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CHAPTER 4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II: LISTS, ACCOUNTS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The examination of the duty rosters from the 20th Dynasty in the previous chapter has provided us with a solid basis for the endeavours that lie ahead of us. We have been able to identify the persons behind several workmen's marks, and this knowledge will be crucial for the understanding of the ostraca examined in this chapter and the next. Many of the ostraca that shall require our attention contain ordered lists of workmen's marks: the workmen are recorded in a particular sequence that is to a certain extent dictated by the hierarchical position of workmen within the crew.¹ As the crew was divided into a right and a left side, there were two ordered lists for each one. The list is headed by the chief workman of that side, followed by the necropolis scribe, and then by the deputy of the corresponding side. We are familiar with such ordered lists, because we have encountered them already in the 18th Dynasty² and we have discussed some 20th Dynasty lists in the previous chapter.³ During the Ramesside Period, such lists were also recorded in hieratic documents. They can be compared to ordered lists composed with workmen's marks, and this sometimes results in the identification of the workman behind a specific mark. Discussing the ordered lists found in hieratic sources of the 19th Dynasty⁴ and the 20th Dynasty,⁵ Collier had – hesitantly – coined the phrase “roster sequence”, because it is the same sequence (minus the scribe and the foreman) that determined during the Ramesside period the order of the turnus of *wrš* duties. It certainly is true that the ordered lists were used to organise the turnus, but ordered lists have served other purposes as well. They were used to record attendance, to create accounts of the distribution of goods, or simply to provide an inventory of all workmen of the crew during a specific moment. For that reason, we shall refrain from using the term ‘roster sequence’ and instead keep to ‘ordered list’. Quite a number of ordered lists with identity marks were composed during the 20th Dynasty, and through them we can follow the shifts that took place within the hierarchy of the crew: new workmen were introduced, workmen were transferred from one side of the crew to the other, younger men made their career and became senior workmen, deputies were promoted to the position of foremen, etc. Owing to these constant changes we are at times able to propose a relative date for an ostrakon with marks, because some of these events are known from dated hieratic documentary texts as well. In this chapter will pick up our journey in the middle of the 20th Dynasty, but the story will take us back to first half of the 20th Dynasty and eventually it will lead us as deep into the 20th Dynasty as the end of the reign of Ramesses XI.

Besides ostraca, identity marks of the 20th Dynasty are incised on ceramic vessels from the burials at Deir el-Medina as well as from domestic contexts from the village and settlements in the Valley of the Kings. From the same findspots originate a very wide variety of objects that bear workmen's marks, such as wooden labels,⁶ weights,⁷ tools,⁸ domestic

¹ See also below, 4.3.3.1.

² See chapter 2, 2.6.5.

³ See chapter 3, 3.2.7.

⁴ Collier, *Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 14.

⁵ Collier, ‘The right side’, 1-2; *passim*.

⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* III, 226; 227, fig. 115.

⁷ E.g. Dominique Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Deir el-Médineh. Nos 5001-5423*. DFIFAO 41 (Cairo 1977), 105, pl. 40, W. DeM 5322.

⁸ Wooden mushroom-shaped tools; Bruyère, *Rapport 1924-1925*, 80, 106. For such objects, compare O. DeM 10194, Grandet, *Ostraca hiéroglyphiques* XI, 79-80, 305.

objects,⁹ stone blocks,¹⁰ as well as a wooden anthropoid bust for ancestor worship.¹¹ Additionally, identity marks are attested in the graffiti that were carved in the mountains of the Theban wadis. In only few instances it is possible to attribute these objects and inscriptions to specific individuals. This is due to the fact that identity marks were often hereditary, and one cannot always be certain with which member of a particular family one is dealing. In this sense ostraca inscribed with identity marks are sometimes easier to comprehend. The style of the document as well as the cocurrence of other marks frequently offer a better indication of the date of the ostrakon than isolated marks on objects from disturbed archaeological contexts do. We will therefore direct our attention in the following section to the chronological overview of the 20th Dynasty ostraca inscribed with marks. Ostraca that offer little chronological insights are concisely treated in Appendix I, § 4-31.

4.2 CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

4.2.1 The right side of the crew during the reigns of Ramesses VI – Ramesses IX: O. IFAO C 7638 and related ostraca

Ostrakon O. IFAO C 7638 is completely preserved and contains a well legible list of workmen's marks. The list is an ordered one, and the sequence of marks reoccurs (partly) on other ostraca. It is not possible to provide an exact date for O. IFAO C 7638, but it should date to the middle of the 20th Dynasty. That is suggested by the fact that the sequence of marks is in some aspects similar to but certainly different from the ordered lists of workmen of the reigns of Ramesses III, Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. It is thus likely that O. IFAO C 7638 dates to a later period. We can be certain that the list dates to the 20th Dynasty, as it is headed by mark $\text{⊃}\wedge$ for the deputy of the right side of the gang, Anynakht (i), who held this position from the beginning of the reign of Ramesses V to perhaps year 3 of Ramesses VI.¹² The other 30 marks on the ostrakon are most probably workmen of that side as well, and indeed we observe several marks that were used for workmen of the right side in earlier times, such as $\text{⊃}\text{⊃}$, ⊃ , ⊃ , and ⊃ .

Comparing the sequence of marks to the turnus of Ramesses V, we see that a number of changes had taken place on the right side at the time of O. IFAO C 7638. Mark ⊃ for Amenemope (x), ⊃ for Khaemwaset (iii), ⊃ for Nesamun (III), ⊃ for Penanuqet (iii) and ⊃ for Meryre (vi) have moved down in the roster. Mark ⊃ , previously used for Khaemnun (i), is now situated near the bottom of the sequence. Marks ⊃ for Reshupeteref (i), and ⊃ for Bakenamun (i) are no longer present. Indeed, these men are not securely attested after the reign of Ramesses V in hieratic documents either,¹³ but that is also true for several of the workmen who are still present on O. IFAO C 7638. In fact, there are very few available documents from the period after year 1 of Ramesses V to year 1 of Ramesses IX, particularly

⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* III, 213; 233; 300; 363; pl. XXIV, nrs. 45-48; Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, 65, 83, fig. 15; Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, 88, pl. XVIII.

¹⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928*, 132; Bruyère, *Rapport 1929*, 19.

¹¹ München AS 448, see Jean Lewis Keith, *Anthropoid Busts of Deir el Medineh and Other Sites and Collections. Analyses, Catalogue, Appendices*. DFIFAO 49 (Cairo 2011), 348.

¹² Davies, *Who's who*, 74.

¹³ Reshupeteref (i) is listed on undated hieratic ostrakon O. Brussels E 301, which could be from the reign of Ramesses V or a later ruler on account of the mentioned individuals. Reshupeteref occurs on several other ostraca attributed to the reign of Ramesses V: O. Ashmolean HO 14, see Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 421-422; O. Ashmolean HO 20, see *KRI* VI, 263; O. DeM 398, see *KRI* VI, 251. According to Davies, *Who's who*, 219, the last attestation of Bakenamun (i) is in the duty roster of O. Cairo CG 25609, which dates to year 1 of Ramesses V, see chapter 3, 3.2.7.2. The Bakenamun mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1972, attributed to year 10 of the *wḥm msw.t* of Ramesses XI certainly is another man, see Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. WA 1 (Atlanta 1990), 24-27.

concerning workmen of the right side of the crew. Therefore we can only attribute a relative date to O. IFAO C 7638.

A number of other ostraca with workmen's marks must date to about the same period as O. IFAO C 7638, because they display a similar sequence of marks (TABLE 59). Related to O. IFAO C 7638 for example is ostrakon ONL 6515. The sequence on the latter piece approaches that of O. IFAO C 7638, although there are some clear differences as well. ONL 6515 is headed by 𓂏 , the mark for the foreman of the right side of the crew, followed 𓂏 for the scribe of the tomb. Deputy Anynakht (i) with mark 𓂏 is mentioned in the fourth position, dating the document to a period between c. year 1 of Ramesses V and year 8 of Ramesses VI, Ramesses VII, or perhaps Ramesses IX.¹⁴ The mark in the third position is 𓂏 , the mark of Harshire, who does not appear on O. IFAO C 7638. His listing between the captains of the right side of the crew and just after the mark of the scribe of the tomb suggest that Harshire (i) himself was not yet promoted to the former position. Instead, he must have still acted as an assistant to the scribe of the tomb as on ONL 6516. It is still a matter of debate when exactly he became the senior scribe of the tomb,¹⁵ but several ostraca inscribed with marks indicate that this happened after year 1 of Ramesses V.¹⁶ Based on other sources, Janssen believed that Harshire was promoted to scribe of the tomb in year 2 or 4 of Ramesses VI,¹⁷ a date which ties in better with the evidence from the ostraca inscribed with marks. If we take this proposed date as the most plausible, ostrakon ONL 6515 must date somewhere after the time of the 45 days turnus – let us say year 2 of Ramesses V – and before the promotion of Harshire in year 4 of Ramesses VI. ONL 6515 is most likely older than O. IFAO C 7638 because, as mentioned above, in O. IFAO C 7638 the mark 𓂏 for Harshire is no longer present. The reason for his disappearance might be the fact that he was already promoted to scribe of the tomb, and was therefore represented by mark 𓂏 instead.¹⁸ As a consequence, O. IFAO C 7638 should date to a period close to but after year 4 of Ramesses VI. Returning to ONL 6515, we observe that the marks of Nesamun, Hori, Penanuqet, and Khaemwaset are no longer listed at the beginning of the sequence of marks, suggesting they had already descended in the order, as in O. IFAO C 7638. Similarly, mark 𓂏 , which is omitted from the first half of the list of O. IFAO C 7638, is not present two positions below the mark of Amenemope as in the 45 days turnus. As in documents recording this turnus, the latter workman is still mentioned very high in the order of workmen, in contrast to O. IFAO C 7638.

Like O. IFAO C 7638, ostrakon ONL 6290 with a shorter but very similar sequence of marks, should probably date to the period after year 4 of Ramesses VI. ONL 6290 lists marks 𓂏 to 𓂏 in the same order as O. IFAO C 7638. Yet, the marks that follow demonstrate that the sequence is not entirely the same as on O. IFAO C 7638. After a perhaps deliberately smudged mark, mark 𓂏 is discernable on ONL 6290, while this mark is situated in the upper regions of the list of O. IFAO C 7638, between 𓂏 and 𓂏 . As ONL 6290 seems to be preserved in its entirety, it evidently does not contain a list of the entire right side of the crew. The situation of mark 𓂏 at the end of the sequence does therefore not necessarily reflect a shift of his position in the order of workmen. The particular place of the mark on ONL 6290 cannot be explained.

¹⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 53-54.

¹⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 115-116.

¹⁶ See chapter 3, 3.2.7.4, O. Cairo JE 96328; Appendix I, § 15, ONL 6241 and § 9, ONL 6469.

¹⁷ Jac. J. Janssen, 'A draughtsman who became scribe of the tomb: Harshīre, son of Amennakhtē', in: Rob J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*. EU 1 (Leiden 1982), 151.

¹⁸ Note that mark 𓂏 reappears on ostraca from a later date (see below, ONL 6511 and ONL 6450; 4.2.3), but in all probability representing a different workman at that time.

The sequence of marks on ONL 6290 is partially recorded on fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6511 as well. Only marks 𐀀, 𐀁, 𐀂, and 𐀃 are preserved, but the sequence of the latter three marks coincides perfectly with that of ONL 6290. Like this ostrakon, ONL 6511 is presumably somewhat later than O. IFAO C 7638.

O. Cairo CG 25323 does not display a sequence of marks that is similar to that of O. IFAO C 7638 and associated pieces. However, all marks preserved on this document are present in O. IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6290. Interestingly, O. Cairo CG 25323 was found in or close to KV 6, the tomb of Ramesses IX.¹⁹ It is conceivable that the ostrakon was composed in the reign of this king, and support for this assumption is found in the form of about five hieratic ostraca with the same provenance that are dated or attributed to the time of Ramesses IX or slightly later.²⁰ O. Cairo CG 25323 thus serves as a warning that ostraca O. IFAO C 7638, ONL 6290 and ONL 6511 could date closer to the reign of Ramesses IX.

