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CHAPTER 1. DEIR EL-MEDINA DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY AND THE EARLIEST USAGE OF WORKMEN'S MARKS FROM THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Before we will direct our attention to the ostraca with identity marks from the Theban Necropolis, we shall explore the usage of non-textual marks elsewhere. It is a well-known fact that marking systems were employed at different locations and different times in ancient Egypt, and an assessment of the use of marks at other sites is necessary to understand the context of the identity marks of the Theban Necropolis workmen. The second part of this chapter is a study of the history of the 18th Dynasty community of necropolis workmen at Deir el-Medina, and the organisation of their labour. Such an examination is required in order to better comprehend the role of the ostraca with marks at the time the marking system of the Theban Necropolis was introduced.

1.2 MARKS ELSEWHERE IN NEW KINGDOM EGYPT: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Non-textual marking systems have been around since before the invention of writing. In Egypt various marking systems with different purposes existed during to the Old Kingdom up to the Roman period (and probably much later). The topic of the present dissertation are the identity marks that were used by the workmen of Deir el-Medina during the 18th, 19th and 20th Dynasties, but this system of marks is definitely not the only one of its time. Notable examples of marking systems of the New Kingdom are attested at Thebes but also at Amarna.

Marks used in building

Blocks and unhewn filling stones from the causeway of the temple of Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahari demonstrate that marks were used during different phases of the construction of the complex. These marks, called “mason’s marks” by Julia Budka, were painted in red ink. Many marks are signs borrowed from hieroglyphic script, and sometimes a single mark consisting of two hieroglyphic signs. Similar marks, but in much smaller numbers, were attested on blocks from the Ramesside temple of Deir el-Bahari, situated at the entrance of the Asasif valley. The mason’s marks were interpreted as team marks, referring to a cohort of workmen.¹ The marks appear to attest to a division of labour, as some marks were mostly found in certain areas of the edifice on either casing stones or rough stones.² Comparing the marks with information gained from 18th Dynasty ostraca excavated near the temple of Deir el-Bahari, Budka proposed that some marks might refer to the institutions or towns that contributed to the building process.³ Other marks may well be references to individual contributions by high-ranking priests and officials.⁴ From a different perspective Budka suggested that some marked stones could represent the identity of individual masons, and that they were deposited in the construction as a means to symbolically tie oneself permanently to a significant structure. This would be in accord with a practice among high officials from the

¹ Julia Budka, ‘Benchmarks, team marks and pot marks from the Asasif (Western Thebes)’ in: Haring and Kaper (eds.), *Pictograms or Pseudo script?*, 78-81.

² Julia Budka, ‘Non-textual marks from the Asasif (Western-Thebes). Remarks on function and practical use based on external textual evidence’ in: Andrassy, Budka and Kammerzell (eds.), *Non-textual marking systems*, 186-187.

³ Budka, ‘Non-textual marks’, 187-190.

⁴ Budka, ‘Non-textual marks’, 190-191.

18th Dynasty to leave name stones and privately stamped bricks in temples and tombs.⁵ Interestingly, the marks from the causeway of the temple of Thutmosis III are very similar to painted marks from the temple proper at Deir el-Bahari. Their meaning is not yet clear, but Budka noted that “[i]t is very likely that individual marks relate to specific parts of the royal building complex and to different teams and institutions.”

On the *taffl* stone foundations of the Ramesside temple hieratic benchmarks were inscribed. They consist of control notes and data concerning the levelling of the plateau, as well as records of the work of specific stonemason’s gangs under the name of a supervisor. Some of these notes are combined with a mark. Budka differentiated between two types of benchmarks: those that were inscribed before the work, serving as instructions for supervisors, and those that were added after completing the building activity mentioned in the inscription that may have served as a reference point for further work. The meaning of the marks is as yet unclear, but they could well be team marks (or “builders’ marks”) or control marks.⁶

Mason’s marks from the end of the 18th Dynasty are found on the building blocks used in the Small Aten Temple. We will look into this corpus with more detail in Excursus I below.⁷

Quarry marks

Well attested in ancient Egypt are so-called quarry marks, signs left in stone quarries during the process of extracting stone blocks for building material. Some quarry marks can be dated to the New Kingdom. In the granite quarry of Aswan just above the unfinished Thutmoside obelisk one can still see marks, which have been interpreted as control marks of supervisors.⁸ At Gebel el-Silsila, marks are attested in quarries that have been dated to the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II on the basis of archaeological evidence and inscriptions on stelae. The marks themselves might date to the same time. Perhaps even earlier marks were tentatively dated to the reigns of Amenhotep III and/or Amenhotep IV.⁹ The marks attested in the quarry of Deir Abu Hinnis date to reign of Akhenaten.¹⁰ Finally, a small number of marks are inscribed in the quarry of Dra‘ Abu el-Naga¹¹ and will be dealt with in more detail below.¹²

Marks on the sphinxes of the alley of Karnak

Marks are also attested on ram-headed sphinxes along a dromos west of the temple of Karnak. The date of these marks is uncertain. The sphinxes were probably sculpted under Amenhotep III or slightly earlier, but they were later reused and perhaps adjusted under Ramesses II, Pinodjem I, and/or Taharqa.¹³ All sphinxes display an isolated sign on the lower part of the left flank. They do not seem to be interpretable as cryptographic writing. Several marks were

⁵ Budka, ‘Non-textual marks’, 191-193.

⁶ Budka, ‘Benchmarks, team marks and pot marks from the Asasif’, 73-78.

⁷ See below, p. 49-63.

⁸ Dieter Arnold, *Building in Egypt. Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (New York 1991), 37-38 and fig. 2.15.

⁹ Maria Nilsson, ‘Pseudo Script in Gebel el Silsila: Preliminary Results of the 2012 Epigraphic Survey’ in: Kelly Accetta, Renate Fellingner, Pedro Lourenço Gonçalves *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2013. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium. University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, March 19-22, 2013* (Oxford 2014), 123.

¹⁰ Athena van der Perre, ‘De vergeten steengroeven van Achnaton’ *Ta-Mery* 4 (2011), 117-118 and fig. 5a

¹¹ Shin-ichi Nishimoto, Sakuji Yoshimura and Jiro Kondo, ‘Hieratic Inscriptions from the Quarry at Qurna: an interim Report’ *BMSAES* 1 (2002), 20-31. Accessible via <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/bmsaes/issue1/nishimoto.html>; Susanne Bickel, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben. III. Tore und andere wiederverwendete Bauteile Amenophis’ III.* BBf 16 (Stuttgart 1997), 15-35 and pls. 5-16.

¹² See below, p. 63-64, Excursus II.

¹³ Agnès Cabrol, ‘Les criosphinx de Karnak: un nouveau dromos d’Amenhotep III’ *CdK* 10 (1995), 1-2.

later covered with plaster. Different possible interpretations have been offered. Firstly, the sphinxes could have been marked in the quarry and the signs might correspond to a certain order in which the sphinxes had to be installed along the dromos. This order could be connected with the texts that had to be inscribed on the sphinxes, or with which they had already been inscribed. Secondly, the marks may have been added in the time of Pinodjem when the dromos was reorganised. The sphinxes may perhaps have been supplemented with other elements that have now disappeared, such as inscribed pedestals or offerings that each corresponded with a particular sphinx.¹⁴

Marks used in branding

As is the practice in modern times, cattle were branded in ancient Egypt using branding irons.¹⁵ Two brands in the Eton College Myers Museum consist of hieroglyphic sign groups,¹⁶ and the branding marks (ꜥbw) mentioned in Papyrus de Varzy have been interpreted as textual signs as well. The later document actually describes the mark as consisting of the sign ꜥ *rwḏ* with inside of it the sign ꜥ *īwn*, forming a mark that need not necessarily be read as a textual message.¹⁷

Assembly marks

Another category of signs may be called (re-)assembly marks.¹⁸ The cornices of the rectangular outer sarcophagus of Maiherperi from his tomb KV 36 are marked with signs incised in the wood.¹⁹ The ends of the longer and shorter panels that form the sarcophagus were marked in such a way that when properly re-assembled, the same marks would face each other. The edge of the footboard was only marked in one corner, but had an additional single mark in the middle. Apart from perhaps sign ꜥ *nb* and four strokes, the marks appear to be abstract signs. Similar assembly marks are recorded on the edges of the sarcophagus of Meryt from the tomb of her husband Kha (TT 8).²⁰ Here marks are added to all four corners of the sarcophagus. The marks are all signs borrowed from hieroglyphic script, and they are all different from the marks on the coffin of Maiherperi.

Weaver's marks

On items of linen marks have been attested as well. A number of marks come from the tomb of Hatnefer (TT 71), mother of the famous Senenmut. Rosalind Janssen mentioned that the cloths of linen bear “weaver’s marks” which were inwoven. Moreover, 26 sheets displayed “identifications marks in black ink, reportedly “demonstrating that the pieces came from governmental and temple stores”.²¹ Marks occur on royal linen too. From the embalmers

¹⁴ Cabrol, ‘Les criosphinx’, 21-23.

¹⁵ Kathrin Gabler kindly provides the following references to the marking of cattle (*ih*) with brands (ꜥbw) in Theban administrative documents of the Ramesside Period: P. Turin Cat. 1880 vso. IV, 7; P. DeM 26, frag. B, 2; O. Berlin P 10645+ rev., 3.

¹⁶ ECM 1770 and 1771, see Nicholas Reeves (ed.), *Egyptian Art at Eton College and Durham University. Catalogue of a loan exhibition to Japan, 24 February-30 November 2008* (year and place unknown), cat. nrs. 101 and 102. Unpublished but accessible via <http://www.nicholasreeves.com/item.aspx?category=Collections&id=247>.

¹⁷ Henri Loffet and Valérie Matoïan, ‘Le papyrus de Varzy’ *RdE* 47 (1996), 29-36.

¹⁸ For textual assembly marks from the end of the 18th Dynasty see Martha R. Bell, ‘Notes on the exterior construction signs from Tutankhamun’s shrines’ *JEA* 76 (1990), 107-124.

¹⁹ O. Cairo CG 24001, see Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, 1-2.

²⁰ Turin S. 8517 RCGE 19440, see Silvio Curto and Maurizio Mancini, ‘News of Kha’ and Meryt’ *JEA* 54 (1968), 77 and fig. 1.

²¹ Rosalind M. H. Janssen, ‘Costume in New Kingdom Egypt’ in: Jack M. Sasson, John Baines, Gary Beckman *et al.* (eds.), *Civilizations of the ancient Near East 1* (New York 1995), 387. The marks themselves do not seem

cache of Tutankhamun (KV 54) a sheet of cloth was recovered bearing several marks, both woven into the material as well as inscribed in ink. Their meaning is obscure. Winlock interpreted the woven marks as an inscription which he translated as “Long live the Good King Nofer”. The significance of the other signs was unclear to him, although one was described as “a private mark of some sort”.²² Interestingly, very similar marks are found on textile objects that have been called pillows discovered in the embalmers cache of KV 63.²³

Potmarks and potter's marks

Another common category of marks is well attested in the New Kingdom: potmarks. Marks occur on blue-painted pottery from a large deposit, found out of context in the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak North. The pottery was dated to the late 18th Dynasty and may have come from temples and estates of Akhenaten in Karnak East. The marks were all applied in paint before firing. Colin Hope provided a tentative explanation for the purpose of the marks. Since they were added before firing of the vessel, the marks must have been added in the workshops where the vessels were manufactured and could have conveyed the ownership of a temple or royal estate. Alternatively the marks may have been added to keep track of the output of the different painters decorating the vessels, or to indicate the content of the vessels. Hope remarked that within the Karnak North corpus, the practice of marking was limited to only two types of vessels and that each type displayed a rather restricted variety of marks.²⁴

The blue-painted pottery from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata had been marked too. The marks appear on five or six types of vessels, mostly large undecorated storage vessels, and were added in different ways: marks were impressed, painted or incised before firing, or incised after firing. According to Hope, the vessels had contained commodities that were used during the celebrations of the jubilee festivals of Amenhotep III. In his opinion the purpose of the marks was not to follow the output of potters or workshops or to indicate ownership, because some marks were attested with a very high frequency and others with a very low one. Instead, he tentatively connected the marks with the festivals at the palace: “They would have been commissioned locally by the administration and thus might have been marked to indicate this. If this were the case then the marks might indicate at which workshop specific numbers of vessels from a commission were made, or possibly indicate to which order the vessels belonged, and several such would surely have been placed during the period covered by the use of the palace during the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign.”²⁵

Among the ceramic fragments excavated at Amarna several marked examples are found as well. They are discussed in Excursus I below.²⁶

to have been published. One sheet of linen (MMA acc. no. 36.3.111) is accessible online via <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/545138?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=36.3.111&pos=1>.

²² MMA acc. no. 09.184.693, see Herbert E. Winlock and Dorothea Arnold, *Tutankhamun's funeral* (New York 2010), 32-34 and figs. 25 and 77. The captions of fig. 25B and 25D show that the editor of the book interpreted the marks respectively as a quality mark and as a mark “possibly identifying an inspection by a supervising official.”

²³ Otto J. Schaden, ‘The Amenmesse Project, Season of 2006’ *ASAE* 82 (2008), 233, 235, 252, fig. 20. A study of these objects and their marks is in preparation by Elise van Rooij.

²⁴ Colin A. Hope, ‘Some remarks on potmarks of the late Eighteenth Dynasty’ in: Anthony Leahy and John Tait (eds.), *Studies on ancient Egypt in honour of H.S. Smith*. EES OP 13 (London 1999), 122-126.

²⁵ Hope, ‘Some remarks’, 130-138.

²⁶ See below, p. 49-63.

1.3 ORIGIN OF THE MARKING SYSTEM AND THE COMMUNITY OF WORKMEN DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

A considerable number of ostraca, objects and pottery inscribed with marks dates to the 18th Dynasty. The ostraca from this period will be discussed at length in chapter 2, but in order to understand their meaning and purpose we shall here first examine the organisation, administration and social lives of the community of workmen that lived during the 18th Dynasty. Such an assessment is necessitated due to the large gap in our knowledge of such matters, caused by the paucity of epigraphic sources from that time. Whereas the Ramesside Period is wonderfully well documented, we possess virtually no written texts from the 18th Dynasty that inform us about the organisation of labour on the royal tombs or the provision and the private lives of the workmen. It is therefore mandatory to review and analyse the little available evidence for the administration of the community during this period, which will enable us to propose a model of the organisational structure of the workforce and their superiors. Simultaneously we shall attempt to elucidate certain aspects of the social lives of the 18th Dynasty workmen.

1.3.1 THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF WORKMEN

The popularity of the cult of the deified Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period is no longer seen as evidence that this ruler had founded the workmen's village.²⁷ Instead, it is now generally accepted that the mudbricks from certain parts of the enclosure wall of the village that are impressed with the cartouche of Thutmosis I indicate that the settlement was constructed under that king. A date for the establishment of the village in the reign of Thutmosis I is corroborated by the fact that no remains can be dated to prior to his reign.²⁸ The earliest settlement is believed to have been rather small, containing only 20 houses.²⁹ Although it is clear that during the Ramesside Period the village was permanently inhabited by the workmen of the royal necropolis and their families it cannot be assumed a priori that this was also the case for the earliest settlement. In fact, it has been argued that the village may have been only intermittently inhabited during the actual construction of the royal tomb, and that the workmen lived at the village without their families.³⁰ The question as to the purpose of the 18th Dynasty village is complicated by several factors. First of all, the earliest structures of the settlement have mostly been altered and reused if not destroyed by later generations of workmen.³¹ In part these events may have caused a second problem, which is the scarcity of inscribed material – stelae, statuary, domestic objects, ostraca, etc. – from this period.³²

Furthermore, the location of the tombs of many of the first kings of the 18th Dynasty is shrouded in mystery. Supposing that royal tomb builders lived at Deir el-Medina from the reign of Thutmosis I onwards, where would they have worked? There has been quite some controversy about the question as to exactly which kingly tomb was the first to be constructed

²⁷ Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 2 and n. 1.

²⁸ Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, 'Le village de Deir el-Médineh. Reprise de l'étude archéologique' *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 436-440; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 2.

²⁹ Elke Roik, *Das altägyptische Wohnhaus und seine Darstellung im Flachbild*. Teil 1. *Text*. Europäische Hochschulschriften 38. Archäologie 15 (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York and Paris 1988), 14; Miriam Müller, 'Deir el-Medina in the dark – the Amarna period in the history of the village' in: Toivari-Viitala, Vartiainen and Uvanto (eds.), *Deir el-Medina Studies*, 157.

³⁰ Andreas Dorn, 'Ostraka aus der Regierungszeit Sethos' I. aus Deir el-Medineh und dem Tal der Könige. Zur Mannschaft und zur Struktur des Arbeiterdorfes vor dem Bau des Ramesseums' *MDAIK* 67 (2011), 35.

³¹ Bruyère remarks on this fact in several of his excavation reports, see Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1926). *FIFAO* 4.3 (Cairo 1927), 10; 43; Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1928) II. *FIFAO* 6.2 (Cairo 1929), 3-4; Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1931-1932). *FIFAO* 10.1 (Cairo 1934), 6-7.

