramesses VII and Ramesses VIII, or perhaps early in the reign of Ramesses XI.

Col. 1	BM 5642	OL 170+	Col. 2	BM 5642	OL 170+	Col. 3	BM 5642	OL 170+	Col. 4	BM 5642	OL 170+
AA	L1	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	L13	...			$\text{scorpion controller}$	L5	L5
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L2	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	L15	$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	L3	-
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L18	L19	\oplus	-	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	L20	L21	$\text{scorpion controller}$	L16	L17
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L7	L7	Υ	-	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$?	-	L12
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L5	L5	$\text{scorpion controller}$	L14	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	R18			
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L4	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	L15	-	$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	-			
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L8	L8	$\text{scorpion controller}$	L11	L11	$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	-			
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L9	L9	ΞE	L6	L6	$\text{scorpion controller}$	R10	-			
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L10	L10				$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	-			
$\text{scorpion controller}$	L17	L18				AA	R9?	-			
...						$\text{scorpion controller}$	-	-			

O. Cairo CG 25326 a-i

The nine ostraca in this group clearly belong together. Each ostracon is inscribed with a workman's mark and together they are datable to the late 20th Dynasty. The nine pieces display marks $\text{scorpion controller}$, $\text{scorpion controller}$, $\text{scorpion controller}$, Υ , $\text{scorpion controller}$ and ΞE , listed on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ for the left side, and marks $\text{scorpion controller}$ and $\text{scorpion controller}$ which belong to the right side according to these two lists. The group O. Cairo CG 25326 a-i has seven marks in common with O. Area K Unnumbered, among which is mark $\text{scorpion controller}$ for Qaydjeret (i). The nine ostraca must therefore date to the reign of Ramesses IX or an even later date.

O. Ashmolean HO 704

This piece can straightforwardly be attributed to the end of the 20th Dynasty and probably to the reign of Ramesses IX on account of the occurrence of mark $\text{scorpion controller}$ for the draughtsman Pa-imyperedj. The other marks on this ostracon belong to workmen of the right side ($\text{scorpion controller}$, $\text{scorpion controller}$, $\text{scorpion controller}$).

𐎡) and the left side of the crew (𐎠). Mark 𐎡 is perhaps a less elaborate allomorph of mark 𐎡 for a workman of the right side.

ONL 307

The ostrakon is probably attributable to the same period as O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ on account of the occurrence of mark 𐎡 for Weserkhepesh (i). This mark is also attested on ONL 6240, which we have placed at the end of the reign of Ramesses IX, but that document does not include all of the other three marks that can be identified on ONL 307: 𐎡, 𐎡 and 𐎡. According to the lists of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, the former two men belonged to the right side of the crew, the latter to the left.

O. FES 01.34

No more than two marks are preserved on this shard, but the occurrence of mark 𐎡 for the draughtsman Pa-imyperhedj, member of the left side of the crew, probably dates it to the reign of Ramesses IX. The other mark 𐎡 refers to a workman of the right side.

§ 25. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6513

The incompletely preserved column of marks on this ostrakon is related to ostraca recording the ordered sequence of the right side of the crew during the second half of the 20th Dynasty. It resembles the sequence of O. IFAO C 7638 and O. BM 5642, although marks 𐎡 and 𐎡 seem to have switched positions. The damaged mark 𐎡 underneath is unidentifiable, but the mark left of 𐎡 may have been 𐎡. In its current fragmentary state ONL 6513 cannot be accurately dated.

§ 26. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY, LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. Cairo CG 25320

Unique on this ostrakon is sign or mark 𐎡, the significance of which is unclear. The other marks are identifiable as members of the left side of the crew, and appear together on ostraca from the second half of the 20th Dynasty. O. Cairo CG 25320 is best attributed to the same period. Apart from marks 𐎡 and 𐎡, all of its marks are listed on O. Turin N. 57008 as workmen of the left side. Marks 𐎡, 𐎡 and 𐎡 belong to that side on ostraca O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. In this period, mark 𐎡 is also used for a workman of the left side. O. Cairo CG 25320 may therefore have been composed somewhere in the period of Ramesses V – Ramesses IX.

§ 27. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6531

This ostrakon seems to record several marks of workmen of the right side of the crew, and can be attributed to the second half of the 20th Dynasty. All marks on ONL 6531 are attested for members of the right side in the lists of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. The marks on ONL 6531 are however not recorded in an ordered sequence attested elsewhere. Therefore it cannot be established if mark 𐎡 refers to a workman of the right side as well, since it is used for a

member of the left side in the reign of Ramesses IV according to O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca.

ONL 6275

This ostrakon is attributable to the second half of the 20th Dynasty because of the occurrence of mark . One may consider a date closer to O. Turin N. 57008 than to ostraca from the late 20th Dynasty such as O. Cairo CG 25317, which record the same mark. A comparison with O. Turin N. 57008 indicates that ONL 6275 lists mostly members of the right side of the crew: , , , ,  and . The Turin ostrakon does not include marks  and , which are known for workmen of the right side from a slightly later list preserved on O. IFAO C 7638. Mark  is in the later list used for a workman of the right side as well, but for a workman of the left side on O. Turin N. 57008. The same ostrakon also records  as a member of the left side. We can only conclude that ONL 6275 is related to ostraca from the middle to the late 20th Dynasty and it should therefore date in this period.

O. WHTM 692+

All marks preserved on this ostrakon are extremely common, rendering the task of dating this piece rather difficult. We are also hindered by the fact that the marks on this ostrakon are not inscribed in an ordered sequence. The occurrence of marks  and  suggest a date in the 20th Dynasty, and a more specific date cannot be proposed without much hesitation. It may or may not be significant that all marks are recorded in the list of workmen recorded on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, dated to the reign of Ramesses IX. On these documents they are mostly situated in the upper half of the sequence of the right side: , ,  and  are positioned in slots 3, 4, 6 and 10 of O. BM 5642 and  in slot 17 of OL 170+; marks , ,  and  are recorded for the left side in slots 1, 4, 6 and 16 of O. BM 5642. On the basis of these unstable arguments O. WHTM 692+ is tentatively dated to the second half of the 20th Dynasty.

§ 28. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE LATE 20TH DYNASTY, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

O. Cairo JE 96581

Not more than three workmen's marks are preserved on this ostrakon, but it is very plausible that it dates to the very end of the 20th Dynasty. Throughout the 20th Dynasty, mark  and its variant  were used for workmen of the right side, and marks  and  appear to refer to members of that side as well. In the list of marks on O. Cairo CG 25315 they appear among workmen of the right side. Similarly,  seems to be recorded as a member of the right side on O. Cairo CG 25317 and perhaps also on O. Cairo Unnumbered R. The earliest attestation of  is perhaps on O. Turin N. 57008, attributed to the middle of the 20th Dynasty, but mark  is predominantly attested on pieces that date to the reigns of Ramesses IX – Ramesses XI. It is therefore tentatively dated to this period.

O. Cairo Unnumbered R

The occurrence of the hieratic variant of  as well as mark  places this ostrakon in the second half of the 20th Dynasty. The usage of sign  for a doorkeeper is only paralleled by O. Cairo CG 25317, dated to the end of the 20th Dynasty. O. Cairo Unnumbered is probably attributable to the same period. Because only a handcopy of this ostrakon is available, we are unable to identify the lowermost sign in the right column and the penultimate sign in the left column. The other marks are not listed according to a known sequence, and belong to members of the right and left side of the crew.

ONL 6261

Among the seven marks on this ostrakon features the hieratic variant of mark 𐀓 , also attested on O. Cairo Unnumbered R and O. Cairo JE 96447, as well as in a more elaborate variant (𐀓^+) on OL 170+. ONL 6261 is therefore most likely datable to the period Ramesses IX – Ramesses XI. Six of the marks are attested on the right side of the crew: 𐀓 (O. BM 5642, R5), 𐀓 (O. BM 5642, R12), 𐀓 (OL 170+, R18), 𐀓 (OL 170+, R19), 𐀓 (OL 170+, R24) and 𐀓 (OL 170+, R25). Mark 𐀓 is attested in the list of the left side of the crew of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. If, however, ONL 6261 is closer related to O. Cairo JE 96447, marks 𐀓 , 𐀓 and 𐀓 could refer to workmen of the left side as well.

§ 29. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE 20TH DYNASTY, RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

ONL 6262

This small ostrakon fragment is perhaps attributable to the 20th Dynasty because of the occurrence of what appears to be mark 𐀓 . Traces of mark 𐀓 do not allow for a more precise dating.

O. Turin N. 57350

The marks on this ostrakon all refer to workmen of the right side known from the ordered sequence of the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. The marks of these men are however still attested on ostraca such as O. IFAO C 7638 and O. BM 50731. Therefore O. Turin N. 57350 could theoretically date from the time of Ramesses IV to about the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IX.

ONL 6569

Sections of this ostrakon are badly weathered and illegible. Marks 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , and 𐀓 can well be discerned. These marks are known from duty lists from the time of Ramesses III to Ramesses V and ostraca that date to even later times. The presence of mark 𐀓 on this piece suggests that it is probably later than the reign of Ramesses III, as Pahemnetjer was not active during that period. ONL 6569 should therefore date in the period of the reigns of Ramesses IV and later kings.

ONL 6257

This ostrakon is of small size but seems to be complete. It displays marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 , the identity marks of Khaemwaset (iii) and Nebnakht (viii). The mark of the latter is found in turnus lists from the time of Ramesses IV onwards, and there are no attestations of this workman in the *Deir el-Medina Database* before that period. The ostrakon should therefore not be much older than year 1 of the reign of Ramesses IV, but a date in later reigns is very well possible. In fact, both marks are found in O. IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6232, lists of workmen of the right side of the crew. These documents date to the middle of the 20th Dynasty, and ONL 6257 could have been made around the same period.

ONL 6425+

Four marks are discernable on this ostrakon but a fifth sign remains unidentified. The four marks belong to workmen of the right side of the crew and are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty. Since the marks are not inscribed in an ordered sequence ONL 6425+ is not accurately dated.

ONL 6269

The ostrakon is inscribed on two sides and displays marks 𓆎 , 𓆏 , 𓆐 , 𓆑 , 𓆒 , 𓆓 , and 𓆔 . All these marks are attested in the hypothetical 45 days turnus, where they occupy positions 17 to 24. ONL 6269 is therefore best situated in the reign of Ramesses V. Many of these marks do however occur on later ostraca as well, so a date in the reign of Ramesses VI or a later king cannot be excluded.

§ 30. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE 20TH DYNASTY, LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW*O. Cairo CG 25324*

This ostrakon records three draughtsmen (represented by sign 𓆕 *qd* for *sš qd* ‘draughtsman’) and four workmen represented by 𓆖 , 𓆗 , 𓆘 and 𓆙 . These marks are included among lists of workmen’s marks of the left side in the group of O. Cairo JE 72491, O. ARTP 99/27, O. BTdK 550, ONL 6273 (c. Ramesses IV), but also in later ostraca such as O. BM 5642, OL 170+, and ONL 6322. O. Cairo CG 25324 must therefore date to the period of the reign of Ramesses IV to the end of the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6596

Although the ostrakon is not preserved in its entirety it is evident that it records workmen of the left side of the crew exclusively. All marks are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty, from the reign of Ramesses IV (O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca) to the reign of Ramesses IX (O. BM 5642 and OL 170+). It appears that the marks are not inscribed in an ordered sequence and therefore it cannot be dated accurately.

ONL 6448

Mere two marks, 𓆚 and 𓆛 , are preserved on this ostrakon fragment. Both marks are attested for workmen of the left side throughout the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6675

We may assume that this ostrakon records predominantly members of the left side, but because it is so poorly legible we cannot be sure of that. It is likewise difficult to date the ostrakon. The marks on this ostrakon are not listed according to one of the ordered sequences we have discerned. The marks 𓆜 , 𓆝 , 𓆞 , 𓆟 , 𓆠 , 𓆡 , 𓆢 and 𓆣 occur for workmen of the left side on ostraca from the time of Ramesses IV and the second half of the 20th Dynasty.

§ 31. OSTRACA ATTRIBUTED TO THE 20TH DYNASTY, RIGHT AND LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW*ONL 6713*

Only marks 𓆤 , 𓆥 and 𓆦 can be discerned on this ostrakon, and since all marks occur in the early, mid as well as the late 20th Dynasty, the document cannot be accurately dated.

ONL 6283

This incomplete ostrakon is inscribed with five marks of members of the right side, and mark 𓆧 for a member of the left side. This mark is no longer attested in the lists of workmen from c. the middle of the reign of Ramesses IX such as O. BM 5642, suggesting the ostrakon should antedate that period. We can however not exclude the possibility that ONL 6283 was created at an earlier time in the reign of that king, and it is therefore attributed to the 20th Dynasty without further precision.

ONL 6463

A reading of this fragmentary ostrakon is hindered by the weathered state of the piece. As a consequence it is unclear whether the damaged lower mark in the right column is another instance of $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, also recorded in the left column, or if it is a different mark, perhaps $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$. The upper mark in the right column appears to be $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, which referred to Tasherī (i) during the reign of Ramesses IV. Yet, during the reign of Ramesses IX the mark reappears in our documents (e.g. O. Ashmolean HO 1098) for a workman of the left side of the crew. We do not recognise an ordered sequence in the series of marks on ONL 6463 and therefore we can only attribute it to the 20th Dynasty without offering a more exact date.

O. IFAO C 7586

Apart from a number of marks this ostrakon appears to be inscribed with depictions of objects as well as a human figure. The marks are only very tentatively identifiable as $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ and perhaps $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$. The ostrakon does not provide enough information for an accurate date, but an attribution to the 20th Dynasty seems certain because of marks are not attested together in earlier periods.

ONL 6540

ONL 6540 is extremely difficult to date because no more than two marks, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, are preserved on this fragment of an ostrakon. Both marks are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty and to make things even more complicated, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ is occasionally replaced by its variant $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$. ONL 6540 dates somewhere in the 20th Dynasty but we are not able to provide a more precise date.

ONL 6438

This completely preserved ostrakon is inscribed with 10 identity marks which do not appear in a sequence known from ordered lists of workmen. The marks on ONL 6438 are very common during the 20th Dynasty and refer to members of both sides of the crew. Some marks are attested as early as the reign of Ramesses III and as late as the reign of Ramesses IX. The document can therefore not be accurately dated.

O. Berlin P 14231

The set of marks on this ostrakon, scattered over the surface of the obverse, is very difficult to date. Eight marks can be discerned, and a ninth mark in the upper left corner could be $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ or $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$. All marks are very frequent in the 20th Dynasty and because the marks do not appear to have been inscribed in an ordered sequence, it is impossible to identify the workmen behind the marks. In all likelihood it records workmen of both sides of the crew, but we cannot propose an accurate date for this piece.

ONL 6297

This large ostrakon is inscribed with 10 workmen's marks. The mark at the bottom of the ostrakon is not preserved in its entirety, but may have been $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$. The marks refer to workmen of the right as well as the left side of the crew and are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty. They are not listed in an ordered sequence and therefore the ostrakon cannot be dated with any accuracy.

ONL 6508

This very fragmentary ostrakon is inscribed with a number of marks of which most are now incomplete. Discernable are $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$. The marks are not evidently recorded in a meaningful sequence, and it is therefore unclear whether the marks refer to members of one

particular side of the crew. As the marks are attested throughout the 20th Dynasty, it is impossible to accurately date ONL 6508.

ONL 6575

Only four, perhaps five marks are preserved on this ostrakon, which is therefore difficult to date. Recognizable are 𐀀 , 𐀁 , 𐀂 and 𐀃 , as well as perhaps mark 𐀄 . All marks appear throughout the 20th Dynasty, which prevents us from dating ONL 6575 with any precision.

ONL 6264

With a limited degree of certainty we can make out marks 𐀅 , 𐀆 , 𐀇 , 𐀈 and 𐀉 in the traces of ink left on ONL 6264. Other marks are no longer discernable. The marks are not listed in an ordered sequence, and because not enough marks are preserved on the document it is problematic to date the ostrakon. All marks occur throughout the 20th Dynasty.

O. Cairo CG 25322

The marks inscribed on this ostrakon do not appear in an ordered sequence. They are very common in the 20th Dynasty and therefore O. Cairo CG 25322 cannot be accurately dated. The marks refer to workmen of both sides of the crew. Six marks can be identified as 𐀊 , 𐀋 , 𐀌 , 𐀍 , 𐀎 and 𐀏 , but the meaning of other signs or figures on the ostrakon is unclear.

O. Keimer 54

The only available black and white image of this fragmentary ostrakon does not suffice to discern all marks on the piece, but recognisable are 𐀐 , 𐀑 , 𐀒 , 𐀓 and 𐀔 . The latter mark, perhaps a variant of 𐀕 , perhaps for Harmose (ii), workman and later foreman of the left side of the crew. Yet, as the other marks refer to workmen of the right side, 𐀕 is perhaps an allomorph of 𐀖 for a workman of the right side. The ostrakon dates most probably to the 20th Dynasty but cannot be pinpointed precisely.

O. IFAO C 3360

Although the four marks on O. IFAO C 3360, 𐀗 , 𐀘 , 𐀙 and 𐀚 are well preserved, it is difficult to date this ostrakon with precision. All four marks occur for workmen of the right as well as the left side throughout the 20th Dynasty.

ONL 578

This ostrakon, probably a fragment of a larger document, cannot be dated with much precision. The three marks it displays, 𐀛 , 𐀜 and 𐀝 , are not presented in a sequence known from other ostraca. All three marks are found on documents listing workmen of the right side of the crew from the time of Ramesses V and later rulers. However, mark 𐀝 is also attested as a mark of a workman of the left side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses IV, and ONL 578 could therefore theoretically date to that reign as well.

ONL 6358

The four workmen's marks on this ostrakon refer in all likelihood to Weserhat (ii), Khaemnun (iii), Nebnakht (viii) and Neferher (vi), all members of the right side during the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. The ostrakon could date to this period, but the marks are also attested for workmen of the left side under later kings. We can therefore not exclude a date in the second half of the 20th Dynasty.

O. Turin N. 57353

All four marks on this ostrakon, ✱, †, ↗ and ☒, are known to have belonged to workmen of the right side throughout much of the 20th Dynasty. The marks are no longer recorded together on the right side on O. BM 5642 and associated pieces, but they were still in use at the time. The ostrakon therefore probably dates to the first half of the 20th Dynasty but a later date cannot be excluded.

APPENDIX II. HAND-COPIES OF PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED OSTRACA WITH MARK.

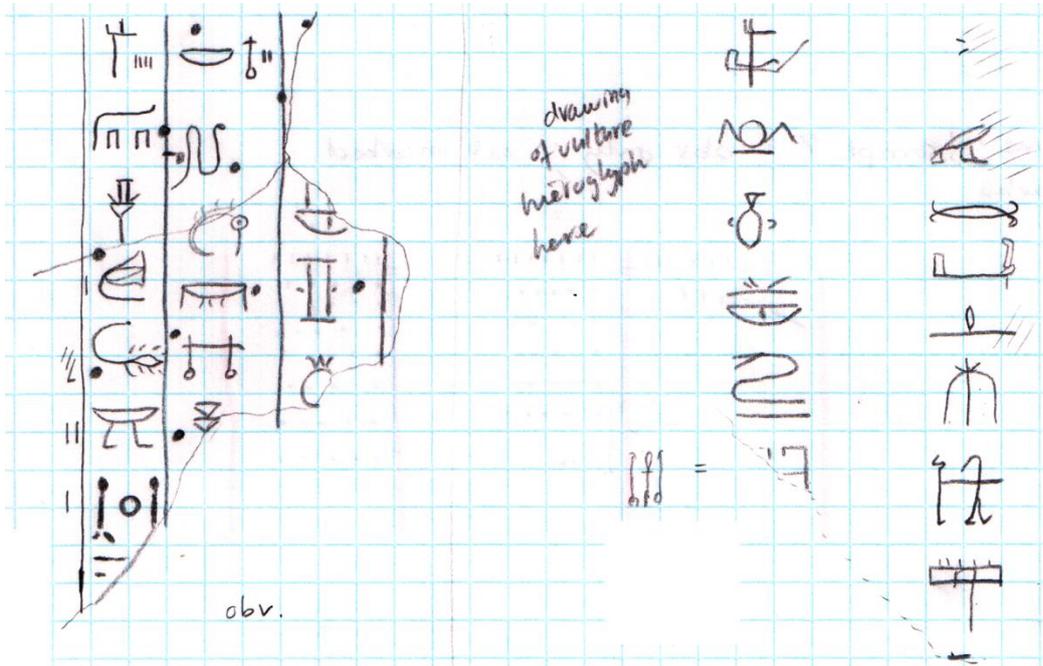
This appendix contains images hand-copies made by the author (unless otherwise indicated) in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (University College London), the Egyptian Museum in Turin, and the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology in Cairo.

Two words of caution are required. Firstly, not every drawing is complete. Time was limited at the moment the ostraca were examined. In order to work as efficiently as possible, some very well preserved ostraca with well discernable marks were not copied, or only partly. The copies of the ostraca inscribed with duty and delivery rosters from the 20th Dynasty are particularly incomplete. For these documents the reader is advised to consult the ‘Symbolizing Identity’ Online Database as well as Appendix III.

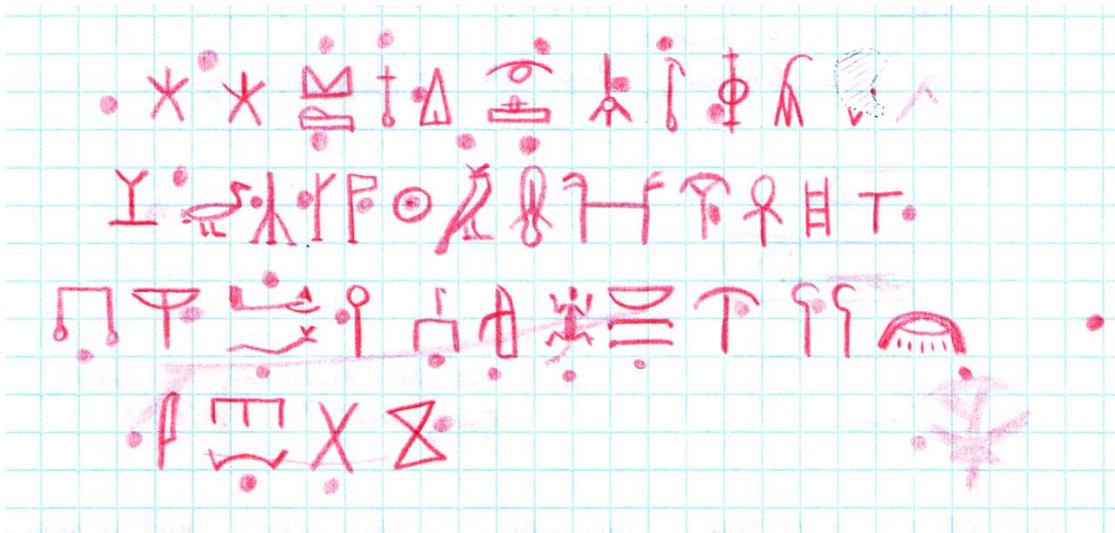
Secondly, the hand-copies are interpretations of the ostraca made prior to the completion of this work. The interpretation of some ostraca may have changed after digitally enhancing photos of the ostraca and comparison with other ostraca with marks. There may therefore be copies of ostraca that do not completely agree with their description in the main text.

OSTRACA IN THE COLLECTION OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE FOR ORIENTAL
ARCHAEOLOGY IN CAIRO

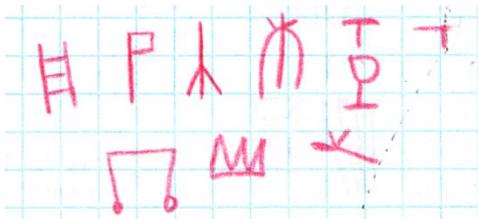
OL 170



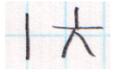
OL 6788



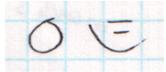
OL 6789



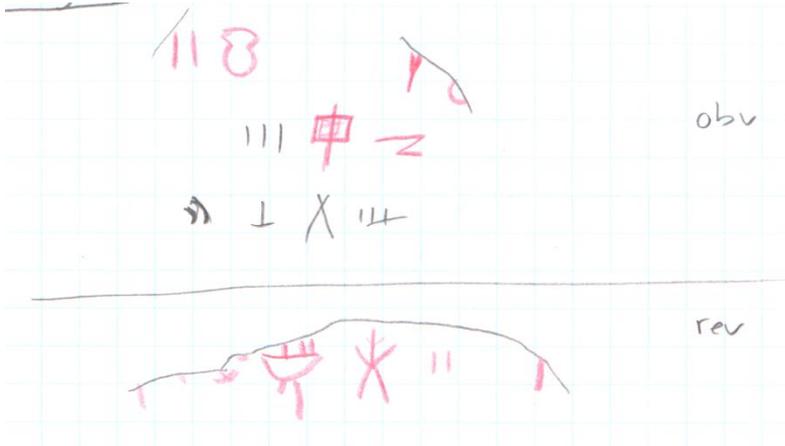
ONL 198



ONL 233



ONL 296



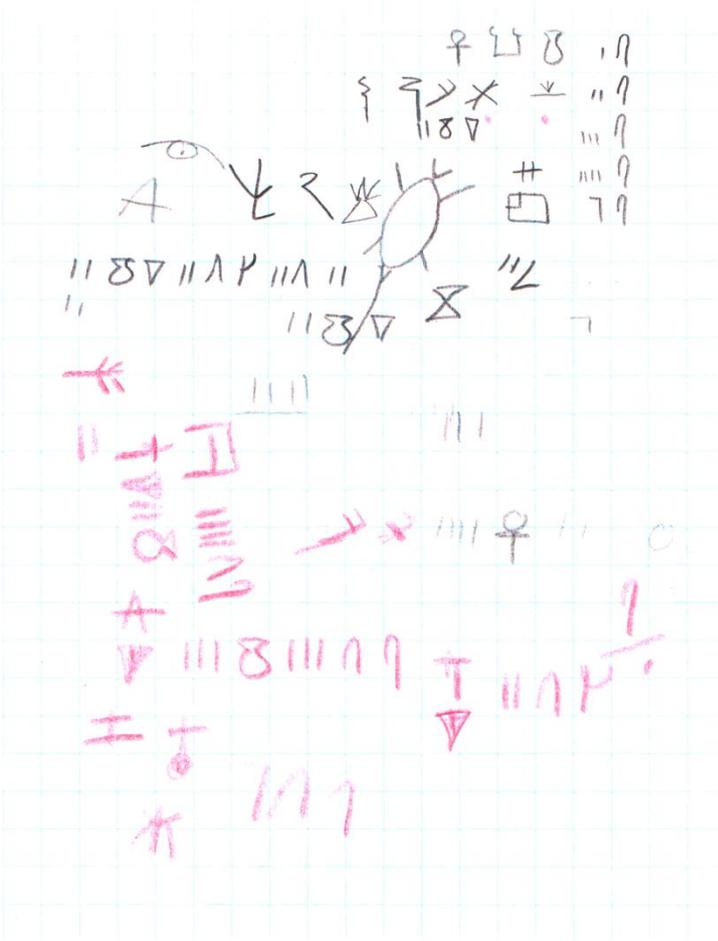
118 申 2 14

obv

118 申 2 14

rev

ONL 298 obverse



ONL 299 obverse

obv,

⌒ " " 7 ? " " " 0 † ▢ ± = 9

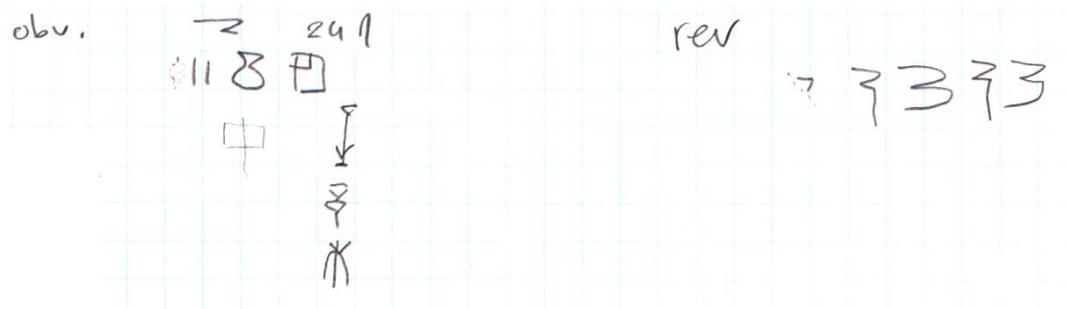
⌒ 8 ▢ ▽ = 9 9

± ▢ 26
 ▽ 9 9
 1

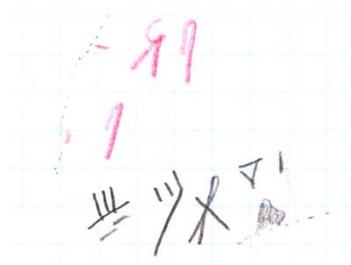
AA	21
y	22
X	23
⌒	24
▢	25

7 † = ? AA 8 8 8
 ? ▢ X

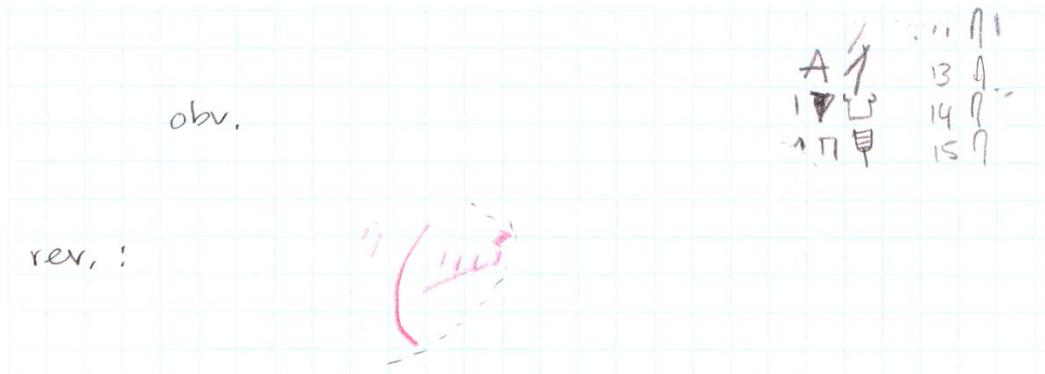
ONL 303



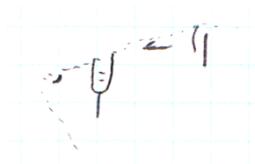
ONL 304



ONL 305



ONL 306

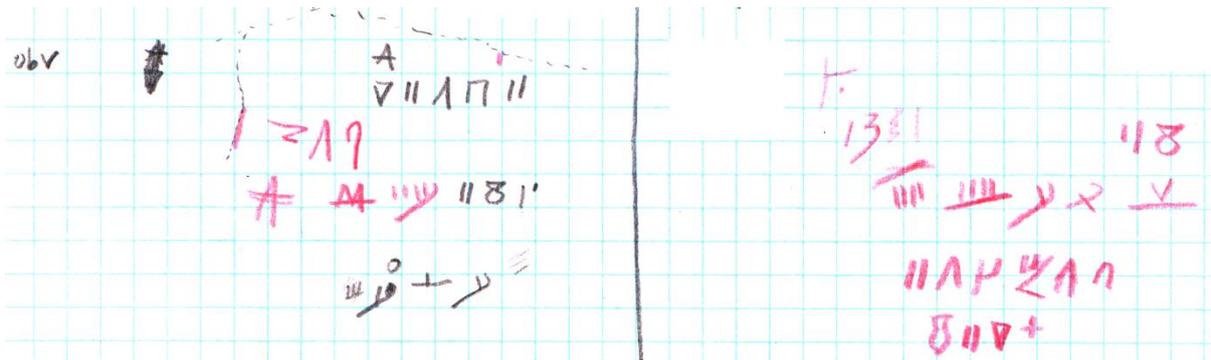


APPENDIX II

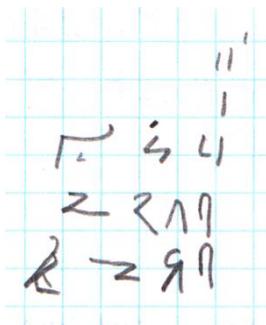
ONL 307



ONL 308



ONL 309



ONL 310

Handwritten notes on grid paper for ONL 310. The top section contains several lines of symbols, some in red ink, including a circled '8', a '7', and various vertical bars and lines. A horizontal line is drawn across the page. Below the line, there is a calculation: $III = 19$ followed by a female symbol. To the left, there are red symbols including a lambda symbol and a delta symbol. To the right, there is a vertical list of symbols with dots, including a lambda symbol, a delta symbol, and a female symbol.

ONL 311

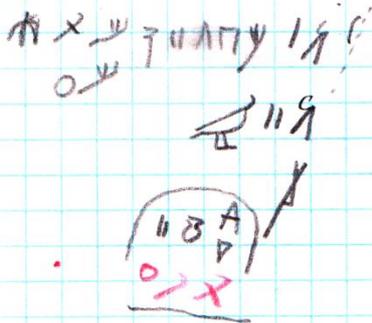
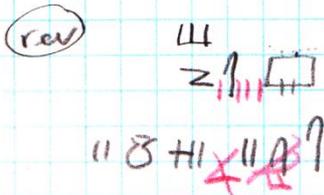
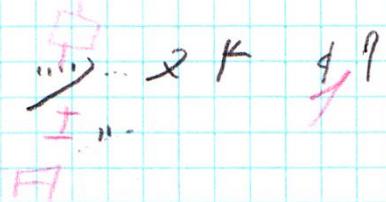
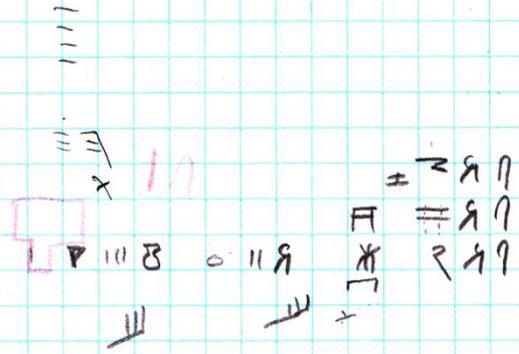
Handwritten notes on grid paper for ONL 311. It shows a vertical stack of symbols: a '7' with a horizontal bar, a lambda symbol with a horizontal bar, and a delta symbol with a horizontal bar. To the right of these are the numbers '110' and '112' written in red ink.

ONL 312

Handwritten notes on grid paper for ONL 312. The left side is labeled 'obv.' and shows a horizontal line of symbols. The right side is labeled 'rev' and shows a vertical list of symbols. At the bottom, there is an equation: $III = 19$ followed by a female symbol.

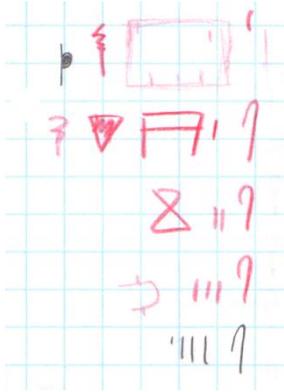
ONL 313

~~ZZZ~~
obv.
traces
of red
= palimps?



9 111 damage

ONL 320



ONL 323



ONL 325

Handwritten mathematical notes on a grid background. The notes include various symbols, numbers, and equations, some written in red ink. The symbols are a mix of Greek letters and numbers, often with multiple vertical lines above them. The text is organized into several distinct sections:

- Top Left:** $\Sigma \Lambda P = \dots$ and ΨA with a red $\rho = \dots$.
- Top Right:** A complex set of symbols including $\times \Delta \gamma$, $\Lambda \Sigma \Lambda \eta$, $\chi \rho$, and Φ .
- Middle:** A central section with a red $\#$ and a boxed \square , followed by several lines of symbols like Ψ , χ , and ρ .
- Bottom Left:** A section with symbols like Ψ , δ , Λ , and η , and a table-like structure with columns of symbols.
- Bottom Right:** A section with symbols like ρ , η , and $\Lambda \eta$.

ONL 326

Handwritten notes on a grid background. On the left, under the label "obv", there are several lines of symbols: a vertical line with a dot, a horizontal line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, and a vertical line with a dot. On the right, under the label "rev", there are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a dot, a horizontal line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, and a vertical line with a dot.

ONL 329

Handwritten notes on a grid background. The symbols are arranged in three rows. The first row contains a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, and a vertical line with a dot. The second row contains a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, and a vertical line with a dot. The third row contains a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, and a vertical line with a dot.

ONL 330

Handwritten notes on a grid background. On the left, under the label "obv", there are several lines of symbols: a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, and a vertical line with a dot. On the right, under the label "rev", there are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a dot, a horizontal line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, a vertical line with a dot, and a vertical line with a dot.

ONL 333

ONL 333 obr.

Handwritten symbols in red ink, including a square with a vertical line and a circle with a horizontal line, and the character '中'.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar, underlined.

obr.

Handwritten red symbol: a vertical line with a horizontal bar.

Handwritten red symbol: a vertical line with a horizontal bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbol: a vertical line with a horizontal bar.

Handwritten red symbols: a vertical line with a horizontal bar, followed by a vertical line and a vertical bar.

Handwritten red symbol: a vertical line with a horizontal bar.