Also closely related to ostrakon O. IFAO C 7638 is O. BM 50731. We have already discussed the reverse of this ostrakon in the context of the hypothetical 45 days turnus,²¹ and suggested that the duty roster of this piece must postdate year 2 of Ramesses V. The list of workmen on the obverse only supports this assumption, because the marks in the right and middle column are presented in the very same relative position as in O. IFAO C 7638. On the basis of the similarity to that ostrakon, we may assume that marks 𐀄 and 𐀅 are allomorphs of 𐀆 and 𐀇.²² After mark 𐀈 in the left column we observe some discrepancies between this ostrakon and O. IFAO C 7638. Instead of mark 𐀉 O. BM 50731 lists 𐀊, and instead of 𐀋 it displays 𐀌.

An examination of ostrakon ONL 6450 enables us to shine some light on the matter of the date of O. BM 50731. Again, the sequence of marks on ONL 6450 coincides largely with that of O. IFAO C 7638. The series of marks 𐀍 to 𐀎 are found on O. IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6450 alike. As on O. BM 50716, it is from mark 𐀎 onward that the sequence of ONL 6450 diverges from O. IFAO C 7638. Instead of mark 𐀏 the sequence continues with mark 𐀐, the mark we know to have been used by Harshire (i). Here we face a conundrum. Because of the similarity in the sequence of marks on ONL 6450 and on O. IFAO C 7638 and associated pieces, the former ostrakon probably dates to a time when Harshire was promoted to the position of scribe of the tomb and was therefore no longer listed among the workmen of the right side of the gang. Yet, on ONL 6450 mark 𐀐 is still present. We could thus propose that ONL 6450 must be older than O. IFAO C 7638 and associated documents. However, we shall see below that later ostraca inscribed with lists of workmen's marks of the right side from a time when Harshire definitely was the scribe of the tomb or had already retired, and also include mark 𐀐.²³ It is unlikely that on these ostraca the mark still refers to the individual Harshire (i), whom we may assume was now designated by the mark 𐀑. The conclusion must be that some other workman had taken over the mark from Harshire, perhaps one of his sons. Ostraca O. IFAO C 7638, O. BM 50731 and ONL 6290 suggest that this did not happen right after the promotion of Harshire, since mark 𐀐 is not included in these documents. This assumption would mean that ONL 6450 was created at a later point in time than O. IFAO C 7638, O. BM 50731, ONL 6290 and ONL 6511 were. The workman now referred to by mark

¹⁹ Daressy, *Ostraca*, 83.

²⁰ O. Cairo CG 25236, attributed to the reign of Ramesses XI, see *KRI* VI, 839-840; O. Cairo CG 25253, attributed to year 1 of Ramesses IX, see *KRI* VII, 458 and Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 472; O. Cairo CG 25299, attributed to year 14 of Ramesses IX, see *KRI* VI, 666 and Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 507; O. Cairo CG 25337, attributed to the reign of Ramesses IX, see *KRI* VI, 667; O. Cairo CG 25300, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* II, 347.

²¹ See chapter 3, 3.2.7.3.

²² See also below, 4.2.3.

²³ See below, 4.2.3.

𐎎 was added to the lower regions of the ordered list, and his mark was inserted between 𐎎 and 𐎎. We have seen the latter mark already on O. BM 50731 in the slot occupied by the workman represented by 𐎎 on O. IFAO C 7638. Since mark 𐎎 is not included on ONL 6450, we can propose the following reconstruction: O. IFAO C 7638 was composed some time after year 4 of Ramesses VI. At a later point in time, workman 𐎎 was replaced by workman 𐎎, as documented in O. BM 50731. Later still, a new workman with mark 𐎎 was added to the right side, as reflected by ONL 6450. After the listing of mark 𐎎, ONL 6450 continues with marks 𐎎, 𐎎, and 𐎎, as on O. BM 50716. O. BM 50731 is therefore either slightly younger or older than O. IFAO C 7638. We may even propose a more concrete date for O. BM 50716 and ONL 6450. The occurrence of mark 𐎎 on O. Cairo CG 25323 – an ostrakon attributable to the reign of Ramesses IX – suggests that O. BM 50716 and ONL 6450 – documents in which 𐎎 is no longer included – should date to a period even closer to or well in the reign of Ramesses IX.

When we turn to the obverse of ONL 6232, we find another fragmentary list of workmen of the right side that is similar to O. IFAO C 7638. The right column of ONL 6232 lists workmen's marks 𐎎 to 𐎎 as on O. IFAO C 7638, indicating once again that 𐎎 and 𐎎 are allomorphs referring to the same individual.²⁴ Just above 𐎎 ONL 6232 lists mark 𐎎. The mark that occupied this position is not preserved on O. IFAO C 7638 and O. BM 50713, but at least in the case of O. IFAO C 7638 we can be sure that the position was not filled by mark 𐎎, because that mark is situated further down in the sequence between 𐎎 and 𐎎 on O. IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6290. We detect more discrepancies between O. IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6232 further down in the sequence of the latter document. In the left column of ONL 6232 the positioning of marks 𐎎 to 𐎎 is in accord with the sequence of O. IFAO C 7638, with the exception of mark 𐎎, situated in the slot held by mark 𐎎 on O. IFAO C 7638. It thus appears that at the time ONL 6232 was inscribed, the workman represented by mark 𐎎 had ascended in the order of the right side, and that his original place had been taken by the workman represented by 𐎎. ONL 6232 seems to be younger than O. IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6290 because 𐎎 is still positioned in about the same slot on the right side in ostraca from even later times.²⁵ More evidence for a date after the time of O. IFAO C 7638 is found on the reverse of ONL 6232, which is inscribed with marks 𐎎, 𐎎, 𐎎, and 𐎎, as on ONL 6450. This group of ostraca suggests that, by that time 𐎎 had already been replaced and that the new workman with 𐎎 was added to the right side of the crew.



We can probably attribute ostrakon ONL 6494 to the same period as ONL 6232. Even though it does not display an entire ordered list, marks 𐎎 and 𐎎, and 𐎎, 𐎎, 𐎎 and 𐎎 on ONL 6494 are given in the same relative position as in the list of ONL 6232.

The marks on weathered ostrakon ONL 6572 are difficult to discern, but it is likely that the ostrakon dates to about the same period as O. IFAO C 7638. ONL 6572 does not appear to contain a complete list of workmen of the right side, but apart from mark 𐎎 for the scribe of the tomb, all other inscribed marks are associated with the right side. Marks 𐎎 and 𐎎 are written next to each other, and are situated in subsequent positions in the lists on O. IFAO C 7638 and associated documents. Moreover, the row of marks 𐎎, 𐎎, and 𐎎 is similar to the sequence 𐎎 – 𐎎 – 𐎎 attested on O. IFAO C 7638, ONL 6290, ONL 6450 and ONL 6232. On the right half of the ostrakon mark 𐎎 is written over mark 𐎎, in the same sequence of for example O. BM 50731. A barely visible mark on the lower part of the ostrakon is perhaps 𐎎. If this identification is correct, ONL 6572 should date between ONL 6290 and O. BM 50731,

²⁴ See also chapter 3, 3.2.7.5.

²⁵ O. BM 5642 obverse, see below, 4.2.3. Mark 𐎎 also occurs in older lists of the right side such as O. Turin N. 57008 obverse (see below, 4.2.17), but is situated much higher in the list. It is unclear if the workman with this mark had descended in the ordered list or if mark in ONL 6232 and later marks represents a different workman with the same mark; compare also TABLE 59.

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attesting to a period when the workmen with marks  and \pm both belonged to the right side, prior to the replacement  of by \pm .

The sequence of marks $\square\wedge$ – \equiv – λ in the column of damaged ostrakon O. BTdK 552 suggests a relation to O. IFAO C 7638 as well. After mark λ traces of mark \star are discernable, indicating that the sequence of O. BTdK 552 holds somewhere between that of O. IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6232. It dates therefore somewhere in the period of Ramesses VI – Ramesses VII.











































































ONL 6515	IFAO C 7638	ONL 6290	CG 25323*	ONL 6572*	BM 50731	ONL 6511	ONL 6450	ONL 6232	ONL 6494*
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TABLE 59. ORDERED LISTS OF O. IFAO C 7638 AND ASSOCIATED OSTRACA (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER). WITH * = NOT ENTIRELY IN THAT ORDER.

4.2.2 The right side of the crew prior to year 24 of the reign of Ramesses III: ONL 6462, ONL 6420 and ONL 6554

ONL 6462, an ostrakon inscribed with marks, is important because it contains a regnal year. Although it is not well preserved, it can be read as year 22. After the year date follow some indiscernable signs that could have constituted a month. Left of the date, identity marks are inscribed in four horizontal boxes. These identity marks are well distinguishable as those we know from duty rosters, which suggests all workmen belong to the right side of the workforce, and that the year 22 belongs to the reign of Ramesses III. The three workmen's marks in the upper box are ,  and . We recognise  as the mark used by Nakhemmut (vi) after his installation as foreman of the right side. This promotion however took place in year 32 of Ramesses III / year 1 of Ramesses IV. Since ONL 6462 is about 10 years older,  cannot have represented Nakhemmut (vi) yet. Perhaps we need to interpret the mark as the mark referring to the office of the foreman of the right side, and not as that of a specific individual. On ONL 6462 mark  should then have represented Khons (v), who was the foreman of the right side in year 22 of Ramesses III.

The mark  left of it is, 'readable' as *wn*, is one we have not encountered in the duty roster ostraca. Its position at the head of the ostraca and next to the mark of the foreman would suggest this mark represents the deputy. In year 22 of Ramesses III the deputy of the right side was Amenkha (i), but it would be somewhat odd to assign mark  to this person because neither he himself, nor any of his ancestors possessed a name with the element *wn* in it.²⁶ It is therefore perhaps more sensible to assign the mark to the scribe of the tomb at the time, *Wennefer* (v). This identification is however nothing more than a tentative suggestion, because it would mean that apart from the mark  the scribe of the tomb could be represented by his own personal mark.²⁷

The third sign  is quite a bit larger in size, and is executed with more detail than the other marks. The sign clearly depicts a quadruped, horned mammal, probably a ram. The same mark, although less elaborately executed, is also visible on O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943, where it is inscribed just above the entry of day 1 with Menna on duty. Although clear proof is not forthcoming, it is attractive to interpret this mark as a reference to the workman *Khnummose* (i). Basing himself on O. Turin N. 57026, Davies remarked that the workman *Khnummose* (i) belonged to the left side of the crew.²⁸ That does indeed seem to be correct, but this document dates to year 23 or 24 of Ramesses III. Before this time, *Khnummose* (i) could well have belonged to the right side. That is also suggested by O. DeM 406, the ostrakon dated to year 15 which we have already discussed above. This document lists only workmen of the right side, and includes *Khnummose* (i). Moreover, during the end of the 19th Dynasty *Khnummose* (i) certainly belonged to the right side of the crew.²⁹ It is therefore not out of place to expect the mark of *Khnummose* on ONL 6462 among workmen of the right side. What is peculiar, however, is the fact that despite his association with the right side, *Khnummose* was not included in the duty rosters of his time, as O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashmolean HO 1247 demonstrate. His exclusion from the turnus might have something to do with his prominence among his peers, but there is no hard evidence that points towards a higher standing, other than the fact that *Khnummose* and his family members must have been rather wealthy.³⁰ *Khnummose*'s presumed importance would

²⁶ See Davies, *Who's who*, chart 7.



²⁷ This identification is also problematic because the same mark was used in the reign of Ramesses IV for *Penamun* (V) who undoubtedly inherited it from his father *Wennefer* (iii), see below, 4.2.8.


















²⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 41.

















²⁹ Collier, *Dating late XIXth Dynasty ostraca*, 137 and *passim*.

³⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 261.

explain his situation next to the scribe of the crew and the foreman of the right side, and the larger size of his identity mark.