³² See below, 1.3.2; 1.4.1; 1.5.

in the Valley of the Kings. Much of this debate is summarised by Daniel Polz³³ and by David Aston.³⁴ Polz himself contributed to the discussion by identifying tombs K93.11 and K93.12 at Dra' Abu el-Naga as graves of respectively Amenhotep I and his mother queen Ahmes-Nefertari.³⁵ Moreover, he tentatively attributed K94.1 at Dra' Abu el-Naga to Kamose.³⁶ Thutmosis I has often been accredited with building the first tomb in the Valley of the Kings, which has been identified as KV 20³⁷ or as KV 38.³⁸ The grave of Thutmosis II, supposedly the second tomb in the Valley of the Kings, has been identified as KV 42³⁹ or as KV 20.⁴⁰ Yet, it has been pointed out by several authors⁴¹ that there is no textual or archaeological evidence at all that these two rulers were the first to have a tomb constructed at the Valley of the Kings. For that reason, and because of the assumed location of Amenhotep I's tomb at Dra' Abu el-Naga, Polz argued that both Thutmosis I and Thutmosis II were originally buried at the location of the latter necropolis as well. Indeed, pottery fragments inscribed with the name of Thutmosis I have been found at this site. According to Polz, Thutmosis I would then have been reburied in KV 20 by Hatshepsut, and subsequently in KV 38 by Thutmosis III.⁴² Hence, KV 20, the kingly tomb of Hatshepsut, would have been the first tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Dorn, basing himself on the work of Polz, formulated the hypothesis that during the early New Kingdom, the mortuary temple ideally lay on a single axis with the entrance to the royal tomb, as evidenced by the topographical relation between mortuary temples and tombs of Amenhotep I and Hatshepsut. Hence he postulated that the (original) tomb of Thutmosis II must have been located in the area of the Valley of the Queens. If this suggestion is accepted the tomb of Hatshepsut could well have been the first one in the Valley of the Kings, as suggested by Polz. The original tomb of Thutmosis I could then have been situated elsewhere. In the opinion of Dorn, the Valley of the Queens was again a good candidate. Despite the fact that the location of the mortuary temple of Thutmosis I is unknown, Dorn argued that the site of the village of Deir el-Medina, constructed under his reign, is not far from the area of the Valley of the Queens.⁴³

Aston presented arguments in favour of the scenario as reconstructed by Polz in which the tombs of the first kings of the 18th Dynasty were located at Dra' Abu el-Naga. He remarked that the royal cachette (DB 320) included many kings and queens of the 17th Dynasty, as well as several from the early 18th Dynasty, such as Ahmose Hentimehu, Ahmose-Inhapi, Ahmose-Merytamun, Ahmose-Sipair, Ahmose-Sitkamose, Amenhotep I, Ahmose, and Thutmosis II. The tombs of several of these individuals have been identified in Dra' Abu el-Naga, which would in the opinion of Aston imply that the tomb of Thutmosis II must have been situated in the same location. The fact that Amenhotep I and presumably also

³³ Daniel Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*. DAIKS 31 (Berlin and New York 2007), 211-221.

³⁴ David Aston, *Pottery recovered near the tombs of Seti I (KV 17) and Siptah (KV 47) in the Valley of the Kings*. AH 24 (Basel 2014), 85.

³⁵ Polz, *Der Beginn*, 172-192.

³⁶ Polz, *Der Beginn*, 162-172.

³⁷ Among others by John Romer, who thought the tomb had later been enlarged by Hatshepsut, see John Romer, 'Thutmosis I and the Bibân el-Molûk: some problems of attribution' *JEA* 60 (1974), 121-127.

³⁸ E.g. by Catharine H. Roehrig, 'The two tombs of Hatshepsut' in: Catherine H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut. From queen to pharaoh* (New York 2005), 185-186.

³⁹ For an overview see Polz, *Der Beginn*, 217, n. 874.

⁴⁰ E.g. Roehrig, 'The two tombs', 186.

⁴¹ E.g. Polz, *Der Beginn*, 219; Haring, 'Workmen's Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis', 91; Aston, *Pottery recovered*, 85. Andreas Dorn, 'Hatshepsuts Jenseitsarchitektur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innovation und Legitimation' in: Suzanne Bickel (ed.), *Vergangenheit und Zukunft. Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der Thutmosidenzeit*. AH 22 (Basel 2013), 32, n. 19 agrees with Polz.

⁴² Polz, *Der Beginn*, 219-220.

⁴³ Dorn, 'Hatshepsuts Jenseitsarchitektur', 35.

Thutmose II were buried at Dra' Abu el-Naga in turn suggests that Thutmose I's original tomb must have been constructed there as well.⁴⁴

In summary, there are several indications that royal tombs were not constructed in the Valley of the Kings before the reign of Hatshepsut. The tombs of 18th Dynasty kings before her reign should then have been located elsewhere. A number of arguments favour Dra' Abu el-Naga as the site of these tombs. There is no evidence that the workmen of that necropolis were connected with the village of Deir el-Medina. The distance between the settlement and Dra' Abu el-Naga is about the same as the distance between the settlement and several tombs in the Valley of the Kings, so it is theoretically possible that workmen from Deir el-Medina came to Dra' Abu el-Naga to labour. However, the question why the workmen's village was founded during the reign of Thutmose I, when tomb building at Dra' Abu el-Naga had taken place since the 17th Dynasty, remains unanswered. The same question would not apply to the Valley of the Queens as the location of the original tombs of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, because no construction activity before the 18th Dynasty is attested in this part of the Theban Valley. Moreover, as Dorn stated, this area is considerably closer to the village of Deir el-Medina. If the tombs of these two kings were indeed cut out in this area, that could explain the decision to establish the settlement at a nearby location. Yet, no archaeological evidence corroborates the assumption that the tombs of Thutmose I and Thutmose II are to be found in the Valley of the Queens.

The matter of the location of the first royal tombs of the 18th Dynasty will not be solved here. In fact, apart from the mudbricks from the enclosure wall of the village stamped with the name of Thutmose I, there is not much material from the village of Deir el-Medina that can be dated to the time before the reign of Hatshepsut. Perhaps the most important indication to connect the early 18th Dynasty settlement with a group of workmen is the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 340) located in the Western Cemetery of Deir el-Medina. The tomb was dated to the time of Ahmose - Amenhotep I by Cherpion,⁴⁵ which would make it older than the settlement of Deir el-Medina itself.⁴⁶ However, a great number of the parallels for certain stylistic elements date back as far as the reign of Amenhotep II. Therefore TT 340 may have been constructed at a time when the earliest phase of the village had already been built.⁴⁷ The tomb owner is only described as *sdm-ꜥꜥ*, 'servant', without further specification. In itself that title does not tie this individual to the workmen of Deir el-Medina. However, the title *sdm-ꜥꜥ* makes it very tempting to see this Amenemhat as someone occupied with work on the royal tomb, someone like the 18th Dynasty necropolis workmen bearing the title *sdm-ꜥꜥ m s.t ꜥꜥ.t*.⁴⁸ This suggestion is upheld by the inscription of Amenemhat's son on the west wall of TT 340, where he makes claim to having been personally responsible for the tomb's decoration.⁴⁹ He himself does not bear a title in that inscription, but the fact that he possessed the skills to decorate a tomb and had access to material necessary to do so do suggest that he was involved in the decoration of tombs in Thebes. The connection with work on the royal tomb is thus never explicitly mentioned, but may be inferred from TT 340's close vicinity to Deir el-Medina.

A clue about the first permanent occupation of the village is provided by the oldest chapels and sanctuaries north of the village. Foundation deposits inscribed with the cartouche

⁴⁴ Aston, *Pottery recovered*, 86.

⁴⁵ Nadine Cherpion, *Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie à Deir el-Medina. Nos 340 (Amenemhat) et 354 (anonyme)*. MIFAO 114 (Cairo 1999), 31-39.

⁴⁶ Cf. Dorn, 'Ostraka', 35, n. 31.

⁴⁷ Cf. Dimitri Laboury who dates the tomb more broadly to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, personal communication, 2012.

⁴⁸ More on this title below, 1.4.1.

⁴⁹ Cherpion, *Deux tombes*, 44, 50-51, pl. 11.

of Thutmosis III suggest that such edifices were first erected during his reign.⁵⁰ For other elements datable to the early 18th Dynasty we are mostly dependent on the reports of Bruyère. A burial pit in the Western Cemetery, DM 1042, was said to be contemporaneous with TT 340.⁵¹ In two other tombs from the West Cemetery, DM 1163 and 1164, both anonymous but dated to the 18th Dynasty by Bruyère, mudbricks stamped with the cartouche of Thutmosis I were discovered.⁵² The same cartouche was found impressed on the shard of a jar found in a trench just south of the village.⁵³ Reportedly, pottery from the Eastern Cemetery was dated by Pamela Rose to the early to mid-18th Dynasty.⁵⁴ Finally, a stela excavated by Schiaparelli in Deir el-Medina, Turin CG 50005, was attributed to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. It is dedicated to a Mekymontu and his wife Nebuemweskheth by their son Semenkhet, and all three individuals do not bear a title.⁵⁵ According to Bruyère the oldest part of the sanctuary of Hathor to the north of the settlement was datable to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, because several architectural elements from this site were inscribed with the names of kings such as Amenhotep I.⁵⁶ Later, however, these parts of the building have been understood as belonging to younger structures that were dedicated to kings of the early 18th Dynasty.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, a statue of the 18th Dynasty official Amenmes indicates that the temple existed already in the middle of the 18th Dynasty.⁵⁸

In conclusion, none of the remnants discussed in this section is unequivocally related to workmen of the royal tomb. All that can be said at this point is that the construction of the village occurred by royal decree, and that the earliest phase of the settlement was rather small. Contemporary tombs surround the early houses (TT 340, DM 1042, DM 1163, DM 1164, and perhaps some tombs in the Eastern Cemetery) and if they were built for the inhabitants of the village, TT 340 may serve as an indication that the villagers were tomb builders. Which tombs they may have constructed remains highly uncertain, and there is no direct evidence that they were permanently settled at the village.

1.3.2 HIERATIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE 18TH DYNASTY

It has often been stated that very little of the textual administration of Deir el-Medina during the 18th Dynasty has survived.⁵⁹ Haring offered a useful survey of this situation.⁶⁰ Discussing only hieratic documents, Haring signalled “the absence of Eighteenth Dynasty records explicitly related to the royal necropolis and its employees”⁶¹ and suggested that this was due

⁵⁰ Émile Baraize, ‘Compte rendu des travaux exécutés à Deir el-Médineh’ ASAE 13 (1949), 39; Morris L. Bierbrier, review of Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, in: *JEA* 75 (1989), 279.

⁵¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1924-1925*, 48.

⁵² DM 1163, Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 74; see DM 1164, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 100.

⁵³ Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, ‘Le village de Deir el-Médineh. Étude archéologique (suite)’ *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 338 and fig. 10.1.

⁵⁴ Lynn Meskell, ‘Spatial Analyses of the Deir el-Medina Settlement and Necropoleis’ in: Robert J. Demarée and Arno Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD. A tribute to Jac. Janssen*. EU 14 (Leiden 2000), 262.

⁵⁵ Mario Tosi and Alessandro Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina. N. 50001 - N. 50262*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. 2nd. series. 1 (Turin 1972), 36-37, 263.

⁵⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1935 à 1940*, 14-17.

⁵⁷ See e.g. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 18-19; 315; Heidi Jauhainen, ‘Religious Buildings at Deir el-Medina’ in: René Preys (ed.), 7. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Structuring Religion*. Leuven, 28. September - 1. Oktober 2005. KSG 3,2 (Wiesbaden 2009), 151, 153-154.

⁵⁸ For this man, see below, 1.4.1.

⁵⁹ Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 21-23, 26; Davies, *Who’s who*, 1; Ben J.J. Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity at Deir el-Medina’ in: Andreas Dorn and Tobias Hofmann (eds.), *Living and writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical embodiment of Deir el-Medine texts*. AH 19 (Basel 2006), 107; Dorn, ‘Ostraka’, 31; Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’, 87-89.

⁶⁰ Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 107-112.

⁶¹ Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 107.

to the absence of local scribes. This state of affairs stands in stark contrast with that of the nearby construction site of Deir el-Bahari during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, which has yielded a great number of hieratic documentary texts written on ostraca.⁶² A group of ostraca said to have been found by Baraize at Deir el-Medina (O. Cairo CG 25662 – 25669) was discussed by Haring, as well as an ostrakon found by the excavations of Davis in the Valley of the Kings (O. Cairo CG 25501). These ostraca have all been dated to the 18th Dynasty and mention a number of individuals that clearly belong together. However, as it is not entirely certain whether O. Cairo CG 25662 – 25669 were actually found at Deir el-Medina, Haring wondered if the ostraca had in fact come from Deir el-Bahari. This would be plausible because a) a number of names mentioned in this group are also attested on the Deir el-Bahari ostraca, and b) some of the ostraca actually seem to refer to work on the temples of Deir el-Bahari.⁶³ Two further ostraca, allegedly dating to the 18th Dynasty and said to have been discovered by Schiaparelli at Deir el-Medina (O. Turin N. 57279 and O. Turin N. 57438) were dismissed by Haring as documents of that time, the former on palaeographic grounds.⁶⁴ Haring concluded that “[t]here is, in fact, not a single ostrakon dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty and clearly related to the royal necropolis or its workmen.”⁶⁵

Regarding the discrepancy between the number of hieratic administrative documents from Deir el-Bahari and Deir el-Medina, Haring offered four hypotheses:

1. The 18th Dynasty ostraca referring to the construction of the royal tomb have not been found yet.
2. During the 18th Dynasty no records were ever made of the work at the royal tomb and the supplies to the necropolis workmen.
3. The 18th Dynasty administrative records of royal tomb construction were not left, perhaps not even composed, at the construction site or in the workmen’s village; administration of the work was based elsewhere.
4. During the 18th Dynasty the construction of the royal tomb was so secret that all records were carefully stored elsewhere or destroyed afterwards; they were not kept or discarded at the construction site or the village.⁶⁶

Taking option 3 and 4 as the most plausible ones, Haring concluded that administration of the construction of the royal tomb must have been ‘of a totally different character from that of the building activity at Deir el-Bahri’.⁶⁷ Elsewhere Haring suggested that the absence of hieratic administration is no coincidence, and that the fact that the oldest known administrative documents of the tomb refer to the reign of Horemheb is due to the reorganisation of the workforce that took place during the reign of this king.⁶⁸

⁶² William C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mut (No. 71) at Thebes*. MMAEE 20 (New York 1942); William C. Hayes, ‘A Selection of Thutmoside Ostraca from Dêr el-Bahri’ *JEA* 46 (1960), 29-52; Malte Römer, ‘Miscellen zu den Ostraka der 18. Dynastie aus Deir el-Bahri und dem Asasif’ in: Haring, Kaper and Van Walsem (eds.), *The workman’s progress*, 211-216.

⁶³ Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 107-108.

⁶⁴ Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 108.

⁶⁵ Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 108. It must be noted, however, that since the publication of Haring’s article one ostrakon has been found close to the tomb of Amenhotep III (WV 22) which displays semi-hieratic words, probably reading “heights 6 el”, see Sakuji Yoshimura (ed.), *Research in the Western Valley of the Kings Egypt II. KV A and the Neighboring Areas of the Tomb of Amenophis III (KV 22)* (Tokyo 2011), 88, fig. 52, object nr. 427.

⁶⁶ Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 108.

⁶⁷ Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 108; Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’, 99.

⁶⁸ Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’, 88-89. On this reorganisation, see chapter 6, 6.2.3.

Nevertheless, the 18th Dynasty ostraca that might have come from Deir el-Medina or the Valley of the Kings deserve some scrutiny here. In the following overview ostraca O. DeM 10001 and O. DeM 10002, not discussed by Haring as they were not fully published at the time his article was written, are added. It should be noted that the prefix “O. DeM” in the accession numbers of these two ostraca is somewhat misleading, because they are of uncertain provenance: it is unknown how O. DeM 10001 ended up in the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology, while O. DeM 10002 was a gift from Černý. The ostraca in question are:

O. Cairo CG 25501

Provenance: Valley of the Kings, Davis excavation.

Mention is made of work at a tomb, for which the word *ḥ.t* is used. It seems unlikely that this is a reference to a royal tomb.⁶⁹ The individuals that are named are Maya, Iwy, Amenemhat, Amen-[...], Nakh-[...], Pa-[...], and Min. A Maya is attested at Deir el-Medina in TT 338, dated to the Amarna Period.⁷⁰ It might just be possible that Maya was an adult during the reign of Thutmosis III. An Amenemhat is known from TT 340,⁷¹ but this individual must have been active during an earlier period.

O. Cairo CG 25662

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

Mention is made of sealbearers, a baker, a brewer, a measurer (?) and a woodcutter (?) who are connected with unspecified items. The individuals mentioned are: ‘Aba, Tjenen, Nebiry, (Per-?)erau, Hori, Iahmes, Panehsy-[...], Tery and Amenemope. From Deir el-Medina two 18th Dynasty individuals with the name Amenemope are known, one of whom was a scribe⁷² and the other a workman.⁷³ The Amenemope mentioned in this ostrakon is perhaps a woodcutter and probably a different person.

O. Cairo CG 25663

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

A list of 18 or 19 different men: Mahu (twice), Iry, Nay, Nebnetjeru, Neferhotep, Djehutyre, Qed, Iwy, Maani, Pererau, Herhuy, Ahaemweskheth, Nebwashery, Pary (?), Tjuy, Huy, Ru (?) and Qen. The name of Iry resembles that of Iryky, who is attested at tomb DM 1390.⁷⁴ However, it is extremely unlikely that Iryky is mentioned on this ostrakon, as he died as a child.

O. Cairo CG 25664

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

A note from an Amenemhat to a Senu ordering the latter to unload the boat of a Nebiry. As mentioned above, an Amenemhat is known from TT 340, but this cannot be the same individual.

O. Cairo CG 25665

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

⁶⁹ Cf. Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal practice’, 108.

⁷⁰ Tosi, *La cappella di Maia, passim*; cf. Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 108.

⁷¹ Cherpion, *Deux tombes*.

⁷² Name inscribed on a scribal palette (Louvre N 3023) of unknown provenance, see Guillemette Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes de Pharaon. Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois* (Paris 2002), 226, nr. 179.

⁷³ Tomb of Kha (TT 8), wall B, see Vandier d’Abbadie, *Deux tombes*, 12.

⁷⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, 14; 202.

Mention is made of taking persons to Gebel el-Silsila and the issue of stone blocks. The individuals recorded are: Iahmes (an official), Amenmes, Masha, Amenemone, Hotep, Pewer, Senu, K[...], Yn (?), Weserhat and Amenqen. Note that a Weserhat is attested in tomb DM 1386,⁷⁵ datable to the reigns of Hatshepsut or Thutmose III by association with other burials in the Eastern Cemetery.⁷⁶ An Amenmes is recorded on a painted 18th Dynasty stela from Deir el-Medina.⁷⁷ Amenmes is called a scribe there, but it is unknown whether he was involved in work on the royal tomb.

O. Cairo CG 25666

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

A short note mentioning a date and three individuals: Miny, Weserkhepsh and Twa.

O. Cairo CG 25667

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

A letter of instruction about a statue, an apportionment, divine offerings which have to be taken to Deir el-Bahari, and work that has to be kept up.