ONL 337

ubv

Handwritten notes on grid paper for ONL 337. The notes include:

- Top right: $\pm \delta \leq ?$, $118 \pi = 1$, $74 \downarrow 118 \downarrow$
- Middle left: 759 , $0511 \dots$, 247
- Bottom left: rev , a list of numbers: 27 , 20 , 25 , 30 , and 0 . Symbols like π , ∞ , π , π , π , π are written next to the numbers. A bracket on the right groups these numbers and is labeled "red".
- Bottom left diagram: A diagram showing a horizontal line with a vertical tick mark on the left. Below the line, there are two curved arrows pointing right, one above the other, with some scribbles underneath.

ONL 338

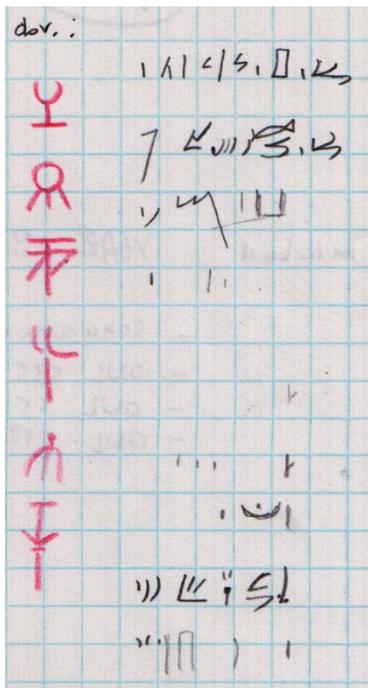
Handwritten notes on grid paper for ONL 338. The notes include:

- Top: $8 \pi \pi \pi \pi$ with a question mark and a horizontal line above it.
- Middle: $11 \pi \pi \pi \pi$
- Bottom left: $11 \pi \pi$ with a vertical line and a small symbol below it.
- Bottom middle: $1 \pi \pi$, $1 \pi \pi$, and 1π arranged vertically.

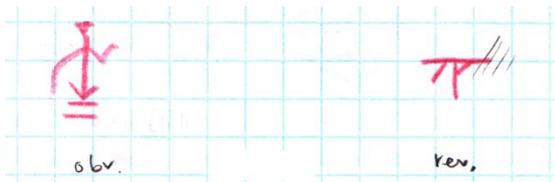
The image shows handwritten mathematical notes on a light blue grid background. The notes are organized into several sections:

- Top Left:** A diagram with a circle containing a cross-like symbol, with arrows pointing to it from the left and right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross, and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.
- Top Center:** A symbol resembling a theta (θ) with an arrow pointing to the right, followed by the number 211.
- Top Right:** A circled diagram with a cross-like symbol and arrows, with the number 4 written to its right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.
- Middle Left:** A diagram with a vertical line and a cross, with arrows pointing to it from the left and right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.
- Middle Center:** A diagram with a vertical line and a cross, with arrows pointing to it from the left and right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.
- Middle Right:** A diagram with a vertical line and a cross, with arrows pointing to it from the left and right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.
- Bottom Left:** A diagram with a vertical line and a cross, with arrows pointing to it from the left and right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.
- Bottom Center:** A diagram with a vertical line and a cross, with arrows pointing to it from the left and right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.
- Bottom Right:** A diagram with a vertical line and a cross, with arrows pointing to it from the left and right. Below it are several lines of symbols, including a vertical line with a cross and a set of three horizontal lines with a vertical line intersecting them.

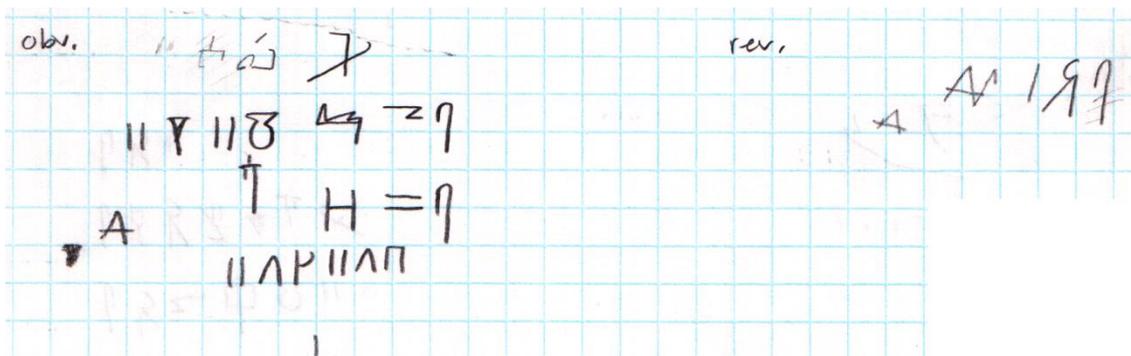
ONL 411



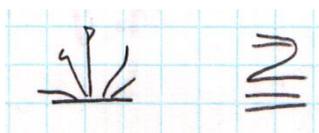
ONL 432



ONL 447



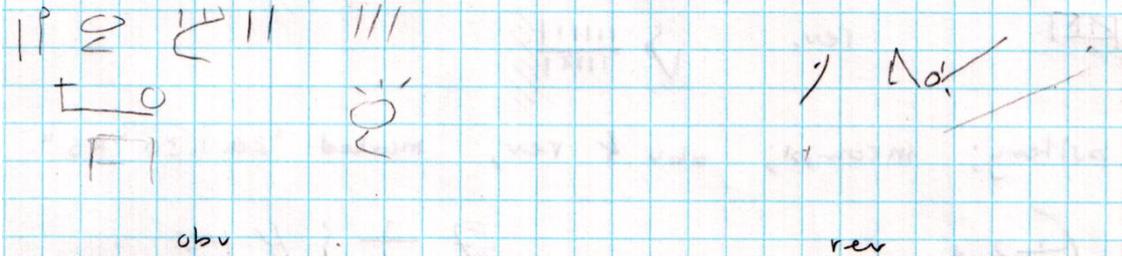
ONL 533



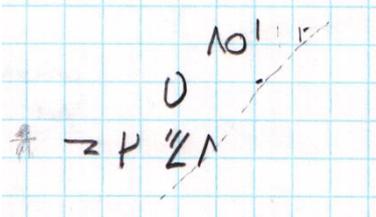
ONL 578



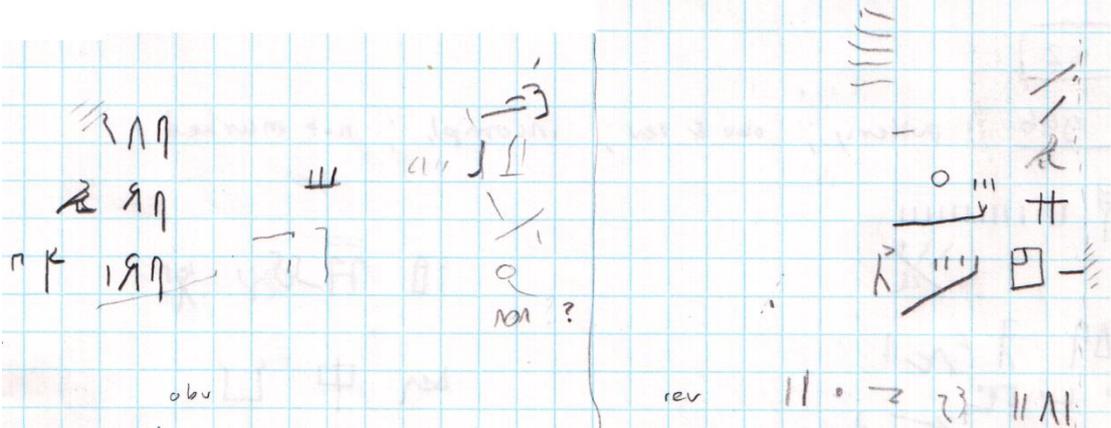
ONL 611



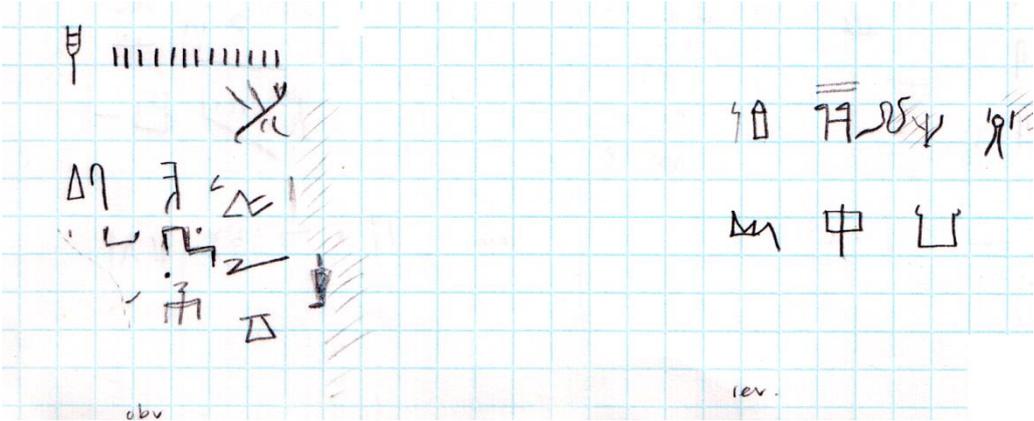
ONL 613



ONL 691



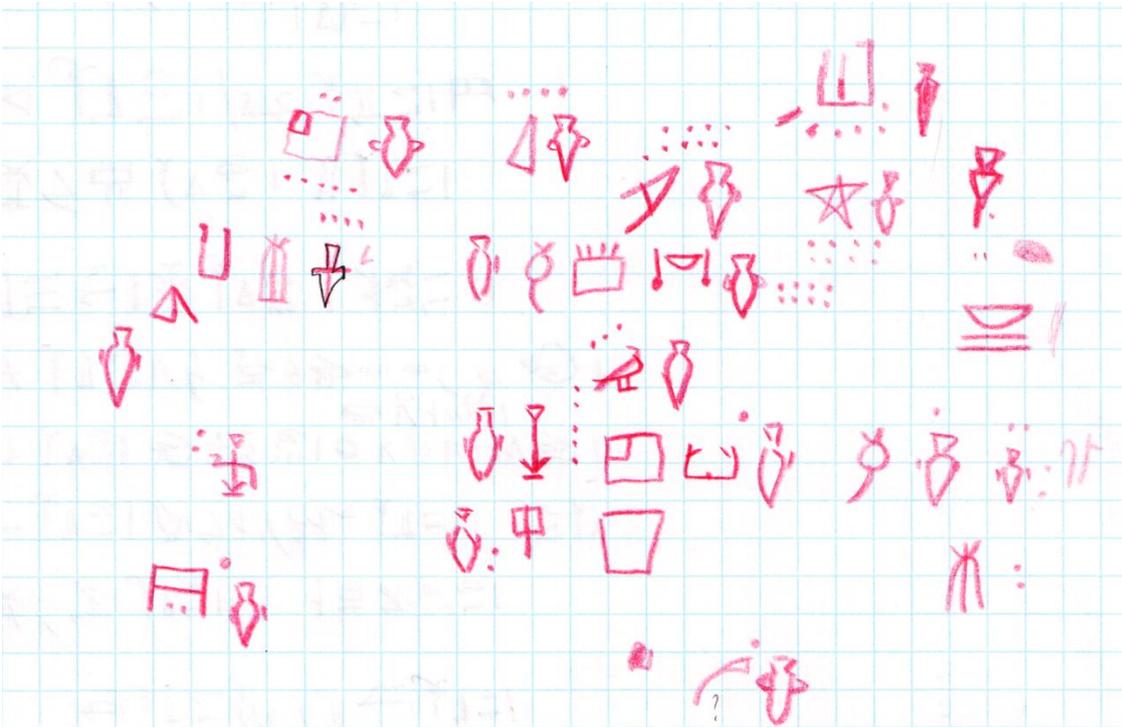
ONL 946



ONL 1066



ONL 1314



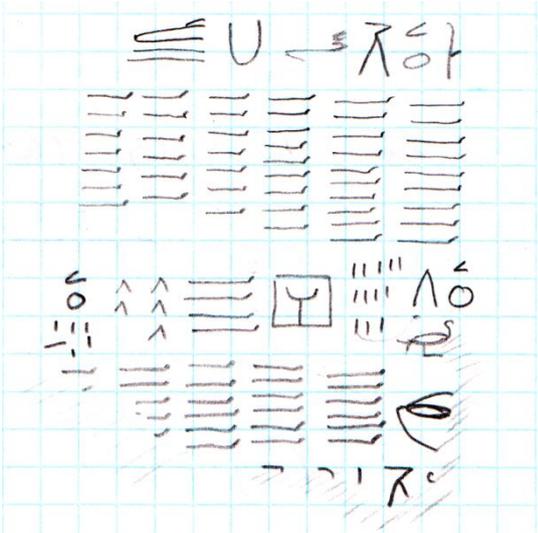
ONL 1371

1. 11 1/2 1/2
 2. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 3. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 4. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 5. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 6. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 7. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 8. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 9. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 10. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 11. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 12. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 13. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 14. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 15. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 16. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 17. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
 18. 1 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2
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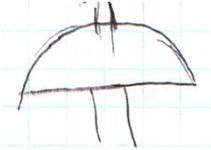
ONL 1383

1. 1 1/2 1/2
 2. 1 1/2 1/2

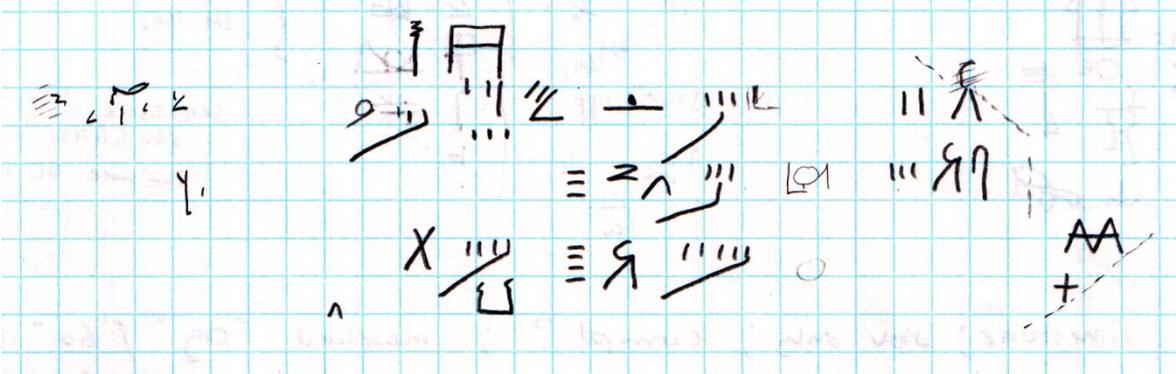
ONL 1409



ONL 1527



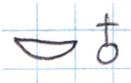
ONL 1639



ONL 1677

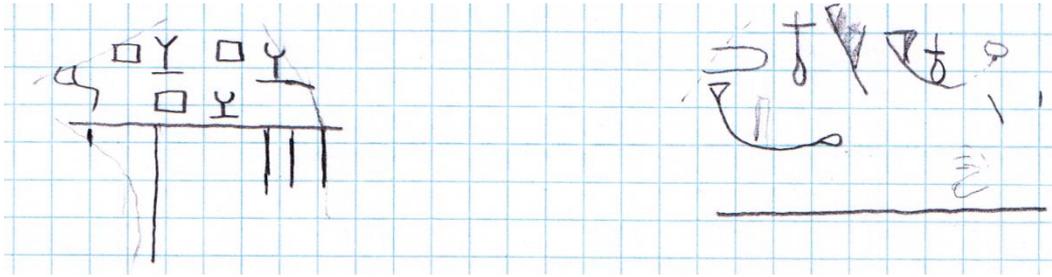


ONL 6190

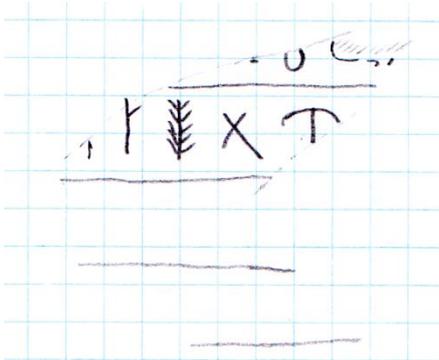


APPENDIX II

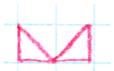
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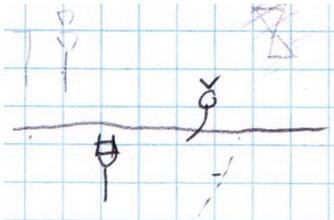
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ONL 6198



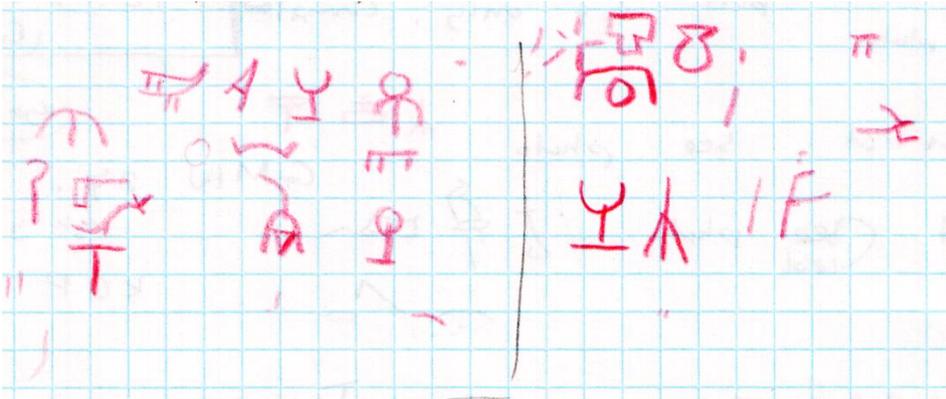
ONL 6199



ONL 6202



ONL 6203



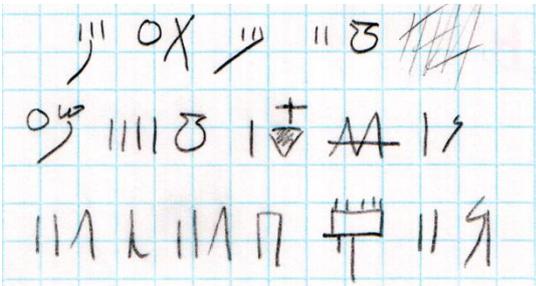
ONL 6206



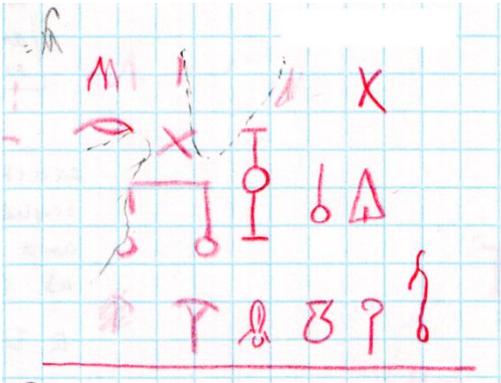
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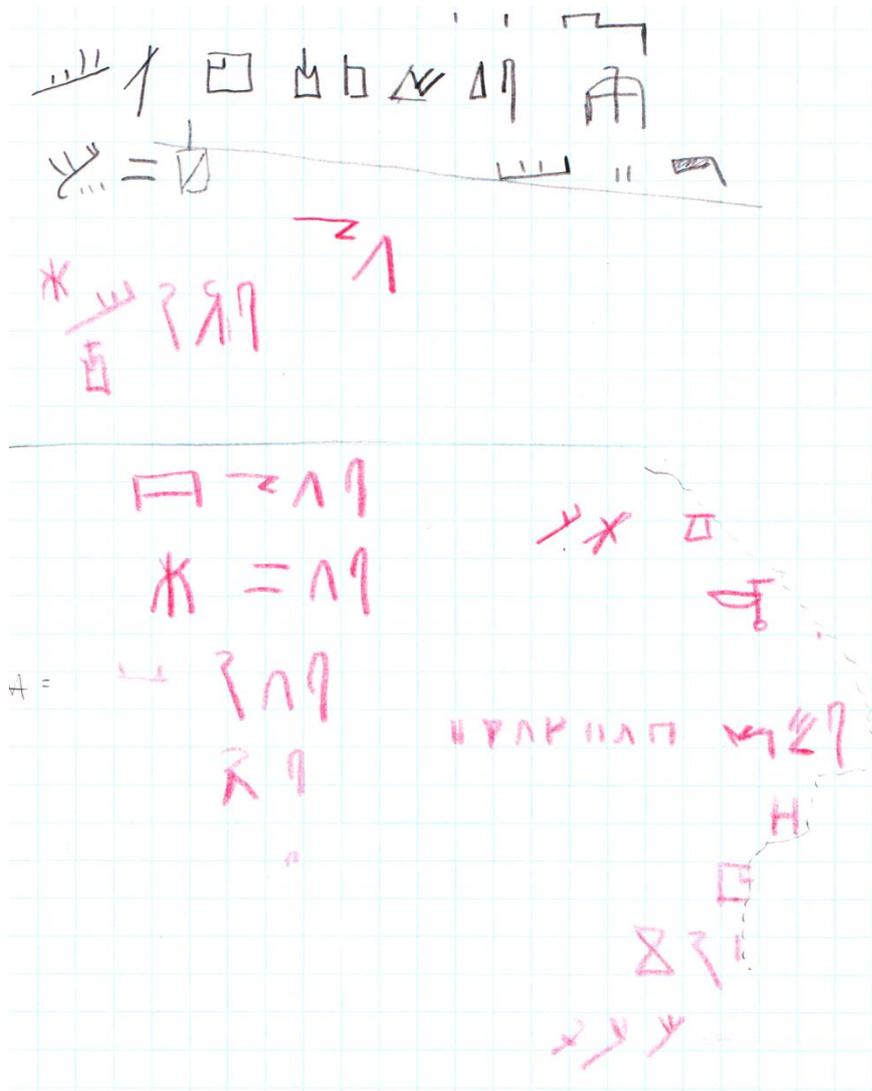
ONL 6208



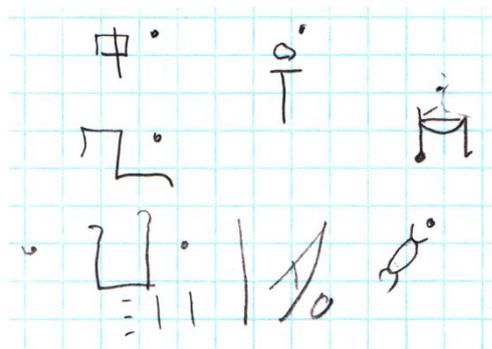
ONL 6210



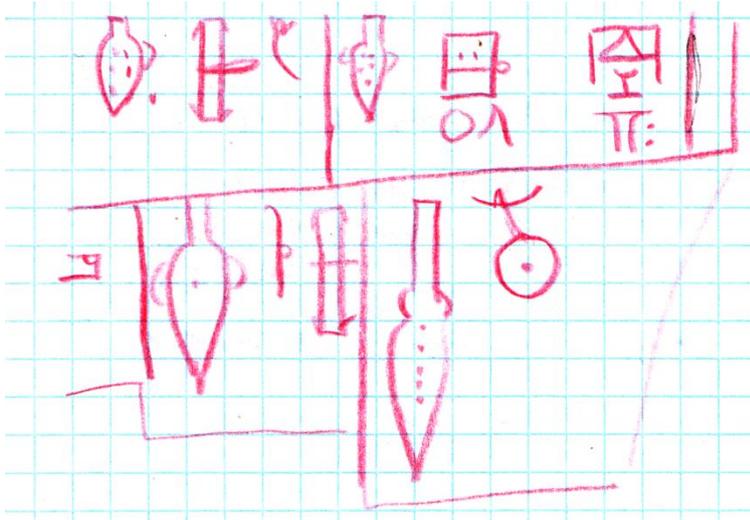
ONL 6219



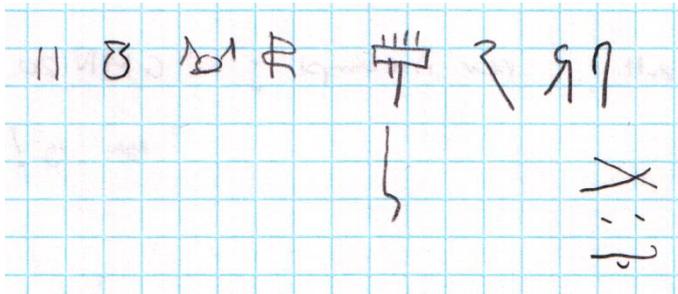
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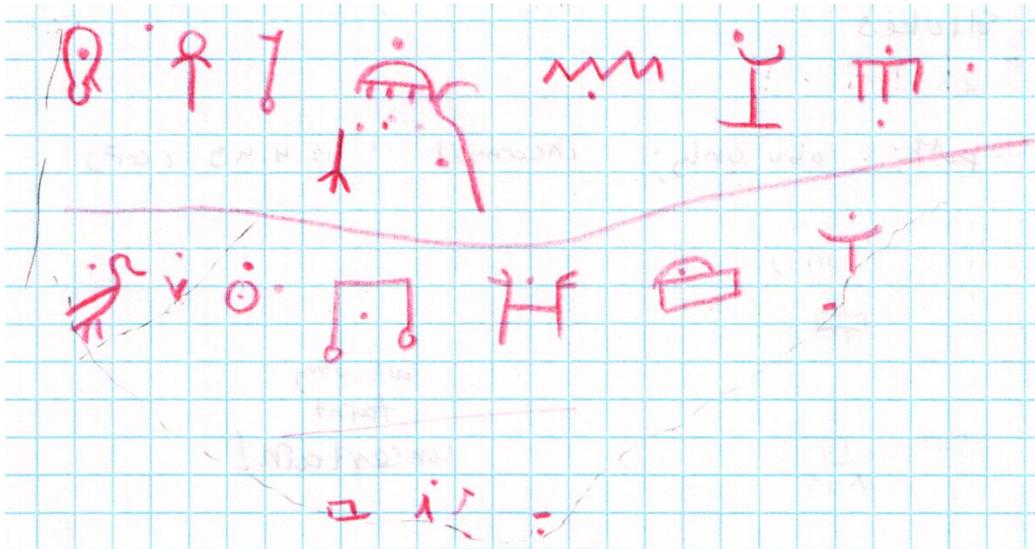
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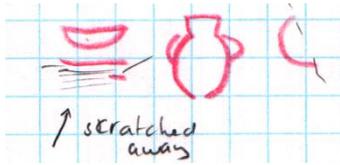
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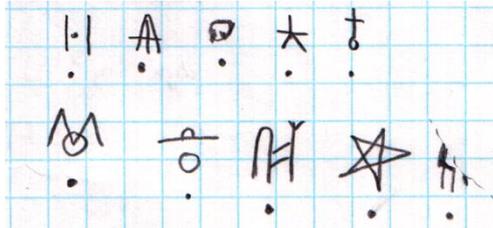
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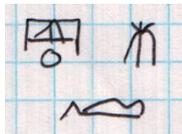
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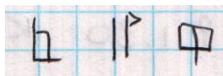
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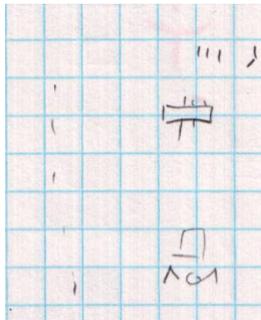
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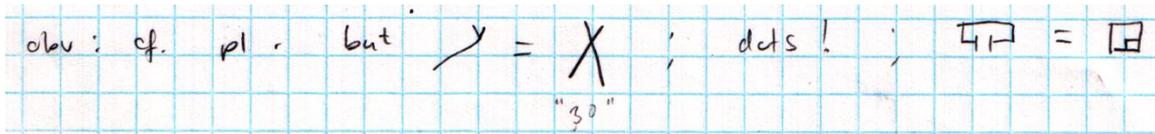
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ONL 6230



ONL 6232

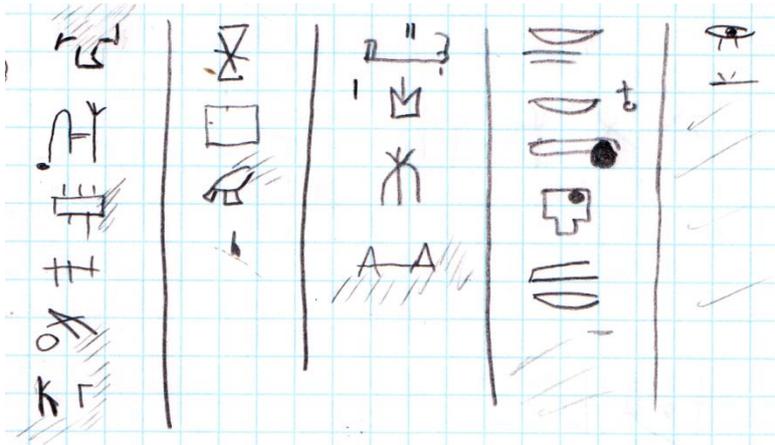


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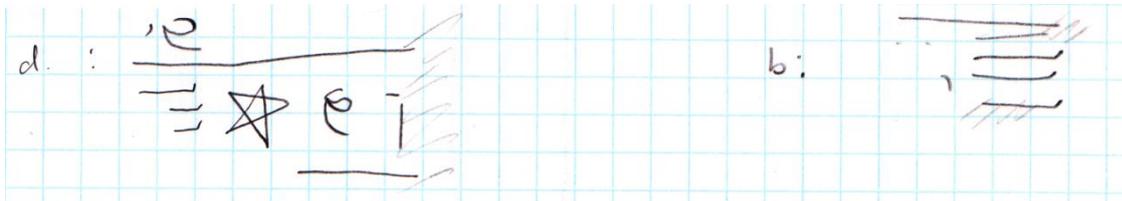
rev

$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$
 $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{9}$
 $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{16}$
 $\frac{1}{5} \frac{1}{5} = \frac{1}{25}$
 $\frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{6} = \frac{1}{36}$
 $\frac{1}{7} \frac{1}{7} = \frac{1}{49}$
 $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8} = \frac{1}{64}$
 $\frac{1}{9} \frac{1}{9} = \frac{1}{81}$
 $\frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10} = \frac{1}{100}$

ONL 6241



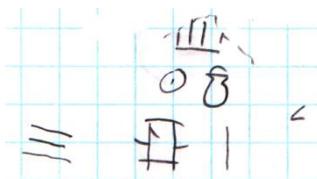
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ONL 6243



ONL 6245

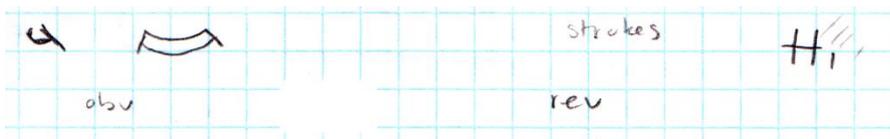


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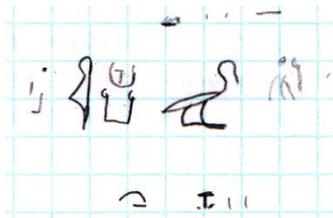


APPENDIX II

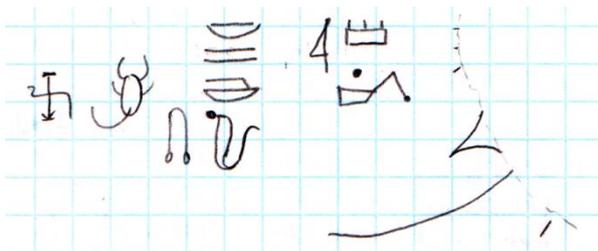
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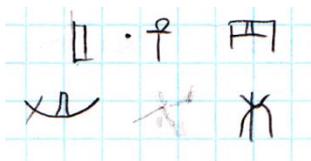
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ONL 6250



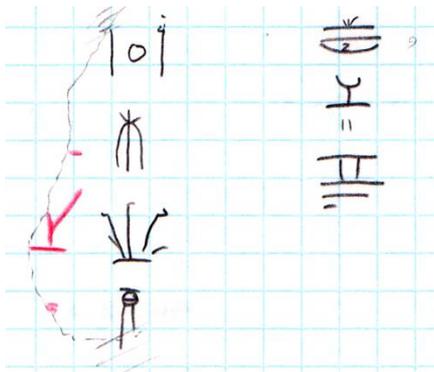
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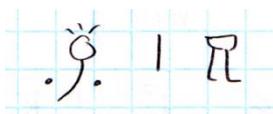
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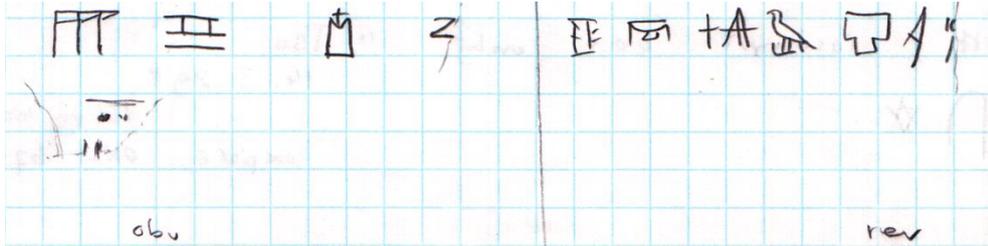
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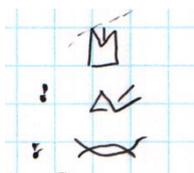
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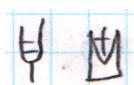
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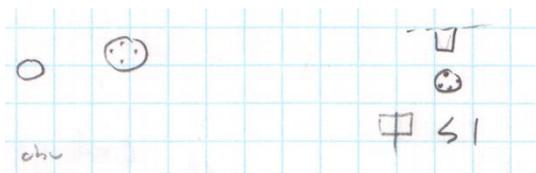
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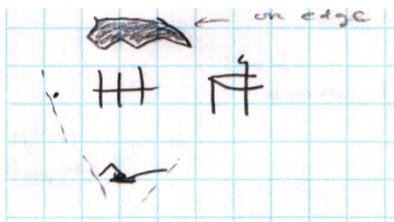


ONL 6258



APPENDIX II

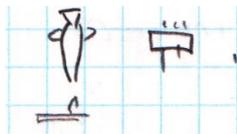
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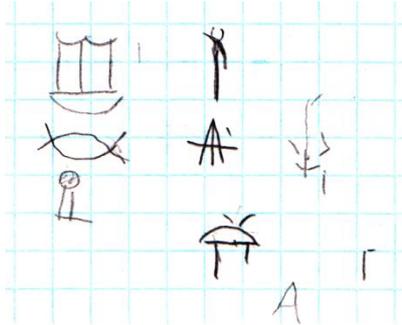
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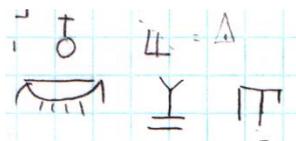
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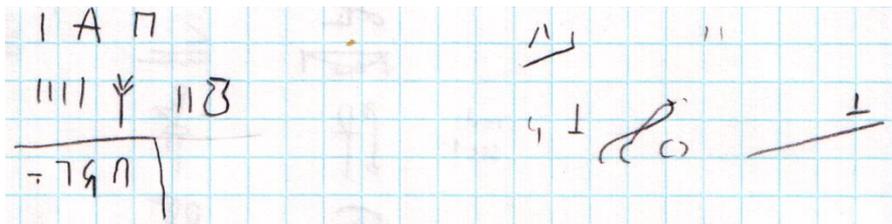
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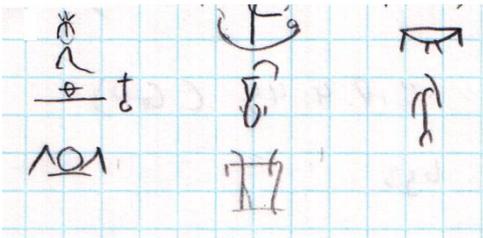
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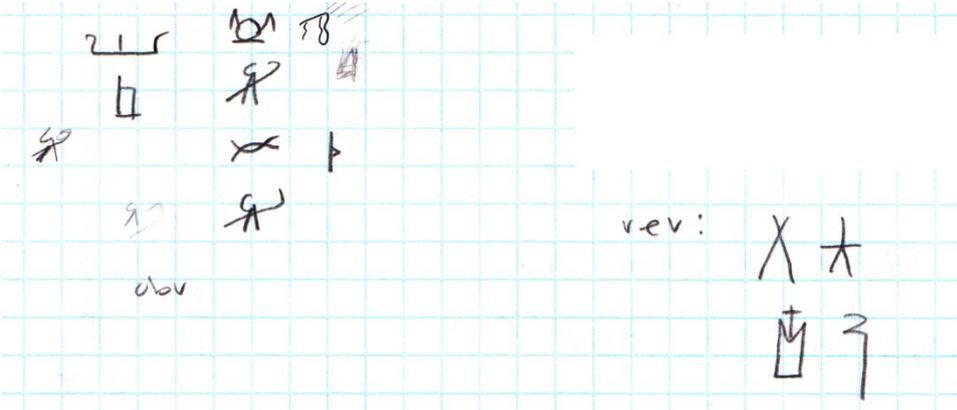
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ONL 6268