The three boxes below the heading of the document contain workmen's marks which are listed according to the sequence of the turnus. The order of marks coincides perfectly with the duty rosters of O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashmolean HO 1247, which we have dated to the time before year 24 of the reign of Ramesses III (TABLE 60). Particularly the latter ostrakon coincides with ONL 6462, because both documents present mark  three positions after mark  of Anynakht.

ONL 6462 is thus closely related to O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashmolean HO 1247. There are two more ostraca with marks which must date to a time before year 24 of Ramesses III. To begin with, there is ONL 6420. The document is inscribed with many of the same marks found in ONL 6462, O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashmolean HO 1247, although they are not listed according to the sequence of the turnus. Yet, several marks which are situated close to each other in the 18 days turnus are grouped together on the ostrakon, such as ,  and ; ,  and ; ,  and ;  and . Besides the identity marks of workmen of the right side, the mark  for the foreman of the right side reoccurs. In contrast to ONL 6462, where the scribe of the tomb is presumably represented by his personal mark , ONL 6420 includes mark  for the scribe. Mark , perhaps for Khnummose (i), is present as well on this piece. The only unexplained mark is , just below that of the scribe, which resembles the *ʿq* bird , Gardiner sign G 35. We can only guess as to the identity behind this mark. It is defensible to interpret the mark as the deputy of the right side around the time of year 22, Amenkha (i), because he is the only member of the right side whom we have not yet identified in the marks. On the other hand, the bird does not seem to be related to the name of Amenkha (i) or any of his ancestors, so the identification remains very tentative.

The second ostrakon that is related to this group is ONL 6554. Like ONL 6420, this ostrakon contains many of the same marks attested in O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashmolean HO 1247. Once more, the marks are not presented in the exact order of the turnus. As in ONL 6420, they are scattered over the surface of the ostrakon. However, within several clusters of marks, the marks are more or less inscribed according to the sequence of O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashmolean HO 1247. Apart from workmen who appear in the turnus, mark , for the foreman of the right side, and mark , perhaps for Khnummose (i) are attested in ONL 6554. Remarkably, mark  is twice inscribed on the reverse of the ostrakon: once in a section below a horizontal line, and once in a lighter shade below mark . The latter mark is inscribed in the same faded shade, and it is reasonable to assume both mark  and mark  were inscribed at the same time. In that light it is perhaps possible to interpret both signs as a single reference to Khnummose, an abbreviated writing of his name spelling *hnmw-ms*, written with determinative  for masculine names. The reverse of the ostrakon contains another interesting bit. In the section below the horizontal line five marks are inscribed in an order that resembles the sequence of the turnus. The section begins with  followed by , then by  and  on the next line, after which a previously unattested sign is discernable. In the turnus, the mark  for Nakhemmut (vi) is situated between  and . He thus seems to have been skipped over in this short inscription, although it is possible that he is referred to by the last sign following . This sign resembles the hieratic form of Gardiner sign A24 , which is used to write the word *nht*. It is therefore not unthinkable that on ONL 6554 it is an – unparalleled – abbreviation for this workman. This however cannot be proven, and it is certain that the scribe of this ostrakon was aware of the identity mark of Nakhemmut, as it is present on the obverse.

O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashmolean HO 1247		ONL 6462	ONL 6420*	ONL 6554*
Anynakht (i)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Neferher (vi)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Irsu	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Huynefer	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Khaemnun (i) / Iry-‘a (i) / Telmontu	𐀀/𐀀/ 𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	-
Neferhotep (xi)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Meryre (v)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Kasa (v)/(vi)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Penamun (iv) = (iii)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
Khaemope (iv)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	-
Reshupeteref (i)	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	-
[Amenemope]	-	-	𐀀	𐀀
Mose (iv)	𐀀	-	𐀀	𐀀
Menna (i)	𐀀	-	𐀀	𐀀
Nakhemmut (vi)	𐀀	-	𐀀	𐀀
Iyerniutef (iii)	𐀀	-	𐀀	𐀀
Pentaweret (vii)	𐀀	-	𐀀	-
Hori (ii) = (iii)	𐀀	-	𐀀	-

TABLE 60. ORDERED LISTS PRE-YEAR 24. WITH * = NOT IN SEQUENCE

4.2.3 The right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses IX: OL 170+ (obverse), O. BM 5642 (obverse) and related ostraca

The obverse and reverse of ostrakon OL 170+ display columns with a large number of workmen's marks. Significant is the cartouche with the name of Ramesses IX inscribed in red ink over the column of marks in black on the reverse of the piece. The cartouche contains the prenomen of Ramesses IX, *nfr-k3.w-rꜥ-[stp.n-rꜥ]*. The cartouche was added to the ostrakon after the marks were inscribed and therefore serves only as a *terminus ante quem*. There are however clear indications that the cartouche and the marks are of more or less the same date. To begin with, the marks are inscribed in a very neat hand, which reveals that the scribe was well acquainted with the hieratic and hieroglyphic scripts, someone who could have written the cartouche of Ramesses IX. Moreover, the lines of the cartouche and of the marks are of the same thickness. Remarkable furthermore is 𐀀, a single workman's mark on the reverse of the ostrakon, which consists of a hieratic sign group that reads *imy-r pr-ḥd*. A draughtsman nicknamed Pa-imyperhedj comes to mind, who is attested in P. Turin Cat. 1898+, the journal text for year 3 of the reign of Ramesses X.³¹ We may assume that this draughtsman was called Montuemtawy, and was named after the Royal Scribe and Overseer of the two Treasuries Montuemtawy (i) who is attested in the necropolis administration from the middle of the 20th Dynasty.³² The only backing for this hypothesis comes in the form of O. BTdK 596, a name stone from approximately the same period that reads Overseer of the Treasury Montuemtawy. Since the piece appears to be a name stone, an object that according to our current ideas was used in the context of administration and/or social practices of the crew of

³¹ On rto. 4.17, day 5 of III *šmw*, see *KRI* VI, 695; and on rto. 5.5, day 16 of III *šmw*, see *KRI* VI, 696.

³² Davies, *Who's who*, 254.

workmen,³³ one would expect it to refer to a member of this community rather than to a high-ranking Theban official.³⁴

Either way, the presence of mark $\overline{\text{mn}}$ on OL 170+ supports a date of the piece in the reign of Ramesses IX or an even later period. A date in the reign of Ramesses IX is corroborated by the occurrence of a second ‘readable’ mark on the obverse of OL 170+. It is mark 𓆎 , interpretable as *wsr-hpš*. It is very plausible that the mark refers to the workman Weserkhepesh (i), the son of foreman of the right side Nakhemmut (vi). At the end of the latter’s career, Weserkhepesh appears to have acted on his behalf as the foreman of the right side in year 16,³⁵ year 17³⁶ and perhaps year 18³⁷ of the reign of Ramesses IX. It would thus seem that Nakhemmut favoured his own son Weserkhepesh over his official deputy at that time, Pa’anqen (i). Since the supposed mark of Weserkhepesh is situated in the lower part of the list of OL 170+, he is there probably recorded as a regular workman rather than as a substitute for the foreman. In hieratic sources, Weserkhepesh is recorded as workman in P. Turin Cat. 2024+,³⁸ a document that mentions the deputy of the right side Pa’anqen (i). This Pa’anqen is first attested in the capacity of deputy in year 15 of Ramesses IX and probably held the position until year 17.³⁹ It is however possible that he had already obtained the title of deputy somewhere in or after year 11 of Ramesses IX, the year in which his predecessor Seny (i) is last mentioned.⁴⁰ All this implies that Weserkhepesh was still a regular workman in the period between year 11 and year 16 of the reign of Ramesses IX.

The sequence of marks on OL 170+ coincides to a great extent with that of O. BM 5642 (see TABLE 63), suggesting that the latter document dates to about the same period as OL 170+. Through a happy stroke of fortune, O. BM 5642 lists several marks that have been lost in the list of OL 170+, and vice versa. Like OL 170+, O. BM 5642 is inscribed on both sides with columns of marks. The left column on the obverse of O. BM 5642 is headed by mark 𓆎 , which we have come to know as the mark for the foreman of the right side. The following marks can be discerned fairly well until mark 𓆎 . We can pick up the sequence again with mark 𓆎 and continue until mark 𓆎 . The gap between 𓆎 and 𓆎 can probably be filled in by the marks on the obverse of OL 170+. It is inscribed with the sequence $\text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎}$, which corresponds to some extent to the sequence $\text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎}$ on O. BM 5642. The marks that precede 𓆎 on OL 170+ are marks 𓆎 to 𓆎 . Presumably, a similar or identical sequence of marks was inscribed on O. BM 5642 after mark 𓆎 . That mark 𓆎 followed after mark 𓆎 is suggested by a third ostrakon with marks, ONL 6449. Despite the poor state of preservation, it is evident that the right column of marks on this ostrakon corresponds perfectly to the sequence of marks at the beginning of O. BM 5642 (TABLE 63). The left column displays mark 𓆎 followed by mark 𓆎 , after which several marks follow that occur on OL 170+ as well.

The sequences of marks on OL 170+ and on O. BM 5642 are thus evidently related to each other. If, like OL 170+, O. BM 5642 is datable to the period between year 1 and 16 of the reign of Ramesses IX, the foreman recorded by mark 𓆎 at the beginning of the list would still be Nakhemmut (vi). The mark following 𓆎 is damaged, but we can expect it to have been the mark of the scribe of the tomb. The first four marks that follow are 𓆎 (an allomorph

³³ The administrative purpose of name stones is however still a matter of debate, and it is conceivable that such pieces were used to other ends. For a discussion of name stones, see below, 4.3.3.4.

³⁴ Cf. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 143.

³⁵ Cf. Davies, *Who’s who*, 57. See P. BM 10221 rto.; P. Turin Cat. 2007 rto.

³⁶ Cf. Davies, *Who’s who*, 57. See P. BM 10053 rto.

³⁷ Cf. Davies, *Who’s who*, 57. See P. Turin Cat. 1881 vso.

³⁸ Transcription Černý NB 15.21-22.

³⁹ Davies, *Who’s who*, 172-173.

⁴⁰ Davies, *Who’s who*, 118.

of Σ , as will become clear below),⁴¹ 𓆎 , 𓆏 , and 𓆐 , which are all marks of workmen who are attested on the right side of the crew during the reigns of Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, Ramesses V, and in all likelihood the period of Ramesses VI - Ramesses IX. The obverse of O. BM 5642 thus appears to be an ordered list of workmen of the right side. The assumption that the workmen are presented in a meaningful order is supported by the fact that the foreman is mentioned at the top of the list and that the sequence is recorded in more or less the same order on several other ostraca (TABLE 63).

Because we have concerned ourselves mostly with the right side of the gang so far, we will begin to examine the obverse of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. The reverse of both ostraca, which list the workmen of the left side, will be discussed below.⁴² Among the list of identity marks on the obverse of both ostraca are several marks that we identified as workmen of the right side of the gang from the reigns of Ramesses III, Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. The lists of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ are however situated in the reign of Ramesses IX, and we can therefore not be certain that the marks still refer to the very same individuals. All the worse is the fact that we do not appear to have any hieratic documents with an ordered list of the workmen of the right side for the greater part of the reign of Ramesses IX.

Such an inventory is available for year 17 of the reign of Ramesses IX, recorded in P. Turin Cat. 2001+ (Giornale 17A), where the workmen are recorded with filiation. This ordered list is however incompletely preserved, and is obviously later than ostraca O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. When we juxtapose the name list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+ and the list of workmen's marks on our two ostraca (TABLE 61), it indeed becomes evident that the lists are not much in agreement. After the foreman and the scribe of the tomb, the hieratic document from year 17 lists the deputy Pa'anqen, while O. BM 5642 displays mark Σ at the third position. In the reigns of Ramesses III to Ramesses V, this mark, an allomorph of Σ , was used to designate the workman Nesamun (III). He or his family do not seem to be related to the family of the deputy Pa'anqen (i), probably a son of Amenwa (i),⁴³ and there are therefore no clear indications to identify this individual with mark Σ .⁴⁴ Similarly, mark 𓆎 , earlier employed to refer to Neferher (vi), is not related with any of the workmen or their families mentioned on P. Turin Cat. 2001+.