O. Cairo CG 25668

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

An account of bricks activities connected with working stone (a hall, a stonecutter).

O. Cairo CG 25669

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavation of temple by Baraize in 1912.

Mentions the title and name of the scribe Neferhotep.

O. DeM 10001

Provenance: unknown

A list of workmen and foremen (*hr.y*): Mahu, Tener, Teku, Ifed, Baknefer, Nebenta, Pawoneshy, Benermerut, Penra, Nebnefer, Nebnetjeru, Senwosret, Kapu, Pentamit, Peki, Pyia, Djeserka, Hay, Amen-[...], Maaniheqau, Bakenamun, Maaniamun, R[...], Nebamun and Khaut. A draughtsman of Amun called Tener is attested at Deir el-Medina and must have lived during the reign of Thutmose III.⁷⁸ A “praised-of-Amun” Benermerut, son of Neferhebef is attested in the tomb of Kha,⁷⁹ and it is possible that he already was an adult in the reign of Thutmose III. It is however unclear if this individual was a workman. A coffin from tomb DM 1371 displays a name which ends in a female determinative and which is tentatively read as Nebytawy.⁸⁰ This name is reminiscent of the Nebenta mentioned in this ostrakon, although this person clearly is a male.

O. DeM 10002

Provenance: unknown

⁷⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 190.

⁷⁶ This date is not entirely secure, see below, 1.5.

⁷⁷ Turin CG 50006, Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 37, 263; see below, p. 37.

⁷⁸ As the son of royal scribe of the Great Place Amenemope on stela Turin CG 50004.

⁷⁹ On *senet*-board game from the tomb of Kha (TT 8), Turin S. 8451, see Barbara Russo, *Kha (TT 8) and his colleagues: the gifts in his funerary equipment and related artefacts from Western Thebes*. GHPE 18 (London 2012), 14; 18 and pl. I.

⁸⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 41, 43-44; Claudia Näser, ‘Zur Interpretation funerärer Praktiken im Neuen Reich: Der Ostfriedhof von Deir el-Medine’ in: Caris-Beatrice Arnst, Ingelore Hafemann and Angelika Lohwasser (eds.), *Begegnungen. Antike Kulturen im Niltal. Festgabe für Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter Friedrich Reineke und Steffen Wenig von Schülern und Mitarbeitern* (Leipzig 2001), 385.

A list of workmen: Iuna, Khaut, Djeduemai, Kary, Nakhtmin, Nebnetjeru, Hery-iherraat, Amenhotep (twice), Maani and S-aa. A workman called Nakhtmin is attested at Deir el-Medina in TT 291, who might just have been an adult under the reign of Thutmose III.⁸¹ Moreover, a Deir el-Medina workman called Amenhotep is known from a stela dated to the reign of Thutmose III.⁸²

O. Turin N. 57279

Provenance: Deir el-Medina; Schiaparelli's excavations of 1905

This ostrakon only mentions the name Setau. Although it was dismissed as an ostrakon of the 18th Dynasty for palaeographic reasons, a person of that name is known from tomb DM 1352.⁸³ The tomb was dated to the late 18th Dynasty, so it is very doubtful whether Setau could have been an adult during the reign of Thutmose III. Haring remarked moreover that Setau could be an abbreviation for Nebsetau,⁸⁴ a name attested for workmen from Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period.

O. Turin N. 57438

Provenance: Deir el-Medina; Schiaparelli's excavations of 1905

Mention is made of a singer called Maya. As noted above, a Maya is attested in TT 338, but this individual is a draughtsman.

As postulated by Haring, the ostraca seem to concern building activities at the temples of Hatshepsut or Thutmose III. Some of the ostraca may have been found at Deir el-Medina, others could have come from Deir el-Bahari. Together the texts include the names of 77 different individuals.⁸⁵ The names of four individuals (Weserhat, Benermerut, Tener, and Amenhotep) and perhaps three more (Maya, Amenmes, and Nakhtmin; much less likely Nebenta and Setau) are also attested at Deir el-Medina. Whether these individuals had been active during the time of Hatshepsut and/or Thutmose III is uncertain.

Ostraca connected with work at Deir el-Bahari and discovered near the tomb of Senenmut provide further names that are found in the 18th Dynasty community of Deir el-Medina. A Sennefer is mentioned in an ostrakon with field nr. 27057.1⁸⁶, while at Deir el-Medina a Sennefer is attested in tomb DM 1159.⁸⁷ Objects from this tomb have, however, been dated to the reign of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, making it very unlikely that Sennefer was a workman under Thutmose III. The same ostrakon mentions a Na[...]y, which may be restored to Nakhy. This name is also found in tomb DM 1138, similarly dated to the end of the 18th Dynasty, rendering it improbable that this Nakhy was active under Thutmose III.⁸⁸ A Nakhtmin and a Weserhat reappear in ostrakon field nr. 27057.5 and 27057.6⁸⁹ respectively. The name of Iriky is mentioned in field nr. 27057.5⁹⁰ in a spelling that corresponds to that of

⁸¹ Tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 291), ceiling, central band; west wall, third and fourth register, see Bernard Bruyère and Charles Kuentz, *Tombes Thébaines. La Nécropole de Deir el-Médineh. La tombe de Nakht-min et la tombe d'Ari-nefer*. MIFAO 54 (Cairo 1926), 40; 46.

⁸² Stela Strasbourg 347, dated on stylistic grounds, see Wilhem Spiegelberg, Balthasar Pörtner, Karl Dryoff *et al.* (eds.), *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süd-deutschen Sammlungen. I Karlsruhe, Mülhausen, Strassburg, Stuttgart* (Strasbourg 1902), 15, pl. XIV.

⁸³ Bruyère, *Rapport (1933-1934)* I, 95-109. Cf. Haring, 'Scribes and scribal activity', 108.

⁸⁴ Haring, 'Scribes and scribal activity', 108.

⁸⁵ Counting unique names only, and including incomplete names.

⁸⁶ Peter F. Dorman, *The tombs of Senenmut. The architecture and decoration of tombs 71 and 353*. MMAEE 24 (New York 1991), 88-89 and pl. 47, cat. 26.a.

⁸⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928* II, 40-73.

⁸⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928* II, 12-20.

⁸⁹ Dorman, *The tombs of Senenmut*, 89-90 and pls. 48c, e and 49c, cat. 26.c.

⁹⁰ Dorman, *The tombs of Senenmut*, 89 and pls. 48a, b and 49c, cat. 26.b.

an individual by the same name at Deir el-Medina, but as mentioned, this person passed away as a child.

Considering the number of individuals mentioned on all these ostraca (77 different names in the group of “Deir el-Medina ostraca”, 89 different names in the group of “Senenmut ostraca”), the names that are also attested at Deir el-Medina during the 18th Dynasty (Weserhat, Benermerut, Tener, and Amenhotep; perhaps Maya, Amenmes, and Nakhtmin) constitute a very small percentage: c. 4% to 5% or c. 8% to 9%. It could be merely coincidence that a few names of individuals connected with work at Deir el-Bahari coincide with those of men attested at Deir el-Medina during the 18th Dynasty. The names might have been popular during that period at that locality. One only has to look at Ramesside Deir el-Medina for the ubiquity of contemporaneous individuals with the same name to realise that homonymy was a common phenomenon.

In conclusion, there is very little evidence to relate the names found in the 18th Dynasty ostraca from Deir el-Medina, the Valley of the Kings or Deir el-Bahari to the small number of individuals attested on other sources from Deir el-Medina. Similarly, as Haring stated, the ostraca do not make reference to the construction of a royal tomb and there is no mention of any of the titles connected with the 18th Dynasty workforce.⁹¹ This would indeed mean, as argued by Haring, that we do not possess any hieratic documentary ostraca of that period. The lack of hieratic documentation is odd, because, as had already been pointed out by other authors, scribes were in fact attached to the work on the royal tomb in the 18th Dynasty.⁹²

At the time of Haring’s exposé on the lack of hieratic administrative ostraca, the existence of 18th Dynasty ostraca from the Theban Necropolis inscribed with marks was not yet taken into account, but these documents represent an important source of information. A considerable amount of limestone flints and ceramic shards from the Valley of the Kings and from the village of Deir el-Medina are inscribed with series of identity marks that belonged to the 18th Dynasty necropolis workmen. The ostraca are datable to this period on the basis of their provenance, as well as the repertory of marks. The corpus of 18th Dynasty ostraca with workmen’s marks will be the subject of chapter 2 and we will briefly come back to them below, but it is essential to emphasise the existence of these documents at this point.

The ostraca with marks were discussed by Haring in a later article in which they played an essential role.⁹³ The documents, some of which certainly are of an administrative character,⁹⁴ offer a new perspective on the absence of hieratic administration. They demonstrate that the first hypothesis, which states that the hieratic ostraca are yet to be found in the Valley of the Kings or the village of Deir el-Medina, is rather improbable because considerable numbers of 18th Dynasty ostraca with marks have been found at these sites.⁹⁵ The same argument can be used to partially bring into question the fourth hypothesis. If hieratic documents were of such a discrete nature that they could not be discarded near the royal tomb or in the village, then perhaps the ostraca with marks – as incomprehensible as they may be – should not have been left there either. It is Haring’s third hypothesis that appears most probable. Hieratic documentation must have been produced by the scribes who came to the worksite to assess the progress in the construction works, but their administration was probably kept elsewhere than in the Valley of the Kings or at the village.

⁹¹ See below, 1.4.

⁹² See below, 1.4; cf. Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 109; Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’ 89; Russo, *Kha*, 76.

⁹³ Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’.

⁹⁴ Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks on Ostraca’, 152-154; Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’, 93, 97; chapter 2, 2.6.2.

⁹⁵ Cf. Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’, 90.

This idea ties in with a fragmentary 18th Dynasty letter written on papyrus that was found in the Valley of the Queens. The fragment has only very recently come to light in the collection of the Egyptian Museum of Turin and was unknown at the time of Haring's articles.⁹⁶ The letter mentions Ineni (TT 81), mayor of Thebes, and Djehutynefer (TT 80), overseer of the treasury,⁹⁷ both high-ranking officials who lived around the middle of the 18th Dynasty. The fragment is not preserved well enough to fully comprehend the content of the letter, but revealing is the occurrence of a *šdm* 'š, a 'servant'. The servant is not explicitly connected with any institution, yet it is plausible that he may have been a *šdm* 'š *m s.t* 'z.t, 'servant in the great place', the designation used for the workmen of the Royal Necropolis during the 18th Dynasty.⁹⁸ Regardless of the identity of this servant, the papyrus represents rare but secure proof of the presence of scribes in the Theban valleys before the Ramesside Period. As will be discussed below, the occurrence of Ineni in this letter suggests that it was concerned with the preparation of tombs in this area,⁹⁹ which in turn lends credence to the theory that administrative scribes came to the valleys to inspect the construction project. All available evidence is therefore in favour of the essence of Haring's third hypothesis: during the 18th Dynasty the organisation and progress of work on the royal tomb was probably documented by hieratic scribes, but these records were not archived at Deir el-Medina or the Valley of the Kings. It is very plausible that these records were never written on ostraca but on papyrus, which was taken with the scribe to his offices in Thebes.

1.4 THE ORGANISATION OF WORK IN THE COMMUNITY OF WORKMEN DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

While we lack hieratic documentary texts, we do possess numerous ostraca with marks from the 18th Dynasty. In order to place these documents, which assumingly played a role in the administration, into context, an assessment of the organisation of work on the royal tomb is required. However, in the absence of written administrative documentation from the 18th Dynasty this is quite a challenge. It has often been pointed out that very little about this epoch in the history of the Royal Necropolis can be determined,¹⁰⁰ but there is enough information to provide a rough sketch of the administration of the crew during the 18th Dynasty.

1.4.1 INTERNAL ORGANISATION

Scholars have stated that the organisation of the workforce in the 18th Dynasty must have been similar to that of Ramesside times,¹⁰¹ while other authors emphasised that the organisation must have been rather different from what we know of the 19th and 20th Dynasties.¹⁰² It has also been suggested that labour on the 18th Dynasty royal tombs could have been directed along the lines of the organisation the Thutmoside building site of Deir el-Bahari, with several different crews of workmen that fell under the responsibility of a Theban supervisor of royal construction works connected with the Amun Temple of Karnak.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ It was identified by Rob Demarée, who most kindly provided the details of the content of the letter.

⁹⁷ Peter Dorman, 'Two Tombs and One Owner' in: Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dzierbek, Heike Guksch *et al.* (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9. – 13. 6. 1993*. SAGA 12 (Heidelberg 1995), 145-146.

⁹⁸ This title will be discussed below, 1.4.1.

⁹⁹ See below, p. 38.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 1; Davies, *Who's who*, xviii; 1; Sofia Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina. The External Administration of the Necropolis*. USE 4 (Uppsala 2002), 57.

¹⁰¹ E.g. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 1.

¹⁰² E.g. Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina*, 57.

¹⁰³ Andreas Dorn, 'Ostraka', 36.

During the time of Thutmosis I such an official was Ineni, mayor of Thebes (TT 81).¹⁰⁴ Later in the 18th Dynasty dignitaries like Amenmes, who bore the title Overseer of all Construction Works of the King, must have directed the preparation of the royal burial. We will concentrate on these officials and their administrative duties in section 1.4.2 below.

Before we turn to such Theban authorities, let us summarise what evidence there is of the 18th Dynasty workforce itself. Particularly the objects from the tomb of Kha (TT 8) in the northern part of the Western Cemetery of Deir el-Medina are informative about the management of the workforce prior to the Amarna Period.¹⁰⁵ Kha is believed to have lived under Amenhotep II, Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III.¹⁰⁶ Apart from the objects in his tomb Kha is known from two stelae from Deir el-Medina.¹⁰⁷ His most descriptive titles are:

<i>sš n(y)-sw.t</i>	Royal Scribe ¹⁰⁸
<i>hry n / m s.t ʿ3 <.t></i>	Chief of/in the Great Place ¹⁰⁹
<i>imy-r k3.t m / n s.t ʿ3 <.t></i>	Overseer of the construction works in/of the Great Place ¹¹⁰
<i>imy-r k3.t pr-ʿ3</i>	Overseer of the construction works of Pharaoh ¹¹¹

The meaning of the designation *s.t ʿ3.t*, Great Place, has been the subject of a number of studies.¹¹² It seems to have been used during the 18th Dynasty in a similar way as the term *s.t m3ʿ. t* was in Ramesside times, as a reference to the royal necropolis of Thebes. In fact, the term *s.t ʿ3.t* appears to have been replaced by *s.t m3ʿ. t* during the reign of Akhenaten.¹¹³ Because of the location of Kha's tomb at Deir el-Medina and the fact that his titles connect him with royal building activities, we deduce that Kha had supervised the work on the tomb of the king as indicated by the titles *hry* and *imy-r*. This view is supported by the titles of Neferhebef, a contemporary of Kha. This Neferhebef is depicted in scenes in Kha's funerary chapel¹¹⁴ and his name features on a *senet*-board game¹¹⁵ and a wooden cane¹¹⁶ from the

¹⁰⁴ Eberhard Dzierbek, *Das Grab des Ineni. Theben Nr. 81*. AV 68 (Mainz am Rhein 1992), 122, 135-139. Ineni's role in the construction of the tomb will be discussed in more detail below, 1.4.2.

¹⁰⁵ Significant discussions of this material are provided by Černý, *Community*, 72-73; 299; and Russo, *Kha*, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ Lynn Meskell, 'Intimate Archaeologies: The case of Kha and Merit' *WorldArch* 29.3 (Feb. 1998), 369; Marcella Trappani, 'Behind the mirror. Art and prestige in Kha's funerary equipment' in: Katalin Anna Kóthay (ed.), *Art and society: ancient and modern contexts of Egyptian art: proceedings of the International Conference held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13-15 May 2010* (Budapest 2012), 159; Russo, *Kha*, 77-78.

¹⁰⁷ Stela Turin CG 50007, Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 38-39, 263; stela BM 1515, see Marianne Eaton-Krauss, 'The fate of Sennefer and Senetnay at Karnak Temple and in the Valley of the Kings' *JEA* 85 (1999), 127-129; Russo, *Kha*, 57-60.

¹⁰⁸ Two wooden canes from TT 8, Turin S. 8417 RCGE 45724 and S. 8418 RCGE 45725, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 87, fig. 55; Russo, *Kha*, 67.

¹⁰⁹ Tomb of Kha (TT 8), ceiling, central band; wall B; wall A, see Jeanne Vandier d'Abbadie and Geneviève Gourdain, *Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh*. I. *La chapelle de Khâ*. II. *La tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet*. MIFAO 73 (Cairo 1939), 9, 10, 11; stela BM 1515; numerous objects from TT 8.

¹¹⁰ Scene in TT 8 but uncertain if referring to Kha; stela Turin CG 50007; several objects from TT 8.

¹¹¹ In Kha's second copy of the Book of the Dead (P. Luynes B = Bibliothèque National de France, Cabinet des Médailles no. 826), see Edouard Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben. Einleitung* (Berlin 1886), 105, Pj; Russo, *Kha*, 67.

¹¹² Černý, *Community*, 69; 72-75; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 24; Raphael Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis*. OBO 69 (Göttingen 1986), 184-185; Aidan Dodson, 'The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina and the Earliest "Yellow" Coffin of the New Kingdom' in: Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, 97; Russo, *Kha*, 67-76.

¹¹³ See e.g. Černý, *Community*, 74; Dodson, 'The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis', 97; Haring, 'Saqqara – A Place of Truth?' (forthcoming).

¹¹⁴ Tomb of Kha (TT 8), wall A, see Vandier d'Abbadie and Gourdain, *Deux tombes*, 5, pls. II-III, XV.

tomb of Kha, which are inscribed for him. They are most probably gifts of Neferhebef to Kha.¹¹⁷ Neferhebef's titles include:

<i>imy-r ḥꜣs.w.t</i>	Overseer of the Foreign Lands ¹¹⁸
<i>imy-r kꜣ.t m ḥr.t n(y)-sw.t</i>	Overseer of the construction works in the rock tomb of the King ¹¹⁹
<i>imy-r kꜣ.t n s.t ꜣꜣ.t</i>	Overseer of the construction works of the Great Place ¹²⁰

The latter title is the same as borne by Kha, while Neferhebef's second title explicitly ties him to the construction of the Royal Tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Indirectly we may see Kha in a similar position.