ONL 6269



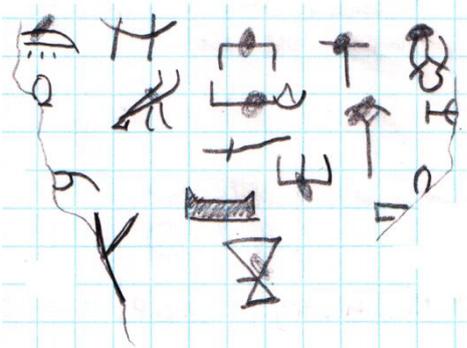
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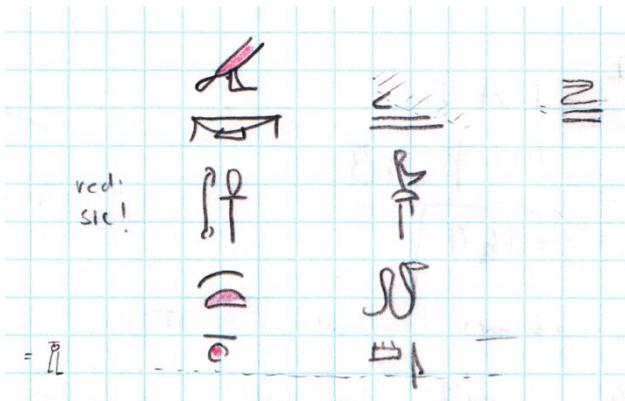
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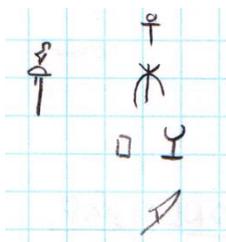
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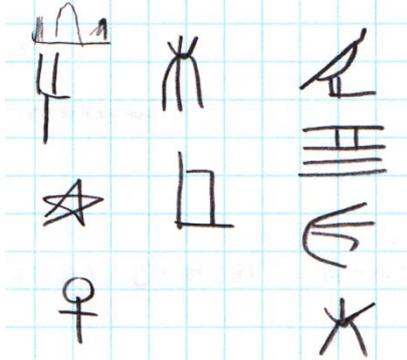
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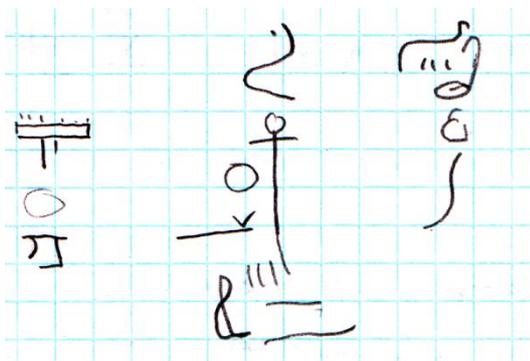
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ONL 6275



ONL 6276



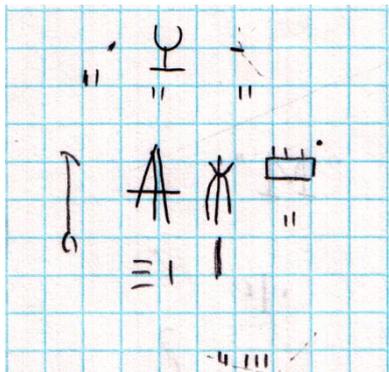
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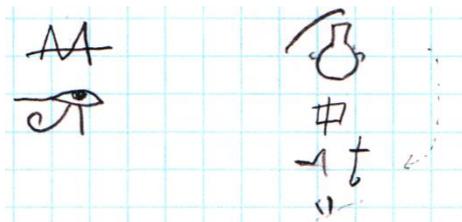
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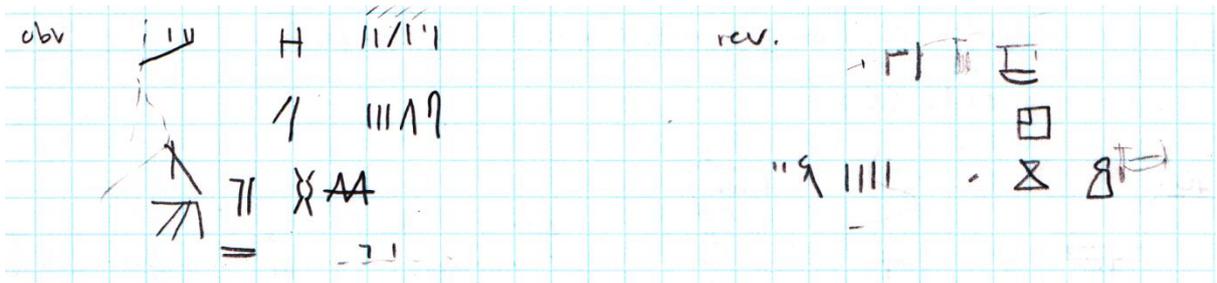
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ONL 6283

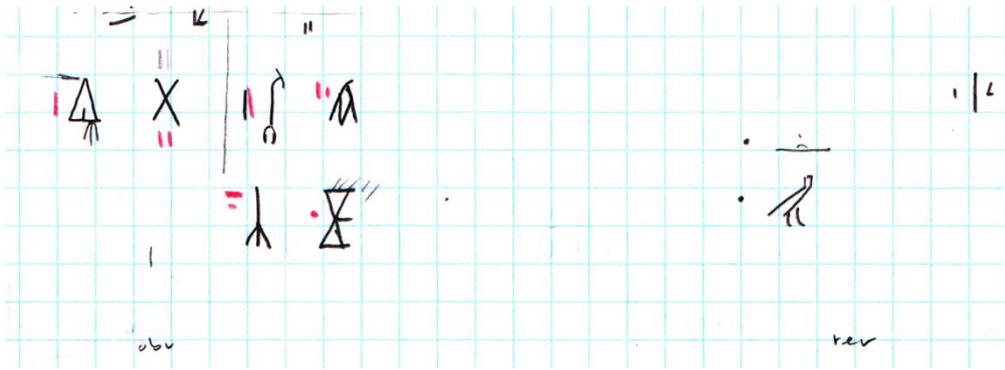


ONL 6284



APPENDIX II

ONL 6287



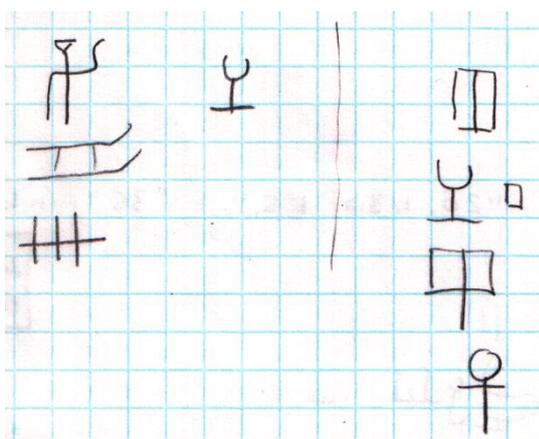
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ONL 6290



ONL 6292



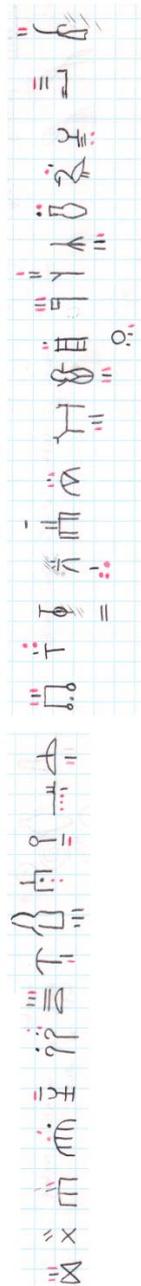
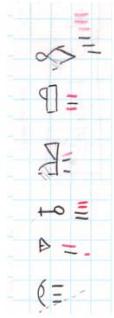
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clw

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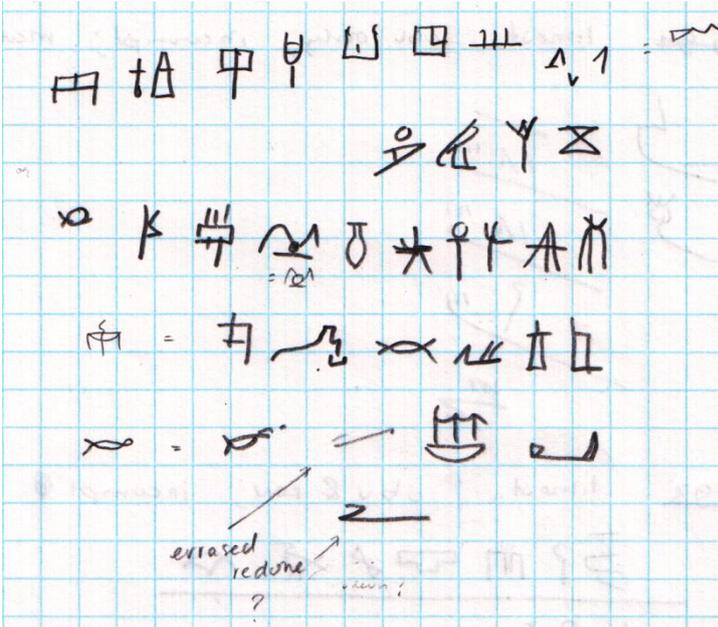
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ONL 6298



22

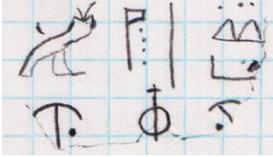
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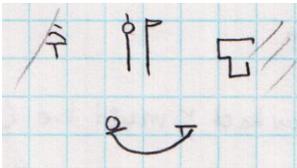
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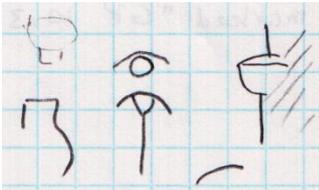
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ONL 6306

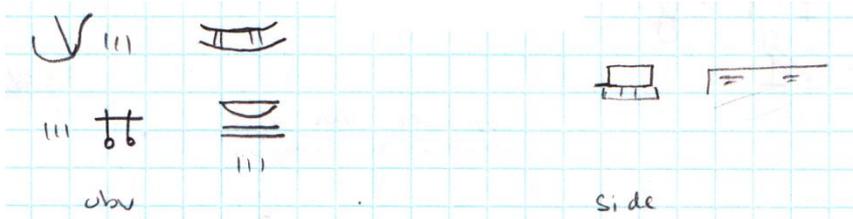


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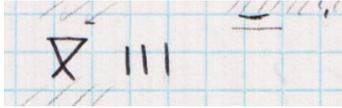


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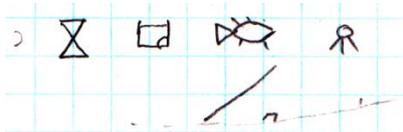
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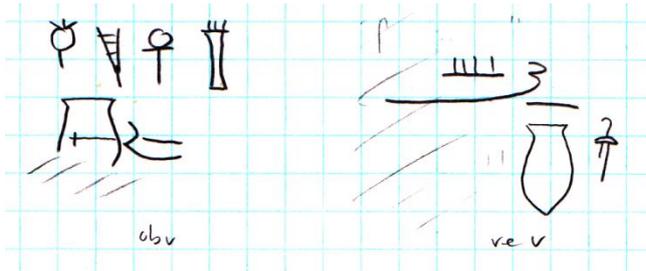
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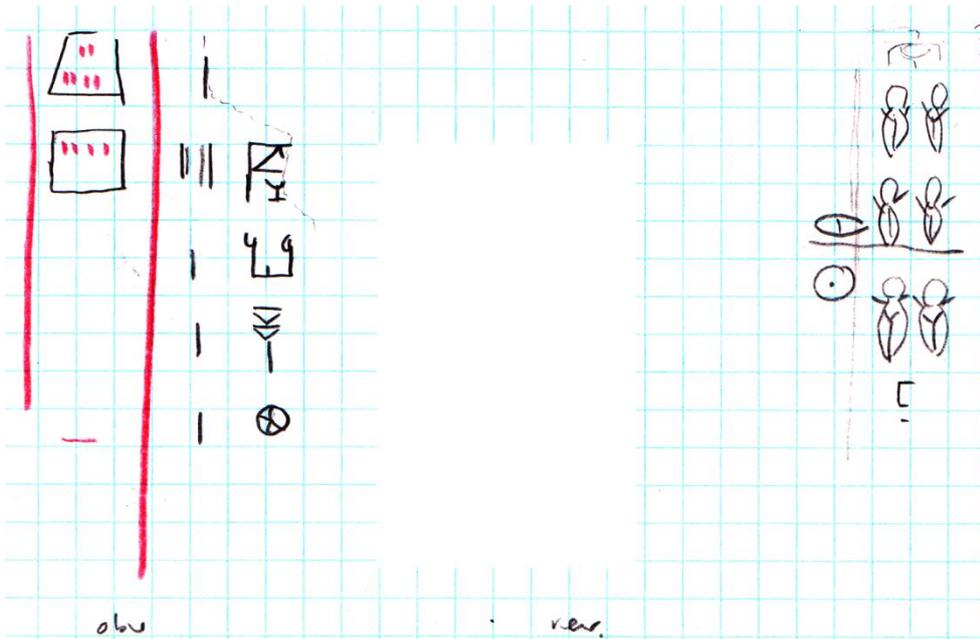
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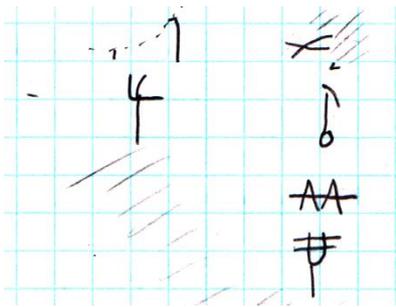
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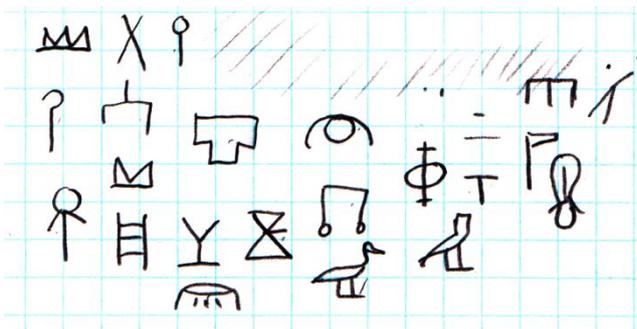
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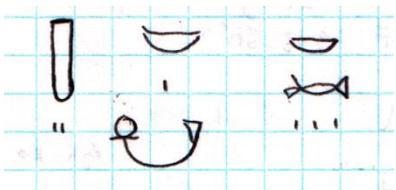
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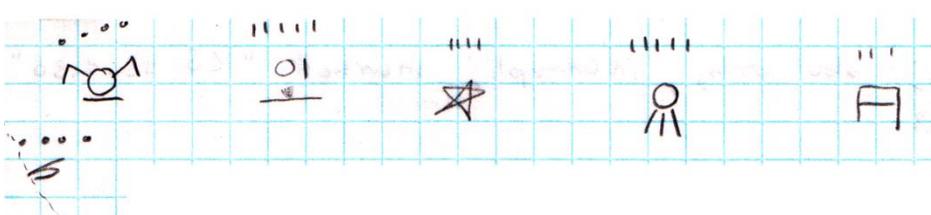
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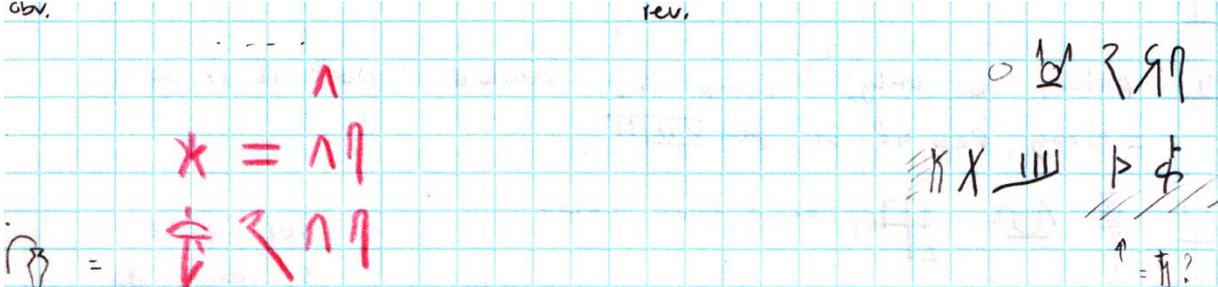
ONL 6318



ONL 6319

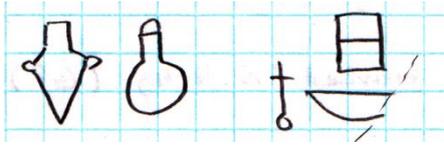


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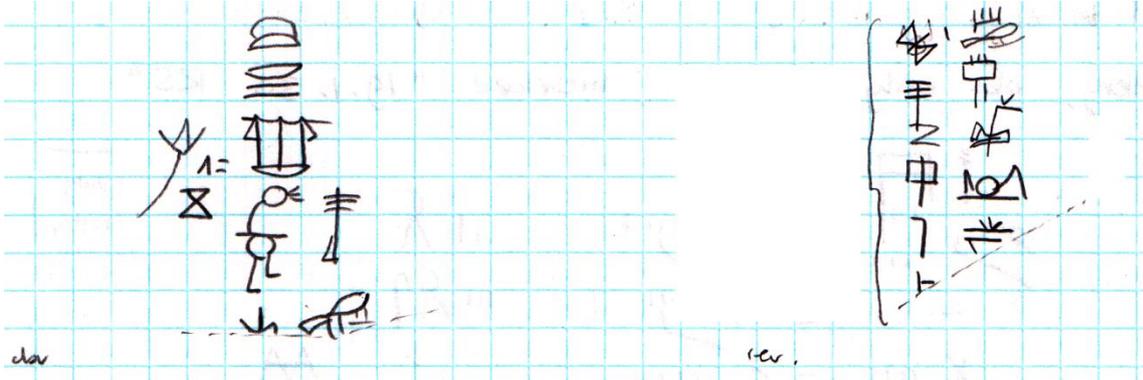


APPENDIX II

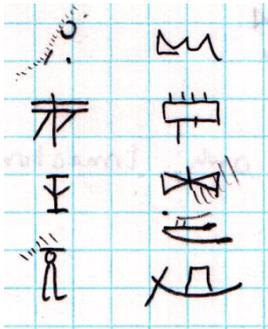
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ONL 6322



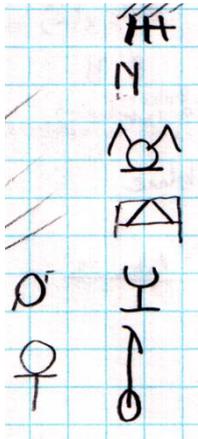
ONL 6323



ONL 6324



ONL 6325



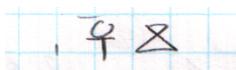
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ONL 6327



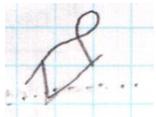
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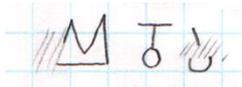
ONL 6329



ONL 6330



ONL 6331



ONL 6332



APPENDIX II

ONL 6333



ONL 6334



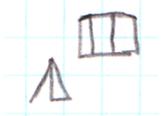
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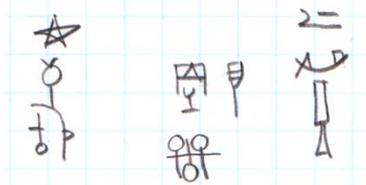
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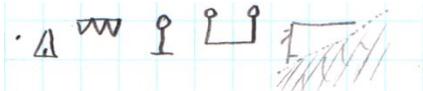
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ONL 6338



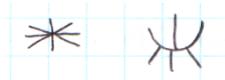
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ONL 6340



ONL 6341



ONL 6342



ONL 6343



ONL 6344



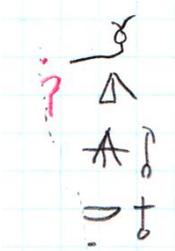
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ONL 6346



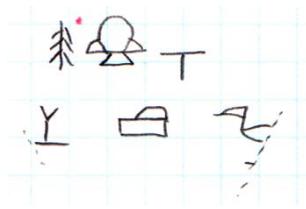
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ONL 6348



ONL 6349



ONL 6350



ONL 6351



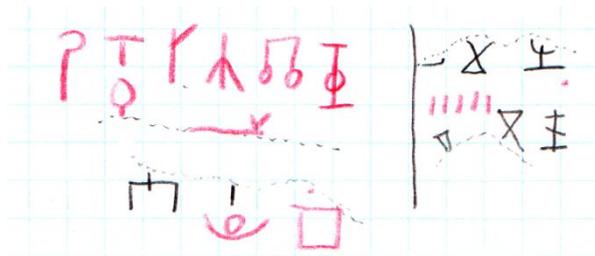
ONL 6352



ONL 6353



ONL 6354



ONL 6355



ONL 6356



ONL 6357



ONL 6358



ONL 6360



ONL 6361



ONL 6362



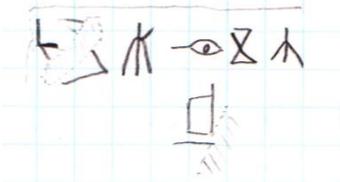
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ONL 6364

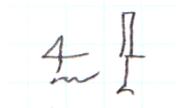


ONL 6365

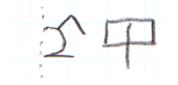


APPENDIX II

ONL 6366



ONL 6367



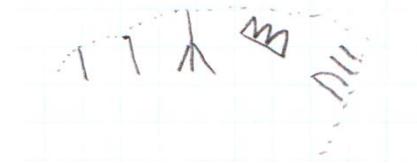
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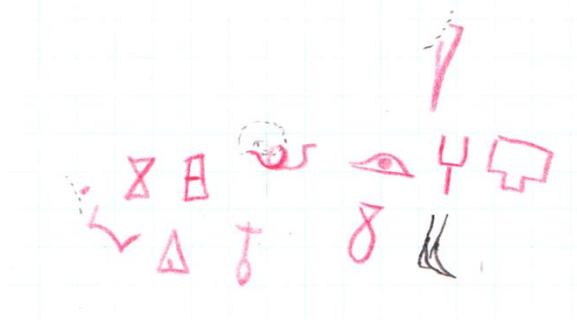
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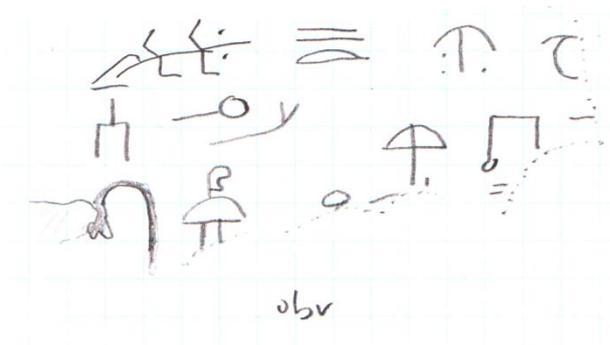
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ONL 6371



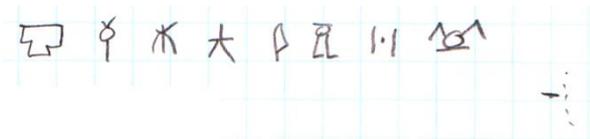
ONL 6372



ONL 6373



ONL 6374



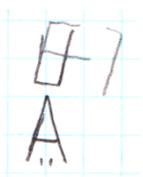
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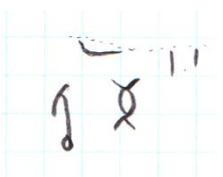
ONL 6376



ONL 6377



ONL 6378



APPENDIX II

ONL 6379



ONL 6380



ONL 6381



ONL 6382



ONL 6383



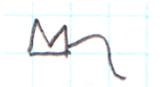
ONL 6384



ONL 6385



ONL 6386



ONL 6387



ONL 6388



ONL 6389



ONL 6390



ONL 6391



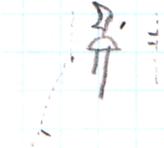
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ONL 6393



ONL 6394



ONL 6395

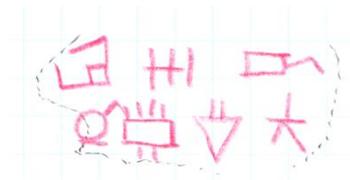


APPENDIX II

ONL 6396



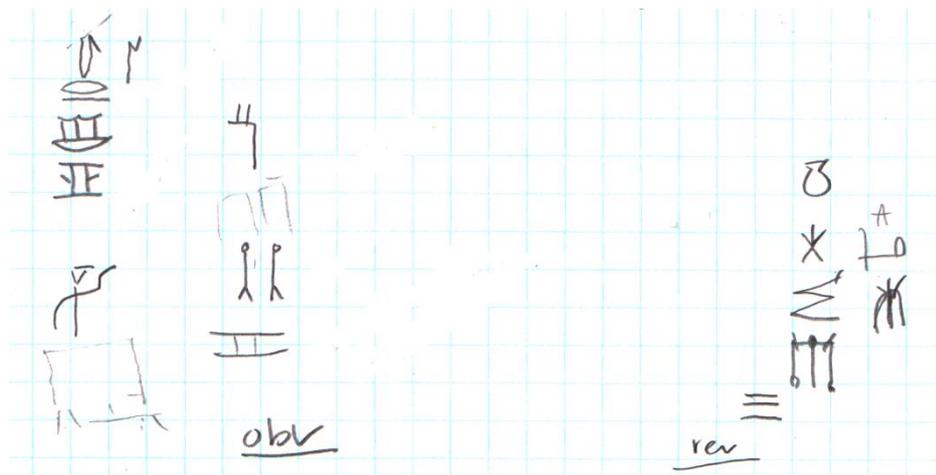
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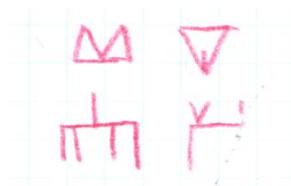
ONL 6398



ONL 6399



ONL 6400



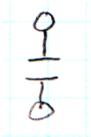
ONL 6401



ONL 6402



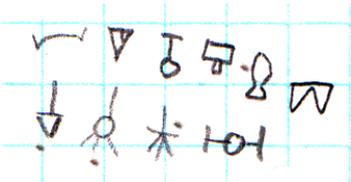
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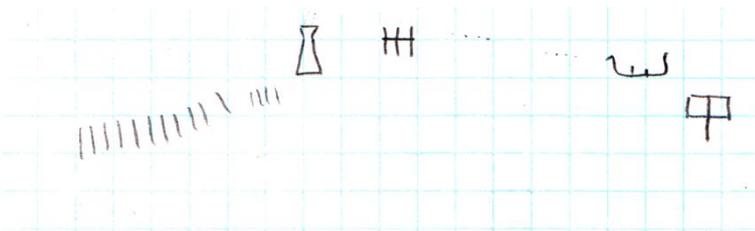
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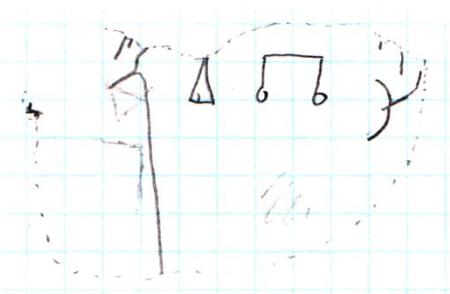
ONL 6405



ONL 6406



ONL 6407

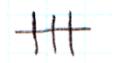


ONL 6408

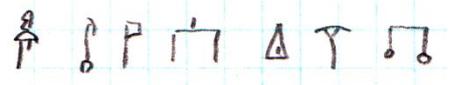


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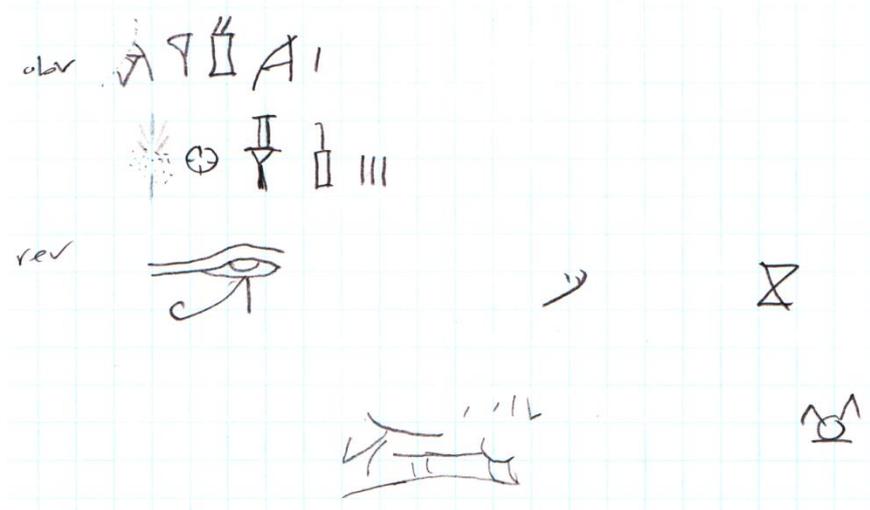
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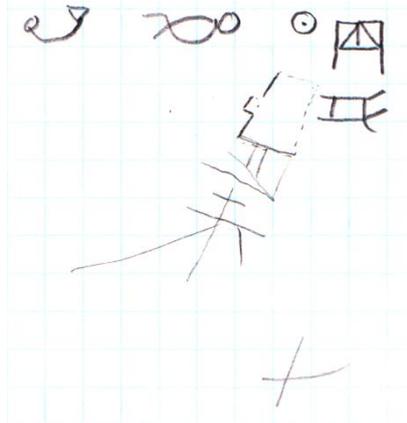
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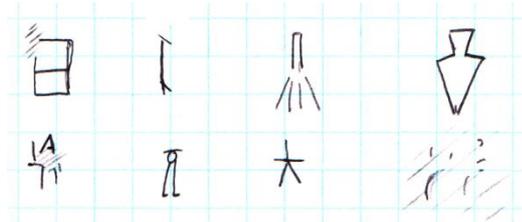
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ONL 6412



ONL 6413



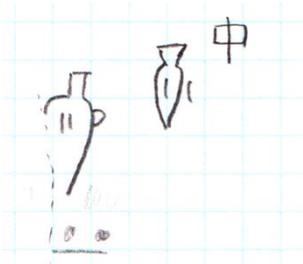
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ONL 6416



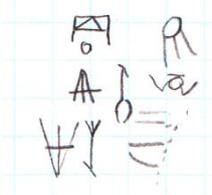
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ONL 6418

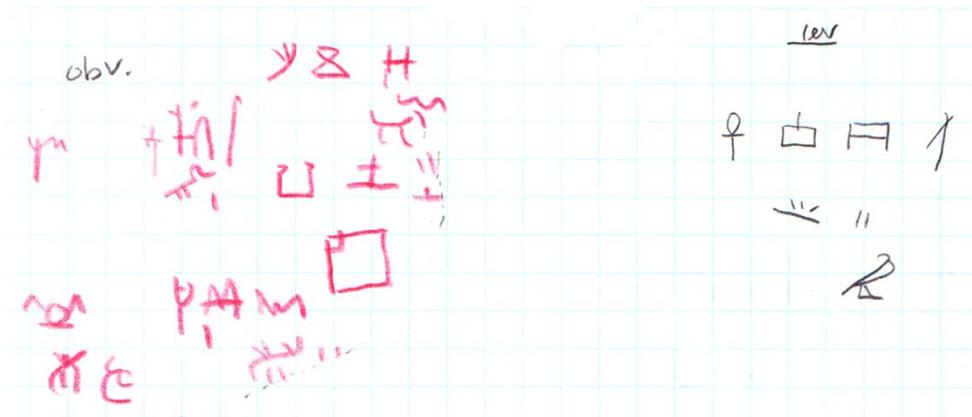


ONL 6419



APPENDIX II

ONL 6420



ONL 6421



ONL 6422



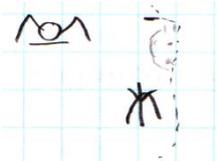
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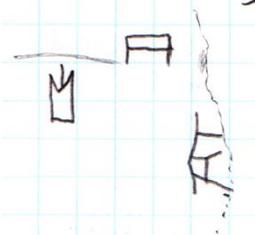
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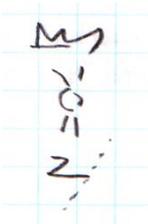
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ONL 6426



ONL 6427



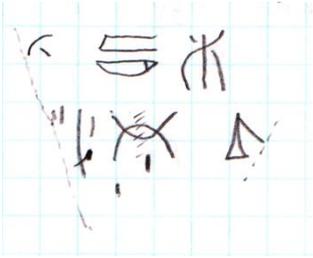
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ONL 6429



ONL 6430

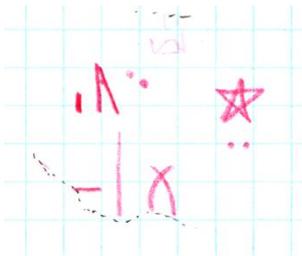


APPENDIX II

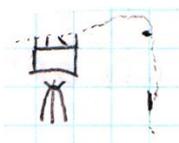
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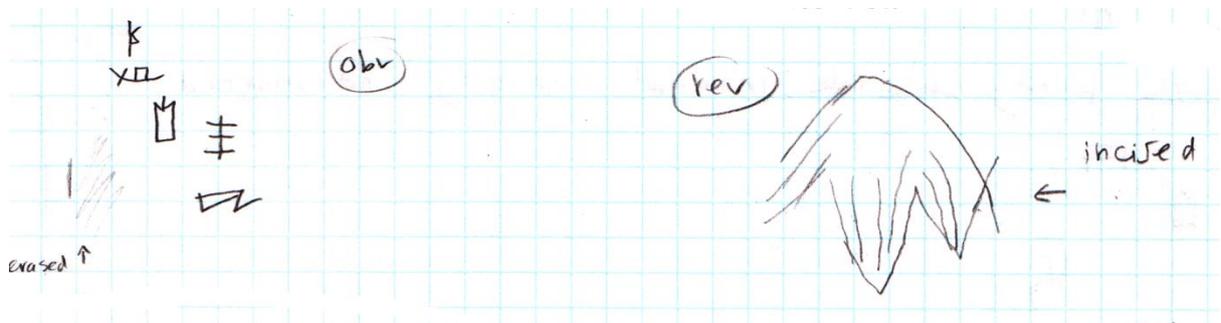
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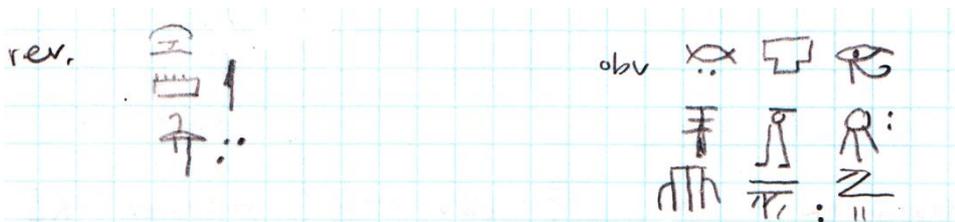
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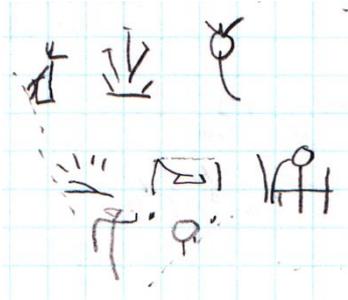
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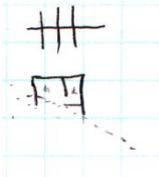
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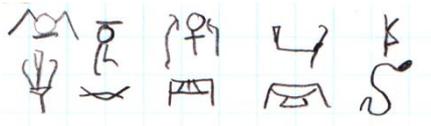
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ONL 6437



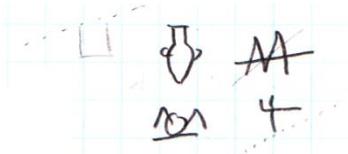
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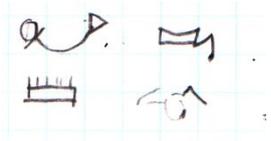
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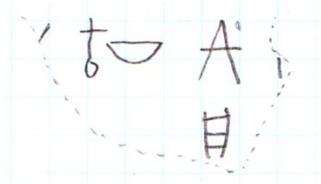
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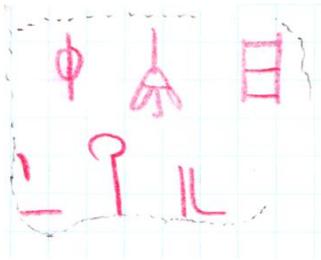
ONL 6441



ONL 6442



ONL 6443



ONL 6444



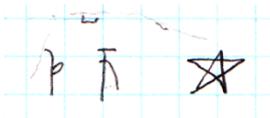
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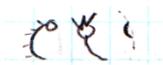
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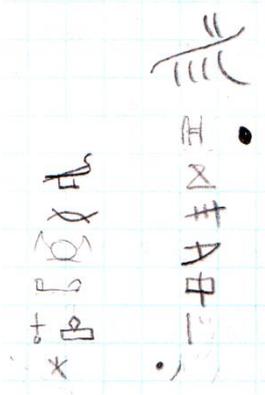
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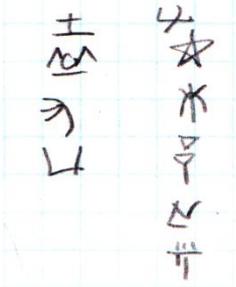
ONL 6448