P. Turin Cat. 2001+		O. BM 5642 obv.	OL 170+ obv.
1	[Chief workman Nakhemmut (iv)]	1	𓆑
2	[Scribe Khaemhedjet (i)] son of Harshire (i)	2	𓆒
3	Deputy Pa'anqen (i) son of Amenwa (i)	3	Σ
4	Meryre (vii) son of Neferhotep (xii)	4	𓆎
5	Nakhtmin (vii) son of Pentaweret (viii)	5	𓆏
6	Amennakht (ix) son of Kasa (vi)/(viii)	6	𓆐
7	Pentaweret (iv) son of Amennakht (v)	7	𓆑
8	Prehotep (ii) son of Menna (ii)	8	𓆒
9	Panefer (i) son of Meryre (vi)	9	𓆓
10	Hori (xii) son of Amenwa (i)	10	𓆔
11	[...]	11	[...]
12	[...]	12	𓆕
13	[...]	13	𓆖
14	[...]	14	𓆗

⁴¹ See O. DeM 264 below, p. 286; see also TABLE 63.

⁴² See below, 4.2.15.

⁴³ Nesamun (III) himself is not mentioned in Davies, *Who's who*, but no man of the same name occurs in Davies' reconstruction of the family tree of Pa'anqen (i), see Davies, *Who's who*, chart 8.

⁴⁴ For the identity of the man connected with mark Σ see also below, p. 285.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

15	[...]	15	[...]	15	⋈
16	[...]	16	[...]	16	⌒
17	[...]	17	[...]	17	⊖

TABLE 61. NAME LIST OF P. TURIN CAT. 2001+ COMPARED WITH THE LISTS OF O. BM 5642 AND OL 170+: NO OVERLAP?

There are nevertheless a few points where the hieratic record and the lists of workmen's marks are in accord. On OL 170+ we recognise marks ⋈ and ⌒, which we have securely identified as references to Pentaweret (iv) and Amennakht (ix). In the turnus lists of the reign of Ramesses V there were seven workmen situated between the positions of these two men, while in O. IFAO C 7638 and associated ostraca there was only one workman between them. On OL 170+ they are listed one after the other, as they are in the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+. There, however, Amennakht is mentioned before Pentaweret. If we do connect marks ⋈ and ⌒ (positions 15 and 16) with workmen Pentaweret (iv) and Amennakht (v) (positions 7 and 6), we may perhaps interpret ⊖ (position 17) as the mark of workman Prehotep (ii) (position 8) (TABLE 62).

Continuing with O. BM 5642 we find in position 5 and 6 marks ⋈ and ⌒, which we had identified as the workmen Neferhotep (xii) and Nakhtmin (vi). However, comparison to the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+ suggests that the marks refer here instead to Meryre (vii) son of Neferhotep (xii) and to Nakhtmin (vii) grandson of Nakhtmin (vi) respectively. These two workmen are positioned in slots 4 and 5 of the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+, and thus the difference with the list of O. BM 5642 is one position. Likewise, we may propose that mark ⊖, previously used for Meryre (vi), in position 12 on O. BM 5642, relates to Panefer (i) son of Meryre (vi) in position 9 in P. Turin Cat. 2001+. Finally, one wonders whether mark ⌒ in position 10 on O. BM 5642 is to be linked to the workman Hori (xii) son of Amenwa (i), who is also mentioned in position 10 in P. Turin Cat. 2001+. As we have proposed above, Amenwa (i) may have been represented by mark ⊖, which is quite similar to mark ⌒, suggesting that Hori (xii) had inherited his father's mark but adjusted it slightly.

P. Turin Cat. 2001+		O. BM 5642 obv.		OL 170+ obv.	
1	[Chief workman Nakhemmut (iv)]	1	⌒	1	[...]
2	[Scribe Khaemhedjet (i)] son of Harshire (i) ?	2	[⌒]	2	[...]
		3	⋈	3	[...]
		4	⌒	4	[...]
4	Meryre (vii) son of Neferhotep (xii) ?	5	⋈	5	[...]
5	Nakhtmin (vii) son of Pentaweret (viii) ?	6	⌒	6	[...]
		7	⌒	7	[...]
		8	⌒	8	[...]
		9	AA	9	[...]
10	Hori (xii) son of Amenwa (i) ?	10	⌒	10	[...]
		11	[...]	11	[...]
9	Panefer (i) son of Meryre (vi) ?	12	⊖	12	[...]
		13	⌒	13	⌒
		14	⌒	14	⌒
7	Pentaweret (iv) son of Amennakht (v)	15	[...]	15	⋈
6	Amennakht (ix) son of Kasa (vi)/(viii)	16	[...]	16	⌒
8	Prehotep (ii) son of Menna (ii)	17	[...]	17	⊖

TABLE 62. NAME LIST OF P. TURIN CAT. 2001+ COMPARED WITH THE LISTS OF O. BM 5642 AND OL 170+: IN ADJUSTED ORDER

The observations made here indicate that the list of workmen on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ is quite different from that included in the journal text of year 17. Yet, the records are related in that they partially mention the same workmen and list them in a sequence that is somewhat similar. This can be taken as another indication that the lists of workmen's marks on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ date to the reign of Ramesses IX, but date to a time before year 17.

The attribution of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ to the reign of Ramesses IX means that both documents are later than O. IFAO C 7638 and associated pieces. Comparing the list of workmen of the latter ostrakon to that of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, the first noticeable difference is the absence of mark $\text{⊃}\wedge$ for the deputy Anynakht (i) on O. BM 5642. His disappearance suggests Anynakht had already been replaced as deputy of the right side by his successor by the time O. BM 5642 was inscribed. Unfortunately it is unclear when exactly the title of deputy of the right side was transferred from Anynakht (i) to his successor Khons (vi). This event must have taken place in or before year 8 of the reign of Ramesses VI, Ramesses VII, or Ramesses IX.⁴⁵

The mark in position 3 on O. BM 5642 is X , an allomorph of X , which has moved up in comparison to the list of O. IFAO C 7638. In the reigns of Ramesses III – Ramesses V, mark X represented the workman Nesamun (III). This individual is however not related to the deputy Khons (vi) by blood, and it is thus unclear whether mark X stands for the deputy of the right side on O. BM 5642. The situation of mark X in the third slot of an ordered list of workmen's marks does however suggest that it refers to the deputy, and it is theoretically possible that Khons (vi) inherited the mark if he replaced Nesamun (III) in the order of workmen at some point in time.⁴⁶

The subsequent marks A – B – C are found in the same order on O. IFAO C 7638. While mark B has shifted up in the list of O. BM 5642, mark A – if it is indeed a variant form of mark A ⁴⁷ – has moved two slots down. We observe furthermore that marks D and E have descended in the order of workmen, whereas mark F has moved up to a position before D . Mark G has been omitted from the list of workmen of the right side on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. Remarkably, this mark is found on the reverse of O. BM 5642 in the second position of the list. This is a significant detail. We had identified mark G as the draughtsman Amenhotep (vi) in lists from the reigns of Ramesses IV to Ramesses VI and perhaps even later, where he is always associated with the right side. However, in the journal text of year 17 of Ramesses IX, Amenhotep (vi) is mentioned as the chief draughtsman, a title he seems to have obtained already in the reign of Ramesses IV,⁴⁸ in the second position of a list of workmen of the left side. His attestation as the second listed man on the left side corresponds perfectly with the position of his mark on the reverse of O. BM 5642, which is another indication that O. BM 5642 dates to the reign of Ramesses IX.

Many more changes had taken place at the lower regions of the order of workmen at the time O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ were inscribed. We see that marks H , I , and J move some slots downwards, and mark K is found several positions higher in the list. It appears that on OL 170+ marks L , M , N and O are no longer mentioned, while marks P , Q , R , S , and T have newly entered the list. The latter three marks are known from earlier times, when they represented workmen of the left side.⁴⁹ Interesting is the reappearance of mark U on OL 170+. Earlier in the 20th Dynasty this mark had been used for Harshire (i), but he

⁴⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 53-54, 74 and n. 158.

⁴⁶ See chapter 6, 6.5.4.6.

⁴⁷ Cf. O. BM 50731 and related ostraca, see above, 4.2.1.

⁴⁸ Cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 122.

⁴⁹ See O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca (see below, 4.2.8), as well as O. Turin N. 57008 and related documents (see below, 4.2.17).

probably abandoned this mark in favour of 𓆎 when he was promoted to the position of senior scribe of the tomb sometime after the accession of Ramesses V. Mark 𓆎 on OL 170+ should therefore belong to a different workman to whom the mark was passed on.

In the lower half of the sequence of OL 170+ we encounter mark 𓆎 for the first time. It is similar to mark 𓆎 in that it consists of a hieratic group writing for the title of an official, in this case t3ty ‘vizier’. We are not at all sure from where the inspiration for this mark may have come, but we may again imagine that it referred to a workman who bore the same name as a vizier of the time. A candidate for such a scenario is Ramessesnakht (i) who was probably named after the vizier Ramessesnakht that was active between the reign of Ramesses VI and the reign of Ramesses IX.⁵⁰ A connection between Ramessesnakht (i) and the homonymous vizier is suggested by the fact that his father Tasherī (i) was likewise named after a vizier, vizier To.⁵¹ Unfortunately this Ramessesnakht (i) is only attested in Theban Graffito 894a⁵² and it cannot be established if he ever occupied the status of necropolis workman. Alternatively we may consider Montuhatef (i) or (ii), the latter attested as a member of the right side at the very end of the 20th Dynasty.⁵³ This man may have been named after the vizier Ramesses-montu(her)hatef, attested in years 1 to 8 of Ramesses IX.⁵⁴

An ostrakon clearly related to O. BM 5642 is O. DeM 264. Like O. BM 5642, it contains a list of workmen headed by 𓆎 , the mark of the foreman of the right side of the crew. Omitting the mark of the scribe of the tomb, it continues with the sequence 𓆎 to 𓆎 , indicating that 𓆎 and 𓆎 , 𓆎 and 𓆎 , and 𓆎 and 𓆎 are allomorphs. The order of the identity marks is clearly the same as that on O. BM 5642, suggesting that this ostrakon and O. BM 5642 cannot date far apart. It is nevertheless important to remind ourselves that O. DeM 264 is not a complete list of workmen of the right side, and we do not know what the rest of the order of workmen looked like at the time O. DeM 264 was written. Regarding the date of the ostrakon it is interesting that the document is headed by the name of Pased, written in hieratic. This man is probably the same individual as the Sed mentioned in O. Černý 22⁵⁵, where he appears to be a ‘gardener of the tomb’ responsible for the delivery of vegetables. It is not clear in which reign the document was written, and suggested dates range from the reign of Ramesses IV⁵⁶ to the reign of Ramesses VII.⁵⁷ The gardener Pased is however still attested in year 13 and 14 of Ramesses IX.⁵⁸ A date around this period for O. DeM 264 would be in accord with the proposed date of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+.

Ostrakon ONL 6399 should date to the same time. The marks on the reverse of ONL 6399⁵⁹ all occur on the reverse of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. In turn, the marks on the obverse of ONL 6399 are related to the obverse of these two ostraca. This suggests the three ostraca were composed in approximately the same period. Although ONL 6399 does not

⁵⁰ More or less cf. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I, 247-248; Davies, *Who's who*, 108.

⁵¹ Davies, *Who's who*, 108.

⁵² Davies, *Who's who*, 108, n. 326.

⁵³ Davies, *Who's who*, 54-55.

⁵⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 72. One is perhaps inclined to propose a connection between mark 𓆎 and a workman Neferrenpet named after the homonymous vizier attested in year 14 of Ramesses IX, see Davies, *Who's who*, 72, n. 134. Davies points out, however, that this vizier Neferrenpet cannot have been installed before year 8 of Ramesses IX. The latest possible date for OL 170+ is year 16 of Ramesses IX on account of the occurrence of Weserkhopshef as a regular workman. It follows that if the workman with mark 𓆎 was named after vizier Neferrenpet, he must have been no older than eight years at the time OL 170+ was composed.