Another individual with the title *ḥry n s.t ꜣꜣ.t* borne by Kha is attested in TT 8 as well: a man called Khaemwaset is described as such on a cane¹²¹ that also seems to have been given to Kha as a present. Khaemwaset is therefore generally seen as a contemporary and colleague of Kha.¹²²

If we are correct in dating titles with the element *s.t ꜣꜣ.t* at Deir el-Medina to the 18th Dynasty, then we can add two professional scribes to the administration of workmen during that time: stela Turin CG 50004¹²³ from Deir el-Medina records a *sꜣ n(y)-sw.t n s.t ꜣꜣ.t* named Amenemope, while a scribal palette of unknown provenance, Louvre N 3023,¹²⁴ records a Pay with the slightly different title *sꜣ n s.t ꜣꜣ.t*. The element *s.t ꜣꜣ.t* is otherwise attested in the title *sdm-ꜣꜣ n s.t ꜣꜣ.t*, seemingly referring to Deir el-Medina workmen in analogy with the title *sdm-ꜣꜣ m s.t mꜣꜣ.t* in the period after the reign of Akhenaten.¹²⁵ No more than six individuals with this title *sdm-ꜣꜣ n s.t ꜣꜣ.t* are known to us:

Amenemope, son of Kha¹²⁶
Teti¹²⁷
Amenhotep¹²⁸

¹¹⁵ Turin S. 8451 RCGE 19376, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 175-179, figs. 159-162; Russo, *Kha*, 13-14 and pl. I.

¹¹⁶ Turin S. 8591 RCGE 45794, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 179-180, fig. 163; Russo, *Kha*, 19 and pl. II.

¹¹⁷ Vandier d'Abbadie and Gourdain, *Deux tombes*, 17; Russo, *Kha*, *passim*.

¹¹⁸ Cane from the tomb of Kha (TT 8), Turin S. 8591, see Russo, *Kha*, 19 and pl. II. This title is not only used by military officials, see Russo, *Kha*, 19-20; also William J. Murnane, "Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries": Reflections on the Upper Administration of Egypt's Empire in Western Asia' in: Jacobus van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*. Egyptological Memoirs 1 (Groningen 1997), 251-258.

¹¹⁹ *Senet*-board game from the tomb of Kha (TT 8), Turin S. 8451, see Russo, *Kha*, 13-14 and pl. I.

¹²⁰ Tomb of Kha (TT 8), wall A, see Vandier d'Abbadie and Gourdain, *Deux tombes*, 11.

¹²¹ Turin S. 8625 RCGE 45798, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 179-180, fig. 163; Russo, *Kha*, 48.

¹²² Černý, *Community*, 73; Russo, *Kha*, 48. A possible third colleague of Kha is a man named Hormes, attested in tomb DM 1159 A, but the evidence is very meagre. According to Bruyère and Černý at least one door jamb from the tomb describes Hormes as a *ḥry s.t ꜣꜣ.t*. Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 37 gives both *ḥry s.t ꜣꜣ.t* and *ḥry s.t mꜣꜣ.t*; fig. 25 or Bruyère's notes

(see http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0149_011) are not helpful. Černý, *Community*, 73, n. 10 explicitly states that the reading *ḥry s.t mꜣꜣ.t* is incorrect. However, Davies, *Who's who*, 28 identifies this individual as the chief workman Hormes (ii) who lived in the 20th Dynasty, thus opting for the reading of *ḥr.y s.t mꜣꜣ.t*. Indeed, the title *ḥr.y ḥs.t m s.t mꜣꜣ.t* is attested during the Ramesside Period, see Černý, *Community*, 121-122.

¹²³ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 35-36, 263; dated to the reign of Thutmose III in Hermann Schlögl, 'Ein Beitrag zu den Anfängen der Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh' in: Hedvig Györy (ed.), *"Le lotus qui sort de terre"*. *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga*. BMHS 2001 (Budapest 2001), 432.

¹²⁴ Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes*, 226, nr. 179.

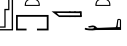
¹²⁵ Černý, *Community*, 45; 74.


¹²⁶ Tomb of Kha (TT 8), wall B, see Vandier d'Abbadie and Gourdain, *Deux tombes*, 12.

¹²⁷ On coffin BMFA 37.14 E, see Dodson, 'The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis', 92-93.

Nu¹²⁹
 Nakhtmin¹³⁰
 Setau¹³¹

Perhaps the Wadjetshemes mentioned on stela CG Turin 50002¹³² belongs in this list as well, because this monument, dated to the 18th Dynasty, was found at Deir el-Medina. On the stela Wadjetshemes bears the incomplete title *sdm-š m s.t* [sic]. He might be the son of the *sdm-š m s.t ʿz.t* Amenhotep with the same name, mentioned without a title on stela Strasbourg 347.¹³³

According to Bruyère¹³⁴ an individual by the name of Amenemhat bears the title *sdm-š m s.t ʿz.t* on a rather damaged stela dedicated to Rehorakhty, but the element after *s.t* is damaged and *ʿz.t* cannot be discerned with certainty in the published photograph. The damage is caused by the erasure of the element Amun in the name of the dedicatee, which does point to a pre-Amarna date for the stela. Bruyère also published a stela fragment of a Sia or Semy¹³⁵ and transcribed his title as *b3 nb mw hm=f m s.t ʿz.t*¹³⁶ although the published drawing displays .¹³⁷

The father of the *sdm-š m s.t ʿz.t* Nakhtmin, Minhotep, mentioned in TT 291 is there attested with the title *hsy n nb=f m s.t ʿz.t*.¹³⁸ His title suggests he was associated with the Deir el-Medina workforce as well, but it is unclear in what capacity.¹³⁹ Noteworthy is furthermore that the Setau who is called *sdm-š m s.t ʿz.t* on stela Hermitage 3937, bears the otherwise unattested title  *sdm-š m s.t nfr<.t> n<.t> n(y)-sw.t* on a head rest from his tomb (DM 1352)¹⁴⁰ and the title *sdm-š m s.t mʿ<.t>* on a shabti with the same provenance.¹⁴¹ The former title should probably be amended to read *sdm-š m s.t*

¹²⁸ On stela Strasbourg 347 dated to the reign of Thutmose III on stylistic grounds, see Spiegelberg, Pörtner, Dryoff *et al.* (eds.), *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine* I, 15, pl. XIV.

¹²⁹ Tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 291), ceiling, northern band; northern wall; western wall, third and fourth register, see Bruyère and Kuentz, *Tombes Thébaines*, 40; 43; 46-47.

¹³⁰ Tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 291), ceiling, central band; west wall, third and fourth register, see Bruyère and Kuentz, *Tombes Thébaines*, 40; 46.

¹³¹ On stela Hermitage 3937 dated to reign of Akhenaten, see Alfred Grimm and Hermann A. Schlögl, *Das thebanische Grab Nr. 136 unter der Beginn der Amarnazeit* (Wiesbaden 2005), 15; Natalia Landa Borisovna, Irma Aleksandrovna Lapis and Ėrmitazh Gosudarstvennyĭ, *Egyptian antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad 1974), nr. 50.

¹³² Dated to the reign of Thutmose I based on the mention of this king, Tosi and Rocatti, *Stele*, 34, 262.

¹³³ Cf. Russo, *Kha*, 75.

¹³⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport 1935-40* II, 114-115, n. 270; pl. III, fig. 104. Also Russo, *Kha*, 76. Not mentioned by Černý in his discussion of the title in *Community*, 72-74.

¹³⁵ Not mentioned by Černý in his discussion of the title in *Community*, 72-74; not in Davies, *Who's who*; not in Robert J. Demarée, *The šh ikr n r<.t>-Stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*. EU 3 (Leiden 1983); not in *PM*.

¹³⁶ Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935 à 1940)* II. FIFAO 20.2 (Cairo 1952), 89. Note that the reference there to pl. III, fig. 104 is incorrect. Ben Haring kindly suggests that this inscription may contain the expression 'to be on someone's water', which denotes the dependency of the king's subject to the ruler or of a mortal to a god, see Heike Guksch, *Königsdienst. Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie*. SAGA 11 (Heidelberg 1994), 70-73.

¹³⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport 1935- 1940* II, pl. XXIII, no. 24.

¹³⁸ Tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 291), ceiling, southern band, see Bruyère and Kuentz, *Tombes Thébaines*, 39.

¹³⁹ A parallel for the phrase *hsy n nb=f m s.t mʿ<.t>* from the Ramesside Period at Deir el-Medina is found on a pyramidion of Hori who is called a *hsy n nb=f m s.t mʿ<.t>*, see Černý, *Community*, 40. Note that Minhotep is also mentioned as "*m s.t mʿ<.t>*" in TT 291, west wall, second register, see Bruyère and Kuentz, *Tombes Thébaines*, 44.

¹⁴⁰ Cairo JE 63791, Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934* I, 101, nr. 10; *PM* I², 688.

¹⁴¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-34* I, 98.

nfr<.w>, referring to the Place of Beauty, a designation for the Valley of the Queens.¹⁴² Apart from the papyrus fragment mentioned above, this would be yet another indication that the men who worked on the tomb of the king were also active in the adjacent valley, preparing tombs of the royal wives.¹⁴³

So far the basis for identifying individuals who belonged to the crew that constructed the royal tomb before the reign of Horemheb has been the element *s.t ʿz.t* in their title. To this group of individuals more men may perhaps be added, even when this element is not attested in combination with their name. It is conceivable that (some of the) owners of the 18th Dynasty tombs in the cemeteries to the east and west of the village were workmen, but these burials yielded very few names, let alone titles. It is a matter of debate whether the individuals that were interred there belonged to the crew of Deir el-Medina or not. This question will be addressed below.

The use of the common title *sdm-ʿš* without any affiliation to an institute may have been used for other crew members. As mentioned above, the *sdm-ʿš* recorded in the fragment of a letter from the Valley of the Queens could well have been a necropolis workman. It has similarly been pointed out above that the earliest mention of a *sdm-ʿš* at Deir el-Medina is found in the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 340).¹⁴⁴ Although his title is not directly connected with the *s.t ʿz.t*, he could have been one of the first royal necropolis workmen of Thebes. Perhaps another title used by workmen of the royal tomb in the 18th Dynasty is *sdm-ʿš n ʾImn*. This title is attested on a shabti inscribed for a Samut, bought by Bruyère in Cairo. Bruyère believed the shabti to have been stolen from his excavation of tomb DM 1352 (attributed to Setau). The shabti closely resembles that of Setau and it appeared on the art market in the year he worked on DM 1352.¹⁴⁵ If Bruyère's supposition is correct, then this Samut must be dated to the very end of the 18th Dynasty and based on the association with Setau he might have been involved in work on the royal tomb during that period.

The stela of the *sš n(y)-sw.t n s.t ʿz.t* Amenemope found at Deir el-Medina also records his son Tener, a draughtsman who bears the title *sš-qd n ʾImn*.¹⁴⁶ The element *n ʾImn* is also found on the shabti of the *sdm-ʿš* Samut discussed above. Because the title *sš-qd n ʾImn* is attested at Deir el-Medina in the early 19th Dynasty,¹⁴⁷ it is plausible that Tener was involved in work on the royal tomb along with his father Amenemope.¹⁴⁸

In support of the identification of *sš-qd (n ʾImn)* Tener as a draughtsman of the royal tomb is the attestation of Maya on stela Turin CG 50009¹⁴⁹ from Deir el-Medina and in his tomb in the Western Cemetery, TT 338.¹⁵⁰ On Maya's stela, dated to the first half of the reign of Akhenaten,¹⁵¹ he bears the title *sš-qd*, whereas in his tomb, dated to the time of

¹⁴² Černý, *Community*, 88-89.

¹⁴³ See also below, p. 40-41 and n. 183.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 24.

¹⁴⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-34* I, 99; Jacques-F. Aubert and Liliane Aubert, *Statuettes Égyptiennes. Chaouabtis, Oucheptis*. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient (Paris 1974), 56.

¹⁴⁶ Stela Turin CG 50004, Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 35-36, 263; Evgeni S. Bogoslovsky, review of Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, in: *VDI* 132.2 (1975), 154, 158.

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Graffito nr. 817 records a draughtsman of Amun Pay below the names of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Necropolis. Text und Atlas* (Heidelberg 1921), 66; same individual also on a stela from Deir el-Medina, Turin CG 50048, Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 82-83, 281; draughtsman of Amun Pashedu on a stela from the Western Cemetery, Bruyère, *Rapport 1923-1924*, 86, fig. 15. See also chapter 6, 6.2.3.

¹⁴⁸ More on Tener, see below, p. 48.

¹⁴⁹ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 41-42, 264.

¹⁵⁰ Tosi, *La cappella di Maia*.

¹⁵¹ Grimm and Schlögl, *Das thebanische Grab Nr. 136*, 14.

Tutankhamun – Horemheb,¹⁵² he is described as *sš-qd n 'Imn m s.t m3̣.t*. The two inscriptions demonstrate that *sš-qd* could be used as an abbreviation for *sš-qd n 'Imn*. Furthermore, the addition of the element *m s.t m3̣.t* proves that as early as the end of the 18th Dynasty there was a draughtsman of Amun attached to the work on the royal tomb.

A scribe (*sš*) named Amenmes is recorded on a simple painted stela found at Deir el-Medina and dated to the 18th Dynasty.¹⁵³ Its inscriptions display two peculiarities: the name of the depicted king Amenhotep is not written within a cartouche, and the determinative of the kneeling man after the name of Amenmes is orientated in the wrong direction. These scribal errors cast some doubt on Amenmes' claim to the title 'scribe'. With nothing else but the title *sš* it cannot be proven that Amenmes was involved in the work on the royal tomb, but the provenance of the stela in Deir el-Medina does make it plausible. However, the palaeography of the inscription on his stela renders it very improbable that he operated as an administrative scribe.

In addition to the persons who are attested with a title, there is evidence of few individuals who must have lived at Deir el-Medina during the 18th Dynasty but who do not bear a title. The lack of titles makes it very difficult to determine if these persons were involved in work on the royal tomb or not, and if so, what their function was. As we shall see below, a number of names of men without title have survived from the 18th Dynasty burials of the Eastern Cemetery. There has been some controversy regarding the question if they were necropolis workmen or not, and this matter will be addressed below.¹⁵⁴ Other men are named without titles on 18th Dynasty monuments from Deir el-Medina. Stela Turin CG 50003 from the Drovetti collection is thought to have come from the village and was attributed to the reign of Thutmosis III. The monument records a man named Pakhen.¹⁵⁵ Another stela, Turin CG 50005, is dated to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and was excavated by Schiaparelli in Deir el-Medina.¹⁵⁶ It is dedicated to a Mekymontu and his wife Nebuemweskheth by their son Semenkheh, and all three individuals are title-less.

Dated to the Amarna-period and the very end of the 18th Dynasty is a Hapy-‘a who is mentioned on the stela of Setau (Hermitage 3937) without title. A shabti from Setau's tomb DM 1352 is inscribed for him as well, again without a title, suggesting that Hapy-‘a was buried there.¹⁵⁷ Hapy-‘a may thus have been a family member of Setau.¹⁵⁸ There is however no direct evidence that he was active as a workman in the Valley of the Kings. Another mysterious individual is Hesymeref. This name is attested on six shabtis made of different materials bearing different inscriptions, but they are all believed to belong to the same individual. On the basis of its inscription and the style of the sculpture Hesymeref's shabtis were dated to the reign of Tutankhamun. Unfortunately the provenance of these shabtis is unknown, but since three shabtis record the title *sdm ʕš* after the name of the deceased they are thought to have come from Deir el-Medina.¹⁵⁹ This can, however, not be proven. Dated to the post-Amarna Period as well is the tomb of Maya, TT 338. Maya himself is recorded with

¹⁵² Friederike Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. II. Theben 13 (Mainz am Rhein 1996), 579; Tosi, *La cappella di Maia*, 17.

¹⁵³ Stela Turin 50006, Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 37, 263.

¹⁵⁴ See below, 1.5.

¹⁵⁵ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 34-35, 262.

¹⁵⁶ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 36-37, 263.

¹⁵⁷ Now in the Louvre, E 14374. Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934 I*, 98-100; Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes*, 292-293, nr. 238.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Demarée, *ʕh ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 83.

¹⁵⁹ Jacques-F. Aubert, 'Les statuettes funéraires de la collection Omar Pacha' *CdE* 50 (1976), 60-63; Hermann A. Schlögl and Andreas Brodbeck, *Ägyptische Totenfiguren aus öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen der Schweiz*. OBOSA 7 (Freiburg and Göttingen 1990), 83; Maria Helena Assam, *Arte Egípcia. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian* (Lisbon 1991), 54, n. 11.

the title *sš-qd n Imn m s.t mšꜥ.t*, which associates him with work on the royal tomb. The tomb of Maya also records his sons. Most of them do not bear a title, but four of his sons do. There are a Parennefer and a Khonsu, both with the title *sš-qd* (draughtsman), a Sekheruefmen who is *sdm-š* (workman) and an Amenemwesekhhet who is a *tꜣy* (sculptor.) Yet, all these titles are given without further specification, and so it remains speculative whether they worked in the Valley of Kings as their father did.

1.4.2 EXTERNAL ORGANISATION

It is clear that during the 19th and 20th Dynasties the work on the royal tomb was a responsibility of the vizier, who represented Pharaoh as acting chief executive of the operation.¹⁶⁰ This situation might have been slightly different in the 18th Dynasty, as the few scant pieces of information we possess seem to indicate. Direct evidence is found in the famous inscriptions in the tomb of Ineni (TT 81), mayor of Thebes and overseer of building activities in the temple of Karnak during the reign of Thutmose I. One of his titles describes him as *hrp kꜣ.t hr hr.t n.t n(y)-sw.t*, Controller of construction works on the rock tomb of the King.¹⁶¹ On a stela from his tomb Ineni articulates the secrecy that seems to have accompanied this work.¹⁶² Unfortunately it is not safe to say at what exact location the construction took place, since the original tomb of Thutmose I is not securely identified in the Valley of Kings.¹⁶³ However, the fragmentary letter from the Valley of the Queens that mentions Ineni¹⁶⁴ signals his presence in the Theban valleys and suggests a connection with the preparations of royal burials in that area.