ONL 6449



ONL 6450



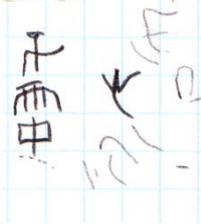
ONL 6451



ONL 6452



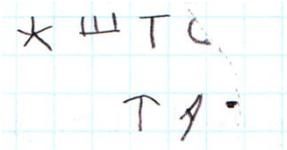
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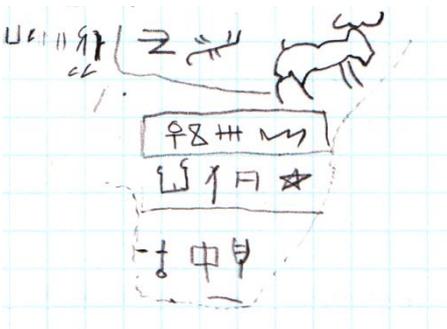
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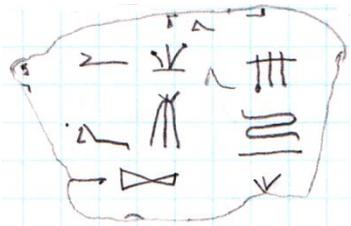
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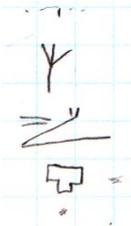
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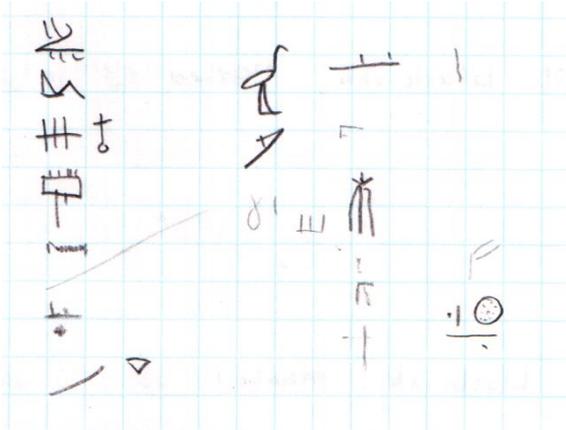
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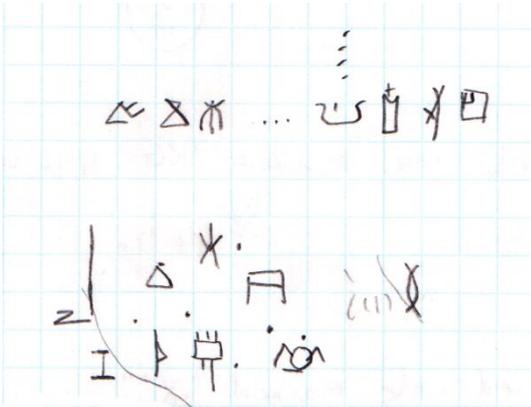
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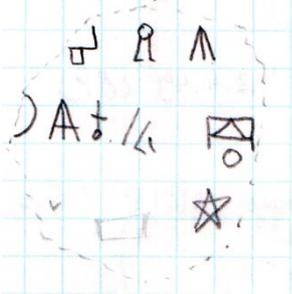
ONL 6469



ONL 6470

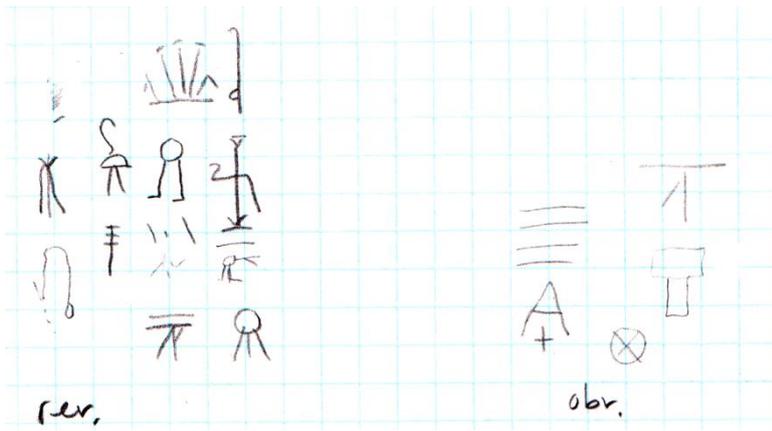


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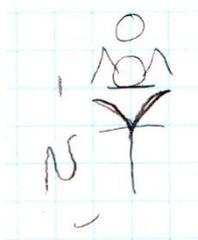


APPENDIX II

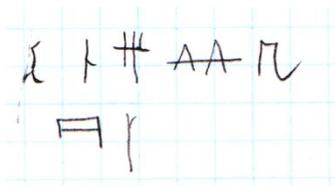
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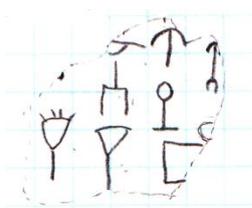
ONL 6473



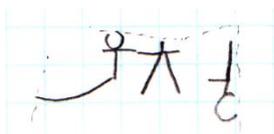
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ONL 6475



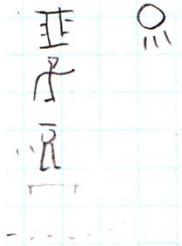
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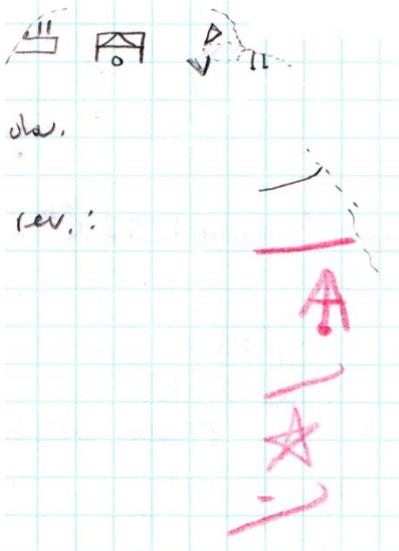
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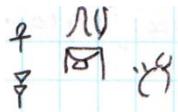
ONL 6478



ONL 6479



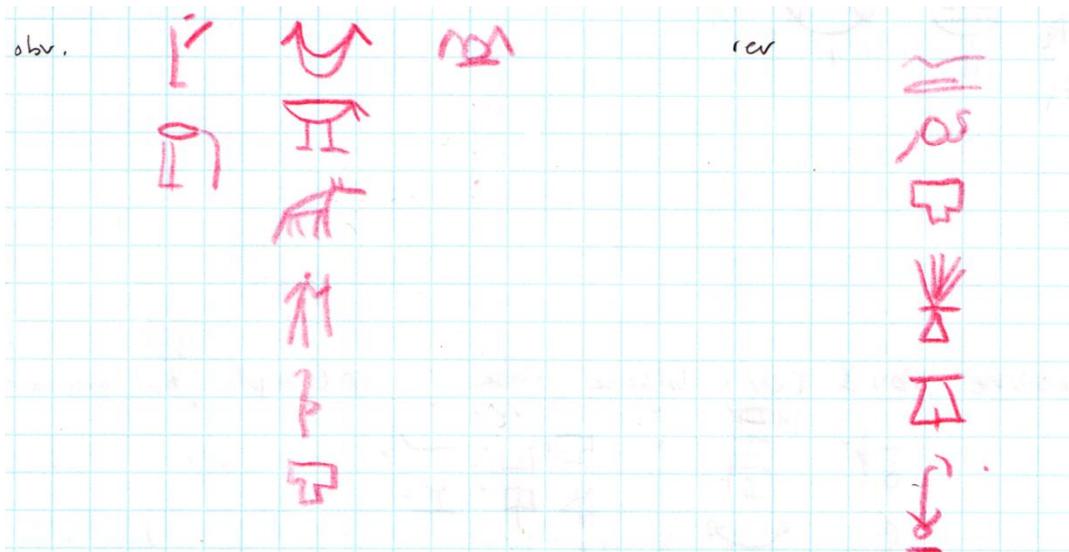
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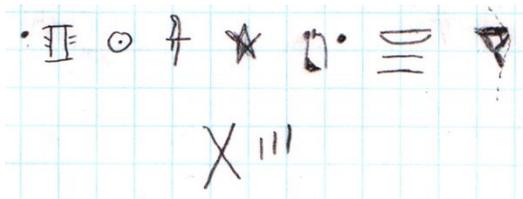
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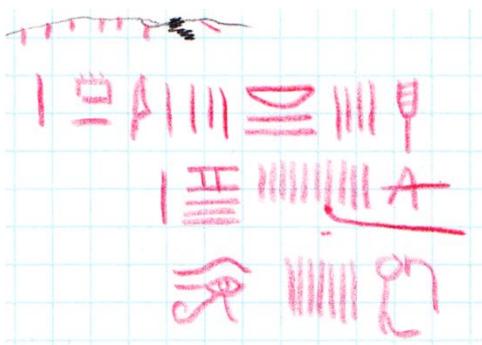
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ONL 6483



ONL 6485

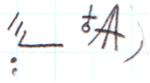


ONL 6486



APPENDIX II

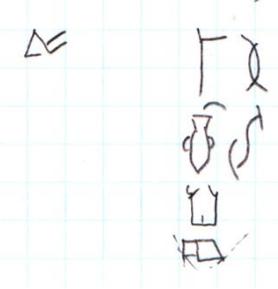
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ONL 6493



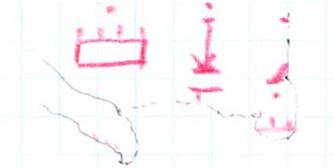
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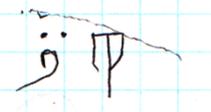
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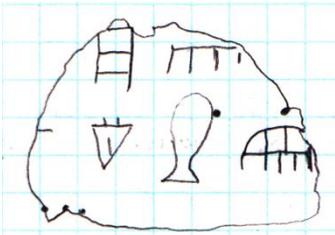
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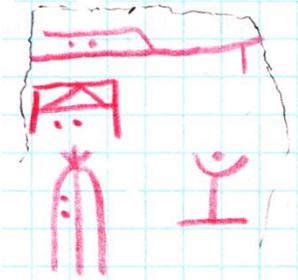
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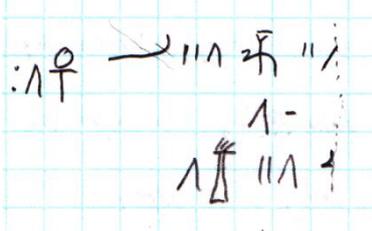
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ONL 6500



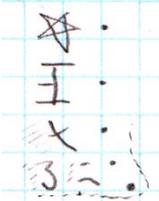
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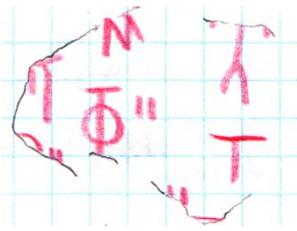
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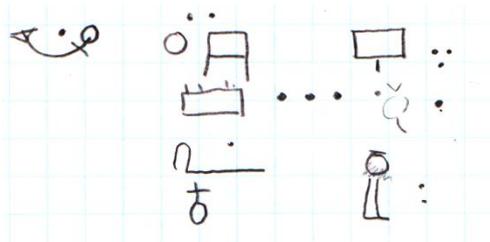
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ONL 6504



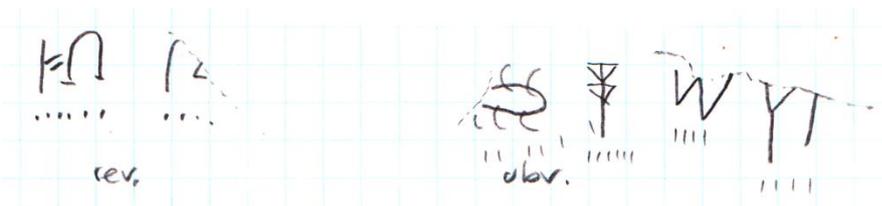
ONL 6505



ONL 6506



ONL 6507



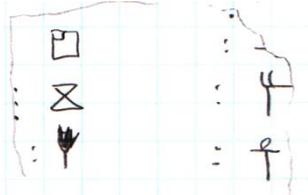
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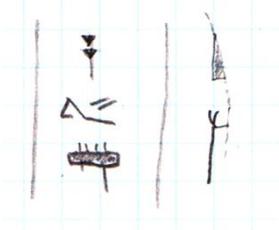
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ONL 6510



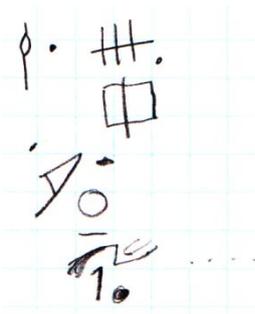
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ONL 6512



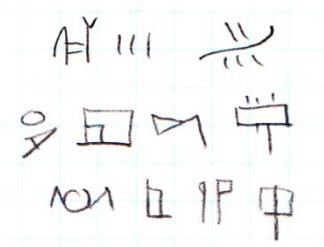
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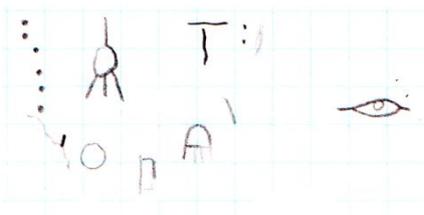
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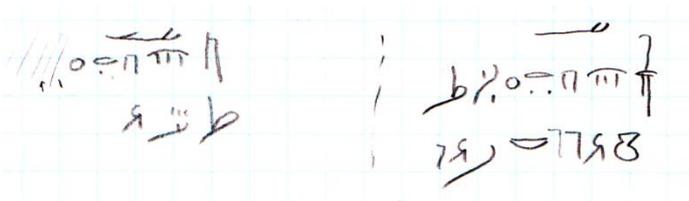
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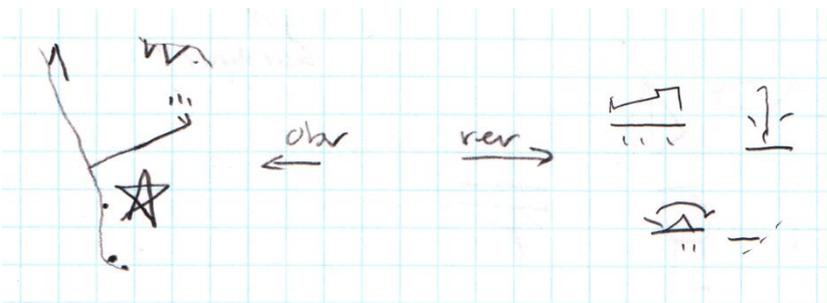
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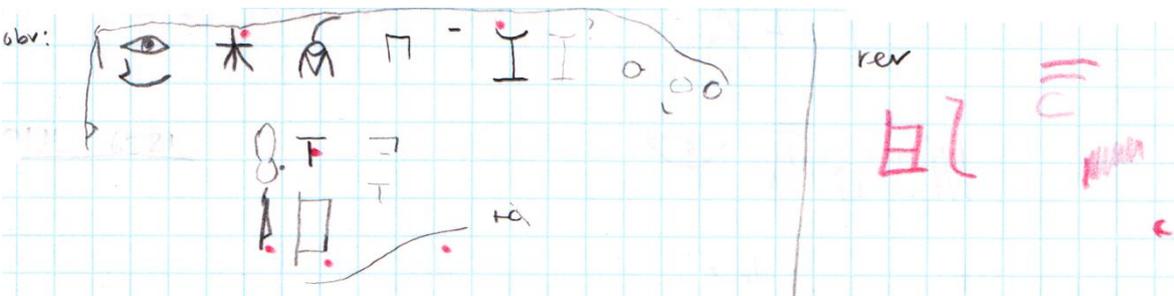
ONL 6517



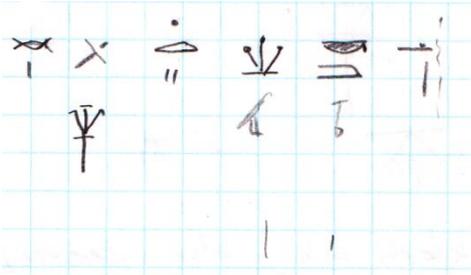
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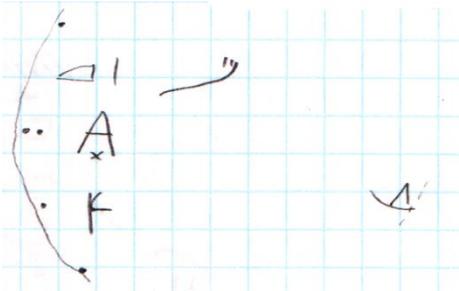
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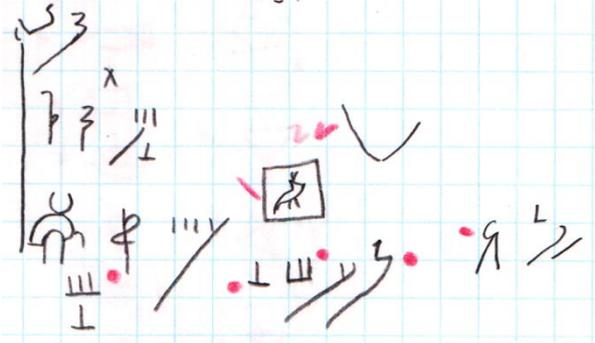
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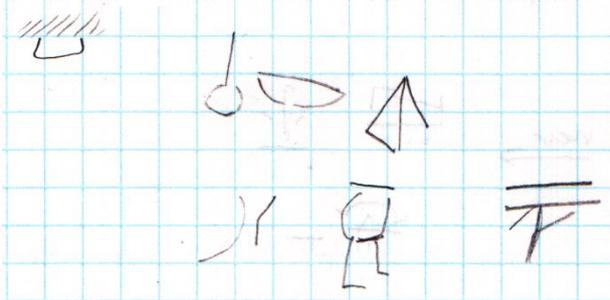
ONL 6522



ONL 6523



ONL 6524



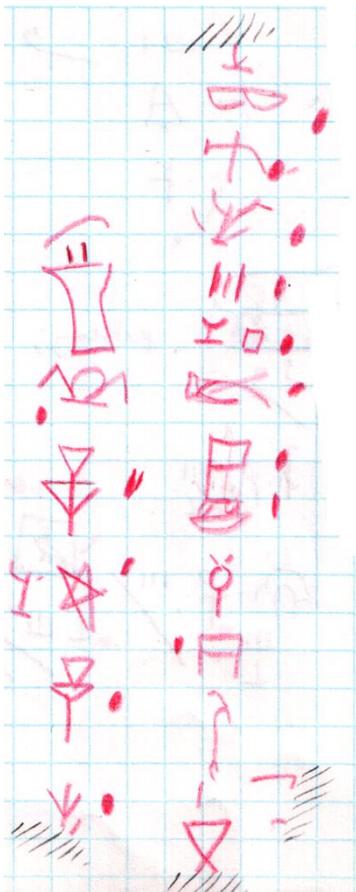
(by Ben Haring)

ONL 6525



(by Ben Haring)

ONL 6526

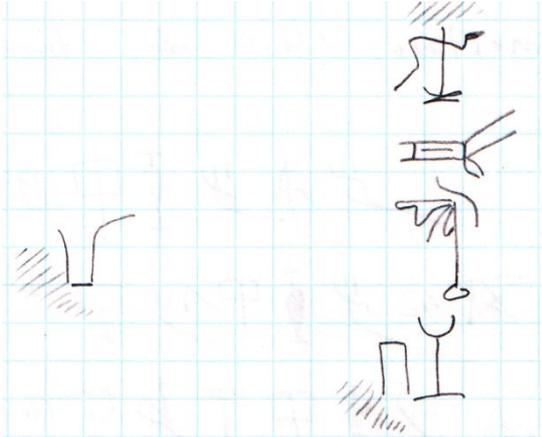


ONL 6527



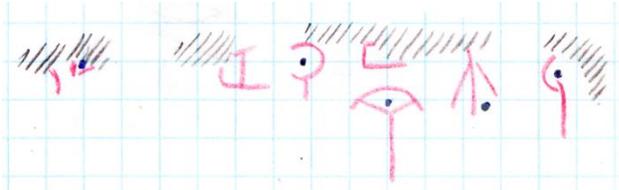
(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6528



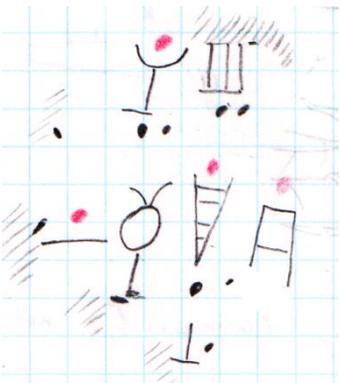
(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6529



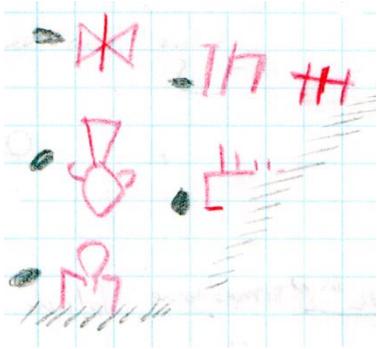
(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6530



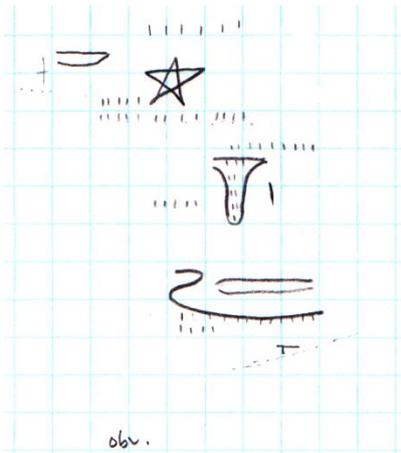
(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6531

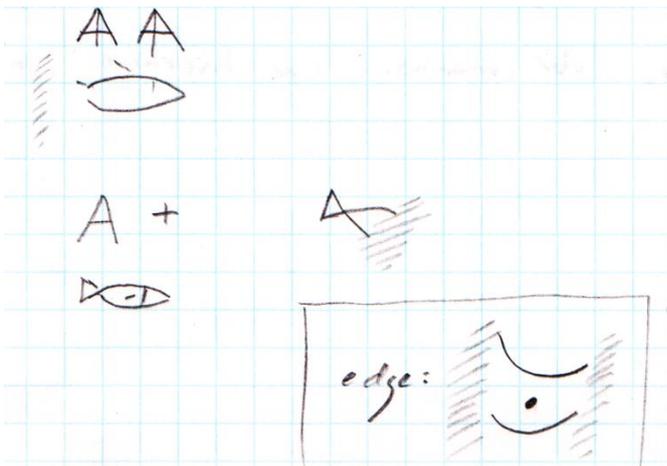


(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6532



ONL 6533



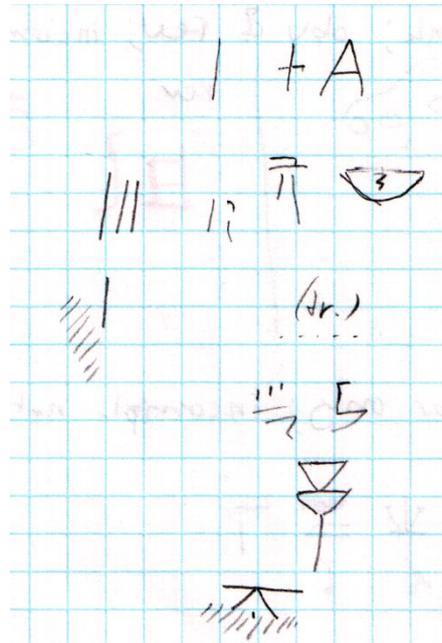
(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6534



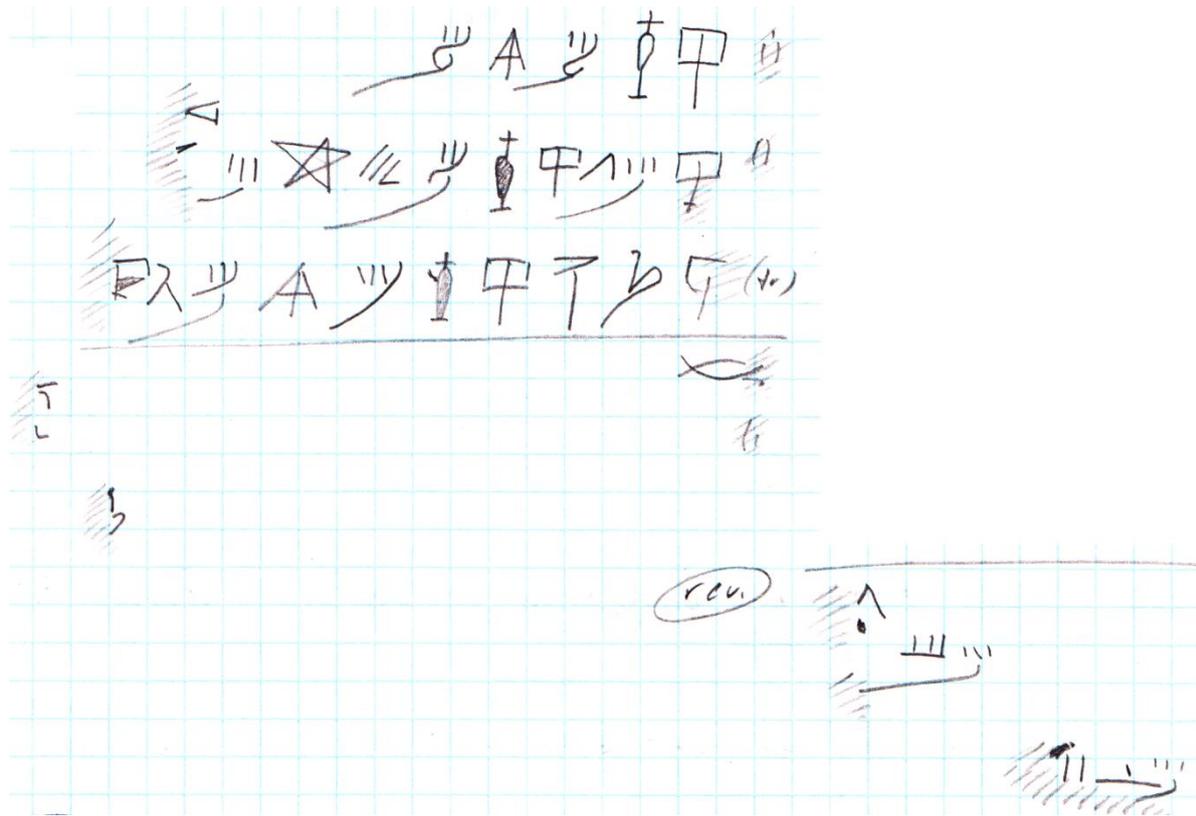
(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6535



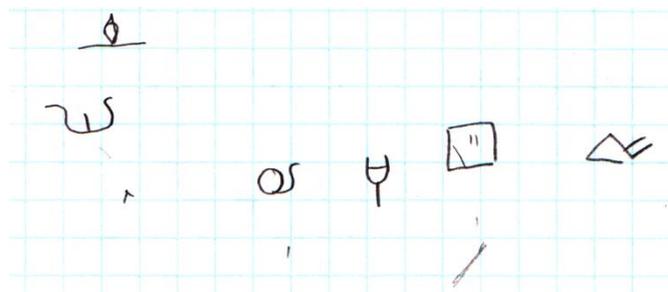
(By Ben Haring)

ONL 6536



(By Ben Haring)

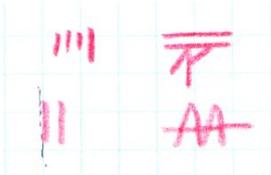
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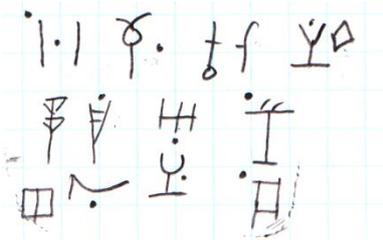
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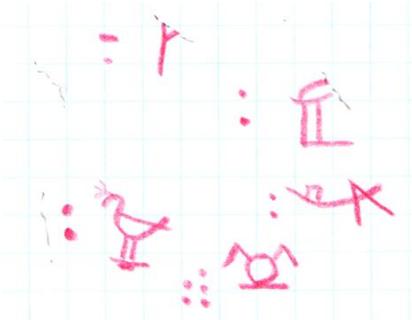
ONL 6540



ONL 6541



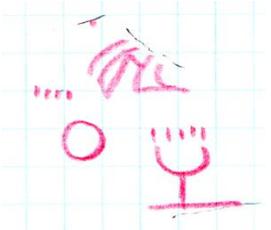
ONL 6542



ONL 6543



ONL 6544

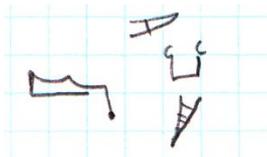


APPENDIX II

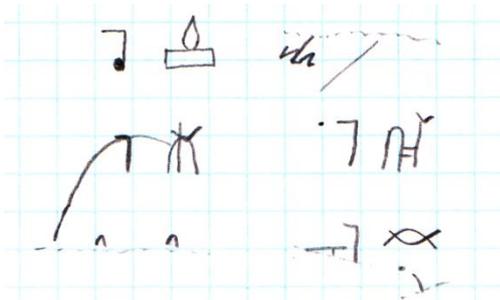
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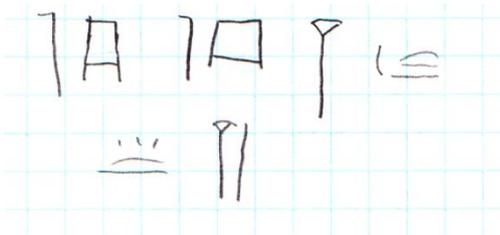
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ONL 6549



ONL 6550



ONL 6551



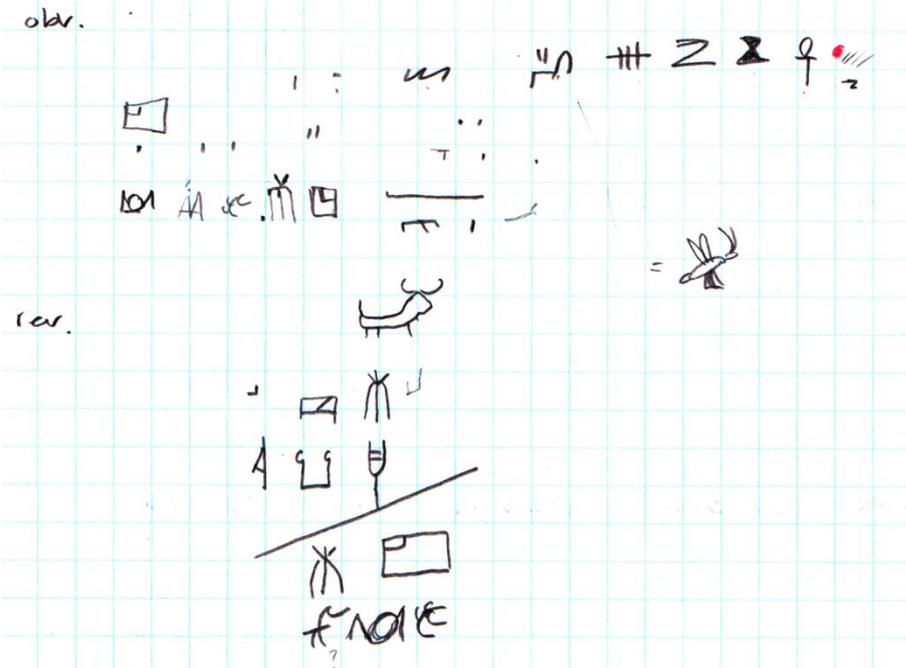
ONL 6552



ONL 6553



ONL 6554



ONL 6557



ONL 6558

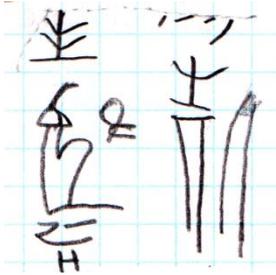


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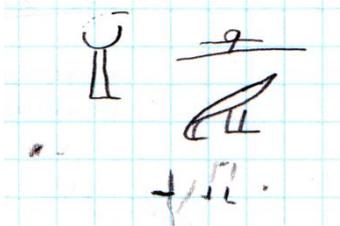


APPENDIX II

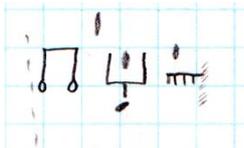
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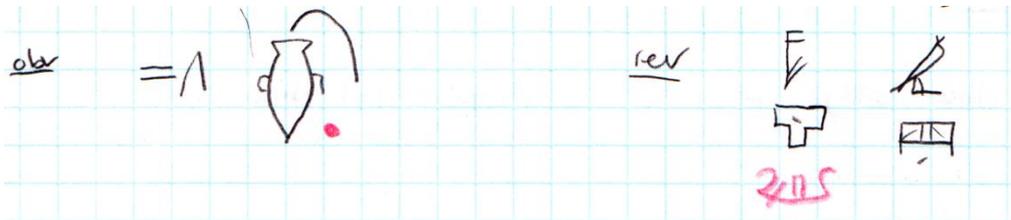
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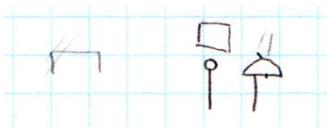
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ONL 6563



ONL 6564



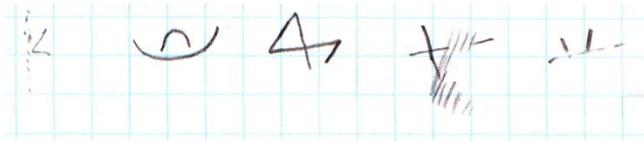
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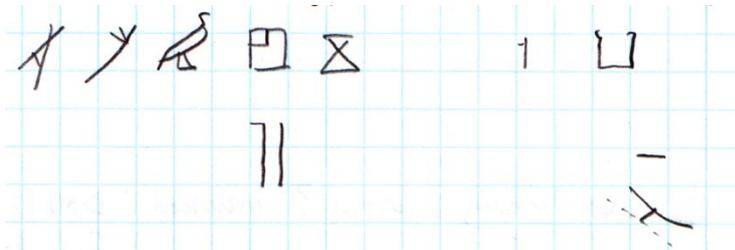
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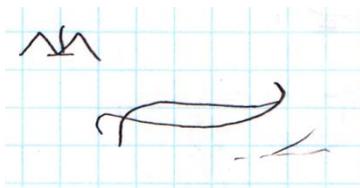
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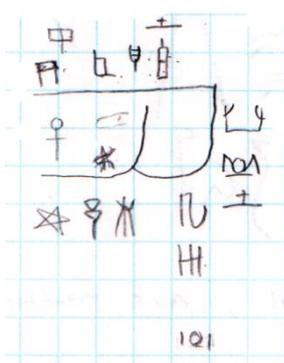
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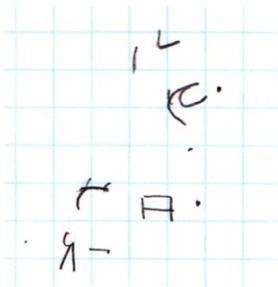
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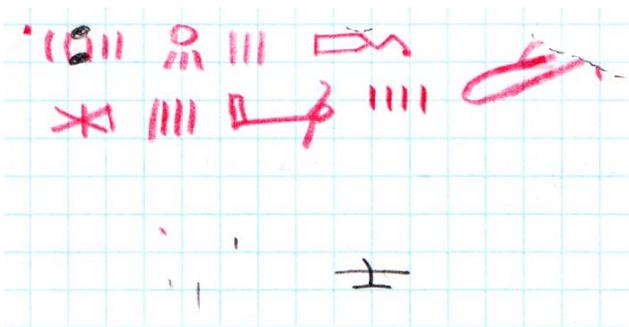
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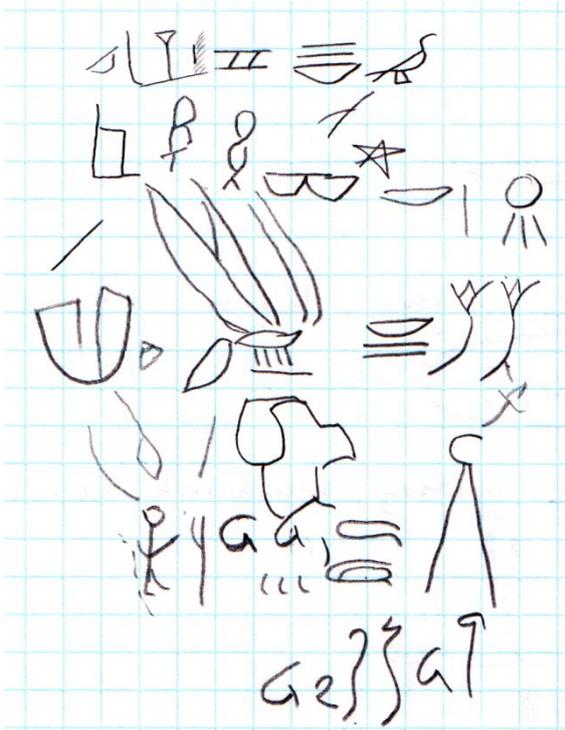
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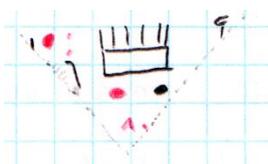
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ONL 6576