⁵⁵ Černý NB 77.14. Perhaps also mentioned on O. Alan Gardiner 94, probably to be dated to the period of Ramesses IX – XI.

⁵⁶ Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 365.

⁵⁷ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 137, n. 19.

⁵⁸ P. Turin Cat. 1999+ vso.

⁵⁹ See also below, 4.2.15.

contain lists of the entire right and left sides of the crew, a division in sides has evidently been made, associating it with O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. Moreover, the marks on the obverse are presented more or less according to their relative position in the list of workmen.

The sequence of marks on ONL 6322 is likewise similar to that of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. It is more akin to O. BM 5642 in that mark 𓆎 is not situated between marks 𓆏 and 𓆐 , as on OL 170+. Yet, it resembles the latter ostracon in that it includes mark 𓆑 within the lower regions of the list. Hence, ONL 6322 dates probably between O. BM 5642 and OL 170+.

It has already been mentioned that ONL 6449 partly displays the same sequence as O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. ⁶⁰ ONL 6449 is also headed by the mark of the foreman of the right side, which is then followed by the mark of the scribe of the tomb, and marks 𓆒 to 𓆓 . The sequence continues further down with marks $\text{𓆔} - \text{𓆕} - \text{𓆖} - \text{𓆗} - \text{𓆘} - \text{𓆙}$. This sequence is slightly different from the list of workmen on OL 170+, as mark 𓆖 is situated six slots up, between 𓆕 and 𓆗 . Presumably, ONL 6449 is older than O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, as the position of the mark 𓆖 on the latter ostraca is more akin to that on O. IFAO C 7638 and associated ostraca dating to a period close to but after year 4 of Ramesses VI.

Perhaps quite a bit later than ostracon ONL 6449 is fragmentary ostracon ONL 6603. Only five marks can be discerned on this document, but it contains some crucial information. The ostracon must have been inscribed with a list of workmen's marks of the right side of the gang, as indicated by mark 𓆔 , followed by mark 𓆕 . The mark in the third position is not 𓆒 , which is here found in the fourth slot. Instead, we observe mark 𓆓 , which we had previously identified as the chief draughtsman Amenhotep (vi), below the mark of the scribe of the tomb. As mentioned, Amenhotep (vi) is listed on the left side on the reverse of O. BM 5642 as well as in the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+. His position so high in the order of workmen of the right side is thus very different from ostraca O. BM 5642, OL 170+ and associated documents, but it agrees quite well to a hieratic list from year 2 the reign of Ramesses X in which Amennakht is listed as one of the captain of the crew in the capacity of chief draughtsman. ⁶¹ His name is recorded in position 4, after the foreman, scribe of the tomb and deputy of the right side of the crew. The occurrence of Amenhotep (vi)'s mark on the right side on ONL 6449 therefore indicates that the ostracon is later than O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, and that it should date somewhere in the period of Ramesses IX, year 16 – Ramesses X, year 2.

The date of O. Cairo JE 96326 is not entirely clear, but the nine marks that are discernable on this incomplete ostracon all appear almost exactly in the relative position the ordered list of the right side of the crew preserved on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. The document dates therefore most likely to the reign of Ramesses IX as well.

ONL 6449	OL 170+ obv.	ONL 6322 obv.	BM 5642 obv.	JE 96326	DeM 264	ONL 6399 obv.*	ONL 6603
𓆔			𓆔		𓆔		𓆔
𓆕			...				𓆕
𓆒			𓆒		𓆒		𓆓
𓆓			𓆓		𓆓		𓆒
𓆗			𓆗	𓆗	𓆗		
𓆏			𓆏		𓆏		
𓆎			𓆎		𓆎		...
			𓆑		𓆑	𓆑	𓆑
			AA	AA		AA ?	

⁶⁰ See above, p. 282.

⁶¹ P. Turin Cat. 1932+ vso.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

			𓆎				
			...	𓆏			
			𓆐				
	𓆑		𓆑	𓆑		𓆒	
𓆓	𓆓		𓆓				
𓆔	𓆔		...	𓆕			
𓆖	𓆗		...			𓆘 ?	
𓆙	𓆚		...				
𓆛	𓆜		...			𓆝	
𓆞	𓆟		...				
	𓆠	𓆡	...				
	𓆢	𓆣	𓆤	𓆥			
	𓆦	𓆧	𓆨	𓆩			
	𓆪	𓆫	𓆬	𓆭			
	𓆮		𓆯				
	𓆰		𓆱			𓆲	
			𓆳	𓆴		𓆵	

TABLE 63. ORDERED LISTS OF O. BM 5642 (OBV.) AND OL 170+ (OBV.) AND ASSOCIATED OSTRACA (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER). WITH * = NOT ENTIRELY IN THAT ORDER.

4.2.4 Attributed ostraca to the reign of Ramesses IX

Three ostraca can be identified as documents concerned only with members of the right side of the crew, and might date to the reign of Ramesses IX on account of similarities with the ostraca treated in the previous section, see Appendix I, § 23.

4.2.5 Weserkhepesh (i) as deputy of the right side: ONL 6240

Ostrakon ONL 6240 is a unique piece because it records a list of workmen's marks that have all been incised in limestone. Unfortunately the incised signs are often difficult to discern. It seems that the ostrakon records an ordered list of workmen of the right side of the crew. That is suggested by the marks in the right column, headed by 𓆎, the mark for the foreman of the right side, followed by 𓆏 for the scribe of the tomb. In analogy to several other ostraca, the third mark should be that of the deputy. There we find 𓆣, the mark of Weserkhepesh (i). We had seen the mark of this workman in the lower regions of the ordered lists on O. BM 5642 and related ostraca. The occurrence of his mark in the position of the deputy is not that odd, because hieratic records inform us that Weserkhepesh occasionally replaced his father, the foreman of the right side Nakhemmut (vi), in the year 16,⁶² 17⁶³ and perhaps 18⁶⁴ of Ramesses IX. Since he had the authority to act as foreman we may assume his status among colleagues was considerable, explaining his high position in the list of ONL 6240. We cannot exclude the possibility that at some point he did in fact operate as the official deputy of the right, perhaps at a time between the tenure of Seny (i) and Pa'anqen (i).⁶⁵ The position of the mark of Weserkhoshef (i) on ONL 6240 is indeed that of the deputy. When we compare the legible marks on ONL 6240 to the lists of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ as well as O. Cairo JE 96326 (TABLE 64) we notice that some of the first eight marks of ONL 6240 are in agreement with the other sequences, but the remainder of the ordered list underwent several changes.

⁶² Cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 57, n. 739; n. 742.

⁶³ Cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 57, n. 743.

⁶⁴ Cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 57, n. 744.

⁶⁵ In contrast to the situation we had observed earlier, see above, 4.2.3. For the activity of Weserkhepesh see Davies, *Who's who*, 281.

ONL 6240 is therefore probably younger than O. BM 5642 and related pieces, and we may date it to the end of the reign of Ramesses IX.

BM 5642	OL 170+	JE 96326	ONL 6240
𐎏			𐎏
...			𐎎
𐎏			𐎏
𐎎			𐎎
𐎏			𐎏
𐎎		𐎎	𐎎
𐎎			𐎎?
𐎎			𐎎
𐎎		𐎎	𐎎
𐎎			𐎎
...		𐎎	𐎎
𐎎			𐎎
𐎎	𐎎	𐎎	𐎎
𐎎	𐎎		...
...	𐎎	𐎎	...
...	𐎎		𐎎
...	𐎎		𐎎
...	𐎎		...
...	𐎎		...
...	𐎎		...
𐎎	𐎎		𐎎
𐎎	𐎎	𐎎	𐎎
𐎎	𐎎	𐎎	𐎎
𐎎	𐎎	𐎎	...
𐎎	𐎎		...
𐎎		𐎎	𐎎
			𐎎

TABLE 64. ORDERED LIST OF ONL 6240 COMPARED

4.2.6 The left side of the crew during the first half of the 20th Dynasty: Theban Graffiti nrs. 181, 1077, 1465, 1780 and 2839.



















An important identification of a workman's mark was established by Valbelle. She remarked that in Theban Graffito 1780⁶⁶ there was probably a connection between the mention of the "Deputy Hay, son of Amennakht, Paury" and the pomegranate-shaped mark 𐎏 incised close to this inscription. This man can of course be no other than the deputy of the left side Hay (vii) son of Amennakht (x).⁶⁷ Valbelle's assumption that this mark belongs to his person⁶⁸ will be demonstrated to be correct.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Černý and Sadek, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine* III.1, pl. XXV; Černý and Sadek, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine* IV.1, 16.

⁶⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 68-69.

⁶⁸ Valbelle, *La tombe de Hay*, 36 and fig. 20.



⁶⁹ See below, 4.2.8.

The mark of a son of Hay (vii), Amennakht (vi)/(xii), nicknamed Pawonesh, ‘the jackal’,⁷⁰ was also identified through graffiti in the Theban mountains, as Fronczak and Rzepka pointed out that there was a strong correlation between hieratic graffiti mentioning Amennakht (vi)/(xii) and the identity mark , depicting a canid.⁷¹ Both assumed identifications are supported by Theban Graffiti nrs. 1077,⁷² 1465,⁷³ 1609,⁷⁴ 2839,⁷⁵ which include both marks  and , as well as either the name of Hay (vii) or that of his son, Amennakht (vi)/(xii). In Theban Graffito 1077, we observe mark  next to the name Amennakht inscribed in hieratic, and to the left of the inscription mark , probably for Amennakht (vi)/(xii)'s father Hay (vii), and . The latter mark occurs also in Theban Graffito 181,⁷⁶ where it is inscribed twice. It occurs in this graffito together with mark , also inscribed twice. We have already encountered mark  on several occasions, and we established that it referred to Qenna (i) and his father Iniherkhau (ii). Because of the presence of mark  in Graffito 181 there are reasons to assume that  refers there to Iniherkhau (ii). Mark  resembles hieroglyph  with the phonetic value *ḥ3*, and it will be shown below that it refers to a man named *Hay*.⁷⁷ The prevalence of the name Hay in the 20th Dynasty makes it difficult to determine with which Hay were are dealing exactly, but we may consider the possibility that is here used for Hay (iv), the foreman of the left side during much of the reign of Ramesses III and the father of Iniherkhau (ii), represented by mark . Some support for our suggested identification can be gained from Theban Graffito 1077 where, as mentioned, mark , presumably for Hay (iv), is found together with mark  for Amennakht (vi)/(xii) ‘Pawonesh’ and mark  for Hay (vii). The occurrence of these three marks together is probably not coincidental. Hay (vii) and Amennakht (vi)/(xii) were father and son. A similar relation existed between Hay (vii) and Hay (iv). Although Hay (vii) was a son of Amennakht (x), several inscriptions also mention Hay (iv) as the father of Hay (vii). Hay (vii), deputy of the left side of the crew, appears to have suggested this filiation to associate himself with Hay (iv), foreman of the left side, to strengthen his position in the hierarchy of the workmen.⁷⁸ The connection between Hay (iv) and mark  remains nevertheless hypothetical, and it will be demonstrated below that at a later point in the 20th Dynasty mark  was used for another Hay who was not related to Hay (iv).⁷⁹

4.2.7 The left side of the crew during the first half of the 20th Dynasty: O. Cairo CG 25660+

This ostrakon contains an incomplete hieratic account of the items of food brought for a feast by different individuals, dated to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.⁸⁰ The part of the text that interests us is found in lines 8-15. After Janssen,⁸¹ we read:

⁷⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 68.

⁷¹ Fronczak and Rzepka, “Funny Signs”, 167. It is possible that at some point in the life of Amennakht (vi)/(xii), perhaps after the demise of his father Hay (vii), he discarded mark  to take on his father's mark , see below, 4.2.15 and chapter 6, 6.5.4.6.

⁷² Jaroslav Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole Thébaine. Nos 1060 à 1405*. DFIFAO 9 (Cairo 1956), 2, pl. 2.