Another person that seems to have been responsible for the organisation of the construction of the royal tomb is a man called Amenmes. His name and titles are attested on a scribal palette included in the tomb of Kha (TT 8) and generally interpreted as a gift of Amenmes to Kha.¹⁶⁵ The cartouche of Thutmose IV on this scribal palette indicates that Amenmes was active during that reign. The titles of Amenmes recorded on the palette show him to have been a very high official.¹⁶⁶ Amongst other functions, Amenmes was Overseer of the Treasury, Fan-bearer at the right of the King, Overseer of the internal Palace, and *imy-r kꜣ.t nb.t n(y)-sw.t*: Overseer of all construction works of the King. The presence of the palette in TT 8 indicates that Amenmes, a Theban official with important positions in the higher ranks of the administration, had contact with Kha, a contemporary official responsible for the construction works at the royal tomb. Amenmes' ties to the work on the royal tomb and to the community of workmen are also materialised in the form of a seated statue he had erected at the temple site of Deir el-Medina.¹⁶⁷ A fragment of his statue was discovered in the foundations of the north-eastern corner of the external Ptolemaic wall of the Hathor temple. Its inscriptions indicate that it was dedicated to Hathor, so it is probably that already in the 18th Dynasty there was sanctuary of Hathor at the village.¹⁶⁸ As Russo pointed out,¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁰ Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 139-142; Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina*, 109, 116-130.

¹⁶¹ Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni*, 123.

¹⁶² Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni*, 51.

¹⁶³ See above, p. 23-25.

¹⁶⁴ See above, p. 32.

¹⁶⁵ Turin S. 8388, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 75; Russo, *Kha*, 32, 35-36.

¹⁶⁶ Irena Pomorska, *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne* (Warsaw 1987), 106, nr. 11 and Russo, *Kha*, 32-33, propose that this Amenmes was buried in TT 118.

¹⁶⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport (1935-1940)* II, 106-107, pl. XIX, figs. 183-184; Pomorska, *Les flabellifères*, 106, nr. 11; Russo, *Kha*, 37-40.

¹⁶⁸ It is very unlikely that this is the same individual as the 'scribe' Amenmes attested on the sketchy stela from Deir el-Medina, Turin CG 50006 (see above, p. 37) since the Amenmes attested in the tomb of Kha is not recorded with the title *sš*, and one would expect him to have erected a stela of a better quality.

¹⁶⁹ Russo, *Kha*, 39.

Amenmes probably dealt with Kha in the capacity of overseer of all construction works. Being the overseer of the treasury he would have answered to the vizier.¹⁷⁰

Whereas in the Ramesside Period an external service personnel called the *smd.t* was burdened with the task of providing the crew of workmen with commodities, such an 'institution' is not attested for the 18th Dynasty.¹⁷¹ According to a theory of Bruyère, the large number of baskets as well as silos attested in the 18th Dynasty houses north of the village enclosure wall and east of the temple indicates the workmen were not kept on government rations. Bruyère did not attempt to explain in what way grain and other items would have reached the village.¹⁷²

1.4.3 CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the available data we are able to reconstruct to some extent an outline of the organisation of the workforce from the time of about Thutmosis III up to Horemheb. It differs little from the overview presented by Barbara Russo.¹⁷³ Outside of Deir el-Medina, a high-ranking official other than the vizier seems to have been primarily responsible for the realisation of the royal tomb. At the beginning of the New Kingdom this may well have been the mayor of Thebes, who was also involved in the building activities at Karnak. The connection with the temple of Amun in Karnak may be reflected by the element *n 'Imn* in some of the titles attested at 18th Dynasty Deir el-Medina. Around the middle of the 18th Dynasty, the final responsibility for the construction projects seems to have laid with the Overseer of all construction works of the King. Both this official and the mayor were high-ranking administrators but were subordinates to the vizier, who is not mentioned at Deir el-Medina in the 18th Dynasty. In contrast, during the Ramesside Period it is the vizier who is attested in Deir el-Medina correspondence, whereas the mayor of Thebes or other high officials are mostly absent.¹⁷⁴

At Deir el-Medina itself, the crew was directed by a foreman, who, among other titles, was referred to as

- Chief in/of the Great Place
- Overseer of the construction works in/of the Great Place
- Overseer of the constructions works in the rock tomb of the King

At least three individuals from the middle of the 18th Dynasty are attested in this position. Since Neferhebef and Kha must have been contemporaries at a certain time, Russo suggested that they directed the work on the tomb together, in a construction similar to that of the Ramesside Period where the workforce was divided into halves, a right side and a left side, each with their own foreman.¹⁷⁵ There are however no indications for such an organisation other than the fact that Kha and Neferhebef were probably both alive during a particular period. Russo hypothesised furthermore that one could only become a Chief of the Great Place after having been an Overseer of the Great Place.¹⁷⁶ Again, there is no direct evidence for this assumption and both titles may well have been interchangeable, just as the titles *ꜥꜣ n 'is.t*, Great one of the Crew, and *ḥr.y 'is.t*, Chief of the Crew, were during the Ramesside Period.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ Betsy M. Bryan, *The reign of Thutmose IV* (London 1991), 248.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Dorn, 'Ostraka', 38.

¹⁷² Bruyère, *Rapport 1948 à 1951*, 90.

¹⁷³ Russo, *Kha*, 71-76.

¹⁷⁴ Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina*, 132-133, 135.

¹⁷⁵ Russo, *Kha*, 73.

¹⁷⁶ Russo, *Kha*, 73-74, 78.

¹⁷⁷ Černý, *Community*, 121.

In fact, one could make the case that during the 18th Dynasty titles for members of the workforce were in general not very significant. Two professional scribes are attested in relation to the work on the royal tomb, one as *sš n(y)-sw.t n s.t ʿz.t* and one as *sš n s.t ʿz.t*. Workmen are indicated as *sdm-ʿš m s.t ʿz.t*, *sdm-ʿš m s.t mʿz.t*, *sdm-ʿš m s.t nfr.t n n(y)-sw.t* and *sdm-ʿš n Imm*. This inconsistency in titles during the 18th Dynasty can be interpreted as an indication that the organisation at Deir el-Medina was of a more fluid nature compared to the situation in the Ramesside Period.¹⁷⁸ This ties in well with the observation that many individuals of the 18th Dynasty are attested without title at Deir el-Medina. Similarly, a number of individuals are attested from the village with a title that describes a function but does not include an affiliation to the royal tomb or the *s.t ʿz.t* / *s.t mʿz.t*. The few attested titles that have come down to us include servants (*sdm-ʿš*) and draughtsmen (*sš-qd*).

It can be argued that this inconsistency in, or absence of titles is indicative of a workforce that was less formally organised than during most of the Ramesside Period. In part this may have been a consequence of the lack of a local scribal tradition and the standardisation scribal practice it tends to bring about. As suggested above, the necropolis scribes did not hold office within the community itself. That is an important observation. The presence of local scribes at Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period has been seen as the main reason behind the scribal culture at the village resulting in the large number of hieratic documentary texts from the site.¹⁷⁹ This argument can also be reversed: the absence of local scribes accounts for the lack of hieratic documentation during the 18th Dynasty.

The general lack of hieratic texts from the 18th Dynasty agrees with the subsequent increase in the number of hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina as observed by Haring. Dividing the Ramesside Period in quarters, there are rather few hieratic ostraca from the first half of the 19th Dynasty, much more from the second half of the 19th Dynasty, and even more from the first half of the 20th Dynasty.¹⁸⁰ This increase in hieratic ostraca has been argued to be not a reflection of the archaeological record, but of the development of scribal practices in the community during the Ramesside Period.¹⁸¹ Not only did the scribal output increase over time, Haring demonstrated that the village community also evolved from a predominantly oral society to one in which texts played an important role as supplements to oral practices. As a consequence, more documentary texts were produced, which became increasingly more standardised with fixed formulas and scribal conventions.¹⁸² One may speculate that data from the 18th Dynasty support these observations. The increase in the local production of hieratic texts at Deir el-Medina from the early 19th Dynasty onwards is preceded by a period during which such documents were not composed locally. Whereas the rising importance of scribal practices eventually led to standardisation of texts and to the development of fixed formulae, the opposite is true for the 18th Dynasty. During this period the absence of a local scribal culture did not contribute to a standardisation of nomenclature for particular occupations, as evidenced by the rare use of titles and the great variety among titles that are attested.

¹⁷⁸ With the exception of the early 19th Dynasty, see chapter 6, 6.2.3.

¹⁷⁹ E.g. Haring, 'Scribes and scribal activity', 109-110.

¹⁸⁰ Ben J.J. Haring, 'From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir El-Medina' *JESHO* 46.3 (2003), 254-255. The decrease of hieratic ostraca from the second half of the 20th Dynasty is explained by the scribes' decision to use papyrus as a medium instead of limestone chips and ceramic fragments, see Eyre, *Employment and Labour Relations*, 44-47; Haring, 'Scribes and scribal activity', 111.

¹⁸¹ Eyre, *Employment and Labour Relations*, 4-5; Haring, 'From Oral Practice to Written Record', 255.

¹⁸² Haring, 'From Oral Practice to Written Record', 256-267.

1.5 THE EARLIEST IDENTITY MARKS IN DEIR EL-MEDINA: THE 18TH DYNASTY

Identity marks of the 18th Dynasty workmen are found on domestic objects, pottery and ostraca from the Valley of the Kings as well as at the village of Deir el-Medina, clearly linking them to the necropolis workmen. Interestingly, a group of pottery fragments discovered near tomb 34 in the Valley of the Queens are also incised with workmen's marks that date to the 18th Dynasty.¹⁸³ It will be demonstrated in the next chapters that the repertory of marks from this period is easily distinguished from that of the Ramesside Period. The 18th Dynasty corpus of workmen's marks can be identified because numerous specimens have been discovered in archaeological contexts stemming from that time, including private tombs at Deir el-Medina and sites located close to 18th Dynasty royal tombs. Ostraca inscribed with marks from this period will be analysed in chapter 2. There it will be shown that these ostraca are readily identifiable on the basis of their layout as well as the aforementioned repertory of marks.¹⁸⁴ This section will be concerned with the provenance of these documents in an attempt to establish when identity marks were used by the necropolis workmen for the first time. Unfortunately the archaeological record is not accurate enough to pinpoint the moment that marks were introduced, because often the exact provenance of the ostrakon or object has not been recorded. In some instances the provenance is indicative of a date around the early to mid-18th Dynasty

Remains of a group of houses were discovered in the area east of the temple enclosure and north of the hill of Qurnet Murai. The houses were dated to the 18th Dynasty on account of the great number of pottery fragments found at the lowest stratum of the site. More precisely, Bruyère associated the houses with the earliest part of the village within the enclosure wall from the time of Thutmosis I. This northern part of the village was thought to have been the site where the first workmen settled at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. This section of the village must have been removed when the temple dedicated to Amun was built under the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁸⁵ Numerous objects dating to the 18th Dynasty were found in this area, some of which were inscribed with workmen's marks of the same period. These objects comprise of wooden tools and ceramic vessels and vessel fragments.¹⁸⁶

A significant number of ostraca with marks in the large collection of unpublished marks ostraca currently kept at the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology dates to the 18th Dynasty as well.¹⁸⁷ The provenance of the greater majority of these pieces is unknown, and we have to assume that they were recovered in or near the village of Deir el-Medina during the excavations led by Bruyère. In some cases the findspot has been indicated, but that information does not always offer a clear date. Ostraca ONL 6214, ONL 6216, ONL 6293, ONL 6558 and ONL 6788 all date to the 18th Dynasty and were found north of the village in the Grand Puits or in the rubbish heaps surrounding it,¹⁸⁸ and cannot be dated with any more precision. Ostrakon ONL 6298 was discovered during the excavations of 1922. In this season, the area of the tomb of Kha (TT 8), the tomb of Amenwahsu (DM 1138) and the tomb of Nu and Nakhtmin (TT 291) were among the sites that were cleared. These tombs all date to the timeframe covered by the reigns of Thutmosis IV, Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, so the ostrakon is perhaps attributable to the same period. The provenance of ostrakon ONL 6340

¹⁸³ Magdi M. Fekri and Anne-Marie Loyrette, 'Vallée des Reines: la tombe VdR 34 d'une reine inconnue et les puits VdR 87' *Memnonia* 9 (1998), fig. 4, nrs. 1-5. Together with the fragmentary 18th Dynasty letter (see above, p. 32 ; p. 38) and the title of Setau (see above p. 35-36), the workmen's marks from the Valley of the Queens represent strong evidence for the presence of the Royal Necropolis workmen in this part of the Theban valleys.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Haring, 'Workmen's marks' 152-154; Haring, 'On the Nature of Workmen's Marks', 125-126.

¹⁸⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, 87.

¹⁸⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, 88-89, 91, pl. XXII.

¹⁸⁷ They are discussed in chapter 2.

¹⁸⁸ The same is true for ONL 6457 and ONL 6589 but an 18th Dynasty date is not certain.

was marked by the excavators as “K 215”, a designation for the *kom* to the south of TT 215 north of the village, a tomb which had been turned into a chapel during the Ramesside Period. Material from the site came from mixed contexts date to the 18th and 19th Dynasties,¹⁸⁹ which does not allow for a precise dating of the ostrakon. ONL 6210 had been found to the south-east of TT 290, which belongs to Irynefer (i) and should date to the early 19th Dynasty. Once again the provenance of the ostrakon is not very informative.¹⁹⁰ Similarly elusive is the findspot of ONL 6514. The ostrakon had been marked by its excavators as “S3”, which according to Rob Demarée might indicate that it was found in room III of house SO IV.¹⁹¹ This house is situated in a section of the village that was built as part of an extension during the reign of Horemheb or later and it seems very improbable that the ostrakon stems from this time. Ostrakon ONL 6789 was probably discovered during the clearance of TT 291, the tomb of Nu and Nakhtmin. If the ostrakon dates to the same time as this tomb, it must stem from the late 18th Dynasty. Ostraca ONL 6266 and ONL 6305 were both recovered in the vicinity of DM 1360 in the Western Cemetery. According to Bruyère the tomb dates to the late 18th Dynasty but was incorporated into a house during the Ramesside Period.

Regarding their provenance some of the ostraca with marks discovered in the Valley of the Kings are more telling of their date.¹⁹² A group of five ostraca was discovered in the vicinity of the tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34), and are attributable to his reign. The ostraca will be examined in chapter 2 (2.2.1), but for now we can state that these documents constitute the earliest dated ostraca with marks,¹⁹³ and there are no grounds to ascribe ostraca with marks to a time prior to Thutmose III.

Other marks are found on objects from burials of 18th Dynasty individuals. In general such burials are poorly preserved. Most 18th Dynasty tombs were disturbed in the Ramesside Period, in the Graeco-Roman period, and/or in modern times. Fortunately, a small number of tombs can be dated to some extent. A good example is the tomb of Kha (TT 8), which was intact when discovered. It has already been noted above that workmen’s marks were discovered on the objects from his funerary equipment. In total, seven different marks from Kha’s tomb are published. A single mark is ubiquitous: ⌘. It had been added to objects made of bronze, an adze, items of pottery and a large number of linen clothing items. The same mark thus occurs on different categories of objects, and several authors have already pointed out that this can only mean that the mark represents the identity of Kha himself.¹⁹⁴ Interestingly, Kha’s identity mark is not only attested on objects from his tomb, but also on ostraca found in the Valley of the Kings¹⁹⁵ and from the village,¹⁹⁶ as well as on pottery fragments found at several locations at Deir el-Medina¹⁹⁷ and the Valley of the Kings.¹⁹⁸ The

¹⁸⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1931-1932*, 55.

¹⁹⁰ It is also possible that the description “south-east of 290” designates the *Kom* 2, a rubbish heap that yielded many Ramesside ostraca inscribed with literary works, see Annie Gasse, ‘Le K2, un cas d’école?’ in: Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD*, 109-120.

¹⁹¹ See a remark by Rob Demarée in the record of O. IFAO 696 in the *Deir el-Medina Database*.

¹⁹² See chapter 2, p. 69-71.

¹⁹³ Cf. Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks on Ostraca’, 153; Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks and the Early History of the Theban Necropolis’, 96-97.

¹⁹⁴ E.g. Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 93; Bruyère, *Rapport 1923-1924*, 90; Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks on Ostraca’, 154; Daniel Soliman, ‘Workmen’s Marks in Pre-Amarna Tombs at Deir el-Medina’ in: Julia Budka, Frank Kammerzell and Sławomir Rzepka (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems in Ancient Egypt (and elsewhere)* (forthcoming) [2].

¹⁹⁵ E.g. O. Cairo JE 72490.

¹⁹⁶ ONL 6298; ONL 6330; ONL 6369; and ONL 6424.

¹⁹⁷ The Grand Puits (two instances, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVII); the area of the 18th Dynasty houses that were removed during the construction of the temple of Deir el-Medina (one instance, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, 91, pl. XXII); the 18th Dynasty burials DM 1172 – 1174 (two instances, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 123, nr. 7; 125, fig. 69, nr. 7; 126, fig. 70, nr. 14; 127, nr. 14; and 124, nr. 19; 125, fig. 69, nr.

fact that Kha's mark occurs among other marks on these ostraca proves that these documents deal with the 18th Dynasty necropolis workmen, and that they record the presence of these individuals in the Valley of the Kings as well as at the village.