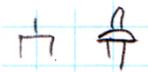
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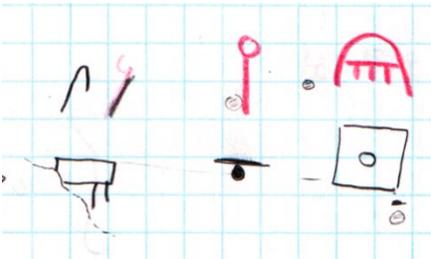
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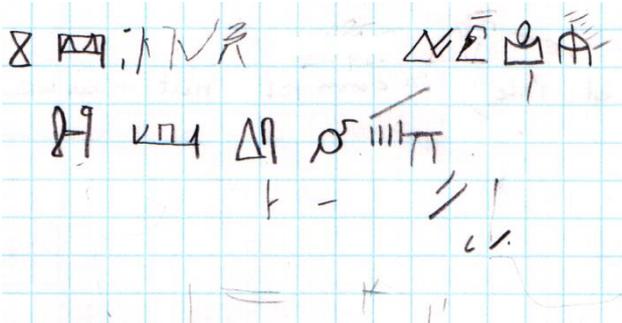
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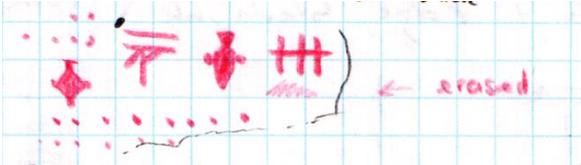
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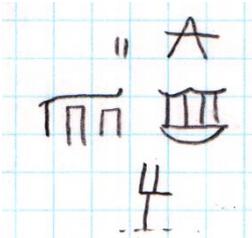
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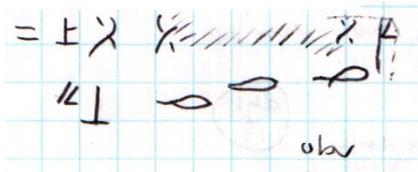
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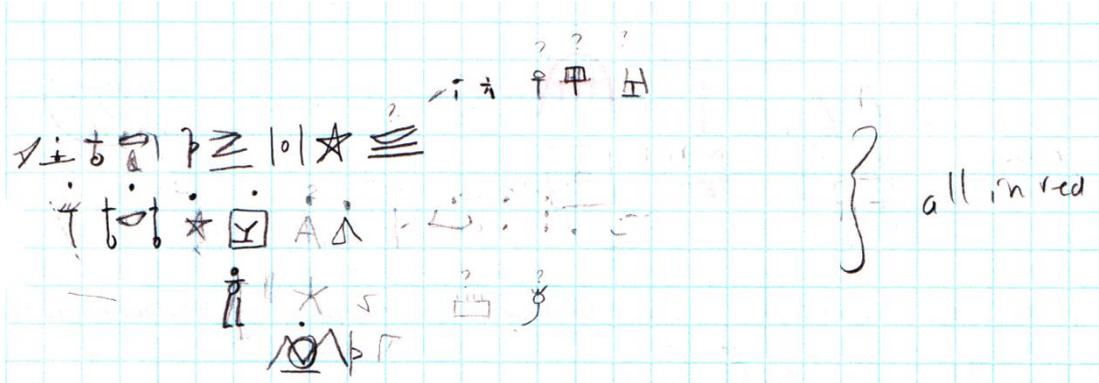
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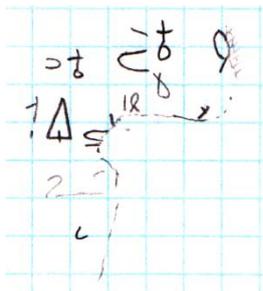
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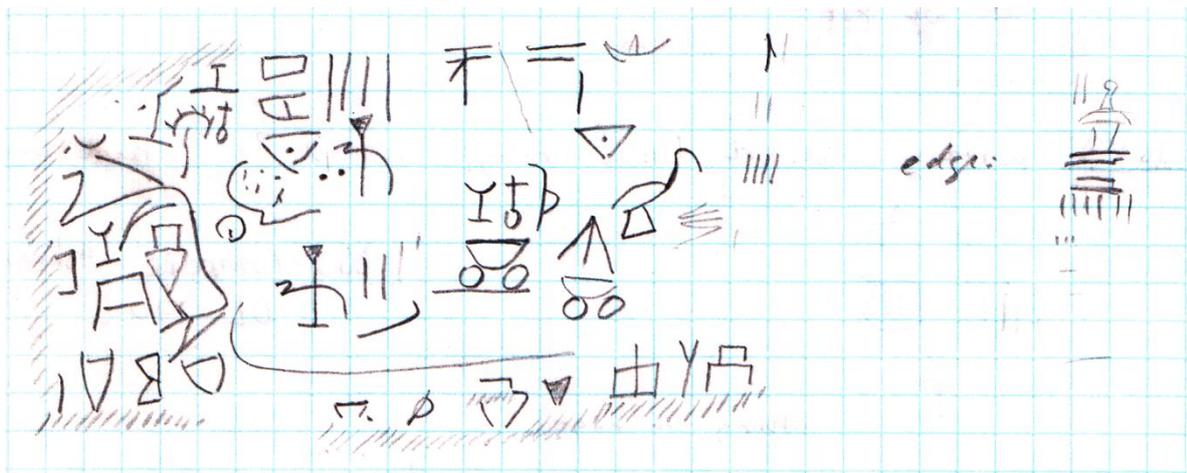
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ONL 6586



ONL 6587

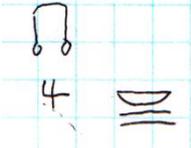


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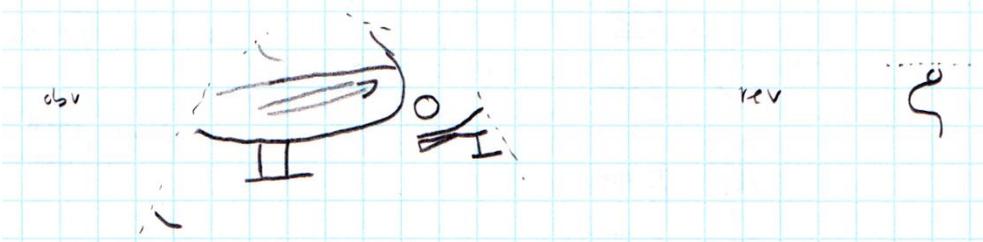
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ONL 6589



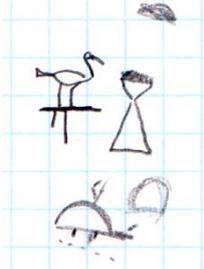
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ONL 6591



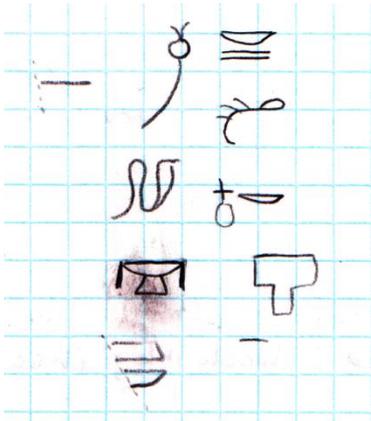
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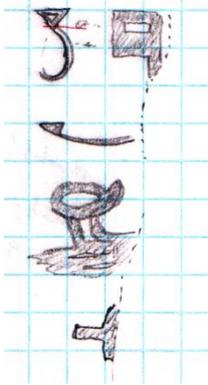
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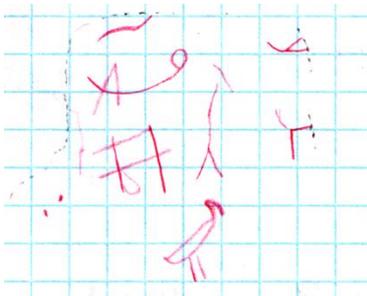
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ONL 6597



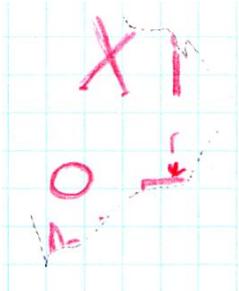
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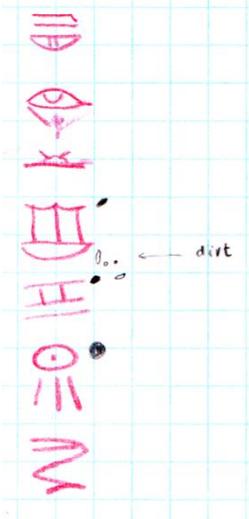
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ONL 6601



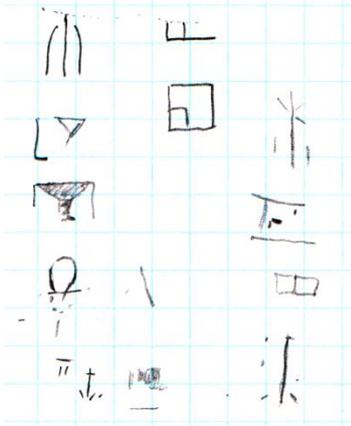
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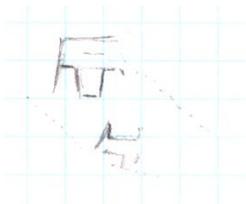
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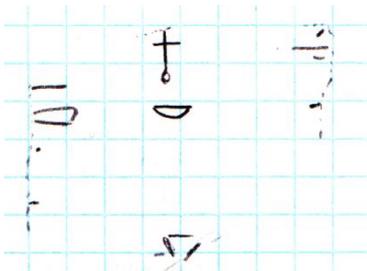
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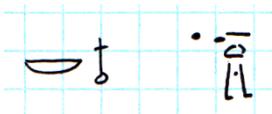
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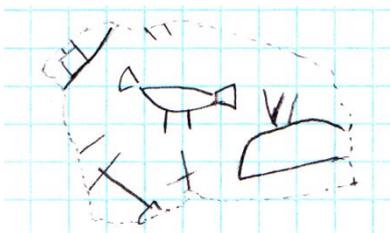
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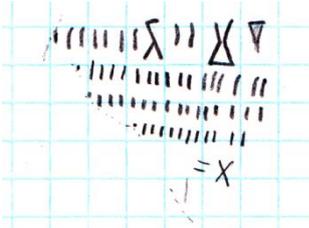
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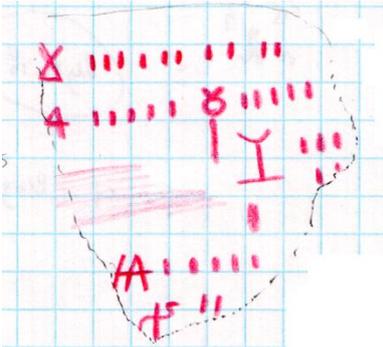
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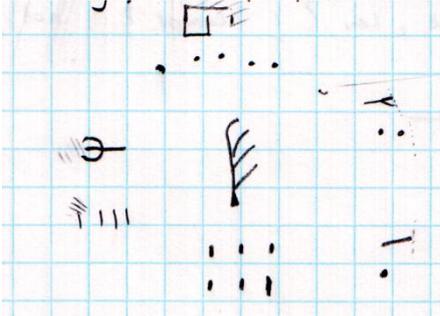
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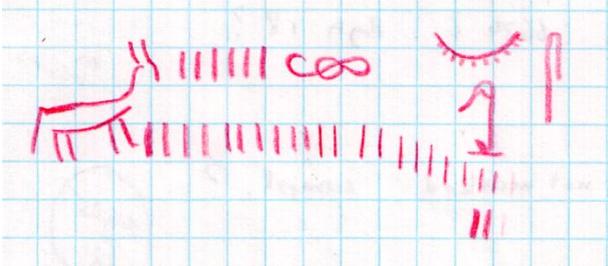
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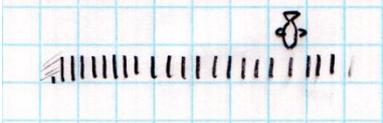
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ONL 6631

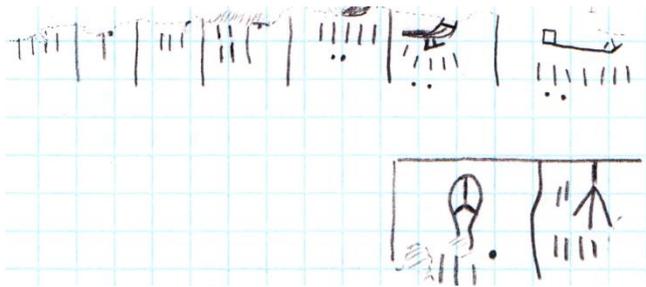


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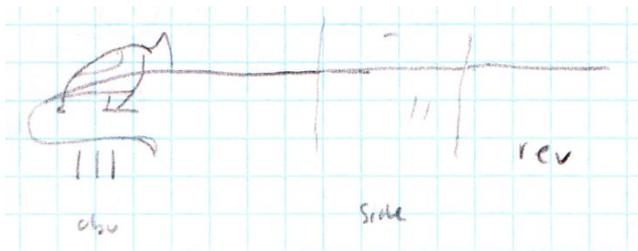


APPENDIX II

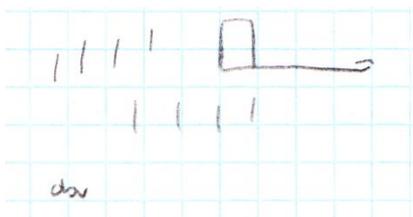
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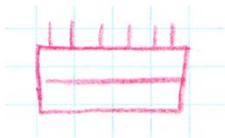
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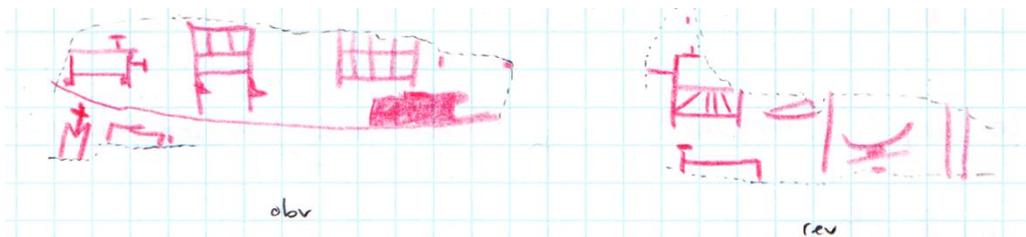
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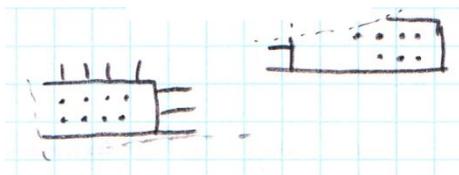
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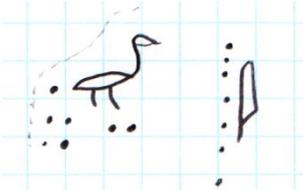
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ONL 6645



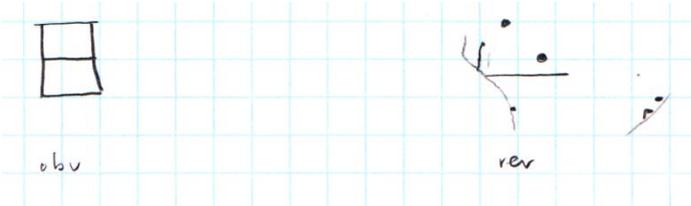
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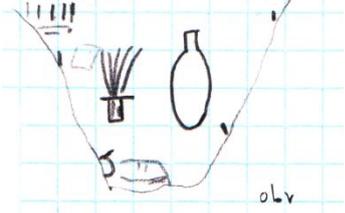
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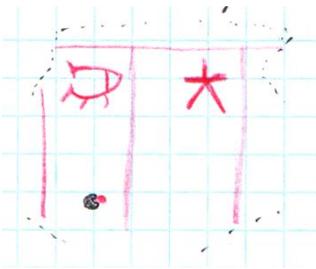
ONL 6648



ONL 6650

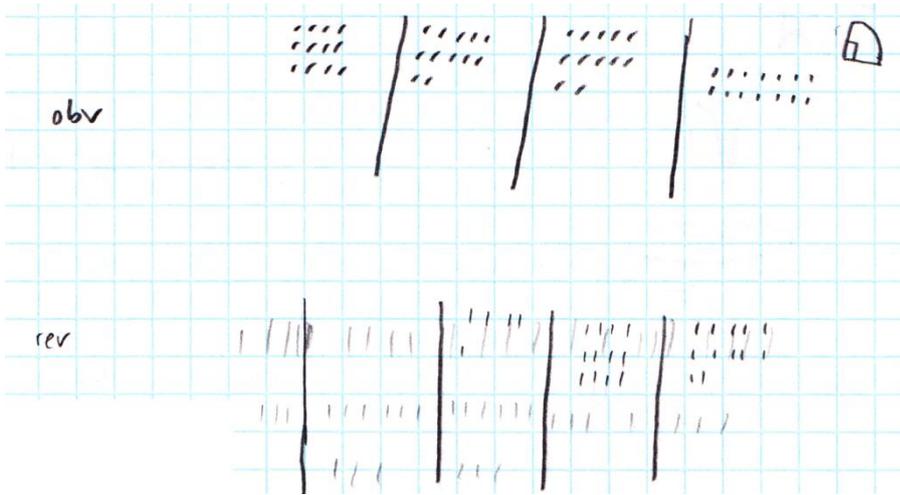


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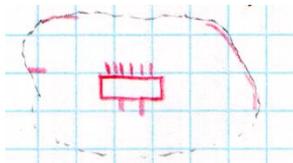


APPENDIX II

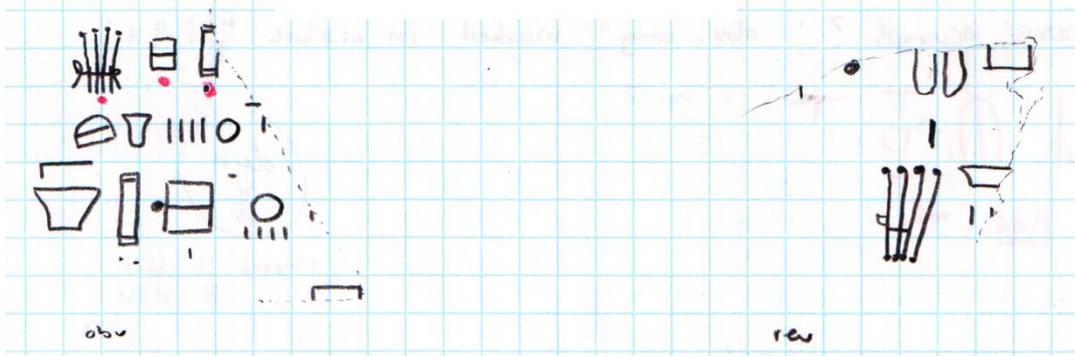
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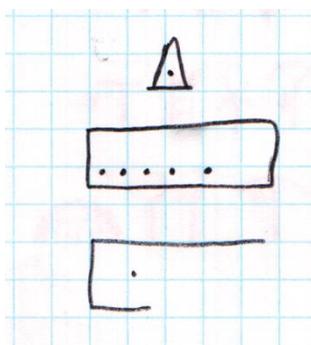
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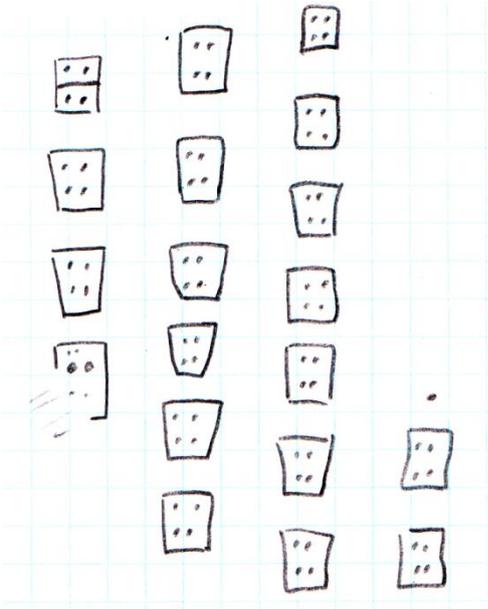
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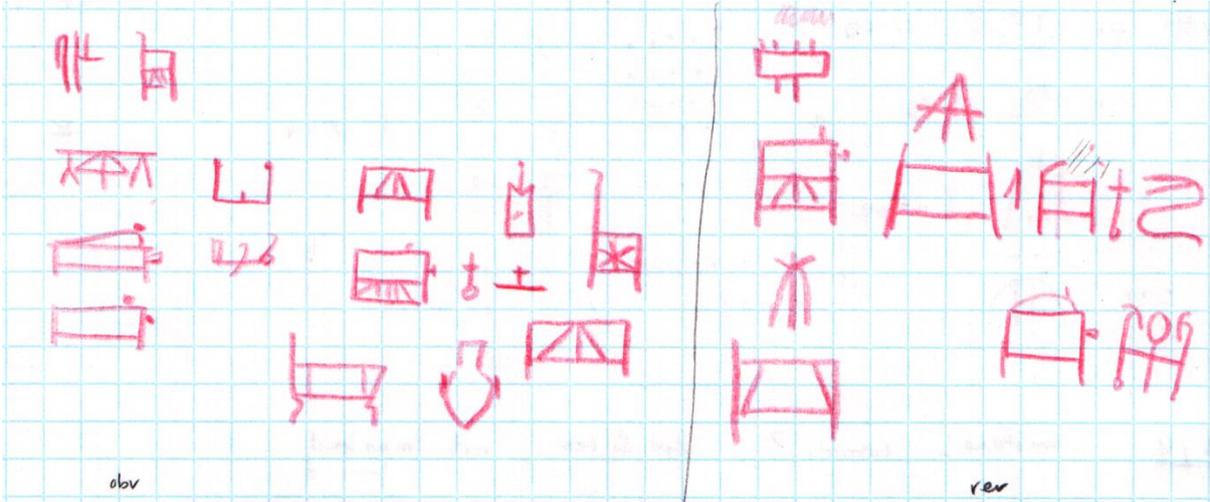
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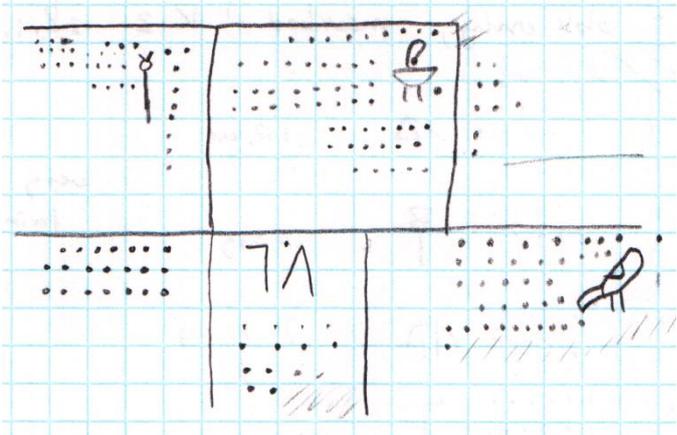
ONL 6667



ONL 6670

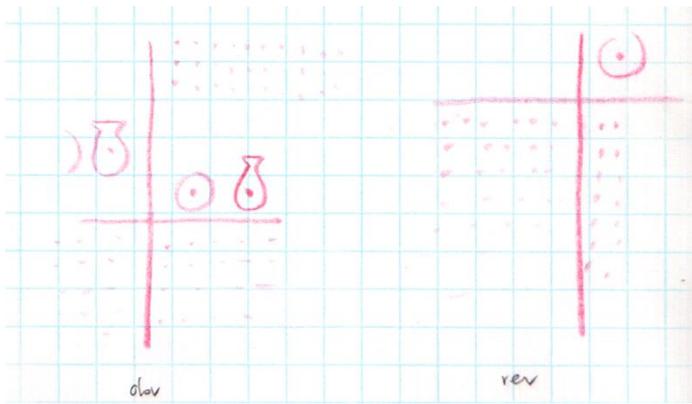


ONL 6671

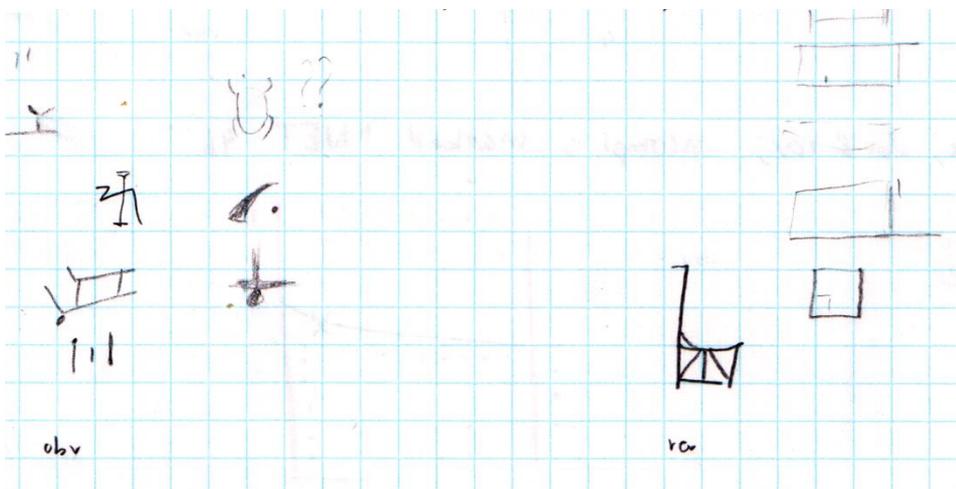


APPENDIX II

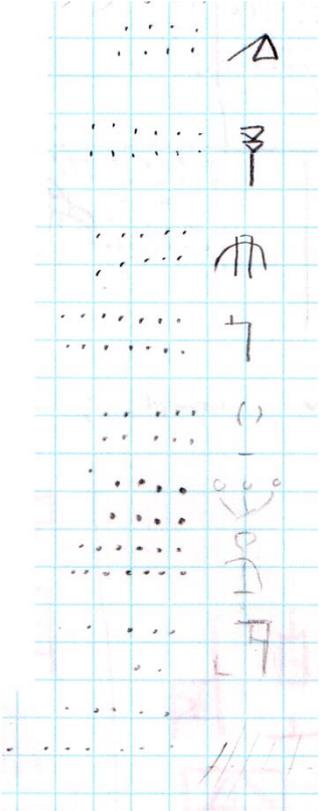
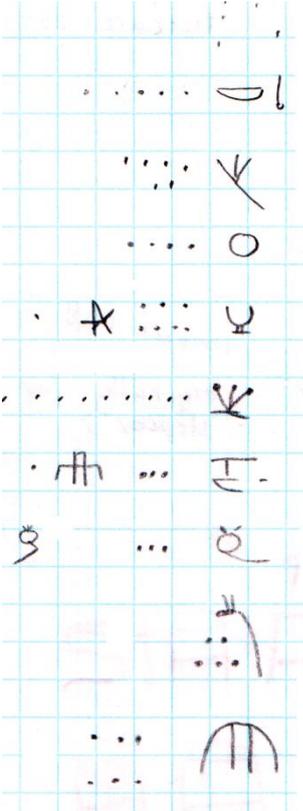
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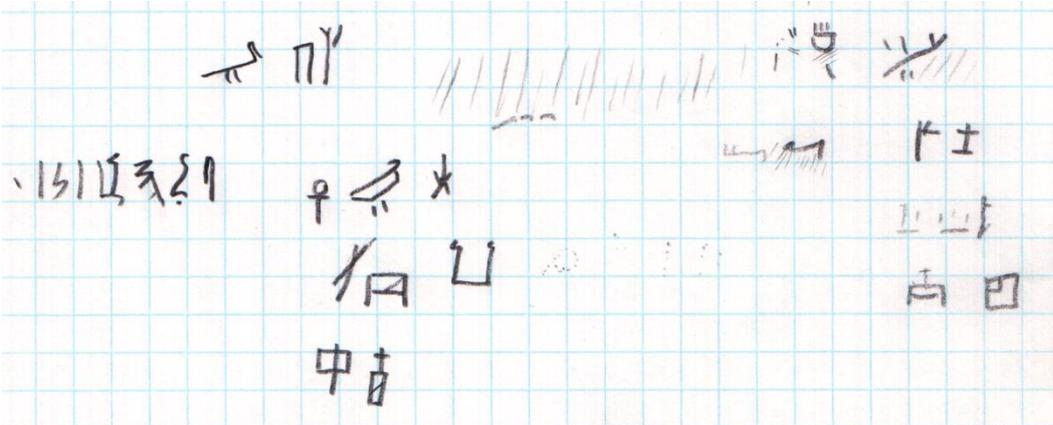
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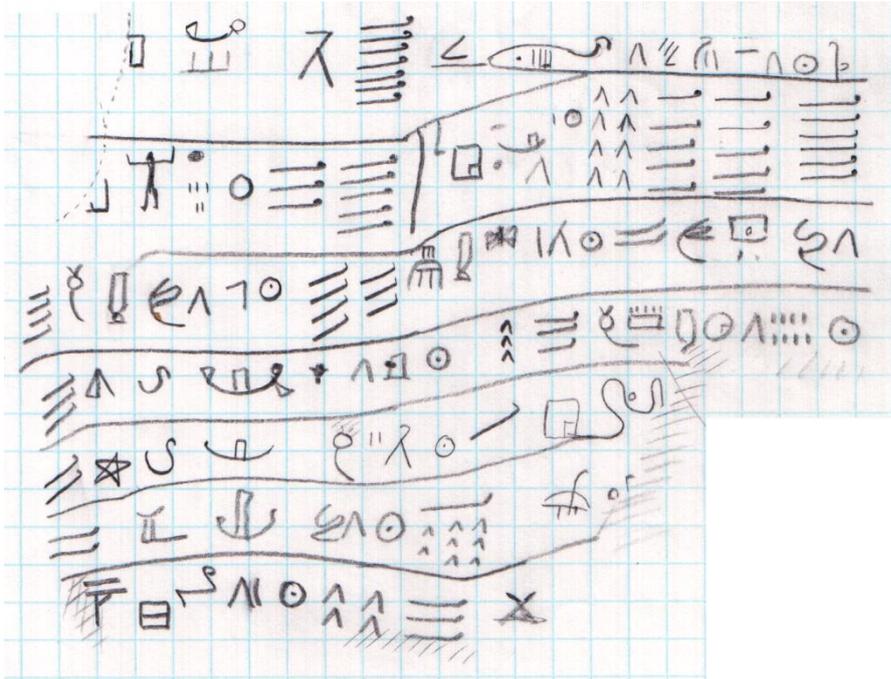
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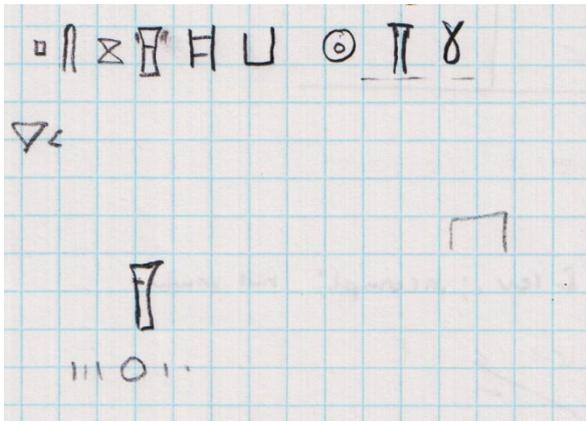
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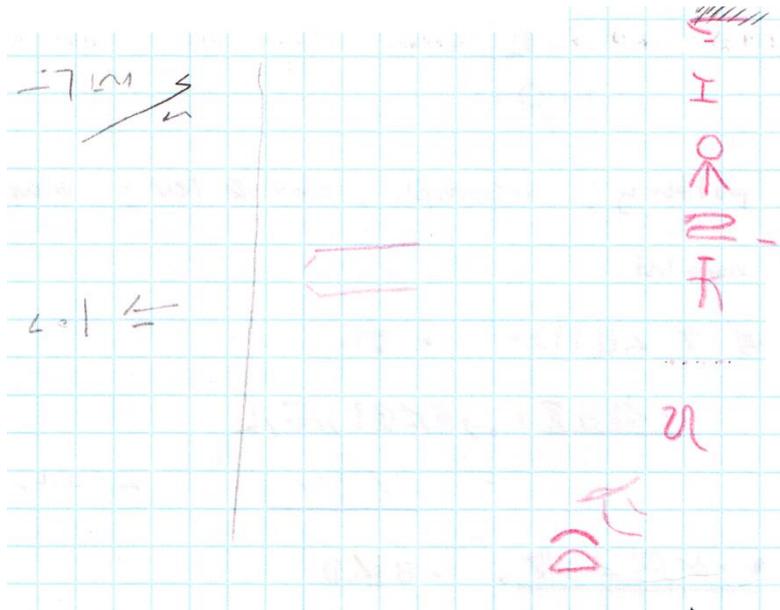
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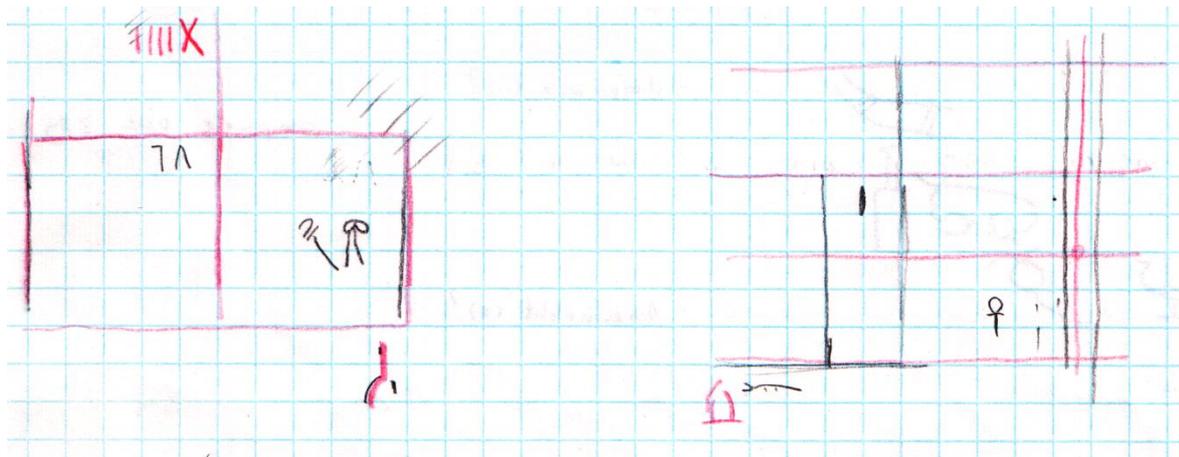
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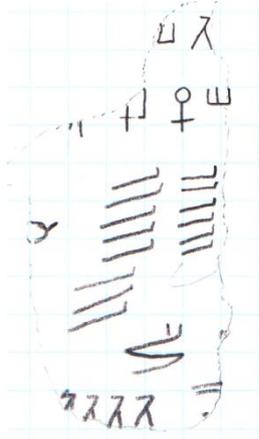
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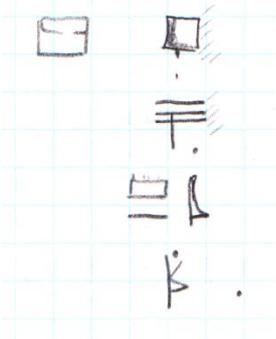
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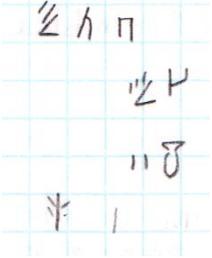
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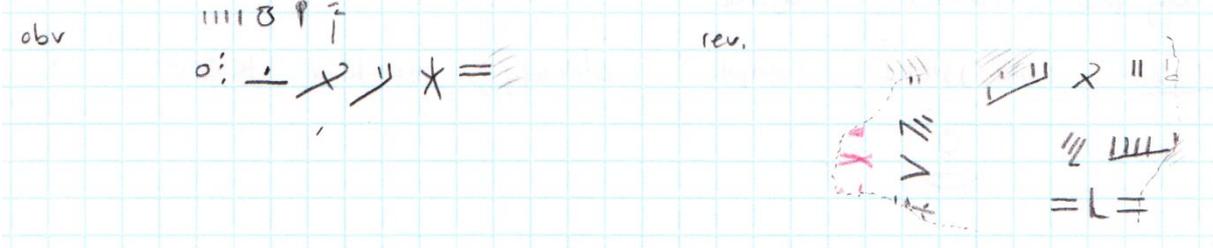
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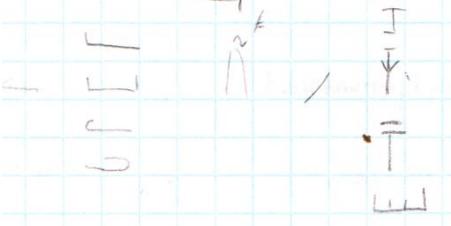
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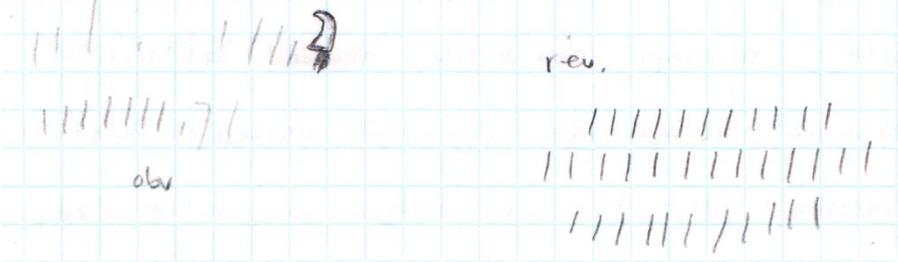
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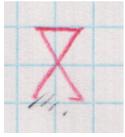
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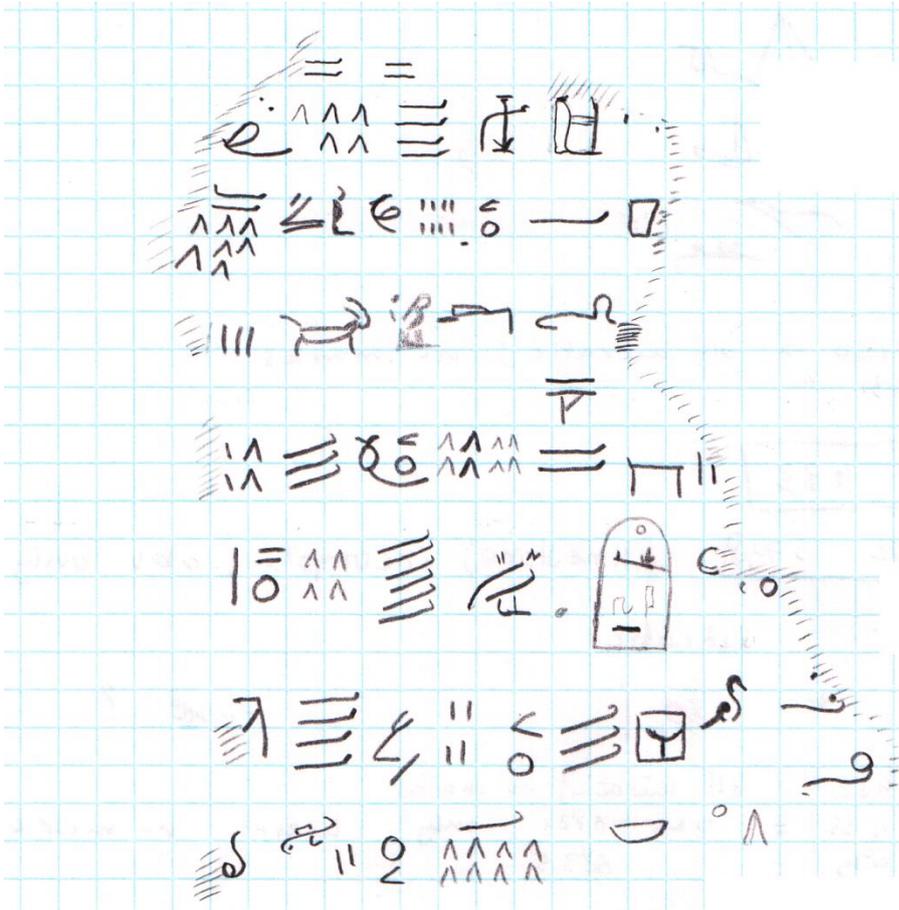
ONL 6738