⁷³ Unpublished but accessible through the database of “Funny signs” in graffiti, *Non-textual marking systems in Ancient Egypt – database*, <http://www.ntms.uw.edu.pl/index.php?rt=funnycodes/search>.

⁷⁴ Černý and Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* III.1, pl. II.

⁷⁵ Jaroslav Černý and Abdel Aziz Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* III.3. *Fac-similés. Nos. 2567-2928*. CEDAE (Cairo 1971), pl. CLXI; Jaroslav Černý and Abdel Aziz Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* IV.2. *Transcriptions et indices. Nos. 2567-2928*. CEDAE (Cairo 1971), 126.

⁷⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, 19 and pl. 22.

⁷⁷ See below, 4.2.8, O. ARTP 99/27.

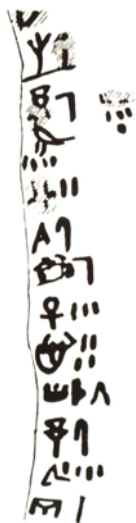
⁷⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 63-64; see also chapter 6, 6.5.4.5.

⁷⁹ See below, 4.2.8, O. ARTP 99/27.

⁸⁰ Černý, *Ostraca Caire*, 52, 72, pl. LXIX; Janssen, *Village Varia*, 72-75, no. VI.

8. Pentaweret: 4 assorted loaves. Amennakht, son of Kasa: 5 assorted loaves. Wesekhnemtet: 5 assorted loaves.
9. Penniut, [son of] Mose: 7 assorted loaves. Amenpahapy, son of Aanakthu: 10 assorted loaves,
10. 1 *gzy*-vessel of meat cuts. The scorpion controller Amenmose: 4 assorted loaves. Minkhau: 3 assorted loaves.
11. Nehsy: 5 assorted loaves. Hornefer, [////] assorted loaves, 2 fish. Nebnefer, son of Pentaweret: 5 assorted loaves.
12. Seti: 10 assorted loaves. Amennakht, son of Reshupeteref: 6 assorted loaves. Penamun: 3 large loaves, 17 assorted loaves,
13. 1 *mḥ*-dish of fish, 3 oipe of cakes. Montupahapy: 5 large loaves, 11 assorted loaves,
14. 1 *gzy*-vessel of meat. Amenkha: 5 large loaves, 20 assorted loaves, 1 *mḥ*-dish of meat. Qenna, son of (Iniher)khau:
15. 6 assorted loaves. Nesamun: 5 assorted loaves. Qenherkhopshef, son of Khaemnun: 5 assorted loaves. Harmin: 5 assorted loaves. Nebnefer: 5 assorted loaves. Hathoremheb: 5 assorted loaves.

To the left of the text a partially preserved column of workmen's marks and hieratic numerals is inscribed. Some of the marks in are familiar to us, as they occur in turnus lists composed with marks as well:



- l. 1 damaged
- l. 2 mark of Khaemnun (i) ⤵
- l. 3 mark of Nesamun (III) ⌘ (?), followed by a damaged mark
- l. 4 mark of Horii (ii) = (iii) ⤴
- l. 5 damaged mark
- l. 6 mark of Neferhotep (xii) ⤴
- l. 7 mark of Menna (i) ⤴
- l. 8 mark of Minkhau (i) ♀
- l. 9 unidentified mark ⤴
- l. 10 unidentified mark ⤴
- l. 11 unidentified mark ⤴
- l. 12 perhaps mark of Wesekhnemtet (i) ⤴
- l. 13 unidentified mark ⤴

FIGURE 12. MARKS ON O. CG 25660+

Looking at the numerals and other signs added to the marks, it becomes clear that the column of marks corresponds at least partially to the hieratic text. Although according to line 8 of the hieratic text Wesekhnemtet was responsible for five loaves of bread, his mark appears to be connected with hieratic numeral 3. Yet, the numeral five right of the mark of Nesamun (III) agrees with the five loaves of bread brought by Nesamun in line 15 of the hieratic account and the numeral three right of the mark of Minkhau (i) corresponds to the three loaves mentioned in line 10 for the same workman.

With regard to the unidentified marks, the hieratic text offers some insight. It seems very plausible that mark ⤴ depicts a scorpion, used for the workman Amenmose in line 10

⁸¹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 72-75.

who is named there with his title ‘scorpion controller’.⁸² He is responsible for four loaves of bread and this amount coincides with the numeral 4 next to the mark 𓆎 . The mark 𓆏 below it reads ‘Amun’ and is connected with the numeral 10, which suggests that the mark is to be identified with the *Amenpahapy* of line 9 and the 10 loaves he brought. Three marks in the list are not connected with a hieratic numeral, but to what appears to be a hieroglyphic sign 𓆐 . We have seen the same sign in the duty rosters composed with marks, where it served as an abbreviation for the word *sw* ‘day’.⁸³ That explanation is not very probable in the context of the marks on O. Cairo CG 25660+. On this piece, the first instance of the sign is in combination with the mark of Khaemnun. In the hieratic text on the same ostrakon Khaemnun is not mentioned as someone who brings food, but as part of a filiation: line 15 mentions “Qenherkhopshef, son of Khaemnun.” In this light, the sign 𓆐 *s* next to mark 𓆑 for Khaemnun is perhaps used as an abbreviation for the word *sꜣ* ‘son’ to create a construction of filiation. If this assumption is correct, the damaged mark above the mark of Neferhotep must represent the son of Neferhotep on account of the *s* right of it. Yet, no son of Neferhotep is preserved in the hieratic account. The *s* right of mark 𓆒 below that of Amenpahapy would then indicate the father of Amenpahapy. Fortunately, this filiation can be found in line 9 of the hieratic inscription which informs us that Amenpahapy is the son of Aanakhtu, securely tying marks 𓆏 and 𓆒 to Davies’ Amenpahapy (iii) and Aanakhtu (i). Sign 𓆐 is thus indeed used to as an abbreviation for *sꜣ* ‘son’ on O. Cairo CG 25660+.

Connecting Aanakhtu (i) with mark 𓆒 leads perhaps to the equation of Aanakhtu (i) with Davies’ Aanakhtu (iii). That is suggested by Theban Graffito 3630. It displays two workmen’s marks, 𓆒 and 𓆓 . We may assume that the latter is an elaborate variant of mark 𓆓 , which we have identified as the mark of Weserhat (ii). The father of Weserhat (ii) was workman Aanakhtu (iii), so it is well possible that the graffito records a father and his son. Aanakhtu (iii) in turn may in fact be identical with Aanakhtu (iv).⁸⁴ This is plausible, as Aanakhtu (iv) is attested as a workman of the left side in the later years of the reign of Ramesses III,⁸⁵ and in the following section (4.2.8) we will see that Aanakhtu (iii) = (i) with mark 𓆒 is likewise recorded on the left side of the crew in the reign of Ramesses IV.⁸⁶

4.2.8 The left side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses IV: O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca

O. ARTP 99/27 was discovered in the area between KV 56 and KV 9 in the Valley of the Kings. The obverse contains two columns of marks inscribed in red ink. Some of the marks are difficult to discern, and a number may have been erased, but the ostrakon appears to display at least 36 different workmen’s marks. Close parallels for the sequence of the right column of the ostrakon are found in ostraca O. Cairo JE 72491 and O. BTdK 550, which aid in interpreting some of the damaged and oddly executed marks. Moreover, the close similarity between O. ARTP 99/27 and O. BTdK 550 suggests that O. ARTP 99/27 is likewise datable to the 20th Dynasty and more specifically to a time after the reign of Ramesses III, because O. BTdK 550 was discovered in the huts settlement in the Valley of the Kings that was used in the period of Ramesses IV – Ramesses VII. Assuming that the beginning of O. ARTP 99/27 is at the top of the right column, we see that the first mark is 𓆔 , the pomegranate, ascribed to Hay (vii).⁸⁷ His position at the beginning of the list of workmen’s marks is significant, as it

⁸² Not Amenmose (i) but the later homonymous scorpion controller, see Janssen, *Village Varia*, 29; Davies, *Who’s who*, 233.

⁸³ See above, chapter 3, 3.2.2.

⁸⁴ Contra Davies, *Who’s who*, 40.

⁸⁵ O. Turin N. 57026; O. Turin N. 57039.

⁸⁶ O. ARTP 99/27.

⁸⁷ See above, 4.2.6.

might indicate that this is an ordered list of workmen that starts with the mention of the deputy. As Hay (vii) was the deputy of the left side, the ostracon would seem to be a list of workmen of the left side.

This assumption is confirmed when we compare O. ARTP 99/27 to hieratic ostracon O. DeM 831.⁸⁸ The latter document is dated to the period of the end of the reign of Ramesses III to the end of the reign of Ramesses IV on account of the individuals that are mentioned in this name list of workmen belonging to the left side of the crew.⁸⁹ It is obvious that the hieratic name list is ordered as well: it begins with the deputy Hay (vii) and in the second position it lists Qed(her)akhtef (ii), the workman who would take over the role of deputy of the left side from Hay in the middle of the 20th Dynasty.⁹⁰ We are thus dealing with a list that on the surface appears to be similar to that of O. ARTP 99/27.

Apart from the mark of Hay (vii), O. ARTP 99/27 contains several workmen's marks which we have already identified. We know them from ostraca with duty rosters, such as the mark C^{Q} for Menna (i), v for Pentaweret (iv) and L for Qenna (i). Although they served on the right side of the crew at one time, we have observed that they each disappeared from the turnus towards the end of the reign of Ramesses III. In the case of Menna (i), it is explicitly stated in hieratic ostracon O. Prague H 14 that he was transferred to the left side of the crew in III *ph.t* of year 31. Regarding Qenna and Pentaweret it is clear that they were excluded from the duty rosters around IV *pr.t* year 28 and I *pr.t* year 30 respectively, and they could have ended up in the left side of the crew as well.

We find striking similarities when we juxtapose the sequence of names in the hieratic list of O. DeM 831 with the sequence of workmen's marks (TABLE 65). The left column of marks in O. ARTP 99/27 is difficult to interpret, as it appears to consist of two separated parts, none of which match well with the hieratic list. In contrast, the right column corresponds well to the first 20 entries in the list of O. DeM 831. After mark L of Hay (vii), we observe the identity mark X^{E} , a hieroglyph with phonetic value *qd*. This mark is easily explained as the first element in the name of the workman *Qedherakhtuf*. The next identity mark X^{Z} (*wzq*) could well be connected with Aapatjau (i) if we propose that this mark is related to the second element in the name of his father, workman *Siwadjet* (iii).

Similarly, identity mark v^{b} (*nb* and *nfr*) is most likely not a reference to the name of Bakenwerel (vii), but to that of his father. The identity of Bakenwerel's father is unfortunately not known, but in the light of Bakenwerel's identity mark we may theorise that he was called Nebnefer. Such an assumption is supported by the fact the Bakenwerel (vii)'s son was called Nebnefer (x), who in turn had a son called Bakenwerel (viii).⁹¹ Thankfully, O. Ashmolean HO 68 confirms the identification of Bakenwerel (vii)'s mark v^{b} . The hieratic inscription on the obverse documents an oath by Neferher to pay for a metal vessel delivered by Bakenwerel. Interestingly, the unpublished reverse of the same ostracon displays two workmen's marks. One is v^{b} , which can only be a more elaborate version of the mark v^{b} , which we know belonged to Neferher (vi), corresponding to the workman mentioned in the hieratic inscription. The second mark is v^{b} , which, in accordance with the other mark, must refer to the Bakenwerel alluded to in the hieratic text.

Like the mark of Bakenwerel, the identity mark v^{w} , a ligature that reads 'wn', seems not to be related to the name of Penamun but to that of his father. We know of a workman

⁸⁸ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* IX, 1, 11-13, 197-199.

⁸⁹ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* IX, 1, 13.

⁹⁰ Cf. Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* IX, 11.

⁹¹ Many workmen in Deir el-Medina were named after their grandfather, see chapter 6, 6.5.4.2. For the family of Bakenwerel (vii) see Davies, *Who's who*, chart 47. For the father of Bakenwerel (vii) see also below, 4.2.11.