But Kha's mark is not the only identity mark attested elsewhere. The other six workmen's marks on objects from his tomb are likewise found on ostraca and objects from the Valley of the Kings and from the village. In the tomb of Kha they are found on a drill (mark X),¹⁹⁹ a plant-shaped altar holder (mark ⚙),²⁰⁰ a bronze bowl (mark ⚙)²⁰¹ and several ceramic vessels (marks ⚙, ⚙, ⚙ and ⚙).²⁰² These identity marks must represent contemporaries of Kha, workmen with whom Kha was in close contact during the construction of the royal tomb.²⁰³ Objects with marks of these men are probably objects given by them to Kha, either in life or posthumously, to be included in his funerary equipment. This interpretation would be analogous to several other objects from TT 8 that are inscribed for individuals other than Kha and his wife, which are seen as gifts.²⁰⁴ The practice of gift-giving is also attested in the 18th Dynasty tombs of the Eastern Cemetery. In several of these burials a number of ceramic vessels were found, all with very similar content consisting of bread, pieces of fruit, other small ceramic vessels, pieces of linen etc.²⁰⁵ These vessels have been interpreted as gifts to the deceased, and among other indications they suggest a strong communal involvement in the composition of the funerary equipment of the burials.²⁰⁶

Apart from the tomb of Kha, workmen's marks are attested in several other tombs in the Western Cemetery that were dated to the 18th Dynasty by Bruyère. With a few exceptions, none of tomb owners can be identified because of the disturbed nature of the burials and as such the tombs have received little attention after their initial publication. Bruyère himself was often very brief in his descriptions of the graves. Nevertheless, these tombs are numerous and comprise an important portion of the Western Cemetery. Going through the excavation reports of Bruyère one comes to a total of about 180 burials.²⁰⁷ Most of them were dated with

19; 126, fig. 70, nr. 11; 127, nr. 11); also in the 19th Dynasty burial TT 9 (see Bruyère, *Rapport 1924-1925*, 106, nr. 11; perhaps reused from the 18th Dynasty? The tomb is situated c. 30 meters east of DM 1172). The mark of Kha is also inscribed on a limestone seat discovered in TT 323 (see Bruyère, *Rapport 1923-1924*, 89, pl. XXV, nrs. 11-12), the tomb of Pashedu (vii) who was active during the early 19th Dynasty. His tomb is located in close vicinity to TT 8, the tomb of Kha, and it is plausible that Pashedu had reused Kha's seat. Pashedu is unlikely to have inherited the mark from Kha because the two men were no relatives, see Davies, *Who's who*, 155-156.

¹⁹⁸ Perhaps on a bowl discovered in front of the tomb of Siptah (KV 47), see Aston, *Pottery recovered*, 69, pl. 62, nr. 532.

¹⁹⁹ Turin S. 8363 RCGE 19414, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, fig. 48, 1; Anna Maria Donadoni, Enrichetta Leospo, Elvira D'Amico *et al.*, *Il Museo Egizio di Torino. Guida alla lettura di una civiltà*. Nuova Edizione (Turin 1993), 152.

²⁰⁰ Cairo JE 38642, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 144, fig. 128.

²⁰¹ Turin S. 8218 RCGE 19799, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, fig. 118, 4.

²⁰² Turin S. 8375 RCGE 19421, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, fig. 52, 2; Turin S. 8250 RCGE 19766, see <http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=102449&viewType=detailView>; Turin S. 8349 RCGE 19392, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, fig. 147, 2; Turin S. 8436 RCGE 19788, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, fig. 121, 3.

²⁰³ See also chapter 2, 2.6.5.

²⁰⁴ Cf. e.g. Russo, *Kha, passim*; Trappani, 'Behind the mirror', *passim*.

²⁰⁵ Näser, 'Zur Interpretation', 378.

²⁰⁶ Näser, 'Zur Interpretation', 383.

²⁰⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport 1924-1925*, 33, 35, 40-45, 48; Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1926) [I]. FIFAO 4.3 (Cairo 1927), 10, 14, 37, 44-50, 56; Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1927). FIFAO 5.2 (Cairo 1928), 3, 6, 8, 11, 14-15, 17, 19, 23, 89, 94-95, 97-99, 109, 113; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), 6-12, 20-29, 33-34, 73-74, 77, 119-123, 127, 131-132; Bruyère Bernard, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1930). FIFAO 8.3 (Cairo 1933), 21, 25, 27, 30-31; Bruyère, *Rapport 1931-1932*, 7, 9, 12, 14-16, 21, 28; Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934*, 9-10, 13-14, 16-17, 21, 24, 37-39, 42, 61, 64-66, 72, 75, 78, 86-87, 93, 110, 117, 122, 129, 133, 134, 141-142, 144.

no more precision than to the 18th Dynasty, but in some cases there were indications of a more specific date:

- DM 1042: contemporaneous with TT 340 (Amenemhat), beginning of the 18th Dynasty²⁰⁸
- DM 1163: contained mudbricks with seal impressions with the name of Thutmosis I²⁰⁹
- DM 1164: contained a mudbrick with a seal impression with the name of Thutmosis I²¹⁰
- DM 1161: contained mudbricks with seal impressions with the name of Thutmosis III²¹¹
- DM 1109: contained seal impressions with the name of Amenhotep II²¹²
- DM 1130: contained a mudbrick with seal impression with the name of Thutmosis III or IV²¹³
- DM 1150: contained a mudbrick with a seal impression with the name of Thutmosis IV²¹⁴
- DM 1165: contained amphorae with seal impressions with the name of Thutmosis III or IV²¹⁵
- DM 1041: contained mudbricks with seal impressions with the name of Amenhotep III²¹⁶
- DM 1089: contained seal impressions with the name of Amenhotep III²¹⁷
- DM 1300: end of the 18th or early 19th Dynasty, on basis of shape of pit and bricks²¹⁸
- DM 1347: end of the 18th Dynasty, on basis of architectural elements²¹⁹
- DM 1348: end of the 18th Dynasty, on basis of architectural elements²²⁰
- DM 1403: end of the 18th Dynasty, on basis of architectural elements and location²²¹

As most tombs in the Western Cemetery remain anonymous to us, the number of graves that can be securely attributed to necropolis workmen from the time prior to the Amarna Period is very small.²²² Nevertheless, the workmen are attested in a great number of these tombs through the identity marks that have been discovered in them. The marks found in graves of the Western Cemetery dated to the 18th Dynasty by Bruyère will be discussed in more detail in the chapter 2, but here they are already presented in the table below (TABLE 1).

²⁰⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport 1924-1925*, 48.

²⁰⁹ This tomb was used in the 18th as well as in the 19th Dynasty, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 74.

²¹⁰ This tomb was used in the 18th as well as in the 19th Dynasty, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 77, 100.

²¹¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 77, 93.

²¹² Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 98.

²¹³ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 6.

²¹⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 27.

²¹⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 77, 111.

²¹⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1926 I*, 48.

²¹⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport 1926 I*, 51-52.

²¹⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934 I*, 9.

²¹⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934 I*, 93.

²²⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934 I*, 110.

²²¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934 I*, 141.

²²² Cf. Dodson, 'The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis', 97, n. 65; Dorn, 'Ostraka', 35. The tombs mentioned by both authors are TT 8, the tomb of Kha, see Schiaparelli, *La tomba*; Russo, *Kha*, and TT 325 + DM 1089 belonging to Smen, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1923-1234*, 100-104; Bruyère, *Rapport 1926 I*, 50-56. The inclusion of the latter seems somewhat random, because Smen is not attested with a title that ties him to the royal tomb. Likewise, both tombs DM 1166 and TT 354 were included by Dodson and Dorn, although no name or title survives, see respectively Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 119-120; Cherpion, *Deux tombes*, 59-90. From the reign of Amenhotep III onwards there are more tombs of which the owners are known and securely related to the crew of necropolis workmen on account of their titles. These are tombs TT 291 belonging to Nakhtmin and Nu, see Bruyère and Kuentz, *La tombe de Nakht-min*, 1-65; TT 338, the tomb of Maya, see Tosi, *La cappella di Maia*; DM 1138, the tomb of Nakhy and his son Amenwahsu; the former is also attested with his title on a stela from Deir el-Medina, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 12-20; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 43-44; DM 1159, the tomb of Sennefer, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 40-73; and DM 1352, the tomb of Setau, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934 I*, 95-109. The tomb of Amenemhat, TT 340, see Cherpion, *Deux tombes*, 5-55, can tentatively be included if a date in or after the reign of Thutmosis I is accepted. Mention should also be made of tomb DM 1099, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 11-13, which was attributed to Nekhunefer on the basis of a hieroglyphic inscription with this name on a ceramic vessel. No title is mentioned and therefore this man is not evidently connected with the crew of necropolis workmen. Moreover the tomb could not be dated any more precise than to the 18th Dynasty. Very similarly, 18th Dynasty tomb DM 1350 yielded the name Heqanefer but no titles, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934 I*, 117.

Also included here are some pottery fragments from burial shaft DM 1164. This shaft is situated in the court of Ramesside tomb TT 356, and was dated by Bruyère to the 18th and 19th Dynasties. A breakthrough exists between this burial and DM 1165, dated to the 18th Dynasty.²²³ Whether DM 1164 was originally an 18th Dynasty burial is not precisely clear, but it is evident that at some point the shaft was used for the burial for Amek (i) who lived during the early 19th Dynasty.²²⁴ The ceramic fragments from DM 1164 indicate that the content is obviously mixed, as they display both workmen's marks datable to the 18th Dynasty as well as marks of the Ramesside Period. Only those marks that date to the 18th Dynasty are incorporated in this overview.²²⁵



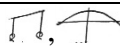





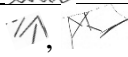

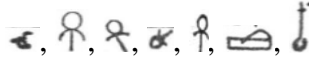
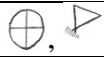

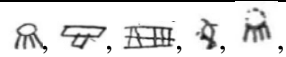

DM tomb	Attested name	Indication of date	Attested marks
1006	-	18 th Dynasty	✱
1011	-	18 th Dynasty	✱
1041	-	18 th Dynasty; seal impression with name of Amenhotep III	𓂏, 𓂐, 𓂑, 𓂒
Court 1056; from TT 210	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏
1057	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂏?
1070	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂐, 𓂑
1077	name Kakheperre on bandage of mummy	18 th Dynasty	𓂏
1080	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂏
1081	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏
1082	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏
1087	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏
1088	Smen?	18 th Dynasty; seal impression with name of Amenhotep III	𓂏, 𓂏
1089	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂏
1091	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂏
1097	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏
1098	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏
1099	Nekhunefer; Senneferhotep?	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏
1105	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏
1107	-	18 th Dynasty	𓂏
1109	-	18 th Dynasty; seal	𓂏

²²³ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928* II, 76-77.

²²⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928* II, 95-100.

²²⁵ Omitted is a vessel from TT 291 (Nakhtmin and Nu), which is dated to the very end of the 18th Dynasty and which contained three marks: one is datable to the 19th Dynasty, one is unclear, and the third could date to the 18th Dynasty or the Ramesside Period. Because the latter mark is of an uncertain date it is here excluded.

1. DEIR EL-MEDINA DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

		impression with name of Amenhotep II	
1110	-	18 th Dynasty	
1116	-	18 th Dynasty	
1120	-	18 th Dynasty	
1130	-	18 th Dynasty; seal impressions with name of Thutmosis IV (?)	
1132	-	18 th Dynasty	
1137	Ipu, son of Akhy (?)	18 th Dynasty; large amphora with inscription in hieratic: a year 5	
1145	jar with name of Amun[...]	18 th Dynasty	
1149	Unknown	18 th Dynasty	
1150	-	18 th Dynasty; nearby tomb: seal impression with name of Thutmosis IV; hieratic inscription on pottery dated to the 18 th Dynasty.	
1153-55	-	18 th Dynasty	
1156	-	18 th Dynasty; fragment of an amphora with hieratic inscription: a year 24	
1157	-	18 th Dynasty	
1159	-	18 th Dynasty	
1161	-	18 th Dynasty; in the courtyard of TT 356: seal impression with name of Thutmosis III	
1164	reused (?) by Amek (i)	18 th Dynasty; mudbrick with a seal impression	

²²⁶ See Bruyère's notebooks for the last two marks:
http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0149_015.

consequence, these burials are often said to be “poor” or “simple”. Reportedly, a large number of the burials were not published, and in his excavation reports Bruyère seems to have focused only on his tombs DM 1365 – 1390.²³⁰

The location of the Eastern Cemetery would suggest a connection with the village of Deir el-Medina and hence with the necropolis workmen, but such an assumption was contested by several authors. Bernadette Letellier was the first to question whether the individuals buried in the Eastern Cemetery were at all associated with work on the royal tomb.²³¹ Similarly, Aidan Dodson pointed out that because of the absence in the Eastern Cemetery of titles linking the deceased to necropolis workmen, the buried individuals could not be securely identified as (family members of) necropolis workmen.²³² Geneviève Pierrat-Bonnefois shared this point of view and proposed to see the Eastern Cemetery in a different light. According to her theory, the burials belonged to members of the household personnel of the Theban elite or to persons who were responsible for their entertainment, since some music instruments were found in the tombs. The absence of titles and the small number of inscribed objects was seen as an indication that they must have been of an “illiterate class”.²³³ Regarding the same matter Claudia Näser noted that on the basis of the few finds alone it could not be ascertained if the burials were of musicians,²³⁴ but for the same reason it was impossible to say if they belonged to members of the crew of workmen.²³⁵ Näser, in her analysis of the tomb inventories, was however able to point out that the burials contained few so-called “elite objects”²³⁶ and that the buried individuals were situated at the fringe of the social elite, with limited access to textuality.²³⁷

In summary, a solid basis to identify the tomb owners as workmen of the royal necropolis is lacking. Yet, a hypothesis of Hermann Schlögl based on indirect evidence proposes that the ‘draughtsman of Amun’ Tener had been buried in tomb DM 1370 in the Eastern Cemetery. This Tener has already been mentioned above in the discussion of stela Turin CG 50004. This stela is dedicated to the Royal Scribe of the Great Place Amenemope and his son the draughtsman of Amun Tener. The monument forms the ground for the assumption that Tener was a necropolis workman during the 18th Dynasty, and it was dated by Schlögl to the time of Thutmosis III. The same author remarked that a shabti of unknown provenance is inscribed for a draughtsman of the name of Tener. The addition *n Imn* is lacking there, but since the shabti was attributable to the period of Thutmosis I – Thutmosis III, Schlögl proposed to identify the shabti’s owner with the draughtsman Tener of stela Turin CG 50004.²³⁸ Moreover, Schlögl suggested that the shabti must have come from tomb DM 1370 in the Eastern Cemetery. In this tomb a coffin belonging to a lady called Madja, as well as the coffin of an anonymous male were discovered. Since the dating, the painting technique, the shape of the wig, the ductus of the signs, and the colours of the paint on the coffin of Madja are very similar to the shabti of Tener, Schlögl suggested that they could have come from the same burial.²³⁹ If this proposition is accepted, there would be – through the association of Tener’s father – indirect evidence to connect at least one burial in the Eastern Cemetery of Deir el-Medina with the work on 18th Dynasty royal tombs.

²³⁰ Näser, ‘Zur Interpretation’, 373.

²³¹ Bernadette Letellier, *La vie quotidienne chez les artisans de Pharaon. Le Louve présente aux Musées de Metz du 12 novembre 1978 au février 1979* (Moulins-les-Metz 1978), 16.

²³² Dodson, ‘The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis’, 97; Dorn, ‘Ostraka’, 35 and n. 30.

²³³ Pierrat-Bonnefois, ‘Cimetière est du village’, 60-61.

²³⁴ Näser, ‘Zur Interpretation’, 390; cf. Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 9.

²³⁵ Näser, ‘Zur Interpretation’, 391.

²³⁶ Näser, ‘Zur Interpretation’, 380.

²³⁷ Näser, ‘Zur Interpretation’, 391.

²³⁸ Schlögl, ‘Ein Beitrag’, 432-438.

²³⁹ Schlögl, ‘Ein Beitrag’, 442.

There is however another important reason to associate the burials of the Eastern Cemetery with the Deir el-Medina workmen: the objects found in these tombs that display workmen's marks. These marks are discussed in chapter 2 (2.5), but they are presented here in the table below (TABLE 2).

DM tomb	Attested name	Indication of date	Attested marks
1368	-	-	×
1370	-	Hatshepsut – Thutmosis III	×; †
1372	-	-	⌈⌈; ⌈⌈
1373	-	-	Λ; ⌈; ‡
1374	-	-	⌈
1375	-	-	⌈; ⌈; ‡
1379	- Nebu - Ibenattan - Nehemtu (?)	Hatshepsut – Thutmosis III	†; ‡
1381	-	-	×; ⌈; †
1388	Satre	Thutmosis III; “year 26”	⌈; ⌈ ²⁴⁰ ; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈ ²⁴¹
1389	-	Thutmosis III	‡
? Tomb of a child	-	-	⌈
? Tomb of a child	-	-	⌈; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈; ⌈

TABLE 2. OVERVIEW OF MARKS ATTESTED IN 18TH DYNASTY TOMBS IN THE EASTERN CEMETERY

In 12 of the 26 published tombs – seven of which were virtually empty when discovered – objects with marks on them were found. In total, the necropolis contained 28 or 29 marked objects, displaying 14 different marks. With two exceptions, all these marks are attested on 18th Dynasty ostraca and objects from other locations. In fact, the majority of these marks is attested exclusively in the 18th Dynasty and do not occur in Ramesside contexts. The marks are therefore an important indication of the presence of 18th Dynasty necropolis workmen in the Eastern Cemetery. There is no direct evidence that workmen were buried in this necropolis, but the workmen's marks do make this idea attractive and even probable. If we assume that this was indeed the case, we are offered a rare view into the community of the 18th Dynasty workmen. The women and children buried in the Eastern Cemetery must have been family members of the necropolis workmen, and must have lived with them at the village of Deir el-Medina. That would imply that the village was, at some point before the Amarna Period, permanently occupied by the workmen and their families as it was during the Ramesside Period.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Bruyère's publication is unclear regarding this mark, found on an amphora with the cartouches of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III. The same mark may have been attested on a similar amphora, but the passage in Bruyère's report could also be dealing with the same vessel, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 93 and 194.

²⁴¹ See Bruyère's notebooks for the last two marks:

http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0155_003.

²⁴² Contra Pierrat-Bonnefois, 'Cimetière est du village', 61; Dorn, 'Ostraka', 35.