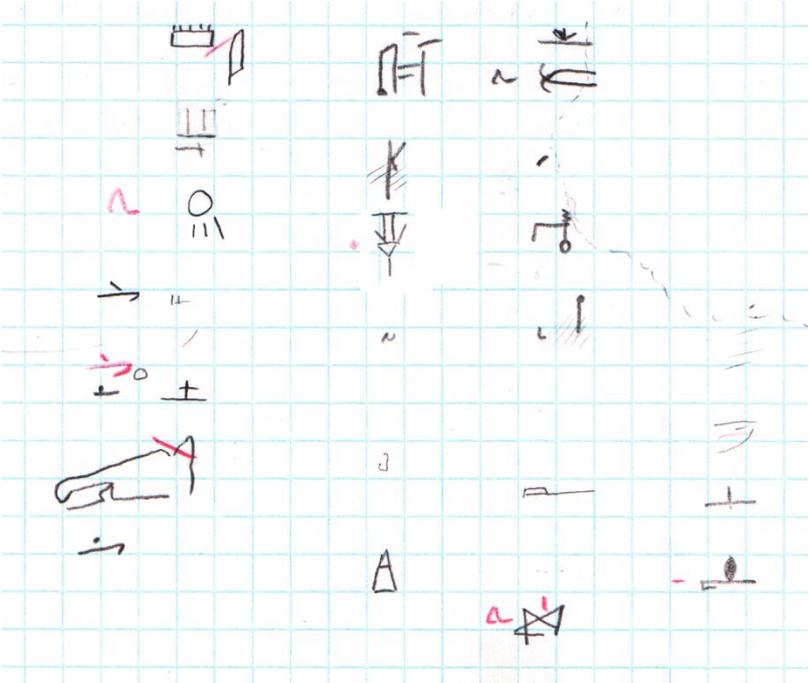
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ONL 6832



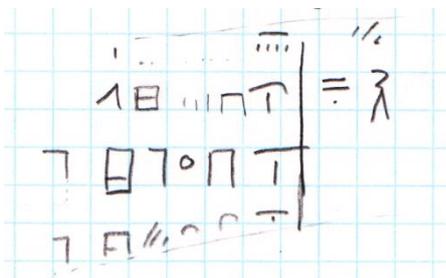
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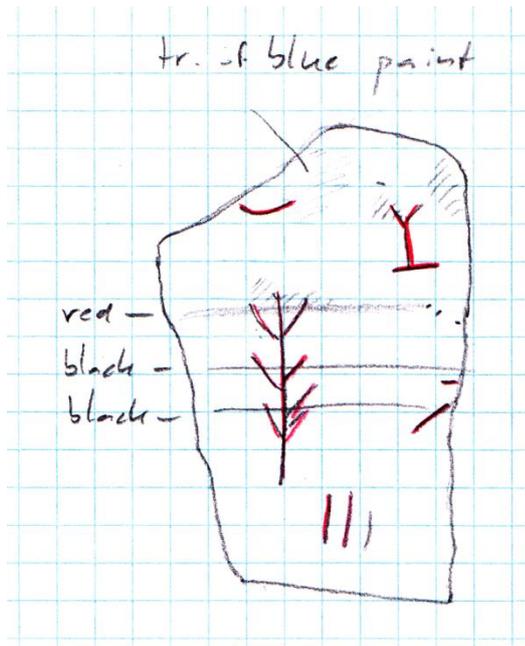
ONL 6874



Inv. C 391

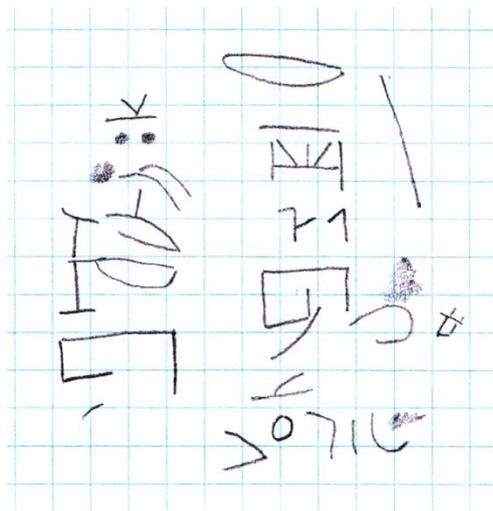


Inv. C 1298



(By Ben Haring)

Inv. C 1404

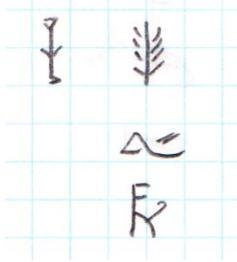


(By Ben Haring)

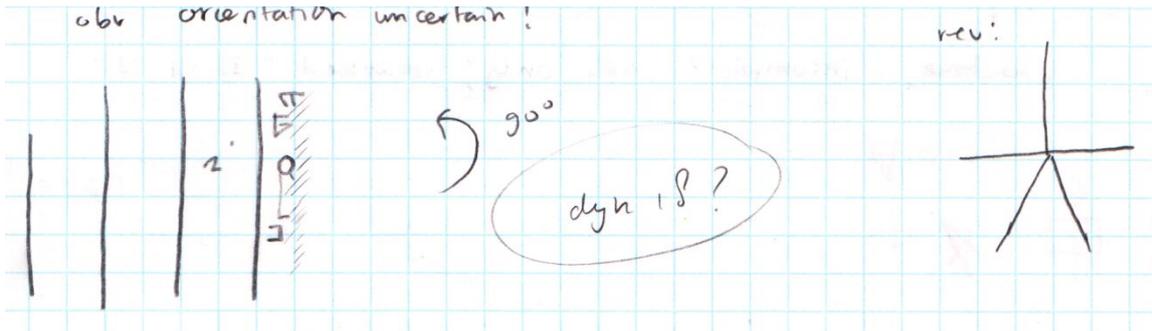
Inv. C 1810



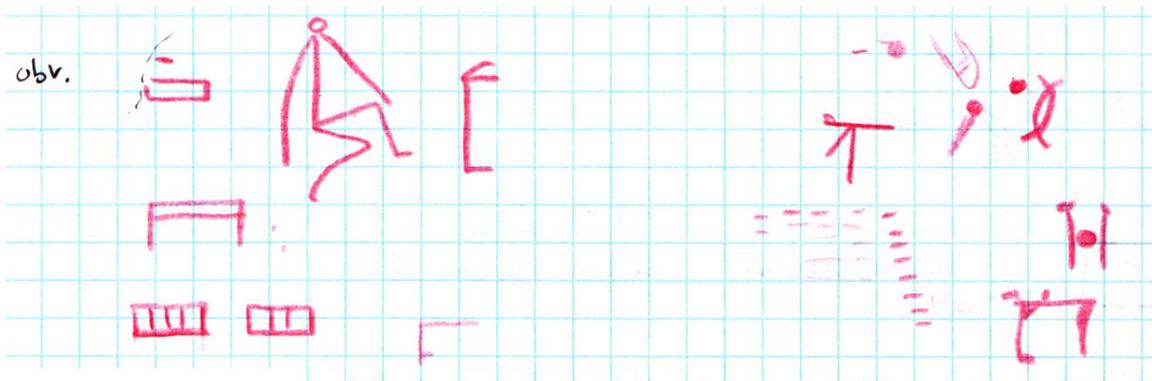
Inv. C 2470



Inv. C 2503



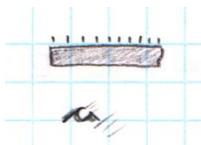
Inv. C 7576



Inv. C 7586



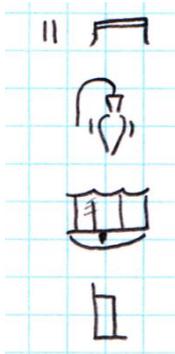
Inv. C 7637



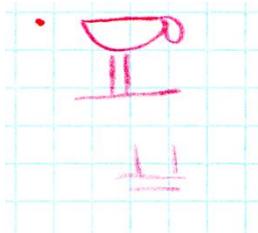
O. DeM 264



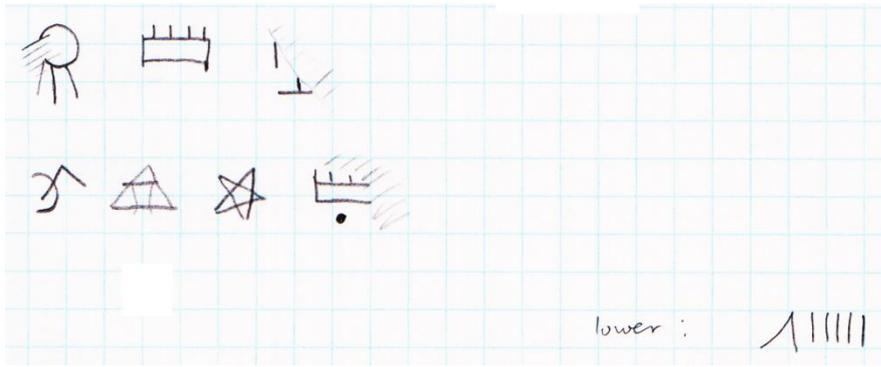
O. DeM 3360



O. DeM 10028

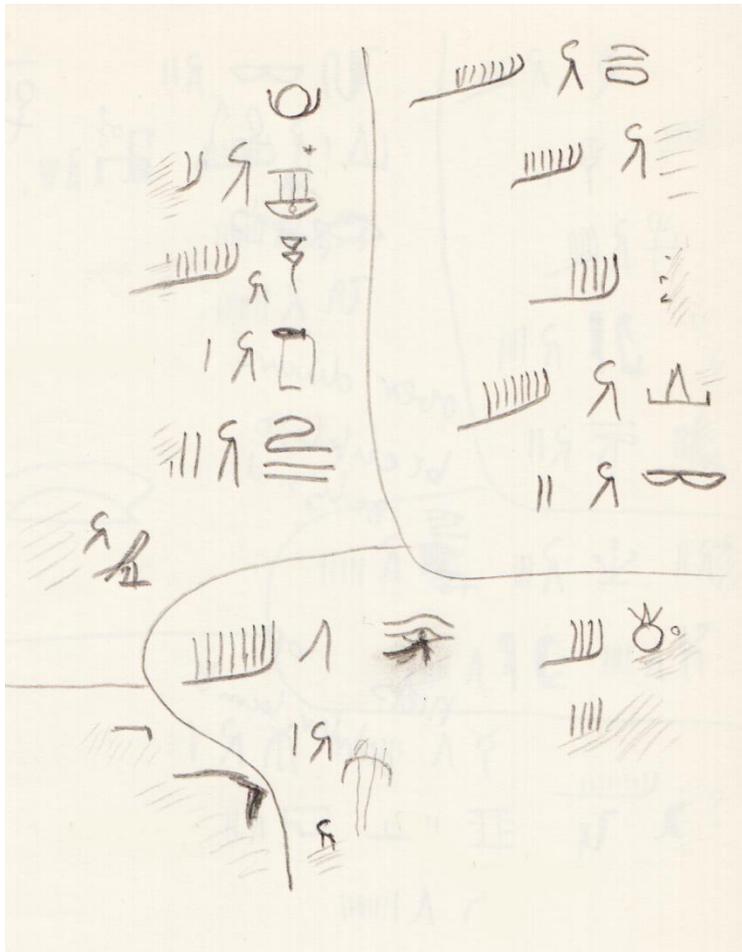


O. Turin N. 57538

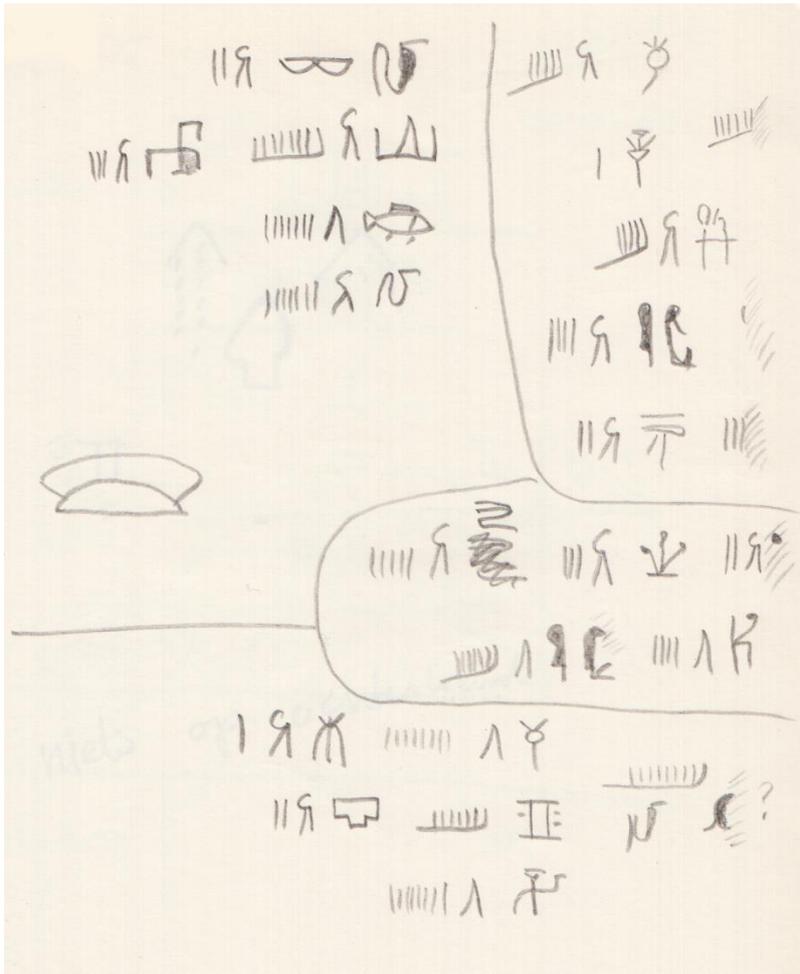


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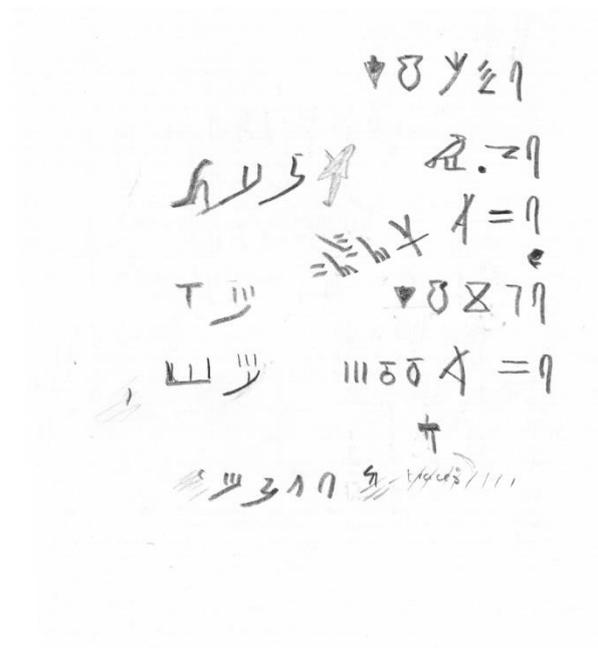
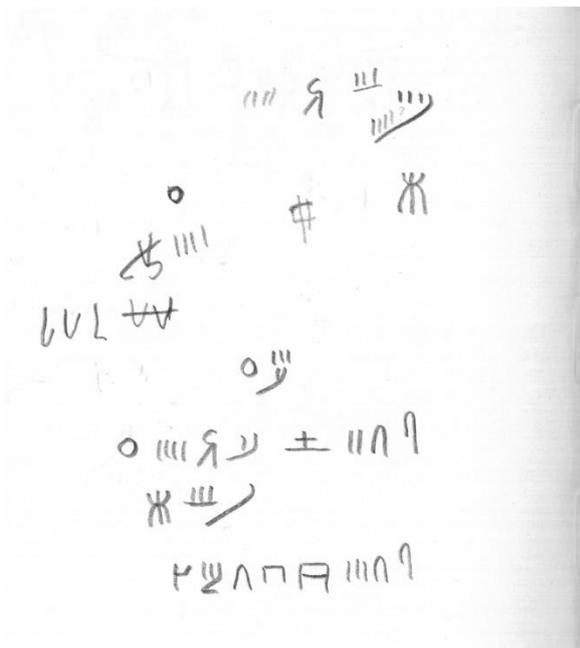
O. UC 31939



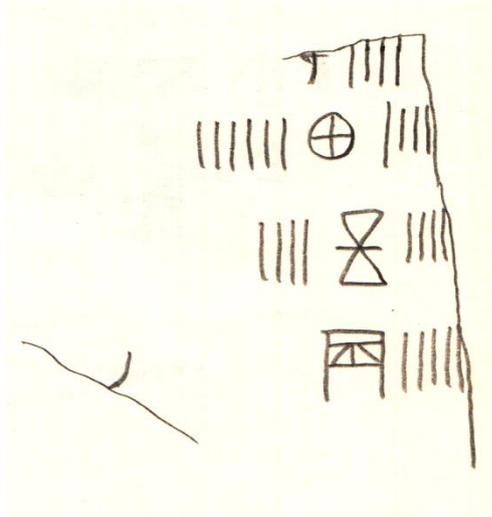
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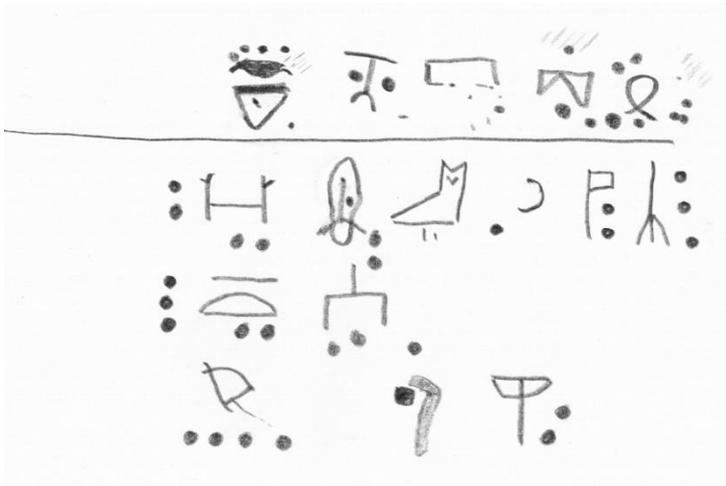
O. UC 31959



O. UC 31987



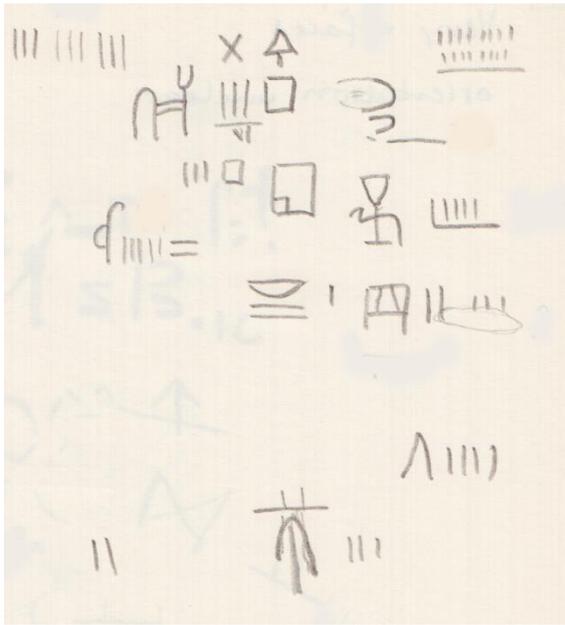
O. UC 31988 obverse



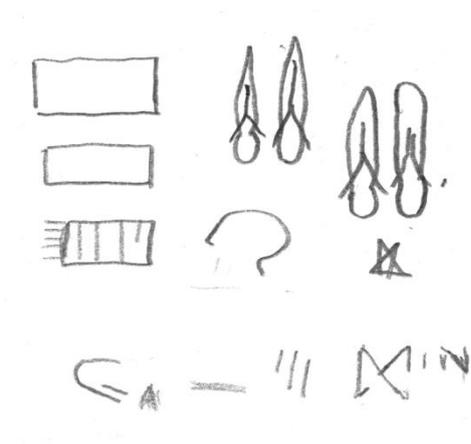
O. UC 31988 reverse



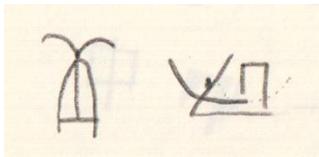
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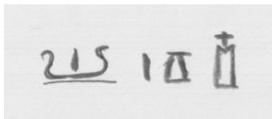
O. UC 33252



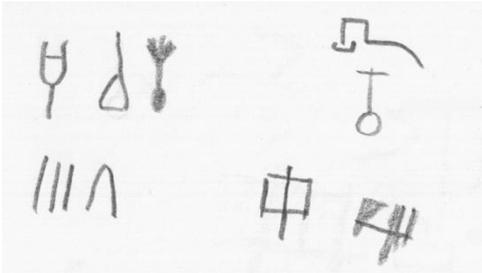
O. UC 39606



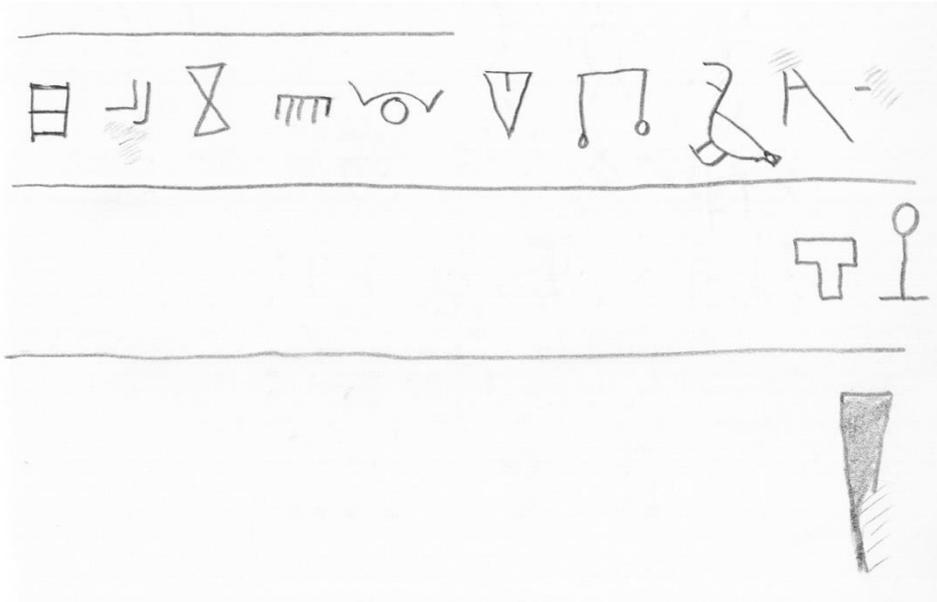
O. UC 39620



O. UC 39661



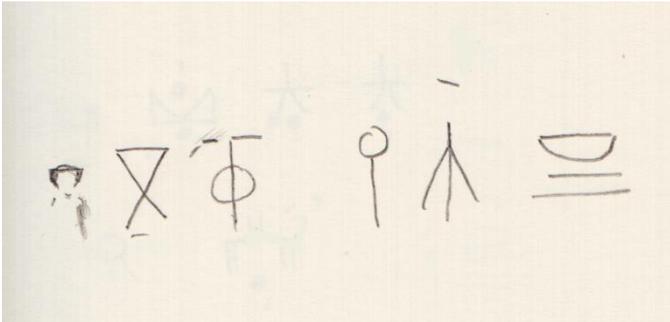
O. UC 45683



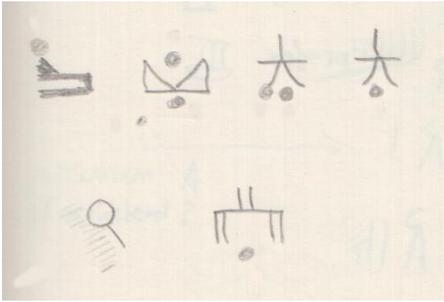
O. UC 45702



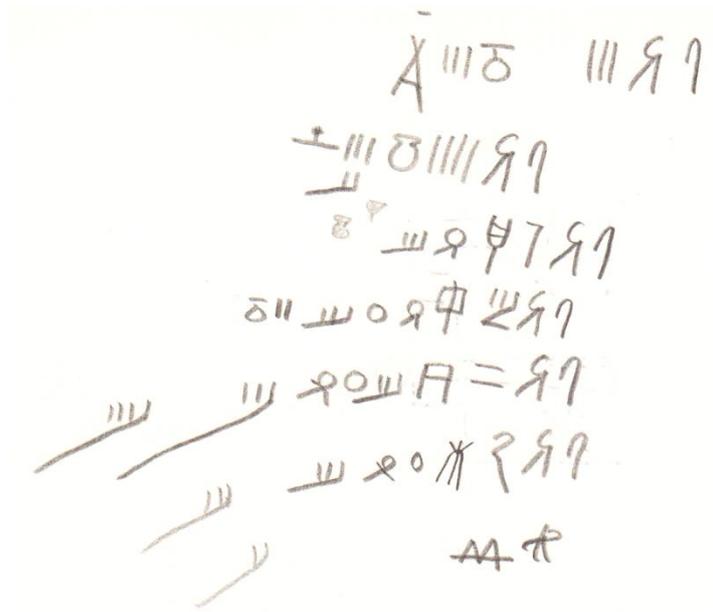
O. UC 45708



O. UC 45709

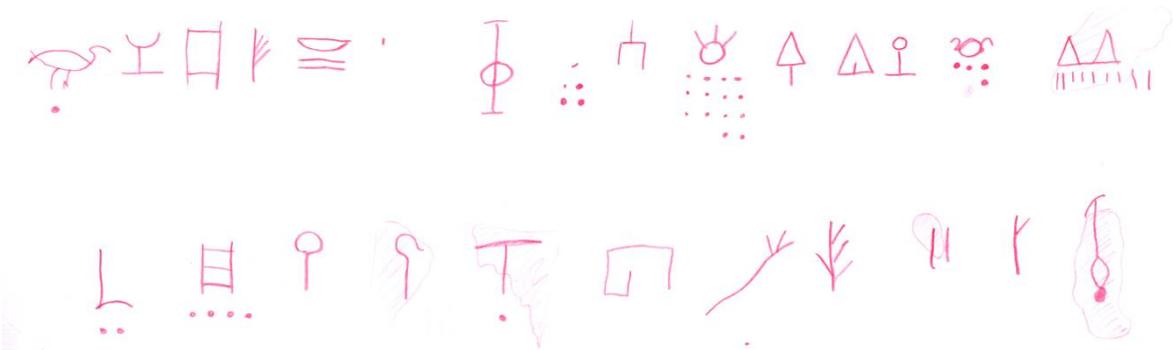


O. UC 45733

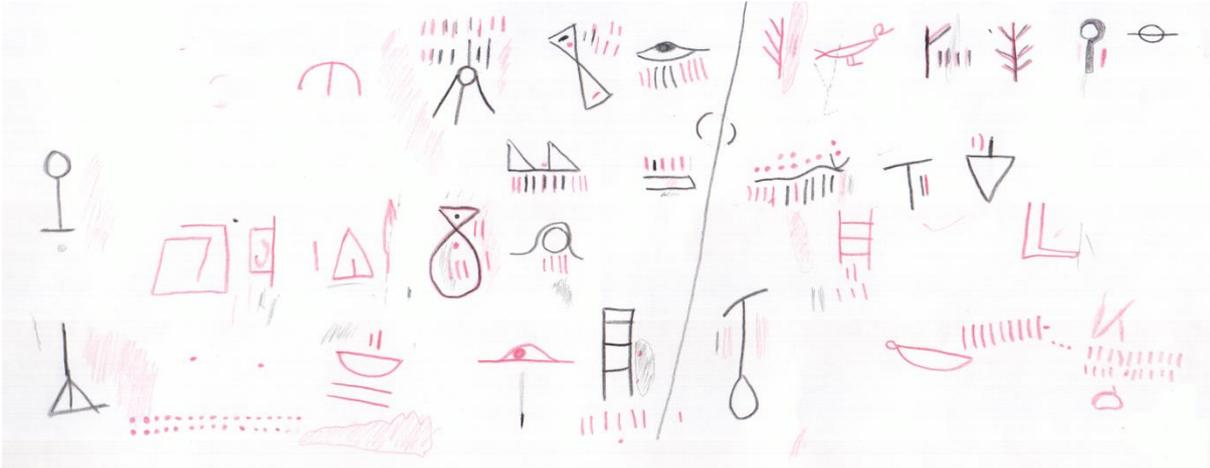


OSTRACA IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM IN CAIRO

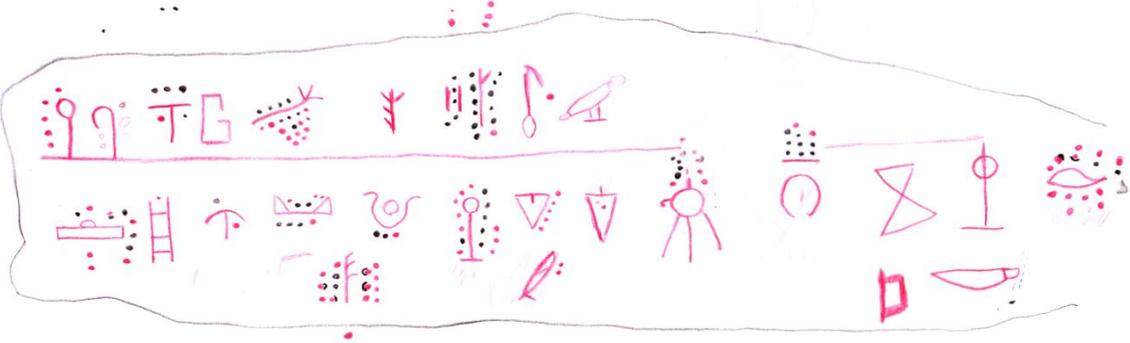
O. Cairo CG 24105



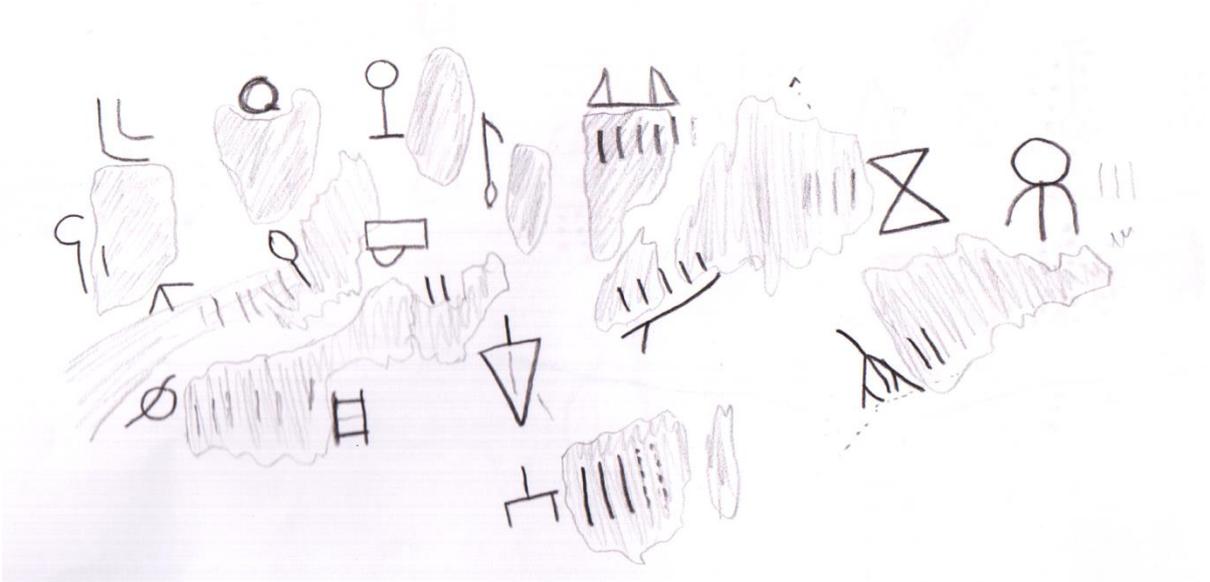
O. Cairo CG 24106



O. Cairo CG 24107



O. Cairo CG 24108



APPENDIX III. TRANSLATIONS OF DUTY ROSTERS COMPOSED WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY

Conventions:

- No underling indicates black ink
- Underlining indicates red ink
- Double underlining indicates red *and* black ink
- Strikethrough indicates crossed out sections
- Lines (---) indicate lines separating different sections of marks

1. O. Ashmolean HO 1247: Ramesses III, pre-year 24

OBVERSE

[...]		
[Day 5]	Neferhotep	
Day 6	Meryre	
Day 7	Kasa	
Day 8	Penamun/Khaemwaset	210 [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]
Day 9	Khaemope (?)	<i>psn</i> bread 3; [<i>bl.t</i> bread ...]
Day 10	Reshupeteref	[...]

[encircled 155 (?)] [...]

[?]

[Day 1]7	Hori	
[Day] 18	Anynakht	440 [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?] fish
[Day 1]9	[...]	[...] dates [1] left side
Day 20	-	100 [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?] 700; 1400 Amenkha; [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]; 200

REVERSE

200 [...]

280 (?) left side

Day 22	(?)	<i>ds</i> jars 4; dates [1] left side
Day 23	Neferhotep	fish; 7; 15 Hatnefer
[Day] 24	Meryre	[festival ?]

16⁴⁵

16 60

16

16

16

⁴⁵ Every instance of the numeral '16' in this column is written '6' + '10' instead of '10' + '6'.

2. O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943: Ramesses III: year 20 (?), III *ꜥḥ.t* (?)

OBVERSE

[...] 160

Day 18 Mose [...]

Year 20

III *ꜥḥ.t* (?)

<u>Day 1</u>	Menna	Khnummose; fish; 300; 300
<u>Day 2</u>	Nakhemmut	[wood] 160 Bakenkhonsu
<u>Day 3</u>	Iyerniutef	
<u>Day 4</u>	Pentaweret	<i>ds</i> jars 4
<u>Day 5</u>	Hori	dates 1 left side; <i>psn</i> bread 2; <i>bi.t</i> bread 3; <i>ds</i> jars 4
<u>Day 6</u>	Anynakht	[...] 1; 3 / 6 <i>bi.t</i> bread; dates 1 left side
<u>Day 7</u>	Neferher	dates 1 right side; <i>ds</i> jars 4
<u>Day 8</u>	Irsu	
<u>Day 9</u>	Huynefer	
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Khaemnun/Iry-‘a</u>	[?]; 20 <i>psn</i> bread; 10 <i>bi.t</i> bread; [...]
<u>Day 11</u>	[...]	

[...] *ds* jars 4; dates 1 left side

Mose: fish 245 [unidentified *smd.t* agent ?]