Penamun (V) who was active in the 20th Dynasty, and whose father was called *Wennefer* (iii).⁹²

The identity mark 𓂏 is of course well attested in the duty rosters, where it represents the workman Mose (iv). We have observed his mark in the turnus of the right side from the time of Ramesses III to those of the reign of Ramesses V or later. It is therefore odd to encounter the mark on O. ARTP 99/27 among workmen of the left side, and we get the suspicion that we are dealing with another workman. If that is indeed the case, the implication is that the same workman's mark can be used for different individuals simultaneously. This cannot be proven, but O. DeM 831 does list a workman who is not related to Mose (iv) for the slot of the mark 𓂏 . The name of this workman is damaged – it might have been [Men]na or Qen[na] – but the filiation can still be reconstructed and has been read as Nakhtenkhopshesf.⁹³ This individual is not included in Davies' *Who's who*, but a man with almost the same name, Nakhtherkhopshesf (I), is attested on O. BTdK 183, found among the recently excavated material from the workmen's huts near the tomb of Ramesses X. Nakhtherkhopshesf (I) is mentioned as a son of Ramose, probably Ramose (v),⁹⁴ and it is conceivable that mark 𓂏 (*ms*) is connected with the element –mose in that name.

Mark 𓂏 aligns with the name of the workman Seti. Indeed, mark and name may be connected, as Theban Graffito 1460 contains mark 𓂏 below the depiction of a seated Seth animal.

The following mark is 𓂏 , which we had already encountered in Theban Graffiti nrs. 181 and 1077. We had established that there is a possibility that it refers there to Hay (iv), but in O. ARTP 99/27 it certainly is used for another individual. According to the sequence of O. DeM 831, mark 𓂏 does correspond to a man named Hay but he cannot have been Hay (iv). The earliest possible date for the name list on O. DeM 831 is at the end of the reign of Ramesses III, and by this time Hay (iv) had already retired from his position as foreman. It is not easy to identify the workman Hay in O. DeM 831, the more so because the hieratic list mentions another workman of the same name in position 15. Two workmen named Hay are already found in a list of workmen of the left side dating to year 24 of Ramesses III,⁹⁵ where they are recorded with filiation: Hay (xi) son of Seba⁹⁶ and Hay (v) = (iii) son of Huy.⁹⁷ Both men are still recorded among a group of workmen of the left side on O. DeM 236, an ostrakon generally attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV.⁹⁸ We may thus assume that the two men in O. DeM 831 are the same individuals, but because the texts in which Hay (xi) and Hay (v) = (iii) occur are not ordered lists we are unable to specify which is which. We conclude that mark 𓂏 on O. ARTP 99/27 refers in all likelihood to either one of them.⁹⁹

The connection between the identity mark 𓂏 and the name Penniut is not immediately obvious. Yet, we may consider Davies' suggestion that the woman Henutwati (i), the mother of Penniut (i), is the same person as Henutwati (ii), a daughter of *Nebimentet* (i).¹⁰⁰ If these

⁹² Not in Davies, *Who's who*, but see Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 354.

⁹³ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques IX*, 12.

⁹⁴ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 269.

⁹⁵ O. Turin N. 57028.

⁹⁶ Davies, *Who's who*, 266.

⁹⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 215.

⁹⁸ E.g. Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 367. Although the ostrakon does not contain an ordered list, the sequence of workmen recorded in the first two columns of the obverse – all men of the right side – corresponds slightly better to the ordered sequence of the reign of Ramesses V (where they are situated in slots 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 13, 19, 21 and 31) than the reign of Ramesses IV, and thus an attribution to this reign may be considered for this ostrakon as well.

⁹⁹ An ostrakon from the late 19th Dynasty, O. Ashmolean HO 801, would suggest that the same mark was used for Hay (v) = (iii), but hard evidence is lacking, see chapter 5, 5.2.3.1.

¹⁰⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, chart 5.

family ties are correctly reconstructed, it would appear that Penniut (i) had inherited his identity mark \hat{p} from his grandfather on his mothers' side.

Towards the bottom of the right column we reencounter mark \check{y} , which we have seen in ostracon O. Cairo CG 25660+ and Theban Graffito 3630, where the mark was identified as the workman Aanakhtu (i) = (iii). This association is confirmed by O. ARTP 99/27, as the mark coincides with exactly this name in O. DeM 831. It is noteworthy that Grandet identified this Aanakhtu as the workman mentioned in P. Genève MAH 15274.¹⁰¹ The same workman is enumerated as Aanakhtu (iv) by Davies,¹⁰² who recognised him as a workman of the left side of the gang. It would thus seem that Aanakhtu (i) = (iii) and Aanakhtu (iv) are in fact one and the same person.

The following mark \overline{mnw} , corresponding to the workman Qenymin (i) according to O. DeM 831, is explained without difficulty as the last element in his name. Finally, mark \mathcal{A} is positioned in the slot occupied by a Nebnefer in the list of O. DeM 831. Here too we come across a mark that we are well acquainted with as a reference to a workman of the right side of the crew, Hori (ii) = (iii). We are however entirely certain that at the time somewhere in the reign of Ramesses IV when O. ARTP 99/27 was inscribed, Hori (ii) = (iii) was associated with the right side of the gang. Mark \mathcal{A} on O. ARTP 99/27 must therefore designate someone else, and a good candidate is Nebnefer (ix), son of Hori (ix) and a contemporary of Hori (ii) = (iii).¹⁰³ Mark \mathcal{A} thus constitutes another example of two contemporaneous workmen, each belonging to a different side of the gang, who employed the same mark.

O. DeM 831				O. ARTP 99/27		
O. I.1	1	Hay (vii)	=	I.1	1	\mathcal{H}
O. I.2	2	Qed(her)akhtef (ii)	=	I.2	2	Ξ
O. I.3	3	Aapatjau (i)	=	I.3	3	\mathcal{A}
O. I.4	4	Qenna		I.4	4	\mathcal{M}
O. I.5	5	Bakenwerel	=	I.5	5	\mathcal{B}
O. I.6	6	[...]na, son of Nakhtherkhapshef (I)	≈	I.6	6	\mathcal{N}
O. I.7	7	Seti (i)	=	I.7	7	\mathcal{T}
O. I.8	8	Khnumnakht ¹⁰⁴		I.8	8	\mathcal{K}
O. I.9	9	Hay (v) = (iii) or (xi)	=	I.9	9	\mathcal{H}
O. I.10	10	Nakht		I.10	10	\mathcal{N}
O. II.1	11	Penamun (V)	=	I.11	11	\mathcal{P}
O. II.2	12	Waway		I.12	12	\mathcal{W}
O. II.3	13	Penniut (i) = (iii)	=	I.13	13	\hat{p}
O. II.4	14	Menna (i)	=	I.14	14	\mathcal{M}
O. II.5	15	Hay (xi) or (v) = (iii)		I.15	15	\mathcal{H}
O. II.6	16	Pentaweret (vii)	=	I.16	16	\mathcal{P}
O. II.7	17	Qenna (i)	=	I.17	17	\mathcal{Q}
O. II.8	18	Aanakhtu (iii) = Aanakhtu (iv)	=	I.18	18	\check{y}
O. II.9	19	Qenymin (i)	=	I.19	19	\overline{mnw}
O. II.10	20	Nebnefer	=	I.20	20	\mathcal{A}
O. II.11	21	Hormin (i)		I.21	21	\mathcal{H}
R. I.1	22	Sobekmose (i)		II.1	22	\mathcal{S}

¹⁰¹ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques IX*, 13.

¹⁰² Davies, *Who's who*, 40.

¹⁰³ Compare the discussion of men named Hori in Davies, *Who's who*, 143-146.

¹⁰⁴ Not in Davies, *Who's who*.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II






























R. I.2	23	Harmose (ii ?)		II.2	23	
R. I.3	24	Paneferemdjedu (i)		II.3	24	
R. I.4	25	Amennakht		II.4	25	
R. I.5	26	Burekhtuiunef (iii)		III.1	26	
R. I.6	27	Harnefer		III.2	27	
R. II.1	28	Mer[ysekhmet (iii)] ?		III.3	28	
R. II.2	29	Amenkha (ii ?)		III.4	29	
R. II.3	30	Sobeknakht		III.5	30	
R. II.4	31	Qeny		III.6	31	
R. II.5	32	Pashedu		III.7	32	
R. II.6	33	[...]r		III.8	33	
R. II.7	34	Akhpet (iii)		III.9	34	
R. III.1	35	Neb[...]y		III.10	35	
R. III.2	36	Huy		III.11	36	
R. III.3	37	[...]				
R. III.4	38	[...]				

TABLE 65. ORDERED LIST OF O. DEM 831 COMPARED TO O. ARTP 99/27

In the left column we find two marks we have already identified:  for Amenpahapy (iii) and  (in all likelihood an allomorph of mark  on O. Cairo CG 25660+¹⁰⁵) for the scorpion controller Amenmose. Mark  is similar to mark , used for Penrennut (i) in duty rosters from the end of the reign of Ramesses IV or later times, who probably belonged to the right side of the crew during that period. Perhaps the same workman belonged to the left side at the time O. ARTP 99/27 was composed. This ostrakon lists several marks in the left column which we cannot identify securely through the hieratic text of O. DeM 831, but because these marks are hieroglyphic signs we can propose some identifications. To begin with, two marks below  for Amenpahapy a sistrum-shaped mark  (occasionally *shm*) is inscribed, and it is very tempting to connect it with the workman Merysekhmet¹⁰⁶ who is mentioned in position 28 in O. DeM 831. The first element of his name is indeed oftentimes written with sign .¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the sistrum  is once attested as an identity mark on pottery¹⁰⁸ in combination with the *mr* sign , which can be taken as another indication that  is related to the workman Merysekhmet.

Some marks down in the list on O. ARTP 99/27 mark  is situated. This is the *dd* sign, and it would make sense to tie this mark to the workman Paneferemdjedu (i) mentioned in position 24 on O. DeM 831. Support for this assumption is found in O. BTdK 539, a piece that must also date to the 20th Dynasty. It records several marks also present on O. ARTP 99/27, among which the mark , combining *nfr* and *dd*. Less certain are the options for  (*h3*) and  (*m* and *hb*). We may propose to connect the former mark with Amenkha mentioned in O. DeM 831,¹⁰⁹ but there is no corroborating evidence. The latter mark might stand for the workman Amenemheb, who is listed among the workmen of the left side in O. MMA 09.184.702, an ostrakon attributed to year 1 of Ramesses IV.¹¹⁰ There is however no evidence for this suggestion either.

¹⁰⁵ See above, 4.2.7.

¹⁰⁶ Probably Merysekhmet (iii), see Davies, *Who's who*, 262.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, 32, Theban Graffito nr. 356 or Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVII.060

¹⁰⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport 1949-1951*, pl. XVII, [nr.] 60.

¹⁰⁹ Perhaps this is Amenkha (ii), see Davies, *Who's who*, 214.

¹¹⁰ In all probability this man is either Amenemheb (i) = (ii) (see Davies, *Who's who*, 255-256) or Amenemheb (iv) (see Davies, *Who's who*, 68).