EXCURSUS I. MARKS AT AMARNA

During year 6 of his reign, Akhenaten, moved the capital of Egypt to a new location. His new city, Akhetaten, is located at the site nowadays known as Tell el-Amarna. The residence included quarters for civilians, palaces and temples, while a royal tomb was prepared in a wadi opening onto of the central city. In between the Royal Wadi and the main city of Amarna lies an isolated site called the Workmen's Village, which was constructed to house the workmen responsible for the construction and decoration of the tomb of the king in the Royal Wadi and perhaps of some of the tombs of officials at Amarna.²⁴³

It has occasionally been postulated that among these workmen must have been members of the crew of Theban necropolis workmen, who were regarded as specialists and were sent to Amarna where they were needed in the work on the tombs that had to be prepared there. This idea is based on a number of arguments. One concerns an inscription on a seat of which the location is currently unknown. A copy of this inscription was published by Brugsch who stated that the seat was found at Thebes.²⁴⁴ The text mentions a *sdm-š m s.t m3̄.t hr imn.t.t 3h.t-n-ītn n3hy*, 'servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Akhetaten, Nakhy'. Černý remarked that here the term *s.t m3̄.t* – well attested at Deir el-Medina from the end of the 18th Dynasty to the 20th Dynasty – was used to designate a location in Akhetaten, referring to the place of the burial of the royal tomb. Hence, Nakhy must have been a workmen involved in the construction of the royal tomb at Amarna. Since the seat was said to have come from Thebes, Černý believed that Nakhy brought his valuables to Deir el-Medina "when Ekhнатon's residence was abandoned and the workmen of the king's Tomb transferred back to Dêr el-Medîna."²⁴⁵ However, later research argued this reasoning to be incorrect, because this particular spelling of the toponym Akhetaten was never used for Amarna itself, but for Thebes during the early reign of Akhenaten.²⁴⁶

Valbelle believed that the sheer existence of the Amarna workmen's village, its houses, and the nearby chapels were enough to prove a connection between the workmen's community of Deir el-Medina and Amarna. The instances of titles at Deir el-Medina that include the element *ītn*, were interpreted by her as evidence that some of workmen had returned from Amarna, while mudbricks with seal impressions of Amenhotep IV found at Deir el-Medina were seen as evidence that a few workmen had stayed. Moreover, Valbelle thought it probable that the reorganisation of the village under the reign of Horemheb was a consequence of the departure of a large portion of the workmen, after which parts of the village must have crumbled away.²⁴⁷ Kemp concurred that the two villages of Amarna and Deir el-Medina were similar but nevertheless doubted if the workmen at Amarna had come from Deir el-Medina. He remarked that certain areas such as the animal pens and an area for *zir* jars had no counterparts at Deir el-Medina.²⁴⁸ According to Samuel's analysis of the archaeological evidence at the Workmen's Village of Amarna, there are indications of side-by-side cooperation between households in the different stages of the production of bread at the site. This insight was interpreted by her as an argument in favour of the idea that the inhabitants of the village were members of a previously established community that had moved to Amarna, since a different pattern of pairing of households would have emerged if

²⁴³ Anna Stevens, *Akhenaten's Workers: The Amarna Stone Village Survey, 2005-2009*. Volume I. *The Survey, Excavations and Architecture*. EES EM 101 (London and Cambridge 2012), 435.

²⁴⁴ Heinrich Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler, gesammelt während der auf Befehl Seiner Majestät des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen unternommen wissenschaftlichen Reise in Ägypten I. Die Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (Leipzig 1857), 274, pl. 50, nr. 1345.

²⁴⁵ Černý, *Community*, 51-52.

²⁴⁶ Barry J. Kemp, 'The Amarna Workmen's Village in retrospect' *JEA* 73 (1987), 44; Haring, 'Saqqara – A Place of Truth?', [10-11].

²⁴⁷ Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 25.

²⁴⁸ Kemp, 'The Amarna Workmen's Village', 43.

the households had built inter-relationships from scratch at Amarna.²⁴⁹ In turn, Miriam Müller used this notion as an argument for the shift of the Theban workmen to the new site of Amarna. She agreed with Valbelle's suggestions and argued furthermore that through a re-evaluation of the archaeological data as well as an assessment of textual evidence dating to the Ramesside Period, Kemp's missing elements could be located at Deir el-Medina as well.²⁵⁰

Kemp himself appears to have altered his views and in a later work, siding with Valbelle regarding the idea that the Royal Necropolis workmen from Thebes might have been transferred to Amarna. In support of this hypothesis he cited the inscription on a wooden statue base from chapel 529 at Amarna, which, he pointed out, mentions an individual with a title that was also used at Deir el-Medina.²⁵¹ The inscription is however incomplete at a crucial point. It reads *ir(i).n sdm-š m s.t* [sic] *nḥm-mꜣ.t.y.w*,²⁵² and it is uncertain if we may amend it to understand to mean 'the servant in the Place [of Truth]', as Kemp did. Additional proof of a move to the Workmen's Village of Amarna was found in the apparent lack at Deir el-Medina material datable to the Amarna Period.²⁵³ That this is incorrect can be surmised from our previous discussion of tombs and funerary objects from this time. In addition, activity in the Valley of the Kings during the reign of Akhenaten is evidenced by a recently discovered and as of yet unpublished limestone block with a head carved unmistakably in the Amarna style from the site of the workmen's huts at the so-called *Station de la Repos du Col*.²⁵⁴

In order to contribute to the question of a possible move of Deir el-Medina workmen to Amarna and back, the following overview is an analysis of marks that were recorded at different sites at Amarna, in comparison to workmen's marks from Deir el-Medina. The motivation behind this analysis is the idea that if Deir el-Medina workmen truly were transferred to the workmen's village at Amarna, they must have continued the habit of using identity marks. From the onset we can report that no ostraca with series of identity marks have been discovered at the site of Amarna as a whole. One could take this fact as an argument against a transfer from Thebes to Amarna, but it is of course possible that with a move the administrative practices of the workforce had changed. Yet, identity marks could then still be expected on objects where they would function as property markers. Indeed, non-textual marks occur at various sites at Amarna. Marks are mostly attested on ceramic vessels and they have often been described as potmarks. Potmarks may be applied before or after firing of the vessel. At Deir el-Medina, virtually all post-firing marks on ceramics are identity marks of workmen.²⁵⁵ Post-firing potmarks from other localities could well have served the same purpose.²⁵⁶ Therefore, the following overview will deal mostly with post-firing potmarks.

²⁴⁹ Delwen Samuel, 'Bread making and social interactions at the Amarna Workmen's Village, Egypt' *WorldArch* 31.1 (1999), 140.

²⁵⁰ Miriam Müller, 'Deir el-Medina in the dark – the Amarna period in the history of the village', 157-163.

²⁵¹ Barry Kemp, *The city of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Amarna and its people* (London 2012), 191.

²⁵² Eric Peet and Leonard Woolley, *The city of Akhenaten. Part I. Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-'Amarneh*. EES EM 38 (London 1923), 100-101.

²⁵³ Kemp, *The city of Akhenaten*, 191.

²⁵⁴ WHTM 372. This block is kindly brought to our attention by Rob Demarée. Related to the hypothesis that the Theban necropolis workmen were sent to work in Amarna is the case of Thutmose, the Chief Draughtsman of Place of Truth who was buried at Saqqara in tomb Bubasteion I.19. According to a theory of Alain Zivie Thutmose's career had begun in the Theban Necropolis, and during the end of the 18th Dynasty he was sent to work on construction projects in Memphis as well as in Akhetaten, see Alain Zivie, *La tombe de Thoutmes, directeur des peintres dans la Place de Maât (Bub. I. 19). Les Tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara II* (Toulouse 2013), 107-108; 128-136. The evidence for this supposition is however very meagre, cf. Haring, 'Saqqara – A Place of Truth?' (forthcoming).

²⁵⁵ Aston, 'Theban potmarks', 54-55.

²⁵⁶ Aston, 'Theban potmarks', 52.

An exception is made for the pre-firing symbols painted in black ink, so-called ‘painter’s marks’, found particularly on blue-painted medium-sized closed form jars with a restriction at the base of the neck.²⁵⁷ The exact provenance of the few published examples is very often unknown, although they are said to have come from the North Palace, the Small Aten Temple, the Central City, the Workmen’s Village and the North Suburb. The function of the ‘painter’s marks’ remains unclear, but Hope concluded that the marks are not connected with storage or transport of commodities.²⁵⁸

A total of 134 potmarks (pre-firing *and* post-firing) were found at the Workmen’s Village during the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society of 1979-1986.²⁵⁹ Excavations at the site of the so-called Stone Village have brought to light 13 post-firing incised potmarks.²⁶⁰ The Stone Village is situated at an even more distant location to the south-east of the Workmen’s village and presumably predates it by some years. The first occupants of the Stone Village have been described as “a small desert-based labour force” that early in the history of the settlement at Amarna could have been “involved in activities connected with the founding of the city, such as the laying out of the city borders and cutting of the Boundary Stelae.”²⁶¹ At a later stage the Stone Village expanded into the direction of the Workmen’s Village. Anna Stevens reconstructed that development as follows:

*“The impetus was possibly a growing need for desert-based labourers to supplement the workforce at the Workmen’s Village, and particularly to take on less skilled tasks such as stone cutting. Why was this community not simply added to the Workmen’s Village? Conceivably, it was so as not to interrupt the existing social order at this site. We can question similarly why the Stone Village was not laid out at this stage in the same way as the Workmen’s Village. The answer may lie in the reduced social status of the community in comparison to the Workmen’s Village. In part, it could also reflect a community that was newly established – drawn perhaps from the riverside city, and continuing an already established pattern of living.”*²⁶²

A small number of published marks – all potmarks – comes from Kom el-Nana. This is a site immediately south of the Main City of Amarna, which contained bakeries, breweries and gardens. The complex could have accommodated the production of religious and institutional provisions of temples in Amarna.²⁶³

Another group of marks is found on architectural elements from the Main City. The majority comes from the Small Aten Temple, where marks incised in the building blocks left impressions in the layers of plaster that formed the foundation of the main gateway of the edifice.²⁶⁴ An unpublished mark (not included here) was applied to the gypsum foundation of an altar in the Altar Court at the North Palace, and a single six-pointed star features in the foundation of one of the stone buildings at Maru-Aten.²⁶⁵ The marks were called ‘masons’

²⁵⁷ Hope, ‘Some remarks’, 128-130; Pamela J. Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*. EES EM 83 (London 2007), 24-25.

²⁵⁸ Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery*, 25; Hope, ‘Some remarks’, 130.

²⁵⁹ Anna Stevens, *Akhenaten’s Workers: The Amarna Stone Village Survey, 2005-2009*. Volume II. *The Faunal and Botanical Remains, and Objects*. EES EM 101 (London and Cambridge 2012), 115.

²⁶⁰ Stevens, *Stone Village II*, 115.

²⁶¹ Stevens, *Stone Village I*, 435.

²⁶² Stevens, *Stone Village I*, 435.

²⁶³ Barry J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports VI*. EES OP 10 (London 1995), 433-438.

²⁶⁴ Barry J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports V*. EES OP 6 (London 1989), 138-139, figs. 6.12, 6.23; John D.S. Pendlebury, *The city of Akhenaten*. Part III. *The central city and the official quarters. The excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the seasons 1926-1927 and 1931-1936*. Vol. I. *Text*. EES EM 44 (London 1951), 92-93, fig. 17.

²⁶⁵ Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports V*, 138.

marks” by Kemp, who quoted Haeny’s idea that by such signs individual masters would acknowledge their work on a block.²⁶⁶ Roeder noted furthermore that the fact that the blocks did not bear any relief indicates that they must have been marked already at the stone quarry and were connected with the delivery of building material.²⁶⁷

Finally, several *talatat* blocks discovered at Hermopolis were roughly engraved with a mark. These blocks were stripped from various buildings in Amarna during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, to be reused as building material at Hermopolis.²⁶⁸ Generally, the marks are not signs borrowed from script or depictions of objects or organisms, but geometric figures. Therefore, Roeder believed they could not have been made by the same artists who cut the reliefs. Instead he presumed they were cut by the stone masons in the quarries. He interpreted them as transaction marks of “Firmen oder Unternehmern” who would have marked the blocks at the moment of delivery to the recipient. A total of 81 different marks are attested on the *talatat* blocks. The marks would have been invisible to the spectator once the blocks were put in place.²⁶⁹ Roeder noticed that 10 of the marks were also attested in the corpus of marks from the Small Aten Temple of Amarna, indicating that the blocks had come from this city.²⁷⁰

The table below (TABLE 3) includes all relevant marks attested at the sites of Amarna. Shards with potmarks are often very fragmentary, particularly from the Stone Village, and can hardly be compared to marks from other localities. Mason’s marks and painter’s marks include several marks that are attested in more than one instance, such as ☐. That is less often the case with the marks from the Workmen’s Village, the Stone Village and the Main City of Amarna. Based on the accessible material that is preserved well enough to be compared, there appears to be very little overlap between the five marking systems with the clear exception of the marks on the temple blocks. The masons’ marks from the Small Aten Temple and from the Hermopolis *talatat* blocks are very similar and overlap to a great extent. Obviously both sets of marks come from the same context of building material, and as Roeder suggested it seems likely that the marks were incised at the stone quarry. We may assume these two groups of marks belonged to the same system. The other groups of marks seem to exist separately from each other. The only marks that are found in other systems are those that are very common marks that appear outside of Amarna as well: the cross, the *mn*-sign, the *nh*-sign, and the lotus flower.²⁷¹ There are only four marks from the Workmen’s Village that are also found in the set of masons’ marks. The few marks from the Stone Village are too fragmentary to compare them to marks from the Workmen’s Village. The conclusion that the marks from the various sites offer no evidence that workmen from the Workmen’s Village were connected with construction of the Small Aten Temple, or that they were in contact with the population of the Stone Village, is inevitable.

Similarly there is hardly any agreement between the corpus of marks from the Amarna Workmen’s Village and the corpus of 18th Dynasty identity marks from Deir el-Medina. There are a few marks which bear some similarity to specimen in the Deir el-Medina corpus but the resemblance is not convincing enough to identify the marks as the identity marks of the Deir el-Medina workmen. The cross ✕ is present on ostraca from the late 18th Dynasty, but it

²⁶⁶ Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* V, 138-139; Gerhard Haeny, ‘Die Steinbruch- und Baumarken’ in: Edel Elmar, Gerhard Haeny, Werner Kaiser et al., *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf II*. BBf 8 (Wiesbaden 1969), 47.

²⁶⁷ Günther Roeder, *Amarna-reliefs aus Hermopolis. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis 1929-1939*. Band II. Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim. WVDOG 6 (Hildesheim 1969), 8.












²⁶⁸ Roeder, *Amarna-reliefs* II, 1-4.











²⁶⁹ Roeder, *Amarna-reliefs* II, 6-7.

²⁷⁰ Roeder, *Amarna-reliefs* II, 8.

²⁷¹ Compare e.g. the various corpora of non-textual marks documented in Haring and Kaper (eds.), *Pictograms or Pseudo Script?*.

1. DEIR EL-MEDINA DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

is a mark that is attested at many other localities and in many other periods.²⁷² The sign  is attested on ostracon O. Cairo JE 96603 which cannot date to the end of the reign of Amenhotep III,²⁷³ but it is also attested on a ceramic vessel found near the tomb of Amenhotep III. It is however a very common potmark as well, which is attested at many other localities.²⁷⁴ The mark  occurs in Deir el-Medina in the 18th Dynasty but is not attested after the reign of Amenhotep II. The two marks  from the wooden handle at the Workmen's Village of Amarna are found in the Theban workmen's community as well, although not necessarily together. If it is possible to interpret the mark  as a variant of , both marks are attested at Deir el-Medina in the late 18th Dynasty. That is also true for , if it indeed is a mark and if it represents a circle. The other marks from the Workmen's Village of Amarna are not securely attested in Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings during the 18th Dynasty. The marks are hardly reminiscent of the Deir el-Medina identity marks of the early 19th Dynasty either, with the exception of  and .²⁷⁵ Yet, other marks such as ,  and  are not attested in this period. More importantly, the marks of the Amarna Workmen's Village are attested in rather small numbers, suggesting they are not as frequent as in the Theban necropolis. It can only be concluded that the marks from Amarna do not offer any hard evidence that allows for an identification of the workmen at Amarna with the Theban necropolis workmen of the end of the 18th Dynasty or from the early 19th Dynasty.

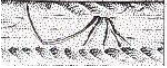














Workmen's Village	Stone Village	Amarna Main City	Painter's marks	Mason's marks	Talatat blocks
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 111 Post-firing, painted Workmen's Village					
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 112 Incised post firing Workmen's Village, Gate street 8  Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 426 Incised post-firing Workmen's Village					 2 instances;  1 instance
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 599 Workmen's Village Incised, post-firing					
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 136 Incised (post-firing?) Unknown provenance		 Kemp and Stevens, <i>Main City II</i> , obj. nr. 34823 Main City Incised  73 pot mark Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 689 Main City North			 1 instance

²⁷² Ibidem.

²⁷³ See below, chapter 2, p. 119-120.















²⁷⁴ Cf. above, p. 53, n. 271.



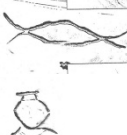













²⁷⁵ See below, chapter 5, 5.2.2.

		Incised, post-firing			
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 139 Incised Workmen's Village					
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 391 Technique unknown Workmen's Village				 276	
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 450 Technique unknown Provenance unknown					
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 472 Incised, post-firing Workmen's Village					
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 582 Workmen's Village Incised, post-firing					
 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 598 Workmen's Village Incised, post-firing					 ? 2 instances
 Obj nr. 61154 Incised, post firing Gate street, Workmen's Village		 Kemp and Stevens, <i>Main City II</i> , obj. nr. 37609 Incised post-firing T6			
 Peet and Wooley, <i>City I</i> , pl. XXII, Obj nr. 21/342 wooden handle Incised Gate street, Workmen's Village					
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 39035 Incised, post firing	 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 35 Traced in gypsum From Kom el-Nana	 Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4; Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , fig. 3.4c	 Small Aten Temple Incised 22 instances	
























²⁷⁶ So according to Roeder, *Amarna-reliefs II*, 8, but not included in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports V*; unclear in Pendlebury, *The city III*.