REVERSE

350 350

[Day] <u>19</u>	Menna	fish Hatnefer and Amenkha son of Amenemope 700; <i>ds</i> jars 4
[Day] <u>20</u>	Nakhemmut	<i>psn</i> bread 4; <i>bi.t</i> bread 4; [unidentified commodity ?] 50; 530 deficit [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent]

Day 29	Neferhotep	<i>ds</i> jars 4; dates 1 left side; [fisherman ?] [fish] 240
Day 24 ⁴⁶	Anynakht	
Day 30 ⁴⁷	Meryre	

[...] *ds* jars 4

⁴⁶ Sign is probably inverted.

⁴⁷ Changed from numeral ‘30’ to sign ꜥ.

3. ONL 312: Ramesses III, year 25, II *zh.t***REVERSE**

Day 13 Reshupeteref *psn* bread 26; 20 *bi.t* bread; *ds* jar [1]; vegetables 8

OBVERSE

[Day] 2[4] Neferhotep
 Day 25⁴⁸ Irsu
 Day 26 Huynefer *ds* jar [1]; dates [1] left side; [unclear sign]
 Day 27 Khaemnun
 Day 28 - *psn* bread 20; *bi.t* bread 16
 Day 29 Kasa

⁴⁸ Written '5' + '20' instead of '20' + '5'.

4. O. Glasgow D. 1925.67, Ramesses III, II *pr.t*

OBVERSE

II *pr.t*

wood

Day 20 540; 100; [unclear sign]; 1160

10 Hatnefer (?) and Penpakhty(?) [fish] 1200; 300

Day 9 Mose ds jars [1]; vegetables 10

Day 10 Menna

APPENDIX III

5. ONL 332: Ramesses III, year 25, IV *pr.t*; year 26, I *šmw*

OBVERSE

[Day 2]0	Kasa	
Day 21	Khaemwaset	<u>deficit</u>
Day 22	Nakhtmin	dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars [1]
Day 23	Qenna (?) [sic ?]	wood 100 [+ x?]
Day 24	Amenemope	
Day 25	Mose	

REVERSE

[...]
 [x+ ?] 100; deficit
 [wood] [x+ ?] 200 Bakenkhonsu
 [...]

[...][x+ ?] 100; deficit

Day 16	Nakhemmut	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12
Day 17	Iyerniutef	<i>ds</i> jar [1] left side
Day 18	Pentaweret	right side <i>ds</i> jar [1]; vegetables 4

6. ONL 6237 + 447: Ramesses III, year 26, II – IV šmw

CONVEX

[...]
 200 + [...]
 Day 30 II šmw
 260 (+ x ?)
 wood
 [unidentified *smd.t* agent ?] 300
 180
 [...]
 400

[...]		
Day ⁴⁹ 28	Reshupeteref	<i>ds</i> jar [1]; <i>psn</i> bread
Day 29	Amenemope	
Day 30	Mose	

Day 1	Menna	300 wood; [unclear sign] dates
Day 2	Nakhemmut	300; [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]; <i>ds</i> jar [1]; dates 2
Day 3	Iyerniutef	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12; dates 1 left side
-	Pentaweret	wood 270 [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]
Day 5	Hori	<i>ds</i> jar [1]; dates 1 left side
Day 6	Qenna	310 wood Amenkha
Day 7	Anynakht	<i>ds</i> jars 2 right side; dates 2
Day 8	Neferher	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12; dates [1] left side

CONCAVE

...
 Day [14][...]
 Day 15 Nakhtmin
 Day 16 Meryre *ds* jar [1]
 Day 17 Reshupeteref dates 2; [...]
 Day 18 Amenemope 300
 Day 19 [...] *bi.t* bread 12
 Day 20 [...]
 Day 21 Nakhemmut
 [...]

⁴⁹ The *s* sign is reversed.

7. ONL 317 + ONL 6212: Ramesses III, year 26, IV *ꜥh.t*

CONCAVE

Jar – 10 – vegetables 1

Day 1	Khaemnun	
Day 2	Neferhotep	
Day 3	Kasa	
Day 4	• Khaemwaset	fish • 360 right side; 360 left side
Day 5	Nakhtmin	
Day 6	Reshupeteref	<i>ds</i> jars [1] right side; dates [1] left side; <u>fish 600 left side</u>
Day 7	• Amenemope	<i>ds</i> jars [1]; vegetables 8; dates [1] right side; fish 950 Amenkha son of Khonsumose
Day 8	• Mose	fish <u>450</u> ⁵⁰ ; • 400 left side
Day 9	Menna	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12 •
Day 10	Nakhemmut	
Day 11	Iyerniutef	
Day 12	dates [1] left side	Pentaweret [sic]; <i>ds</i> jars [1] • right side; 5 vegetables
Day 13	Hori	<i>ds</i> jars [1] left side; vegetables 8
Day 14	Qenna	880 wood
Day 15	Aynakht	
Day 16 •	Neferher	<i>psn</i> bread 23; <i>ds</i> jars 4•
Day 17	Neferhotep	<i>ds</i> jars [...]; • 3 dates
Day 18	Irsu	<i>psn</i> bread 28; <i>bi.t</i> bread 13 •
Day 19	<u>Huynefer</u>	<u>[unidentified commodity ?] 20 •</u>
Day 20	Khaemnun	[fish or wood] 1300 [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]; <u>400 fish left side</u>
Day 21	<i>ds</i> jars [1] left side; dates [1] right side	Neferhotep [sic]
Day 22	fish <u>230</u> •	

[...]

[encircled] • 1260

Deficit 80 •

[encircled] 1260

Deficit 1260 day 30 deficit 1200 + x [...]

[...]

Day 23 [+ x?] [...]

[...] Penpakhenty (?)

[Between two columns]

300; [...]; 800; 6; 360⁵⁰ The numeral '50' is a miswriting for the sign † for the right side.

8. O. Ashmolean HO 1086: Ramesses III, year 26, IV *pr.t*

OBVERSE

[...]		
Day 20	-	deficit 330
[Day 24]	Iyerniutef	
Day 25	Pentaweret	280 / 380
Day 26	Hori	<i>ds</i> jars 5; vegetables 5
Day 27	Qenna	
Day 29	Neferher	<i>psn</i> bread 28; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12
Day 30	Neferhotep	[wood] 1300

REVERSE

[...]		<i>ds</i> jars 5; dates 5 right side
[Day 11]		200
Day 12	[...]	
Day 13	[...]	
Day 14	[...]	
[...] 20		
[...]		
<u><i>ds</i> jars [1] left side; vegetables six</u>		

9. O. Strasbourg H 45: Ramesses III, year 27, III *šmw* or II *šh.t***OBVERSE**

[Ye]ar 27 55 (?) [...]

Day 2	Kasa	<i>ds</i> jars 8; vegetables [1]
Day 3	[Khaemwaset]	
Day 4	Nakhtmin	
Day 5	Reshupeteref	
Day 6	Amenemope	
Day 7	Mose	<i>psn</i> bread 12 [...]
Day 8	Menna	
[Day] 9	Nakhemmut	
[Day] 10	Iyerniutef	1100 + x [...]
Day 11	Pentaweret	
Day 12	Hori	
Day 13	Qenna	[...] <i>psn</i> bread 6; <i>bi.t</i> bread 6; [...]
Day 14	Anynakht	
Day 15	Neferher	<i>ds</i> jars [1]; dates [...]
[...]		
[Day] 18	Huynefer	[...]
[...]		
Day 21	Kasa	[...]
Day 22	Khaemwaset	
[...]		

10. ONL 6284: Ramesses III, year 25, IV šmw or III 3ḫ.t

[Day] 12 Neferher 300
Day 13 Neferhotep

Pamedunakht, Pentaweret⁵¹, Pahemnetjer [?]

... [...]
...
Amenemope
Nebnefer ? ... Nesamun
... 4 20 ...

⁵¹ Also incised.

11. ONL 322 + ONL 848 + ONL 324 + O. Strasbourg H 11 + ONL 6484: Ramesses III, year 28, II *šmw*

OBVERSE

[?]

Year 28

Day 3	Neferher	<i>ds</i> jars 4
Day 4	Meryre	dates 2; <i>ds</i> jars 2; <i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 5	Nesamun	dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 6	Huynefer	dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 7	Khaemnun	<i>psn</i> bread 10; <i>bi.t</i> bread 4; <i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1]
Day 8	Neferhotep	
Day 9	Kasa	<i>ds</i> jars 2; wood [...]
Day 10	Khaemwaset	
Day 11	Nakhtmin	dates 2; <i>ds</i> jars [...]
Day 12	Reshupeteref	[...]
Day 13	Amenemope	
Day 14	Mose	
Day 15	Menna	
Day 16	Nakhemmut	
Day 17	[...]	
Day 18	Pentaweret	
[Day 1]9 (?)	Iyerniutef	[...]
[...]	Harshire	[wood ?] 300; dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars 4; <i>psn</i> bread 14; <i>bi.t</i> bread 10 [+ x?]

[encircled]

2000

[...]

1000

200; 140

9; 80 deficit wood

REVERSE

Hieratic inscription

12. ONL 338 + ONL 339: Ramesses III, year 28, IV *šmw* – I *šh.t*

OBVERSE

Scribe – foreman of the right side Khons – Anynakht – Neferher – Nesamun – Khaemnun
Qenna – Amenkha (?) – Nakhemmut – Iyerniutef – Menna – Kasa

bull

Day 29	Kasa	<i>ds</i> jars 4; dates [1] left side
Day 30	Khaemwaset	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 10; <i>ds</i> jars 2
5 <epigomenal days>	Nakhtmin	
	Reshupeteref	
	Amenemope	
	Mose	<i>ds</i> jars 4
	Menna	<i>psn</i> bread 11 [+ x ?]

I *šh.t*

Day 1	Nakhemmut	
Day 2	-	
Day 4 [sic]	Pentaweret	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 2

Gazelle

13. ONL 331 + ONL 333 + O. Strasbourg H 59: Ramesses III, year 28, IV *pr.t***REVERSE**

[...]	Kasa	wood 500 Bakenkhonsu
Day 19	Nakhemmut	[...]
Day 20	Iyerniutef	
Day 21	Pentaweret (?)	[...]; 7 <i>bi.t</i> bread
Day 22	Hori	
Day 23	Anynakht	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates 2; <i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8; vegetables 8
[...]		
Day 25	Neferher	
Day 26	Meryre	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8; [...]
Day 27	Nesamun	
[Day 28]	[Huynefer]	wood 200

14. ONL 305 + ONL 330 + ONL 6208: Ramesses III, year 29, IV *ꜥḫ.t*

OBVERSE

[...]		
Day 9	Meryre	
Day 10	Nesamun	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 11	Huynefer	<i>ds</i> jars [1]; Nebnefer
[Day 1]2	Khaemnun	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates 1 right side
Day 13	Neferhotep	
Day 14	Kasa	dates 1 [+ x ?] left side
Day 15	Khaemwaset	<i>psn</i> bread 11 [...]
[...]		
Day 16		
Day 17	Reshupeteref	
Day 18	Amenemope	dates 1 [+ x ?] left side
Day 19	Mose	[...]
Day 20	Menna	<i>ds</i> jars 2; [wood] 330 Bakenkhonsu; 600
Day 21	Nakhemmut	dates 1 right side; <i>ds</i> jars 4; [wood] 600 Bakenkhonsu
Day 22	Harshire	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12

REVERSE

400; 550

15. ONL 320: (probably) Ramesses III, year 29, III *ꜥḥ.t***OBVERSE**III *ꜥḥ.t* (?) year [...]

<u>Day 1</u>	<u>Neferhotep/Meryre</u>	<u>dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars [...]</u>
<u>Day 2</u>	<u>Irsu/Nesamun</u>	
<u>Day 3</u>	<u>Huynefer/Minkhau</u>	
Day 4	[...]	

16. ONL 337: Ramesses III, year 29, I *pr.t*

OBVERSE

Year 29

Lpr.t

<Day 1>	Khaemnun	<i>psn</i> bread 16
<Day 3> [sic]	Kasa	<u>dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
Day 2	Neferhotep	<i>ds</i> jar 2; 400 wood [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]; 200 Bakenkhonsu
Day 4	Khaemwaset	<i>bi.t</i> bread 12; [wood] 300 Bakenkhonsu; dates [1] left side
Day 5	Nakhtmin	fish 270; <u><i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] right side</u>
Day 6	<u>Reshupeteref</u>	
[Day 7]	[...]	[<i>psn</i> bread] 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8; dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day [8]	Mose	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
[Day] 9	<u>Menna</u>	
[Day 10]	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; dates 1 right side; vegetables 5; wood 500 Bakenkhonsu 400 [...]</u>
[...]		
[...]		
Day 22	<u>Kasa</u>	
Day 22 [sic]	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	
Day 24	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	
Day 25	<u>Reshupeteref</u>	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8; <i>ds</i> jars 2
[...]		[...] 5; <i>bi.t</i> bread 6; [...]

REVERSE

[Day] 27	<u>Mose</u>	
Day 28	<u>Menna</u>	
Day 29	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<u>dates 3, right side 1; left side 2; <i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
Day 30	<u>Harshire</u>	<u><i>psn</i> bread 11; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12; Bakenkhonsu 400 wood deficit</u>

[Encircled]

1400

1050

[...]

Deficit 1350

17. ONL 297 + O. Strasbourg H 10 + ONL 301: Ramesses III, year 30, II šmw

OBVERSE

[...]	Amenemope		<i>ds</i> jars 4; dates [...] [...]
[...]	322 <i>bi.t</i> bread 8		
[...]	<u>166 Bakenkhonsu wood</u>		
II šmw 60			
Day 1	Nesamun		[...]
Day 2	Huynefer		[...]
Day 3	Khaemnun		[...]
Day 4	Neferhotep		[...]
Day 5	Penanuqet		[...]
Day 6	Khaemwaset		[...]
Day 7	Nakhtmin		[...]
[...]	50 [...]		
Day 9	Amenemope		<i>ds</i> jars 4; dates [1] left side; [...]
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Mose</u>		<u>[900 ?] + 20; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8 (?)</u>
<u>Day 11</u>	<u>Menna</u>		<u>dates 2; <i>ds</i> jars 4; vegetables 4; 166 wood, Bakenkhonsu</u>
<u>(?)</u>			
<u>Day 12</u>	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<u>Wesermaatrenakht: wood: Bakenkhonsu: 200; 200 Bakenkhonsu (?)</u>	
<u>Day 13</u>	<u>Harshire</u>		<u><i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 6; [wood (?)] 230; 200 + x</u>
<u>Day 14</u>	<u>Iyerniutef</u>		<u>dates [1], right side</u>
<u>Day 15</u>	<u>Hori</u>		<u><i>ds</i> jars 3</u>
Day 1[6]...		...	
Day 1[...]			

18. ONL 297 + O. Strasbourg H 10 + ONL 301: Ramesses III, year 30, II-III *šmw*

REVERSE

Year 30, jar

Day 1	Nakhemmut	<i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 2
Day 2	Harshire	
Day 3	Iyerniutef	<i>psn</i> bread 10; <i>bi.t</i> bread 6; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 4	Hori	[wood] 160
Day 5	Pentaweret	[wood] 160 ⁵²
Day 6	Anynakht	wood: Bakenkhonsu: 160; 8 <i>ds</i> jars
Day 7	Neferher	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] left side
<u>Day 8</u>	<u>Meryre</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 1</u>
<u>Day 9</u>	<u>Nesamun</u>	
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Huynefer</u>	<u>dates [1] left side; <i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12 (?)</u>
<u>Day 11</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	right side dates [1]; <u>wood 428⁵³</u>
Day 12	-	<i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 2; fish 9 [...] ?
Day 13	<i>ds</i> jars 2	Penanuqet [...] [sic]
Day 14	Khaemwaset	<i>psn</i> bread 12; da[tes ...]
Day 15	Nakhtmin	dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2
[...]		

⁵² Perhaps erased.

⁵³ Original red entry read: "Day 11, Khaemnun, wood 400". Numeral '20' mirrored.

19. O. Ashmolean HO 1084: Ramesses III, year 30, IV *šmw***OBVERSE**

[...] 300; 200 Bakenkhonsu; [...] 20 [...]

<u>Day 3</u>	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates 2
Day 4	Nakhtmin	<i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 5	Reshupeteref	dates 3; 160 Bakenkhonsu wood
Day 6	Amenemope	dates 3; <i>psn</i> bread 7; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 7	Mose	<u>6</u> [...]
[<u>Day 8</u>]	<u>Menna</u>	<u>dates 2; <i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
<u>Day 9</u>	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<i>psn</i> bread 11; <i>bi.t</i> bread 6; wood 300
Day 10	Harshire	<i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 2; wood 250 Bakenkhonsu
Day 21 [sic]	Iyerniutef	<i>ds</i> jars 2; wood 200 Bakenkhonsu
Day 22 [sic]	Hori	[...]

REVERSE

Day 14	Anynakht	[...] 2; 10 <i>bi.t</i> bread; 8 <i>psn</i> bread

Day 15 ⁵⁴	Neferher	
Day 16	Meryre	<i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 2; dates [1] left side; [...] <i>bi.t</i> bread ? [...]
Day 17	Nesamun	<i>bi.t</i> bread 2; dates [1] left side
Day 18	Nakhemmut	[...]
Day 19	[wood] 160 Khaemnun	<i>bi.t</i> bread 2; vegetables [...]

Day 20	Neferhotep	<i>psn</i> bread 20; <i>bi.t</i> bread 6
[Day 21] 200 wood [...]		
Day 22	Nakhtmin	3 [...]
		411
[...]		

⁵⁴ The entries of days 15 to 20 are written from left to right.

20. ONL 6222: Ramesses III, year 30, IV šmw

Year 30

Day 29

Harshire

Day 30

Iyerniutef

ds jars 2

[?]

21. ONL 299: Ramesses III, year 30, I *zh.t***OBVERSE**

[...]		
Day [...]	Bakenkhonsu (?)	
Day 8	Reshupeteref	dates [1] left side; Bakenkhonsu [...]
...		
[Day 10]	Hori	
Day 11	Menna	
...		
Day 17	Anynakht	
Day 18	Neferher	dates 2; <i>ds</i> jars 2; wood 400
...		
Day 20	Nesamun	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] right side
<u>Day 21</u>	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<u>dates 2; vegetables 2; dates [1] left side; wood 314</u>
<u>Day 22</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	<u>wood 500 Bakenkhonsu; <i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] left side</u>
<u>Day 23</u>	<u>Neferhotep</u>	<u>dates [1] left side; fish 323; <i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 3; <i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
<u>Day 24</u>	<u>Penanuqet</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
<u>Day 25</u>	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
<u>Day 26</u>	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	
<u>Day 27</u>	<u>Reshupeteref</u>	
[?]		
Day 28 ⁵⁵	<u>dates [1] left side;</u>	<u>Amenemope [sic] <i>ds</i> jars 3 (+ x ?)</u>
...		
<u>Day 30</u>	<u>Menna</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; [unidentified commodity ?] 100 wood</u> <u>[unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]</u>

⁵⁵ The numeral '8' is written over an erased numeral '9'.

22. ONL 336 + ONL 6300 + ONL 6299: Ramesses III, year 30, III *zh.t*

OBVERSE

III *zh.t*, year 30

			[400; erased ?]
Day 1	Neferhotep	dates [1] left side	
Day 2	Penanuqet	fish 480; wood 432	[Day 23 [...]; erased ?]
Day 3	Khaemwaset	wood 500 [Sary ?]	
Day 4	Nakhtmin		
Day 5	Reshupeteref		
Day 6	Ramery	dates [1] right side	
Day 7	Mose		
Day 8	Menna		
Day 9	Hori	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 7; dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 8	
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Harshire</u>	<u>dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars 2; fish 700; wood 300 Bakenkhonsu; 400 [Sary ?]</u>	
<u>Day 11</u>	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	<u>fish 200 [...]; <i>ds</i> jars 2; wood 100 [Sary ?]</u>	
<u>Day 12</u>	<u>[unclear sign]</u>		
Day 1[3][...]			
[...]			
[Day] 16	<u>Amenemope</u>		
<u>Day 17</u>	<u>Nesamun</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 1; dates [1] left side</u>	
<u>Day 18</u>	<u>Nakhemmut</u>		
<u>Day 19</u>	Khaemnun	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 4	
Neferhotep [sic]	Day 20	Bakenkhonsu: wood 320; Ptahmose 350; dates 2 left side	
Day 21	Penanuqet	bull (?)	
Day 22	Khaemwaset	[...]; 2 <i>ds</i> jars	
Day 23	Nakhtmin		
Day 24	Reshupeteref	[unidentified commodity ?] 6	
Day 25	Neferhotep	<i>psn</i> bread 15; right side dates [1]; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12	
Day 26	Mose	5 [...] [unidentified commodity?]	
Day 27	Menna	[unidentified commodity ?] <i>ds</i> jars 2; left side dates [1]	
Day 28	Hori		
Day 29	Harshire		
Day 30	Iyerniutef		

23. ONL 298 + ONL 326: Ramesses III, year 30, IV *sh.t*

OBVERSE

Day 1 jar, IV <i>sh.t</i> [Minkhau ?]		
Day 2	Pentaweret	fish 250 Hatnefer; [...]
Day 3	-	dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars 2; <i>psn</i> bread 1
Day 4	Neferher	[unidentified commodities ? 9; unidentified commodity ?; goose ?]
Day 5	Amenemope	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12; dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 6	Nesamun	dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 7	[...]	480
Day 8	[...]	wood 200
Day 9	Neferhotep	
Day 10	Penanuqet	[...] wood 600
<u>Day 11</u>	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	
<u>Day 12</u>	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	<u><i>psn</i> bread 20; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12; dates [1] right side</u>
<u>Day 13</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 3; dates [1] left side</u>	<u>Reshupeteref [sic]</u>
<u>Day 14</u>	<u>Meryre</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] right side; 8 vegetables</u>
<u>Day 15</u>	<u>Mose</u>	

REVERSE

<u>Day 16</u>	<u>Menna</u>	<u>dates [1] left side; vegetables 2</u>
<u>Day 17</u>	<u>Hori</u>	
<u>Day 18</u>	<u>dates [1] right side</u>	<u>Harshire [sic]</u>
<u>Day 19</u>	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 4; dates [1]</u>
<u>Day 20</u>	<u>[Hori]⁵⁶</u>	
<u>Day 21</u>	<u>Pentaweret</u>	<u>dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2; [wood] 1400 Bakenkhonsu (?)</u>
<u>Day 22</u>	<u>Anynakht</u>	
<u>Day 23⁵⁷</u>	<u>Neferher</u>	<u>dates 2</u>
<u>Day 24⁵⁸</u>	<u>Amenemope</u>	<u>dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 8; <i>psn</i> bread 8</u>
<u>Day 25</u>	<u>Nesamun</u>	
<u>Day 26</u>	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; fish 300</u>
<u>Day 27</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 8</u>
<u>Day 2[8]</u>	<u>...</u>	<u>wood 1000 + x + 8 (?)</u>
<u>Day 29</u>	<u>Penanuqet</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables [1]</u>
<u>Day 30</u>	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	<u>1; <i>ds</i> jars 1</u>

[?] 200

ds jars 15; *bi.t* bread 8⁵⁶ The mark for Hori seems to have been erased.⁵⁷ Originally, the day number read '24', but this was corrected by changing the numeral '4' into a '3' by erasure of one stroke.⁵⁸ The numeral '4' of day 24 is written over the numeral '5'.

24. ONL 331 + ONL 333 + O. Strasbourg H 59: Ramesses III, year 30, I *pr.t*

OBVERSE

Year 30

I pr.t

<u>Day 1</u>	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	
<u>Day 2</u>	<u>Reshupeteref</u>	
<u>Day 3</u>	<u>Meryre</u>	
<u>Day 4</u>	<u>Mose</u>	
<u>Day 5</u>	<u>Menna</u>	
<u>Day 6</u>	<u>Huynefer/Minkhau</u>	<u>fish 410</u>
<u>Day 7</u>	<u>Harshire</u>	<u>dates 2; ds jars 2</u>
<u>Day 8</u>	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	
<u>Day Hori 9 [sic]</u>		
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	<u>psn bread 28; bi.t bread 28</u>
<u>Day 11</u>	<u>Anynakht</u>	<u>ds jars 2; vegetables 2</u>
<u>Day 12</u>	<u>Neferher</u>	
<u>Day 13</u>	<u>Amenemope</u>	
<u>Day 14</u>	<u>Nesamun</u>	
<u>Day 15</u>	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<u>ds jars [2 + x?]</u>
<u>Day 16</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	<u>fish 7</u>
<u>[Day] 17[...]</u>		
<u>Day 1[8][...]</u>		
<u>Day 19</u>	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	<u>3 [...]</u>
<u>Day 20</u>	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	<u>ds jars 1; [...]; 450 [...]</u>
<u>Day 21</u>	<u>Reshupeteref</u>	<u>2 dates left side</u>
<u>[Day] 22</u>	<u>Meryre</u>	
<u>[Day ?] 11</u>	<u>[?] Anynakht ?</u>	
<u>Day 23</u>	-	<u>[wood] 960 Ptahmose</u>
<u>Menna Day 24 [sic]</u>		
<u>[...]</u>		<u>ds jars 4; [...]</u>

REVERSE

<u>Day 28</u>	<u>Hori</u>	<u>ds jars 2</u>
<u>[Day] 29</u>		
<u>[...]</u>		

25. ONL 340: Ramesses III, year 30, III – IV *pr.t*

REVERSE

[...]		[...] dates 2
[Day 4]	<u>Harshire</u>	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread
[Day 5]	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	
[Day 6]	<u>Hori</u>	<i>ds</i> jars 2
[Day] 7	<u>Iry-‘a</u>	<i>ds</i> jars [1]; dates [1] left side
[Day] 8	<u>Anynakht</u>	
[Day 9]	<u>Neferher</u>	wood 150 <u>Bakenkhonsu</u>

Day 10	<u>Amenemope</u>	wood 750 Ptahmose; 145 <u>Bakenkhonsu</u> ; 240 deficit wood
Day 11	<u>Nesamun</u>	<i>ds</i> jars 3; wood 150 <u>Bakenkhonsu</u>
Day 12	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	<i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 13	<u>Khaemnun</u>	dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 14	<u>Neferhotep</u>	<i>psn</i> bread 16; <i>bi.t</i> bread 10
Day 15	Kasa	
Day 16	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	<i>ds</i> jars 3; dates [1] left side
Day 17	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	
Day 18	<u>Reshupeteref</u>	

OBVERSE

Day 19	<u>Meryre</u>	[wood] 300 Ptahmose; [368; 10 <i>ds</i> jars] ⁵⁹
Day 20	<u>Mose</u>	350 Ptahmose wood
Day 21	<u>Menna</u>	dates 2; wood 140 <u>Bakenkhonsu</u> ; 200
Day 22	<u>Huynefer/Minkhau</u>	
[Day] 23	<u>Harshire</u>	
[Day] 24	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	
[Day] 25	<u>Hori</u> ⁶⁰	
[Day 2] 6	<u>Iry-‘a</u> ⁶¹	
[Day 27]	<u>Anynakht</u> ⁶²	<i>ds</i> jars 4; <i>psn</i> bread 28; <i>bi.t</i> bread 11 [+ x?]
[Day 28]	<u>Neferher</u>	
[Day] 29	<u>Amenemope</u>	328 wood Ptahmose
Day 30	<u>Nesamun</u>	[wood] 160[+ x?]; 440 <u>Bakenkhonsu</u>
Day 1 IV <i>pr.t</i>	<u>Nakhemmut</u>	dates 2; Ptahmose 350 wood
Day 2	<u>Khaemnun</u>	[...] <u>Bakenkhonsu</u> ⁶³
Day 3	<u>Neferhotep</u>	wood 100
Day 4	<u>Penanuqet</u>	

⁵⁹ This entry is inscribed left of the entry for day 20, but according to O. DeM 35 it belongs to day 19. Perhaps this discrepancy was caused by the copying of ONL 340 into hieratic.

⁶⁰ Written over an erased mark.

⁶¹ Written over erased mark of Hori.

⁶² Written over erased mark of Iry-‘a.

⁶³ This entry has been erased.

26. O. Ashmolean HO 1092: Ramesses III, year 31, II *zḥ.t*

OBVERSE

[...]		
Day [5]	Nesamun	
Day 6	Nakhemmut	<i>ds jar [1]</i>
Day 7	Khaemnun ꜥ	[...]
Day 8	Neferhotep	
Day 9	Penanuqet	
Day 10	Khaemwaset	<i>ds jar 2; dates 1 right side</i>
Day 11	Nakhtmin	100 (?)
Day 12	Reshupeteref	<i>ds jars 2; dates [1]</i>
Day 13	Meryre	

Day 1[4][...]	
Day 15	[...]
Day 16	[...]
Day 17	[...]
Day 18	[...]
Day 19	[...]

REVERSE

[...] 4
ds jars 2; dates 2 right side
860 wood
5 [...] 2
2
Day 24

27. ONL 296 + ONL 327 + ONL 334 + ONL 321: Ramesses III, year 31, IV *zḥ.t***OBVERSE**Vessel, IV *zḥ.t*

Day 1	Nakhtmin [sic]	
Day 2	Nesamun	
Day 3	Nakhemmut	
Day 4	Khaemnun	
Day 5	Neferhotep	
Day 6	Penanuqet	dates 2
Day 7	Khaemwaset	<i>ds jars</i> 2
Day 8	Nakhtmin	
Day 9	Reshupeteref	
Day 10	Meryre	wood 300 Bakenkhonsu
Day 11	Mose	wood 500 Bakenkhonsu
Day 12	Hori	
[...]		
Day 22	Nakhemmut	
<u>Day 23</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	
<u>Day 24</u>	<u>Neferhotep</u>	dates [1] left side
<u>Day 25</u>	<u>Penanuqet</u>	<u>dates [1]; <i>ds jars</i> 2</u>
<u>Day 26</u>	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	
<u>Day 27</u>	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	[...] 3
[...] [3]30 (?); deficit [...]		

REVERSE[...] 2 Iry-‘a (?) unclear

28. ONL 6236 + ONL 691: Ramesses III, year 31, I-II *pr.t*

CONVEX

[...]		
<Day> 12	Khaemnun	dates [1] right side
Day 13	Neferhotep	
Day ⁶⁴ 14	Penanuquet	dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 15	Khaemwaset	[unidentified commodity?]; 340 [...]
<u>Day 16</u>	Nakhtmin	

Wesekhnetet – *ds* jar – Penrenennut

Day 17	Reshupeteref	
Day 18	Meryre	
Day 19	...	
Day 20	Hori	
Day 21	Weserhat	[...]
		<u><i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
<u>Day 25</u>	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] left</u>
<u>Day 2[6]</u>	<u>Anynakht</u>	
[...]	[...]	

CONCAVE

Penpakhenty (?) 300		
Day 1	Khaemnun	
Day 2	Neferhotep	<u><i>ds</i> jars 2</u>
Day 3	Penanuquet	
Day 4	Khaemwaset	
Day 5	Nakhtmin	
Day 6	Reshupeteref	
Day 7	Meryre	
Day 8	Mose	
Day 9	Hori	<i>psn</i> bread 50; [unclear sign; numeral 6 ?] [...] 12; <i>ds</i> jars 7; dates 2
Day 10	Weserhat	wood 3200 (+ x ?)
Day 11	Minkhau	<i>ds</i> jars 3
Day 12	Iry-‘a	
Day 13	Harshire	<i>ds</i> jars [...]
Day 14	Iyerniutef	
Day 15	Anynakht	
Day 16	Neferher	[wood] 500 Bakenkhonsu
Day 17	Amenemope	wood 750

⁶⁴ The sign *s* is reversed.

Day 2	Nakhtmin	
Day 3	Reshupeteref	
Day 4	Meryre	wood 300
Day 5	Mose	<i>ds</i> jars 3; dates 3
Day 6	Hori	516 [...]
[...]		
Day 8	Minkhau	
Day 9	Harshire	wood 300
[Day 10]	Iry-‘a	[wood ?] 300 Ptahmose; <i>ds</i> jars 2
[...]		
Day 12	Anynakht	[wood] 400 Bakenkhonsu
Day 13	Neferher	3 dates; <i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 14	Amenemope	
Day 15	Nesamun	
Day 16	Nakhemmut	
Day 17	Khaemnun	
Day 18	Neferhotep	
Day 19	Penanuqet	<i>psn</i> bread 32; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 20	Khaemwaset	[...] 250; 70 [...]; 400
Day 21	Nakhtmin	100
Day 22	Reshupeteref	
Day 23	Meryre	<i>bi.t</i> bread 12; ⁶⁸ <i>psn</i> bread 28; [wood] 200 Bakenkhonsu
Day 24	Mose	dates 4; <i>ds</i> jars 5
Day 25	Hori	<i>ds</i> jars 2
<u>Day 24</u>	<u>Mose</u>	
<u>Day 25</u>	<u>Hori</u>	
<u>Day 26</u>	<u>Weserhat</u>	[...] <u>dates</u> [...]

[unidentified sign or signs]

⁶⁸ Written ‘2’ + ‘10’ instead of ‘10’ + ‘2’.

30. ONL 318 + ONL 325: Ramesses III, year 31 / Ramesses IV, year 1, I-III šmw**OBVERSE**

[...]		
<u>Day 18</u>	<u>Minkhau</u>	
Day 19	Iyerniutef	250 wood Ptahmose [...]
Day 20	-	[wood] Ptahmose 550; Wesermaatrenakht 870
[...]		
[...]		409
[...]		[...] 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 16; dates [1] left side
[...]		
[Day 29][...]		[wood] 280; <i>ds</i> jars 4; dates 2 ⁶⁹
Day 30	Reshupeteref	wood Ptahmose 510; [deficit] 130; 300

Penpakhenty (?) Year 32, II šmw

[Day] 1	Meryre	fish; 4; 80
-		
Day 3	Hori	<i>ds</i> jars 4; <u>dates [1] right side</u>
Day 4	Weserhat	vegetables 4; dates [1] left side
Day 5	Minkhau	dates 3 right side
Day 6	Iry-‘a	
Day 7	Harshire	<i>psn</i> bread 16; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12; vegetables [...]
Day 8	Iyerniutef	[...]
[...]		
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Neferher</u>	<u>wood 400 [...]</u>
<u>[Day 11]</u>	<u>Amenemope</u>	
[...]		
Day 22	Hori	<i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 4
Day 23	Weserhat	
Day 24	Minkhau	
Day 25	Iry-‘a	
Day 26	Harshire	<i>psn</i> bread 20; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12; <i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 6
Day 27	Iyerniutef	
Day 28	Anynakht	dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 3
Day 29	Neferher	
Day 30	-	1060

REVERSE

[...]		
Day 2	Nakhemmut	[...]; <i>ds</i> jars 3; vegetables 6
[...]		
Day 5	Penanuqet	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 7	Nakhtmin	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] right side; [...]
Day 8	Reshupeteref	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread [...]
[Day 9]	Meryre	[...]
[Day 10]	Mose	[wood] 150; left side 250
Day 11	Hori	[wood] 340
Day 12	Weserhat	[wood] 200 + x [...]
[Day 1]3	Minkhau	<i>ds</i> jars [...]; Bakenkhonsu (?)
Day 14	Iry-‘a	dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars 2
[Day 15]	Harshire	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8; [wood] 4[80] (or 460)
Day 16	Iyerniutef	<i>ds</i> jars 2

⁶⁹ The disorganized arrangement of this section of the ostrakon does not make it evident that the commodities listed here are recorded for day 29, but this may be inferred from a reading of O. DeM 153.

Day 17	Aynakht	
Day 18	Neferher	
Day 19	Amenemope	<i>ds</i> jars 2; wood 300 [+ x?]
[...]		1400; 750
		[...] 4
Day 20	-	<i>psn</i> bread 16; 10 <i>bi.t</i> bread
Day 21	[...]	
Day 23	[...]	
Day [24]	Penanuqet	
Day 25	Khaemwaset	
Day 2[6]	Nakhtmin	[...]
Day 2[...]	[...]	[...] 8; <i>psn</i> bread 10; <i>bi.t</i> bread [...]
[...]		

31. ONL 306 + ONL 403: Ramesses III, year 24, II *šmw*; or I *ꜥḫ.t*; or year 26, III *šmw*; or II *ꜥḫ.t*; or year 29, IV *šmw*; or III *ꜥḫ.t*

OBVERSE

[...]
 Day 6
 Day 7 Khaemwaset
 Day 8 Nakhtmin
 [Day 9] [...] [...] 8; *psn* bread 10; *bi.t* bread 7; <dates ?> 1 left side
 [Day 10][...] [...] + 40 wood; *ds* jars 2; Bakenkhonsu (?)
 [Day 11][...] [...] *ds* jars 2
 [Day 12][...] *psn* bread 7; *bi.t* bread 6

[encircled] wood: 1630; 200 [...]; 200

Day 16 Hori
 [...] 10 *ds* jars
 [...] 16; [wood] 140 Bakenkhonsu
 [...] [8]; *bi.t* bread 6; fish 1280
 [...] Pentaweret *psn* bread 8; *bi.t* bread 3 left side; *ds* jars 2

[encircled] [...] wood [...]

Day [...] 9; 84 (?)

REVERSE

[...]
 Day 2[5]
 Day Khaemwaset 26 [sic] dates [1] right side; wood [...]
 Day 27 Khaemope/Nakhtmin *ds* jars 2
 Day 28 Reshupeteref
 Day 29 Amenemope
 Day 30 M[ose] [...]

1050
380
100
200

32. O. Strasbourg H 13: Ramesses III, year 26, I šmw; or year 28, II šmw; or year 29, II šmw; or I 3ḫ.t

OBVERSE

[...]

Day 23

Meryre

[...] wood 618

Day 24

Nesamun

[wood] Bakenkhonsu 185; deficit 16

[Day] 25

Huynefer

ds jars 2; dates 2; wood 400; Weserhatnakht (?); 25

[Day 2]6

Khaemnun

ds jars 2

Day 30

Nakhtmin

dates 4 left side

REVERSE

500

9; 60

2300

30

[...]

33. O. Leiden F. 2000 / 1.5: Ramesses IV, year 1, II *zḥ.t***OBVERSE**

[Day 8 ?]		[...] dates [1] right side
Day 10	Mose	dates [1] left side; 600 wood Amenhotep and Ptahmose [...]
Day 11	Pamedunakht	[wood] 200 Amenhotep; 300 Ptahmose
Day 12	Weserhat	dates 2; vegetables 8; [wood] 150 [Ptahmose]; 100 Amenhotep

REVERSE

[...]

34. O. Turin N. 57393: Ramesses IV, year 2, II *pr.t*

OBVERSE

[...]
Day 10 Harshire
Day 11 Iyerniutef [wood] 600; *psn* bread 32; dates 2; *ds* jars 2
Day 12 Nebnakht wood 9 Ptahmose; *psn* bread 4; *bi.t* bread 6; Ptahmose wood
D[ay] 13 Wesekhnetet $\overline{\text{A}}$ [for *šw* 'dried' or member of left side?] fish 3000
[Day] 14 Pentaweret
[Day] 15 Nakhemmut

[...]
[encircled]
300; 300

Ptahmose

REVERSE

[Day 28] [...]
[Day 29] Penanuqet wood 250 Ptahmose; 100 Pades
[Day 30] Khaemwaset wood; *ds* jars 4; dates 2; wood 300 Ptahmose
290; *ds* jars [...]

[...]

APPENDIX III

35. ONL 316: Ramesses IV, year 2, III – IV *pr.t*

OBVERSE

Day 23	Neferher	Bakenkhonsu 132; Pades 200 wood
Day 24	Amenemope	<i>ds</i> jars 4
Day 25	Nesamun	
Day 26	Khaemnun	<i>ds</i> jars [1]; wood 120
Day 27	Hori	
Day 28	Neferhotep	<i>ds</i> jars 4; vegetables (?) [...]; dates [1] left side

REVERSE

Day 29	Penanuqet	dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars 4; 5 vegetables; wood 580
Day 30	Khaemwaset	fish 330 Amenkha; wood Ptahmose 480

IV *pr.t*

Day 1

36. O. Ashmolean HO 1249: year 2, Ramesses IV, I *ꜥh.t* – IV *pr.t*

OBVERSE

Year [...]

Day 2	Reshupeteref	
Day 3	Meryre	
Day 4	Mose	
[Day 5]	Pamedunakht •	[unidentified commodity ?]
Day 6	Weserhat	[unidentified commodity ?] •
[Day] 7	[erased sign] Minkhau	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates 1 left side
[Day] 8	2 • Iry-‘a	
[...]		
[Day 18]		
Day 19	Maaninakhtuf	dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 1 [+ x?]
Day 20	Amenhotep	
Day 21	[...]	

REVERSE

[...]		
[Day 24]	Amenemope	<i>ds</i> jars 1; dates 2
[Day] 25	Nesamun	
[...]		[...]; <i>ds</i> jars [1] left side

37. ONL 309: Ramesses IV, year 2

[...]

[...]

[?]

Day 19

Day 27

[...]

Maaninakhtuf

Hori

38. ONL 310: Ramesses IV, year 2, I *zh.t* – IV *pr.t*

OBVERSE

300 wood Bakenkhonsu; Nakhtmin; [jar ?]

[Ye]jar 2

[Day] 1 60 Nebnakht and Nakhtmin day 1 [sic]

[Day] 2 Reshupeteref

[Day] 3 Meryre wood 240 Pades

[Day] 4 Mose wood 250 Pades

[Day] 5 Pamedunetjernakht dates [1] right side

[Day] 6 [Weserhat] ? [...]

[...]

500 [?]

[?] 20 [...]

REVERSE

Day 18 Tasherī

• Day [...] [or woodcutter Sary ?]

Penmennefer (?) 100; 36

Day 19 Maaninakhtuf

Day 20 Amenhotep; *ds* jar 1; 400

Day 21 [...]

Minkhau

• Anynakht

• [...] • Amennakht (xxv)

[...] • Nebnakht

[...] • Wesekhnemtet

Khaemnun • Pentaweret

Neferhotep • Nakhemmut

• Penanuqet • Amennakht (xxvi)

• Khaemwaset • Amennakht (ix)

39. O. Varille 425: Ramesses IV, year 2, I *ꜣḫ.t* – IV *pr.t*

[...]		[...]
Day 11	Iyerniutef	
Day 12	Nebnakht	wood Pades (?) 100 [+ x ?]
Day 13	Wesekhnetet	
Day 14	Pentaweret	<i>ds</i> jars 1 [+ x ?]

40. ONL 329: Ramesses IV, year 2, I *ꜥḫ.t* – IV *pr.t* ?

[...]		
Day 22 ⁷⁰	Nakhtmin [sic?]	
Day 21	Bakenamun	1000 wood Ptahmose
Day 23	Neferher	<i>ds</i> jars [...]

⁷⁰ Written ‘2’ + ‘20’ instead of ‘20’ + ‘2’.

41. O. Cairo SR 12165: Ramesses IV, year 2, IV *pr.t* ?IV *pr.t*

Day 10	Harshire	<i>ds</i> jars [...]
[...]		8 dates; [?]; 5; deficit [...]

270 200 (?)		
9 [...]		

42. O. UC 31967: Ramesses IV, year 3, III *pr.t* ?

OBVERSE

III *pr.t* [...]

<u>Day 2</u>	<u>Minkhau</u>	
<u>Day 3</u>	[...]	
<u>Day [4]</u>	<u>Amennakht</u>	
<u>Day 5</u>	<u>Harshire</u>	

III <i>pr.t</i>		
Day 10	Nakhemmut	
Day 11	Amennakht	wood 300 Pades (?)
Day 12	Amennakht	[wood] 300; Ptahmose
Day 23	Neferhotep	fish 360; <i>psn</i> 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12
Day 25	Khaemwaset	Pades (or <i>ds</i> jar [1]?) wood 100 [+ x?]
Day 26	-	
Day 27	Reshupeteref	Bakenkhonsu wood 346 ⁷¹
Day 28	Meryre	

Day 25	Khaemwaset	
Day 26	Nakhtmin	

REVERSE

[...]		
<u>Day 23</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 3; Neferhotep [sic]</u>	
<u>Day 24</u>	<u>Penanuqet</u>	[wood?] 540; dates [...]
<u>Day 25</u>	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	wood 300
<u>Day 26</u>	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	
<u>Day 27</u>	<u>Reshupeteref</u>	wood Bakenkhonsu 300; 2 <i>ds</i> jars (?)
<u>Day 28</u>	<u>Meryre</u>	300 Bakenkhonsu wood
<u>Day 29</u>	<u>Mose</u>	Bakenkhonsu wood 300
<u>Day 30</u>	<u>Pamedunakht</u>	
300; 400		
300		
200		

⁷¹ Entry written from left to right: Bakenkhonsu – 300 – wood – 40 – 6.

43. ONL 313: Ramesses IV, year 3**REVERSE**

[...]		
[Day 1]6		
Day 17	Aynakht	
Day 18	Neferher	<i>ds</i> jars 2
Day 19	Amenemope	
Day 20	Nesamun	300 wood Ptahmose; 300 Bakenkhonsu
Day 21	Khaemnun	<i>psn</i> bread 12; dates [1] (?); 300 wood Ptahmose; 300 Bakenkhonsu
Day 22	Hori	[wood] 150 Ptahmose; 300 Bakenkhonsu
[Day 23]	Neferhotep	[encircled] dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2; <u>wood 100 Bakenkhonsu</u>
[...]		[...] 3; dates [1] left side

[Palimpsest: 4]

Hori**OBVERSE**

[...]		
300 wood		
Day 27	Reshupeteref	
Day 28	Meryre	
Day 29	Mose	<i>psn</i> bread 20; <i>bi.t</i> bread [...]; <i>ds</i> jars 3; dates [...]
[...]		[...] wood (?) 300; [400]
[...]		
Day 1	Weserhat	wood Ptahmose (?) 400
[Day 2]	[...]	

44. O. Ashmolean HO 1088: Ramesses IV, year 3, III-IV *pr.t*

REVERSE

III *pr.t*

<u>Day 1</u>	<u>Weserhat</u>	[...] 48 [...]
Day 2	Minkhau	fish 300 Bakenkhonsu (?); wood 750 Ptahmose and Bakenkhonsu
Day 3	Iry-‘a	<i>psn</i> bread 16
Day 4	Amennakht	dates 2; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8; 200 Pades and Bakenkhonsu
<u>Day 5</u>	<u>Harshire</u>	<u>fish 170 (?)</u> ; <u>200</u> Bakenkhonsu
<u>Day 6</u>	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	
Day 7	Nebnakht	wood 100 Bakenkhonsu
Day 8	Wesekhnetet	<i>ds</i> jars 2; Ptahmose [...]
Day 9	Pentaweret	

bi.t bread 12; 22 Wesermaatrenakht (?); 160 wood Bakenkhonsu; 8

[...] 2; 10 *psn* bread; [...] [unidentified sign]

Amennakht 320 Bakenkhonsu

OBVERSE

[Day 13]	Tasheri	
Day 14	Maaninakhtuf	<i>psn</i> bread [...] 2; <i>bi.t</i> bread 16; vegetables 5
Day 15	Amenhotep	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates [1] left side
Day 16	Bakenamun	
Day 17	Anynakht	
Day 18	Neferher	
Day 19	[...]	8000
Day 20	[...]	vegetables 6; dates (?) [1]; wood 300
<u>Day 21</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	<u><i>ds</i> jars 4; vegetables [...]</u>
Day 22	Hori	
<u>Day 22</u>	<u>Hori</u>	
<u>Day 23</u>	<u>Neferhotep</u>	
<u>Day 24</u>	<u>Penanuqet</u> ⁷²	
Day 29	Mose	<i>psn</i> bread 20; <u>166</u>
Day 30	Pamedunakht	
Day 1	Weserhat	

⁷² This section is written at a different angle.

45. O. Ashmolean HO 1082: Ramesses IV, year 4, IV *ʒh.t* – I *pr.t***OBVERSE**IV *ʒh.t* [= day 1] *ds* jar 1; Iyerniutef; fish 300

Day 4	Pentaweret	[wood] Bakenkhonsu 100
Day 5	Nakhemmut	
Day 6	Amennakht (xxvi)	[unidentified commodity? bread?]
Day 7	Amennakht (ix)	
Day 8	[...]	[...] 20 <i>bi.t</i> bread; 8 <i>ds</i> jars [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?]
Day 9	[...]	300 wood Bakenkhonsu; 9; <u>10</u>
Day 10	[...]	
<u>Day 11</u>	[...]	dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 1
Day 11 [sic]	[...]	
Day 10 [sic]	[...]	
Day 13	[...]	
Day 13 [sic]	Amenemope	[...]
Day 15	Nesamun	<i>psn</i> bread 16; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
<u>Day 16</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	
<u>Day 17</u>	<u>Hori</u>	<u>dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables (?) 5</u>
<u>[Day 18]</u>	<u>Neferhotep</u>	
Day 19	Penanuqet	wood 200; 300

REVERSE

Day 20	Khaemwaset	wood Pades (?) [...]; 1000; Ptahmose; <i>ds</i> jar 1 (?)
Day [21]	Nakhtmin	<i>ds</i> jar 1; [wood] Bakenkhonsu 500
Day 21 [sic]	Reshupeteref	
Day 23	Meryre	
Day 24	Mose	
Day 25	Pamedunakht	<i>psn</i> bread 17; <i>bi.t</i> bread 4; dates 2; vegetables 6
Day 26	Weserhat	
Day 27	Minkhau	
Day 28	Iry-‘a	wood 336; <u>440</u>
Day 29	Amennakht	fish 240 Ptahmose
Day 30	Harshire	500 Ptahmose; 500 Bakenkhonsu

I *pr.t*

Day 1		
Day 2		
Day 3		[unidentified sign] <i>psn</i> bread 18; dates 1 right side

46. ONL 341: Ramesses IV, year 4

OBVERSE

80 [...]	dates 2; wood 150 Bakenkhonsu	
Day 2	Nebnakht	wood Ptahmose 287 • ⁷³
Day 3	Wesekhnetet	[wood] 700 Ptahmose; 13 • ⁷⁴ <i>ds</i> jars left side
Day 4	Pentaweret • ⁷⁵	
Day 5	Nakhemmut • ⁷⁶	
Day 6	• ⁷⁷ Amennakht	<i>psn</i> bread 16; <i>bi.t</i> bread 10; dates [1]; vegetables 10; Ptahmose fish 300
Day 7	• ⁷⁸ Amennakht	
Day 8	• ⁷⁹ Tasherī	<i>ds</i> jars 4
Day 9	<u>Maaninakhtuf</u>	<u>8 (?) dates; <i>ds</i> jars 3</u> ; wood 400 Ptahmose; 260 Bakenkhonsu ⁸⁰
[...]		
	<u>Neferher (?) •</u>	[...]
[...]		

SIDE wood 200 Ptahmose

Day 11 Bakenamun *ds* jar 3; wood 350 [...] Ptahmose

REVERSE

[Day] 19	Kasa	250
[...]		
Day 21	Nakhtmin	dates 2 left side; wood [...]; 200; 250
Day 22	Reshupeteref •	
Day 23	Meryre	<i>ds</i> jar [1] • ; [unclear sign]

[80]

[Day] 29[...]

⁷³ Incised.

⁷⁴ Incised.

⁷⁵ Incised.

⁷⁶ Incised.

⁷⁷ Incised.

⁷⁸ Incised.

⁷⁹ Incised.

⁸⁰ These wood deliveries for day 9 are written separately in a different colour and at a different angle.

47. O. Ashmolean HO 1080: Ramesses IV, year 4**REVERSE**

Day [...]		
Day 9 ⚬	Maaninakhtuf	dates 2 [...]
[Day 10]	Amenhotep	fish 200
Day 11	Bakenamun	<i>ds</i> jars 3; dates [1] left side
Day 12	Anynakht	[wood] [...]
Day 13	Neferher	[...]
Day 14	⚬ Amenemope	<i>ds</i> jars 2 [...]
[...]		
Day 17	[...]	

OBVERSE

Day 25 ⚬	Nakhemmut	<i>ds</i> jars 2; wood 500 Bakenkhonsu
Day 26	Weserhat ⚬	
Day 27	Minkhau	dates [1] right side; <i>ds</i> jars 2; wood 300 Bakenkhonsu
Day 28	Iry-‘a ⚬	300 fish; dates [1] right side; 4 [...]; ⁸¹ <i>bit</i> bread [...]
Day 29	Amennakht	dates 1 right side; wood 380 Bakenkhonsu
Day 30	Harshire	438 wood Ptahmose
Day 1	Bakenkhonsu 60 [sic][or <i>p</i> + <i>h</i>]	Iyerniutef dates [1] left side; <i>psn</i> bread 12
Day 2	-	300 [...]

⁸¹ It is uncertain if this damaged entry is belongs to day 28, as it is written between the entry for day 27 and day 28.

48. O. Ashmolean HO 1093: Ramesses IV, year 4

REVERSE

[...]		<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates 2; 800 wood Ptahmose
Day 9	Maaninakhtuf	<i>ds</i> jar [1]; vegetables 1; [wood] 1030 Bakenkhonsu; 100 deficit
Day 10	Amenhotep	fish 150; wood [...]
[Day 11]	Bakenamun	450 wood
[...]		[?]
[Day 13]	Neferher	fish 150; wood [...]
Day 14	Amenemope	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 6
Day 30		1000 (?); wood 600 Bakenkhonsu

OBVERSE

Day 18 ⁸²	Neferhotep	dates 2; [wood] 300 Bakenkhonsu
Day 19	Penanuqet	<i>ds</i> jars [1]; 314
Day 20	Khaemwaset	<i>psn</i> bread 16; <i>bi.t</i> bread 16; [...]; <i>ds</i> jars 2 [...]
Day 21	Nakhtmin	wood 520 Ptahmose
Day 22	Reshupeteref	
Day 23	Meryre	fish 400
Day 24	Mose	dates [1] left side; <i>ds</i> jars 2; [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent ?] Nakhemmut [unclear sign]; Neferhotep [unidentified <i>smd.t</i> agent?]
Day 25	Pamedunakht	wood 300 Bakenkhonsu
Day 27	<u>Minkhau</u> ⁸³	
Day 28	<u>Iry-⁸⁴</u>	<i>psn</i> bread 18; <u>dates 1 left side</u>

⁸² Written '8' + '10'.

⁸³ Written over the mark of Weserhat (in black ink).

⁸⁴ Written over the mark of Minkhau (in black ink).

49. O. Ashmolean HO 1094: Ramesses IV, year 4**REVERSE**

[...]		
Day 3	Wesekhnetet	
Day 4	Pentaweret	
Day 5	Nakhemmut	
Day 6	[...]	
Day 7	Amennakht	
Day 8	[...]	
Day 9	Maaninakhtuf	
Day 10	[...]	
Day 11	[...]	
[...]		
Day 29	Amennakht	[...] 3 26 [...]

OBVERSE

[...]		[...] [wood] Bakenkhonsu 145; Amenhotep (?)
[...]		[...] 24; 8 dates; <i>ds</i> jar [1]
[Day 14]	Amenemope	
[Day 15]	Nesamun	dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars [1]
[Day 1]6	Khaemnun	Aanakhtu (?) 20
Day 17	Hori	
[Day 1]8	Neferhotep	
Day 21	Nakhtmin	
Day 22	Reshupeteref	
Day 23	Meryre	
Day 24	Mose	
Day 25	Weserhat	
Day 26	[...]	
Day 27	Minkhau	
Day 28	Iry-‘a	
Day 29	Amennakht	
Day 30	[...]	

psn bread 16; *bi.t* bread 8; dates [1]; *ds* jars 2
 wood 300 Bakenkhonsu [...] 20 [...]
 444 (?) Ptahmose

50. O. Ashmolean HO 1250: Ramesses IV, year 4

OBVERSE

[Ye]ar 4 Day 1	Iyerniutef	fish 200 (?)
Day 2	Nebnakht	
Day 3	Wesekhnetet	<i>psn</i> bread 18 (?) [...] left side
Day 4	Pentaweret	[wood] 1238 Bakenkhonsu (?); 1000 Ptahmose
Day 5	Nakhemmut	
Day 6	Amennakht	
Day 7	Amennakht	<i>ds</i> jars [1]
Day 8	Tasheri	
Day 9	Maaninakhtuf	<i>ds</i> jars [1]; wood 150 Bakenkhonsu
Day 10	Amenhotep	[wood] 400 Ptahmose
Day 11	Bakenamun	fish 690 Bakenkhonsu; <i>ds</i> jars [1] right side
Day 12	Anynakht	[wood] 200 Ptahmose
Day 13	Neferher	<i>psn</i> bread 24; wood 164 Bakenkhonsu; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 14	[Amenemope]	[...] 70
Day 15	Nesamun	300 fish; dates [1] left side; wood Bakenkhonsu [...]

REVERSE

Day 16	Khaemnun	
Day 17	Hori	dates [1]; <i>ds</i> jars 2; vegetables 10
Day 18	Neferhotep	
Day 19	Penanuqet	Bakenkhonsu [...]
Day 20	Khaemwaset	
Day 21	Nakhtmin	
Day 22	Reshupeteref	<i>psn</i> bread 12; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 23	Meryre	
Day 24	Mose	
Day 2[5]	Pamedunakht	
Day 26	Weserhat	
Day 27	-	<i>ds</i> jars 3 right side; dates 1 right side; vegetables 10; fish (?) 9; 20; <u>wood</u> [...]
Day 28	Iry-‘a	<i>ds</i> jars 2; dates 1 left side; vegetables 6

51. ONL 314: Ramesses IV, year 5**REVERSE**

[x + 100 ?] + 80 [...]

[...]	[<u>Neferher</u>]	
<u>Day 9</u>	<u>Amenemope</u>	left (?) fish; 13; [wood?] 300 Ptahmose (?)
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Nesamun</u>	<i>psn</i> bread [...]
<u>Day 11</u>	• <u>Khaemnun</u>	
<u>Day 12</u>	<u>Hori</u>	
<u>Day 13</u>	<u>Neferhotep</u>	[...]
Kasa	<u>14</u> [sic] ⁸⁵	[wood] 260 Bakenkhonsu
<u>Day 15</u> ⁸⁶	<u>Khaemwaset</u>	<u>fish 510</u>
<u>Day 16</u>	<u>Nakhtmin</u>	[<u>Khnummose ?</u>]

OBVERSE

[...]		[wood] Bakenkhonsu 110
[...]		[...] 14
[...]		Bakenkhonsu
<u>Day 25</u>	-	fish Ptahmose and Bakenkhonsu
<u>Day 26</u>	<u>Iyerniutef</u>	<i>psn</i> bread 36; fish 1400
<u>Day 27</u>	<u>Nebnakht</u>	[...]
Day 28	<u>Wesekhnetet</u>	
Day 29	<u>Pentaweret</u>	

⁸⁵ Written '4' + '10' instead of '10' + '4'.⁸⁶ Written '5' + '10' instead of '10' + '5'.

52. O. Turin N. 57302: Ramesses III, year 26, I *šmw*; or year 29, II *šmw*; or I *ꜣh.t*; or year 31, II *ꜣh.t*; or Ramesses IV, year 6

OBVERSE

[...] Mose 12; *ds jars* (?) 8 2

--

Amennakht Bakenkhonsu 7
Neferher 8 (?) Bakenkhonsu
[unclear depiction or sign]

REVERSE

[...]

Pentaweret

Day 9

Penanuqet

Day 10

Khaemwaset

Day 11

Nakhtmin

dates [1 + x?] left side

[...]

53. O. UC 31959: Ramesses IV, year 6**OBVERSE**

<u>Day 6</u>	<u>Khaemnun</u>	<u>ds jars [1]; dates [1]</u>
<u>Day 7</u>	<u>Hori</u>	<u>fish 1220</u>
<u>Day 8</u>	<u>Neferhotep</u>	
<u>Day 5</u>	<u>Nesamun</u>	<u>ds jars [1]; dates [1]</u>
Day 8	Neferhotep	ds jars [1] right side; ds jars 3
[...]		
Day 10	-	1320

Fish 1000; 1410

350560**REVERSE**

<u>400 + x</u>	<u>324 (?) Ptahmose Nakhtmin</u>	
<u>500 Bakenkhonsu</u>		
Day 12	Reshupeteref	[wood] 224 Bakenkhonsu; 160 Ptahmose
Day 13	Meryre	psn bread 16; bi.t bread [...]
Day 15	Pamedunakht	[wood] 124 Bakenkhonsu

54. O. OIM 19125: Ramesses IV, year 6 or 7, IV *šmw*

OBVERSE

[...]

Iyerniutef

Day 11⁸⁷

Harshire

psn bread 20; *bi.t* bread 12

[Day] 12

Amenhotep

wood 400 • Bakenkhonsu

REVERSE

Day 11

[unidentified workman]

Day 13

Wesekhnemtet's son (= Nebamun)

Day 14

[unidentified workman]

[Day] 15

Qes

[Day 16]

Qedherakhtuf (?)

⁸⁷ Written '1' + '10' instead of '10' + '1'.

55. O. Cairo CG 25651: Ramesses V, year 1, I šmw

[...]	
[Day 12]	Itefnefer
Day 13	Hori
Day 14	Penrenennut
Day 15	[unidentified workman]
Day 16	[unidentified workman]
Day 17	Wesekhmentet
Day 18	Mose's son (= Nebnefer)
Day 19	(?) 20 [...] (?)
Day 20	-
Day 21	Reshupeteref
Day 22	[...]

56. ONL 323: c. Ramesses V, year 1 – 2

	Itefnefer	<i>psn</i> bread 12
	...	
Day 29	...	
Day 30	[unidentified workman]	

57. O. Ashmolean HO 891: Ramesses V, post year 2 (?)**REVERSE**

[...]		
Day 11	[...]	
	dates 2 •	
Day 12	[vegetables ?]	
[Day 14 ?]	Weserhat	
Day 15	[...]	
Day 16	Iry-‘a	300 Ptahmose wood
Day 18	Khonsu	
Day 19	[...]	
Day 20	Pentaweret	30; 2040
Day 22	Penanuqet	bull
Day 24	[Nebnakht ?]	

58. O. Ashmolean HO 1078: Ramesses V, c. year 2

OBVERSE

Fish 69 (?)⁸⁸
300 wood Ptahmose (?)

REVERSE

Day 25 Itefnefer

⁸⁸ Written '9' + '60' instead of '60' + '9'.

59. O. Ashmolean HO 1081: Ramesses V, post year 2 (?)**OBVERSE**

Day 1	Minkhau (?)	
[Day 2]	Iry-‘a	80
Day 3	Amennakht	<i>psn</i> bread 38; <i>bi.t</i> bread 8
Day 4	Khonsu	
Day 5	Amenhotep	
Day 6	[...]	
Day 7	[...]	
[Day] 8	Amenwa	
[Day 9]	Nebnakht	arrived (?)
[Day 10]	[...]	arrived (?)
[Day 1]1	Maaninakhtuf	
Day 12	Nakhemmut	
Day 13	Amennakht	
Day 14	Amennakht	arrived (?)
Day 15	-	
Day 16	[unidentified workman]	
Day 17	[...]	
Day 18	[...]	

REVERSE

Day [29]	Penrenennut
<Day> 30	[unidentified workman]
[...]	Khaemwaset
[...]	Nakhtmin
[...]	Reshupeteref
[...]	Meryre
[...] 9	Reshupeteref

60. O. Ashmolean HO 1083: Ramesses V, post year 2 (?)

OBVERSE

Anynakht – Neferher – Amenwa – [...]

Day 14 [sic]	Amenwa	
Day 15 [sic]	Pahemnetjer	
Day 16 [sic]	[...]	
Day 27	Penanuqet	<i>psn</i> bread 10
Day 28	[...]	

REVERSE

1280 [...] 14
[x + ?] 160 / 180 [...]

[Encircled]
Hori [unclear sign]
[...]

Fish 200 [?]

Day 15	Khaemwaset	Pades (?) [...]
Day [16]	Nakhtmin	
Day 1[7]	Nesamun	
[...]		

61. O. Ashmolean HO 1090: c. Ramesses V, year 2**OBVERSE**

20 [...]

Day 13 [unidentified workman] [...] Bakenkhonsu; 100 Ptahmose

Day 14 [unidentified workman]

[...]

[?] 38

[...]

dates [1] right side; wood;

600

Day 21 Hori

Day 22 Neferhotep

Day 23 Penanuqet

Day 24 Khaemwaset *ds jar 1 (?)*

Day 25 Nakhtmin

REVERSE

[...]

62. O. Ashmolean HO 1091: c. Ramesses V, year 2, III *zḥ.t*

OBVERSE

III *zḥ.t*

Day 1	Neferher
Day 2	Amenemope
Day 3	Nesamun
Day 4	Khaemnun
Day 5	Hori
Day 6	[Neferhotep]
Day 7	[...]
Day [...]	
Day 7 [sic]	[...]
Day 8	[...]
Day 9	[...]
[...]	

REVERSE

[...]		•
Day 25	Wesekhmetet	<i>psn</i> bread 16 ȝ; <i>bi.t</i> bread 3 [+ x ?]; 3 dates; [...] <u>right side</u>
Day 26	Maaninakhtuf	
[Day 2]7	Nakhemmut	1000 Ptahmose wood
[Day 28]	Amennakht (xxvi)	
[...]		
[...]		100; wood 50 Bakenkhonsu

63. O. Ashmolean HO 1095: c. Ramesses V, year 2**OBVERSE**

[...]		
<u>Day 3</u>	<u>Amennakht</u>	
Day 4	Amennakht	
[Day] 5	[unidentified workman]	
[Day 6]	Pashedu	[wood] 300 Ptahmose
[Day 7]	Pahemnetjer	fish 310; wood 300 Bakenkhonsu
[Day 8]	Penmennefer	fish 600; <i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> ⁸⁹ bread 6
<u>Day 9</u>	<u>Bakenamun</u>	
<u>Day 10</u>	<u>Itefnefer 25</u> ⁹⁰	[wood] 450 [...]
<u>Day 11</u>	<u>[unidentified workman]</u>	dates 2; vegetables 5; [wood] 500
<u>Day 12</u>	<u>Penrenennut</u>	dates 1 left side; [wood] 170; [encircled] 30 <i>ds</i> jars 2
[Day 13]	[unidentified workman]	[wood] 300 Ptahmose
[...]		[...] <i>psn</i> bread 4; 4 <i>bi.t</i> bread; dates [1] left side
<u>Day 5 [sic]</u>	<u>[unidentified workman]</u>	[...] 280; [wood] 300 Ptahmose
<u>Day 6 [sic]</u>	<u>[unidentified workman]</u>	[...]
<u>Day 7 [sic]</u>	Qes	[...]
Day 18	[unidentified workman]	[wood] 240 Bakenkhonsu
Day 19	[unidentified workman]	
Day 20	[unidentified workman]	[wood] 300 Ptahmose

REVERSE

<u>Day 21</u>	<u>[Anynakht]</u>	[...]
<u>Day 22</u>	<u>Neferher</u>	[wood] 200
Day 23	Amenemope	[wood] 200
Day 24	Nesamun	[...]
Day 25	Khaemnun	[wood] 200 [...]
[...]		
[Day 27]	Neferhotep	[...]
Day 28	Penanuqet	[...]
Day 29	Khaemwaset	[wood] 200 [...] Ptahmose
Day 30	Nakhtmin	[wood] 250 Ptahmose 90
	10; 1150	
	1160	

⁸⁹ Sign inverted.⁹⁰ Later addition written over the mark of Itefnefer.

64. O. BM EA 50731: Ramesses V, post year 2 (?)

REVERSE

400

[encircled]

Amenhotep (?) 30

[...]

(?)

psn bread 7

Day 22

Nakhtmin

psn bread

Weserhat *psn* bread; 21; 8

Reshupeteref 7

psn bread 12

Amennakht [...]

Reshupeteref; Wesehnmertet
(?); 900

65. O. Cairo JE 96328: c. Ramesses V, year 2

REVERSE

[...]

[Meryre] 100; Mose 100; Pamedunakht 100

III *ꜣḥ.t*

Day 15 Nakhtmin 1500

4530

360

66. O. Glasgow D. 1925.80: c. Ramesses V, year 2

OBVERSE

Year [...?]		
Day 1	[unidentified workman]	[wood] 300 Ptahmose
Day 2	Qes	[wood] 300 Ptahmose
Day 3	[unidentified workman]	[wood] 300 Bakenkhonsu
Day 4	[unidentified workman]	[wood] 340 Ptahmose
Day 5	[unidentified workman]	[wood] 300
Day 6	Anynakht	
Day 7	Neferher	[wood] 120; <i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> Bakenkhonsu
Day 8	Amenemope	
Day 9	Nesamun	
Day 10	Khaemnun	
Day 11	Hori	[wood] 490 ⁹¹ (?); Ptahmose
Day 12	Neferhotep	<i>psn</i> bread 8; <i>bi.t</i> bread 4; dates [1] left side
Day 13	Penanuqet	
Day 14	Khaemwaset	[wood] 370 Ptahmose
Day 15	Nakhtmin	
Day 1[6]	[...]	
Day 17	[...]	
Day 18	Mose	[...]
Day 19	<u>Pamedunakht</u>	
Day 20	<u>Weserhat</u>	
Day 21	<u>Minkhau</u>	
Day 22	<u>Iry-‘a</u>	<i>psn</i> bread 15; [...]
Day 23	<u>Amennakht</u>	
Day 24	<u>Khonsu</u>	
Day 25	<u>Amenhotep</u>	

REVERSE

<u>Day 26</u>	<u>Pentaweret</u>	
<u>Day 27</u>	<u>Bakenamun</u>	700 wood Bakenkhonsu
<u>Day 28</u>	<u>Amenwa</u>	
Day 29	Nebnakht	

Day 30	Wesekhnemtet	wood 480 [illegible hieratic inscription?]

Day 1	Maaninakhtuf	
Day 2	Nakhemmut	dates 2; [...] 80 [unclear sign]
Day 3	Amennakht	<i>psn</i> bread 20; <i>bi.t</i> bread 12
Day 4	Amennakht	[wood] 420 Ptahmose; 10 vegetables
Day 5	[unidentified workman]	5
[encircled]		
10; 2070 wood		
50 deficit		
[...]		
Day [...]		11

⁹¹ The numeral after ‘400’ is a mixture of the hieratic numeral ‘80’ and ‘90’.

67. ONL 6219: c. Ramesses V, year 2**OBVERSE**

[...]; Nakhemmut

Amennakht – [unidentified workman] – Wesekhnetet – Amenwa (?) – Amenemope – Neferhotep – Anynakht
2 – Bakenamun 400

Nebnakht 8 Foreman of the right side Nakhemmut

17Day 29 300 Mose; Nebnakht**REVERSE**

[...]

[Day 4] [unidentified workman] fish 200[Day 5] [unidentified workman]Day 6 Anynakht psn bread 12; bi.t bread 10; dates 2[Day 7] Neferher[Day 8] Amenemope[Day] 9 Nesamun[Day 10] Khaemnun 200 wood

[...]

Day 17 MeryreDay 18 MoseDay 19 PamedunakhtDay 20 [...]Day [21] [...]

68. ONL 6320: Ramesses V, post year 2 (?)

OBVERSE

[...]	
<u>[Day] 17</u>	<u>Minkhau</u>
<u>Day 18</u>	<u>Iry-‘a</u>
<u>Day 19</u>	<u>Amennakht</u>
[...]	

REVERSE

Day 29	Khonsu	[...] Bakenkhonsu (?)
Day 30	Amenhotep (vi)	[wood] 430 Ptah[mose]
[...]		

69. O. Ashmolean HO 941: Ramesses III, year 28, II-III *šmw*; or year 29, II-III *šmw*; or I-II *ꜥh.t*; or year 31, III-IV *šmw*; or II-III *ꜥh.t*; or Ramesses V

REVERSE

Day 15 Menna ?
Day 16 [...]

Dates [1] left side

Day 13 [...]
Day 14 Menna ?
Day 15 [...] wood; *ds jar 1*

Day 21 [...]

OBVERSE

[Day 2]6 [...]
Day 27 [...]
Day 28 Kasa/Penanuqet wood [...]
Day 29 Khaemwaset dates 2 [...]
Day 30 Nakhtmin
Day 1 Reshupeteref
Day 2 Meryre (?)

70. ONL 303: date uncertain

OBVERSE

Day 24 Amenemope 7 [...]; *ds* jars 2; dates (?) [...]

[unidentified workman] (?)

Aanakhtu (?)

Mose (?)

REVERSE

50 50 50 50 [...]

71. ONL 304: date uncertain

OBVERSE

Day 20 [+ x?]

Day [...]

dates [1] left side; fish 390

72. ONL 308: date uncertain

OBVERSE

[...]

[...] 2; *psn* bread 12; dates [1] left side ●
[...] 1; *ds* jars 2; 400 Nakhemmut
240; 260 (?)
left side

Day 17

[...]

REVERSE

[...]

[...]

[...]

[...]

Pentaweret

ds jars 2 [...] wood 280 [...]
psn bread 16; *bi.t* bread 12
right side dates [1]; 2 *ds* jars

73. ONL 6267: date uncertain

OBVERSE

psn bread, left side 1
ds jars 2; vegetables 4

Day 25 [...]

120 (?)

[...]

100 [+ x]

Hori; deficit [...]

74. ONL 613: date uncertain

[...] Iyerniutef/Khonsu

[...]

[...] 16;

bi.t

bread

7;

[...]

75. ONL 1639: date uncertain

Neferhotep/Meryre; Hatnefer (?)

[Day 2] 2 646 [...] [wood] 300 Bakenkhonsu

Day 23 [...] 610 ; 3 (?)

424 (?) 430

Nakhemmut/Pamedunetjer Kasa/Penanuqet [...] 10

[...]

76. ONL 6267: date uncertain

psn bread left side 1
ds jars 2; vegetables 4

Day 25 [...]

1[20]

[...]

Hori (?), deficit [...]

77. ONL 6523: date uncertain

[...] 500

deficit: 330 (?)

[*hry* < .*w* > *mp.t* (?) or Hatnefer ?]

[?]

[III *sh.t* (?)]

500

Day 30: 60, deficit

[...] [x + ?] 220 6; 1260 6, deficit 6

78. ONL 6729: date uncertain

psn 16

bit 6

ds jars 2

1 vegetables

79. ONL 6730: date uncertain**OBVERSE**

[...]

Hatnefer (?), *ds* jars 4

[Day x + ?] 8 Iry-‘a

200 wood 43 (?) Bakenkhonsu

REVERSE

[...] 2; wood 200 [...] [...]

[x+ ?] 186

[*psn* bread] 8; *bi.t* bread 8

[...] 16 [...]

[...] Pentaweret (?)

80. ONL 876: date uncertain

OBVERSE

[unclear sign]

[...] Khaemnun
Day 11 Anynakht
[...] Day 1[x]

REVERSE

[Day] 6 [...]