1. DEIR EL-MEDINA DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 38088 Incised, post firing		8 instances		 At least 1 instance?
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 37752 Incised, post firing				 1 instance
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 37751 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 39068 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 39083 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 39144 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 39199 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 37349 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 38243 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 38244 Incised, post firing				
	 Stevens, <i>Stone Village II</i> , obj. nr. 39196 Incised, post firing				
		 Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , vessel 41 Painted? Main City North			

		 <p>Rose, <i>Pottery</i>, fig. 3.4a Painted Five instances: Great Palace; Q42.1; Q41.14; Coronation Hall; Main City Painted</p>			
		 <p>Rose, <i>Pottery</i>, fig. 3.4b Cemetery area behind South Tomb painted</p>			
		 <p>Rose, <i>Pottery</i>, vessel 454 Incised, post-firing Main City North</p>			 1 instance
		 <p>Rose, <i>Pottery</i>, vessel 690 Kom el-Nana Red ink, probably post-firing</p>			 7 instances,  1 instance
		 <p>Rose, <i>Pottery</i>, fig. 3.4d Kom el-Nana Painters mark</p>			
				 Small Aten Temple Incised 4 instances	 1 instance,  ? 1 instance
				 Small Aten Temple Incised 8 instances	 2 instances  ? 1 instance
				 Small Aten Temple Incised 4 instances	 At least 1 instance?



















1. DEIR EL-MEDINA DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

				 Small Aten Temple Incised 1 instance	
				 Small Aten Temple Incised 3 instances	 1 instance
			 5 instances Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4; Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , fig. 3.4c	 Small Aten Temple 6 instances	 1 instance  1 instance  1 instance
				 Small Aten Temple 16 instances	 7 instances
				 Small Aten Temple 6 instances	 3 instances  At least 1 instance?  2 instances
				 Small Aten Temple 16 instances	 1 instance
				 Small Aten Temple 1 instance	 3 instances
				 Small Aten Temple 3 instances	 1 instance
				 Small Aten Temple 1 instance	
				 Maru-Aten 1 instance	
			 Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4; Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , fig.		




















			3.4c 3 instances		
			 Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4; 2 instances		
			 Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4		
			 Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4		
			 Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4		
			 Rose, 'Some remarks', fig. 4		
			 Rose, Pottery, fig. 3.4c		 2 instances
			 Rose, Pottery, fig. 3.4c		
			 Rose, Pottery, fig. 3.4c		 2 instances
			 Rose, Pottery, fig. 3.4c		
			 Rose, Pottery, fig. 3.4c		
			 Rose, Pottery, fig. 3.4c		
			 Rose, Pottery, fig. 3.4c		

1. DEIR EL-MEDINA DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

					
			Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , fig. 3.4c		
					
			Rose, <i>Pottery</i> , fig. 3.4c		
					
					1 instance
					
					1 instance
					
					1 instance
					
					1 instance
					
					1 instance
					
					1 instance,
					
					1 instance
					
					2 instances
					
					1 instance,
					
					1 instance,
					
					1 instance
					
					2 instances
					
					1 instance
					
					6 instances
					
					1 instance

					 1 instance
					 2 instances
					 1 instance
					 2 instances
					 1 instance,  1 instance
					 1 instance
					 2 instances,  1 instance,  1 instance
					 1 instance,  1 instance
					 3 instances
					 1 instance
					 1 instance,  1 instance
					 1 instance
					 at least 1

1. DEIR EL-MEDINA DURING THE 18TH DYNASTY

					instance?
					 at least 1 instance?
					 1 instance
					 1 instance
					 1 instance
					 at least 1 instance
					 2 instances,  1 instance?
					 1 instance
					 2 instances
					 1 instance
					 at least 1 instance?
					 2 instances
					 1 instance
					 at least 1 instance?
					 64
					 1 instance,  1 instance?
					 1 instance
					 1 instance




















					at least 1 instance?
					 2 instances
					 4 instances

TABLE 3. OVERVIEW OF MARKS ATTESTED AT AMARNA

EXCURSUS II. THE MARKS OF THE QUARRY OF QURNA

A number of non-textual marks are recorded in the limestone quarry at Qurna situated in the vicinity of the beginning of the path leading to the Valley of the Kings.²⁷⁷ Stone blocks that were extracted from the quarry were used in the memorial temples of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III. Reportedly galleries A – D were exploited under Amenhotep III and it is in these locations that the marks are found. The marks have been compared to the identity marks of the 18th Dynasty found on ostraca from the Valley of the Kings.²⁷⁸

In gallery D an instance of sign  was found, and signs  and  are inscribed in gallery A. As an identity mark, the sign  is attested in the 18th, 19th and 20th Dynasties at Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings. On the east wall of gallery A a group of marks is painted in red.²⁷⁹ Depicted above a horizontal line of marks is a recumbent dog or jackal. It is slightly larger than the other signs and drawn with much more detail than the other signs. Two similar dogs are found in gallery B with a small circle but no other marks or signs.²⁸⁰ The painted dog in gallery A might therefore not be a mark, but a representation of an animal or a divinity.²⁸¹

The other marks, presented in the table below (TABLE 4), do indeed have much in common with the 18th Dynasty identity marks of the Deir el-Medina workmen. Mark  occurs in the Ramesside Period²⁸² but is not securely attested on ostraca of the 18th Dynasty. The mark is however found on a pottery fragment from tomb DM 1153-1155 in the Western Cemetery, dated to the 18th Dynasty, and perhaps also in the neighbouring tomb DM 1150. Similarly, mark  is not attested on ostraca from the 18th Dynasty but does closely resemble , amply attested at Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings in the 18th Dynasty. Mark  is not recorded at Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis. Mark  is probably identifiable as a bird and could be the duck or goose () that is often encountered on ostraca from the 18th Dynasty, whereas mark  is attested on such ostraca in a horizontal variant. Marks  and  are well attested at Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings, but usually in a form that is rotated 180 degrees.²⁸³ The mark  is probably not completely preserved and cannot be clearly identified. The remaining marks are all known from the 18th Dynasty workmen's community. While the majority of these marks are found throughout several reigns, marks  and  are typical for ostraca dated to the reign of Thutmose III rather than the reign of Amenhotep III. They are not securely attested after the reign of Amenhotep II. Conversely, mark  is associated with ostraca and contexts from the period after the reign of

²⁷⁷ Nishimoto, Yoshimura and Kondo, 'Hieratic Inscriptions', 20-31.

²⁷⁸ Nishimoto, Yoshimura and Kondo, 'Hieratic inscriptions', 20; Dietrich D. Klemm and Rosemarie Klemm, *Stones and quarries in ancient Egypt* (London 2008), 135.

²⁷⁹ Nishimoto, Yoshimura and Kondo, 'Hieratic inscriptions', 21 and fig. 6.

²⁸⁰ Nishimoto, Yoshimura and Kondo, 'Hieratic inscriptions', 21 and fig. 9.

²⁸¹ Compare the depiction of divinities in combination with non-textual marks in the stone quarries of Gebel el-Silsila, see Nilsson, 'Pseudo Script in Gebel el Silsila', 136-138.

²⁸² See chapters 3 and 4.

²⁸³ The orientation of the 18th Dynasty workmen's marks on ostraca does not appear to have been very important to their users, see chapter 2, 2.2.2 and 2.4.

Amenhotep II. Ostraca with sets of marks comparable to that of the Qurna graffito are dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. O. Stockholm MM 14130²⁸⁴ displays seven of the same marks (𐎗, 𐎕, 𐎎, 𐎏, 𐎐, 𐎑, 𐎒) as does ONL 6788²⁸⁵ (𐎗, 𐎕, 𐎎, 𐎎, 𐎐, 𐎑, 𐎒). Related is probably also ONL 6465,²⁸⁶ also associated with the reign of Amenhotep III, which displays five similar marks (𐎗, 𐎕, 𐎎, 𐎏, 𐎎).

These similarities aside, it cannot be proven that the marks in the quarry of Qurna are the same identity marks of the Deir el-Medina workmen. It is nevertheless evident that gallery A contains 12 out of 14 marks that are attested in the Deir el-Medina corpus if one allows the identification of certain variants.²⁸⁷ If these marks were indeed left at the quarry of Qurna by Deir el-Medina workmen, they should date to the reign of Amenhotep III rather than to the reign of Thutmosis III. Theoretically it would seem more than plausible that the workmen were able to visit the quarry of Qurna and leave their identity marks. One could even speculate that Deir el-Medina workmen were involved in the quarrying process. Those marks that are not attested at the Theban Necropolis could then be explained as the identity marks of quarrymen who were primarily assigned to work in Qurna, and who were occasionally assisted by Royal Necropolis workmen.

Mark	Attestation at Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings
	If a variant of 𐎗: ostraca and objects
	Ostraca and objects
	If a variant of 𐎎: ostraca and objects
	Objects: tomb DM 1153-1155; perhaps DM 1150
	Ostraca and objects
	If a variant of 𐎑: ostraca
	Ostraca and objects
	Ostraca and objects
	Ostraca and objects
	If a variant of 𐎕: ostraca and objects
	If a variant of 𐎖: ostraca and objects
	Unattested
	Unclear

TABLE 4. OVERVIEW OF MARKS ATTESTED IN THE QUARRY OF QURNA

1.6 CONCLUSIONS

How can we explain the emergence of the practice of using identity marks in the workmen's community?²⁸⁸ As has been shown, the marks of Deir el-Medina are far from unique. It may be due to a bias in the archaeological record, but several different types of marking systems are attested in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty, particularly in the Theban region. Marks used in the construction of the funerary temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahari may belong to various locally employed systems. Some marks may be control marks, others may refer to specific elements of the building, or to institutions, teams of workmen, or individuals. The (re-)assembly marks on the sarcophagi of Maiherperi and of Meryt date to the second half of the 18th Dynasty, as do the weavers' marks on the linen of the tomb of

²⁸⁴ See chapter 2, p. 98-99.

²⁸⁵ See chapter 2, p. 97-98.

²⁸⁶ See chapter 2, p. 106.

²⁸⁷ Excluding the drawing of the canine; including mark 𐎗.

²⁸⁸ The emergence of the Deir el-Medina marking system in will be discussed in chapter 2, 2.6 and *passim*, taking into account the function(s) of the 18th Dynasty documents as well as a survey of literacy in the community of 18th Dynasty workmen.

Hatnefer and the burial of Tutankhamun. The quarry marks at Aswan are probably of a Thutmoseid date, those at Dra' Abu el-Naga, Gebel el-Silsila and Deir Abu Hinnis date to the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. A similar date is given to the potmarks from Karnak North and from Malqata. The marks on objects and pottery from different sites at Amarna date to the reign of Akhenaten as well. Outside of Deir el-Medina, 18th Dynasty marking systems are thus known from the time of Hatshepsut onwards, and seem to be in vogue around the time of Amenhotep III and his successor Akhenaten. Based on these records, and keeping in mind that much less archaeological records are available for settlements, it appears that marking systems occur mostly in the context of labour. Surfaces are marked by and/or for individuals working in construction, stone quarrying, carpentry, or pottery production. The marks found on linen and those on domestic objects from Amarna may be examples of identity marks used to designate property in the private sphere. At Deir el-Medina both contexts are combined. We find the marks applied by workmen, a great number of whom were essentially occupied with cutting away the rock in order to create a tomb. At the same time the workmen's marks are used in a private sphere.

The marks in Deir el-Medina can demonstrably be classified as identity marks used by workmen from the 18th Dynasty onwards. The marks from the tomb of Kha prove that the marks refer to the identity of individuals, since they were found on a large variety of different objects. The identity marks of the necropolis workmen are attested in the contexts of labour (at the Valley of the Kings), funerary equipment (in the tombs of the Western and Eastern Cemeteries) and of households (in huts in the West Valley; on domestic objects from tombs, and in houses north of the village of Deir el-Medina). They are found in the poorest burials in the Eastern Cemetery, as well as in the rich tomb of Kha, a Royal Scribe who possessed royal gifts in his funerary equipment and who had his identity mark imprinted on precious bronze objects. The presence of a great number of workmen's marks on objects from the poorly preserved tombs of both the Western and the Eastern Cemeteries is best explained by postulating that the workmen themselves were buried in these necropoleis. The variety of marks within a single burial represents the gifts of various members of the community that were included in the tomb inventory. Graves of women and children in the Eastern Cemetery contained objects with workmen's marks as well, and suggest that the 18th Dynasty workmen lived at the village together with their families.²⁸⁹

The village of Deir el-Medina itself was established in the reign of Thutmose I. At this time the community seems to have been relatively small, as the archaeological record indicates that only 20 houses had been built. Very few structures at Deir el-Medina date to this early period. Silos and baskets found at the northern sector of Deir el-Medina may belong to the earliest phase of the settlement, and could indicate a (semi-)permanent occupation of the village. Three tombs in the Western Cemetery, TT 340, DM 1163 and DM 1164 may be tentatively associated with the earliest phase of the village. Other tombs in the Western Cemetery are dated to the reign of Thutmose III up to the reign of Tutankhamun. The tombs in the Eastern Cemetery predate the Amarna Period. Several tombs are attributable to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, while some may be slightly older.

The earliest *securely dated* evidence for the presence of the necropolis workmen in the village thus stem from the reign of Hatshepsut. It is around this time that the earliest marking systems of the 18th Dynasty are attested outside of Deir el-Medina. It is also remarkable that the earliest tomb in the Valley of the Kings seems to have been constructed during the reign of Hatshepsut. This date coincides with the earliest *securely attested* workmen's marks as well. In the current state of affairs, not a single workmen's mark is *irrefutably associated* with the earliest phases of the settlement of Deir el-Medina. The remains of houses north of the

²⁸⁹ This suggestion is supported by the 18th Dynasty burial of a child at the south-west corner of the secondary enclosure wall of the village, see Bonnet and Valbelle, 'Le village (suite)', 328-331, figs. 3-5.

village and the pottery fragments with workmen's marks were associated with the reign of Thutmosis I by Bruyère, but his reports remain vague as to the arguments for such a date. Similarly, tomb DM 1164 in the Western Cemetery contained several 18th Dynasty marks and may be tentatively connected with the earliest phase of the village, but the burial was disturbed and the marks could also have come from the neighbouring tomb DM 1165. Unfortunately, ostraca with marks from the village are often difficult to date on the basis of their provenance as a large group was found in dumps around the enclosure wall. In contrast, ostraca from the Valley of the Kings are sometimes datable on the basis of their provenance and the earliest identity marks from this area are ascribed to the reign of Thutmosis III. Other groups of ostraca and pottery fragments are dated to the time of Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun.

None of this seems incidental, and we may envisage a change in the community of the village of Deir el-Medina around the reign of Hatshepsut or slightly later, under Thutmosis III. More and more tombs are prepared around the village in this period, and for the first time the workmen's marks emerge clearly from the archaeological record. If the tomb of Hatshepsut was indeed the first tomb in the Valley of the Kings, the workmen seem to have settled in the village permanently during her reign or that of Thutmosis III. That is supported by the construction of the first chapels to the north of the village in the time of the latter ruler. The mark of Kha is found on pottery from the Grand Puits, which could be an indication that the overseer of the workmen himself resided at the village around the middle of the 18th Dynasty. Only few structures at the village can at this point be dated to an earlier period, suggesting that before the reign of Thutmosis III the settlement was not continuously inhabited by the workmen, regardless of where exactly they would have been employed.

Hence the postulated permanent occupation of Deir el-Medina would have taken place around the time of the construction of the 18th Dynasty temples of Deir el-Bahari. Whereas significant numbers of hieratic administrative ostraca had been produced at this site, no such documents are known for the work on the royal tomb, despite the occasional presence of professional scribes at the site. It seems unlikely that ostraca dealing with construction activities at Deir el-Bahari mention individuals who are also attested at Deir el-Medina. In the light of 18th Dynasty administrative ostraca composed with marks that have been recovered in the village and in the Valley of the Kings, the absence of hieratic documentation of work on the royal tomb is best explained by arguing that professional scribes stored or submitted their records elsewhere than at the worksite or at the village. The necropolis scribes of the 18th Dynasty were therefore probably not permanently present with the workmen's crew and resided somewhere outside of Deir el-Medina.

The work on the royal tomb was the final responsibility of the mayor of Thebes, and later probably of the Overseer of all construction works of the King. Both offices were based in Thebes, and therefore we may conjecture that the necropolis scribes of the 18th Dynasty submitted their written records at that location. As far as the internal organisation of the workforce can be reconstructed, it does not seem to differ much from its Ramesside counterpart, including a foreman, a scribe, workmen and some specialists such as draughtsmen and sculptors. There is however no hard proof for a division of the crew into two 'sides'. Some instances of a father and a son who were both involved in work on the royal tomb as evidenced by their titles, such as Kha and his son Amenemope and Minhotep and his son Nakhtmin, provide further evidence for a permanent occupation of the village during the 18th Dynasty. The attestation of workmen's marks in the tombs of women and children who were buried in the Eastern Cemetery may add to this idea. Remarkably, just over a dozen members of the 18th Dynasty workforce are identified by name and title. Several contemporaries are attested at Deir el-Medina with the title of 'servant', without an indication of an institution, whereas other individuals are attested without a title at all. Notable is also

the inconsistency in the titles attested for the 18th Dynasty. All of this may be explained in part by the absence of the influence of scribes, who it seems only visited the workmen on occasion.²⁹⁰

The workmen's marks from the Valley of the Queens present for the first time hard evidence that the Theban necropolis workmen of the 18th Dynasty were responsible for the construction of tombs in the former area as well. It seems also at least plausible that prior to the reign of Hatshepsut the individuals who were accommodated at the village and the small number of them who are known to have been buried there, were employed in the preparation of the royal tomb either at Dra' Abu el-Naga or perhaps the Valley of the Queens, but there is no real evidence to substantiate this suggestion. The painted marks of the graffito in the quarry of Qurna may be another indication that the Theban necropolis workmen were active outside of the Valley of the Kings. These marks could be evidence of the workmen at work in a quarry alongside other quarrymen.

The circumstances regarding the crew of workmen during the Amarna Period and its aftermath remain unclear for now.²⁹¹ The marks recorded at different sites at Amarna do not provide unambiguous proof of the transfer of Theban workmen to the new capital and back again. There are several tombs and monuments belonging to necropolis workmen that are dated to the reigns of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, demonstrating that some crew members had remained at Thebes. The workmen's marks from (the vicinity of) KV 63 and those from the tomb of Sennefer (DM 1159) are datable to the reign of the latter king and indicate that the practice of marking continued after the Amarna Period. The latest 18th Dynasty marks appear to be those found in the tomb of Nakhtmin and Nu (TT 291), attributed to the reign of Horemheb.

²⁹⁰ For more on this assumption, see chapter 2, 2.6.1.

²⁹¹ On this matter, see also chapter 2, 2.2.14; chapter 6, 6.2.2 and 6.2.3.