Because O. ARTP 99/27 corresponds to a large extent to the hieratic name list on O. DeM 831, the list of workmen's marks is best dated to the reign of Ramesses IV as well. More than 30 workmen of the left side are mentioned in both O. DeM 831 (38 names) and O. ARTP 99/27 (36 marks). This number of workmen would suggest that O. ARTP 99/27 was inscribed after the expansion of the crew to 60 workmen for each side of the gang in year 2 of the reign of Ramesses IV.¹¹¹ The inclusion of mark 𐀓 for Aanakhtu (i) = (iii) = Aanakhtu (iv) on O. ARTP 99/27 indicates that it must have been composed in or before year 6 of the reign of Ramesses IV, whose career appears to have ended in that year.¹¹²

The sequence of marks in the list of O. Cairo JE 72491 is very similar to the one recorded on O. ARTP 99/27, suggesting the two documents must date close to each other (TABLE 66). Although O. Cairo JE 72491 is less well preserved, almost all of its marks appear in the order of the list of O. ARTP 99/27, with some notable differences. To begin with, the second mark of O. Cairo JE 72491 is not 𐀓 but 𐀔, a mark that does not appear on O. ARTP 99/27. In turn, two marks down we notice that mark 𐀓 has been inscribed in the slot that is occupied by mark 𐀕 on O. ARTP 99/27. The latter mark seems to be omitted from O. Cairo JE 72491.¹¹³ The slot that is filled by mark 𐀓 on O. ARTP 99/27 is used for mark 𐀕 on O. Cairo JE 72491, which in turn is absent on O. ARTP 99/27. The differences between the two lists suggest that O. Cairo JE 72491 is the older one, because, as we shall discover later on,¹¹⁴ marks 𐀔 and 𐀓 will not appear in prominent positions at the top of lists of identity marks of workmen of the left side during later periods. Mark 𐀓 in contrast remained in such a position. It is thus possible to come to a relative date for O. Cairo JE 72491, but we cannot pinpoint it to a particular year. Like O. ARTP 99/27, O. Cairo JE 72491 is headed by the mark of deputy of the left side Hay (vii), and the ostrakon therefore probably postdates year 22 of the reign of Ramesses III, because in that year Hay (vii)'s predecessor, deputy Iniherkhau (ii), assumed his new position as foreman of the left side.¹¹⁵ However, it would seem that O. Cairo JE 72491 recorded more than 30 workmen's marks, with 29 (partially) preserved marks still visible and at least two more marks in the lacunae. Like O. ARTP 99/27, O. Cairo JE 72491 is therefore presumably written after the workforce was doubled in year 2 of Ramesses IV. O. Cairo JE 72491 and similar ostraca demonstrate that mark 𐀕 on O. ARTP 99/27 is an allomorph of 𐀖.

Ostrakon ONL 6303, incompletely preserved, contains a list of workmen that is probably datable to a time between O. Cairo JE 72491 and O. ARTP 99/27. That is suggested by the sequence of workmen's marks on the ostrakon, which is similar to both O. Cairo JE 72491 and O. ARTP 99/27. As in the latter ostrakon, mark 𐀕 is no longer included in the list of ONL 6303. For the slot between 𐀒 and 𐀑 where mark 𐀕 is positioned on O. Cairo JE 72491, ONL 6303 lists mark 𐀕. This mark occurs on O. ARTP 99/27, but it is not mentioned on O. Cairo JE 72491. The workman referred to by mark 𐀕 thus seems to have replaced the workman with mark 𐀕, suggesting ONL 6303 is closer related to O. ARTP 99/27 in this respect. Yet, mark 𐀕 is situated in a position higher up in the list of O. ARTP 99/27 than in that of ONL 6303. Furthermore, the sequence 𐀑 – 𐀒 – 𐀓 on ONL 6303 can be observed on O. Cairo JE 72491, but not on O. ARTP 99/27. Hence, on our relative timeline of ostraca the sequence of marks ONL 6303 fits best in between O. Cairo JE 72491 and O. ARTP 99/27.

Comparing the order of marks of O. Cairo JE 72491 and ONL 6303 to that of O. ARTP 99/27, we see that several shifts and changes took place at or just before the time O.

¹¹¹ P. Turin Cat. 1891, rto.

¹¹² Cf. Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* IX, 13; Davies, *Who's who*, 40.

¹¹³ Note that both marks 𐀔 and 𐀕 reappear in later ostraca such as O. Cairo JE 46862, see below, 4.2.12; 4.2.14.

¹¹⁴ See below, 4.2.17, O. Prague NM P 3836; 4.2.15, O. BM 5642 reverse.

¹¹⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 27. Hay (vii) is however firstly attested with the title of deputy in year 27 of Ramesses III.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

ARTP 99/27 was written. As mentioned, mark 𐀓 appears to have been omitted from the list, marks 𐀙 and 𐀛 changed positions, and mark 𐀞 as well as marks 𐀟 and 𐀠 ascended in the list of O. ARTP 99/27.

The sequence of marks on the latter ostracon agrees to a great extent to that of O. BTdK 550. In fact, the order of marks is in complete accord, except for the disappearance of the slot between 𐀘 and 𐀛. On O. Cairo JE 72491 this position was dedicated to mark 𐀙, while in O. ARTP 99/27 this position is filled by mark 𐀛. We may interpret this as a consequence of the apparently short-lived career of the workman represented by 𐀛, who is absent in O. Cairo JE 72491, enters the middle regions of the workmen's list in ONL 6303, ascends to the fourth slot in O. ARTP 99/27, and disappears in O. BTdK 550.

The disappearance of mark 𐀛 from the list is probably reflected in ONL 6289 as well. Admittedly, this is not a list of the entire left side of the crew, but the five marks in the upper row do conform perfectly to the lists on O. Cairo JE 72491 and O. ARTP 99/27, apart from the slot between marks 𐀘 and 𐀛. On ONL 6289 this position is filled by mark 𐀚, suggesting the list was created after the exclusion of mark 𐀛 as in O. BTdK 550. Mark 𐀚 is present in the lists of O. Cairo JE 72491, O. BTdK 550 and O. ARTP 99/27, but several slots lower in the order of workmen than in that of ONL 6289. It thus seems that after the omission of mark 𐀛 in O. BTdK 550 his slot was taken by the workman with mark 𐀚, who moved up eight positions. ONL 6289 is therefore datable to some time in the reign of Ramesses IV, after the creation of O. BTdK 550.

ONL 6273 is most likely datable to about the same period. In the sequence of marks on this fragmentary ostracon, the slot between 𐀚 and 𐀛, previously occupied by mark 𐀚, has vanished, suggesting that as in ONL 6289 mark 𐀚 had already shifted upwards in the order of workmen. But, provided that ONL 6273 is indeed an ordered list of workmen, several more alterations in the sequence of marks had taken place, as we see that marks 𐀟 and 𐀠 have risen in the order of workmen and are now listed below mark 𐀛. The mark below 𐀛 is not securely identified, but could be mark 𐀡, which would then appear to have descended in the list.

JE 72491	ONL 6481	ONL 6303	ARTP 99/27	BTdK 550	ONL 6289	ONL 6273
𐀓			𐀓	𐀓	𐀓	
𐀔			𐀛	𐀛	𐀛	
𐀘	𐀘		𐀘	𐀘	𐀘	
𐀙	𐀙		𐀛	-	-	
𐀛			𐀛	𐀛	𐀚	
𐀜			𐀜	𐀜	𐀛	
𐀝			𐀝	𐀝		
𐀞			𐀞	𐀞		
𐀟			𐀟	𐀟		
𐀠			𐀠	𐀠		
𐀡			𐀡	𐀡		
𐀢			𐀢	𐀢		
𐀣			𐀣	𐀣		𐀣
𐀤			𐀤	𐀤		𐀛
𐀥			𐀥	𐀥		𐀟
𐀦			𐀦	𐀦		𐀠
𐀧		𐀧	𐀧	𐀧		...
𐀨		𐀨	𐀨	𐀨		...
𐀩		𐀩	𐀩	𐀩		...
𐀪		𐀪	𐀙			𐀡

𐀀		𐀀	𐀀			𐀀
𐀀		...	𐀀			𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	...	𐀀			𐀀
𐀀		...	𐀀			𐀀?
𐀀	𐀀	...	𐀀			
𐀀		𐀀	𐀀			
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀			
...	𐀀	𐀀	𐀀			
𐀀		𐀀	𐀀			
𐀀		𐀀	𐀀			
𐀀		𐀀	𐀀			
...		𐀀	𐀀			
			𐀀			
			𐀀			
			𐀀			
			𐀀			
			𐀀			
			𐀀			
			𐀀			
			𐀀			

TABLE 66. ORDERED LIST OF O. ARTP 99/27 AND ASSOCIATED OSTRACA (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER).

4.2.9 Ostraca attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV

A group of ostraca, inscribed like O. ARTP 99/27 with the marks of members of the left side, can be attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV on the basis of similarities with the ostraca above. They do not offer much chronologically important details and are therefore discussed in Appendix I, § 7.

4.2.10 O. Leipzig 1821: A foreman of the left side?

The two columns of marks on O. Leipzig 1821 probably do not record a list of the entire left side of the gang, as it probably contains no more than 11 marks. In the right column we recognise mark 𐀀 of deputy Hay (vii). To the left of it, and inscribed slightly higher, we find the mark 𐀀, presumably for the scribe of the tomb. Above it mark 𐀀 is inscribed, which we have not encountered before. Since this mark is situated at the head of the column and is followed by the marks of the scribe of the tomb and the deputy of the left side of the crew, it is very probable that it represents the foreman of the left side. This foreman cannot be Iniherkhau (ii), who is attested in office from year 22 of the reign of Ramesses III to perhaps year 4 of the reign of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII,¹¹⁶ because we have already established that he must have been represented by mark 𐀀. The next best candidate is foreman of the left side Harmose (ii), but it is unclear when exactly he was promoted to this office.¹¹⁷ He is first securely attested as a foreman in year 8 of Ramesses VII, and was not succeeded until at least year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹¹⁸ Dating O. Leipzig 1821 thus becomes a difficult task, as it is similarly uncertain when precisely Hay (ii) held the office of deputy of the left side. The oldest known document that mentions him with the title of deputy dates to year 27 of Ramesses III, and his last attestation as deputy depends on the date of P. Turin Cat. 2081+

¹¹⁶ Davies, *Who's who*, 27.

¹¹⁷ There is a possibility that in analogy with 𐀀, the mark that referred during the 20th Dynasty to the position of the chief workman of the right side regardless of the identity of that man, mark 𐀀 performed a similar role for the chief workman of the left side. This would explain why the same mark is used in duty rosters composed with marks to refer to the deliveries of the left side, see chapter 6, 6.5.4.7.

¹¹⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 27-28.

rto., which is year 2 of Ramesses V, Ramesses VI or even later kings.¹¹⁹ These dates seem to indicate that Hay (vii) never was a deputy under the foremanship of Harmose (ii), but this may be due to the absence of earlier attestations of Harmose (ii) as foreman and/or later attestations of Hay (vii) as deputy. In summary, O. Leipzig 1821 probably dates to a time in or around the reign of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII.¹²⁰

This attribution suggests that the document is quite some years later than ostrakon O. ARTP 99/27. Yet, the marks on O. Leipzig 1821 that follow after the mark of deputy Hay (vii) are almost all situated in the same relative position as in the ordered list of O. ARTP 99/27. The only exception is mark \equiv , undoubtedly an allomorph of mark \equiv in O. ARTP 99/27, which precedes marks $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ and 𓂏 on O. Leipzig 1821. Apart from the marks of the foreman and the scribe of the tomb, the other marks on O. Leipzig 1821 correspond to the first, sixth, seventh, tenth, twelfth, twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second and twenty-seventh marks on O. ARTP 99/27.

4.2.11 The left side of the crew during the first half of the 20th Dynasty: Theban Graffiti 3284 and 3295

Both Theban Graffiti 3284 and 3295 contain two workmen's marks. The first is $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, the mark of Pentaweret (vii). The second mark is $\text{𓂏} \cup \text{𓂏}$, which is reminiscent of, but not necessarily equal to the mark 𓂏 , which as we have seen belongs to Bakenwerel (vii)¹²¹ and presumably his father who must have been named Nebnefer. Coincidentally, Pentaweret (vii) is the son of a man named Nebnefer (vii) as well. If the marks $\text{𓂏} \cup \text{𓂏}$ and 𓂏 can be proven to refer to the same individual, then Bakenwerel (vii) might have been a son of Nebnefer (vii) too. Alternatively, the mark $\text{𓂏} \cup \text{𓂏}$ in Theban Graffiti 3284 and 3295 might belong to a possible son of Pentaweret (vii), Nebnefer (xii).

4.2.12 The left side of the crew during the middle of the 20th Dynasty: Ostraca with the identity mark of Amennakht (vi)/(xii) called Pawonesh and related ostraca

As established above, several graffiti in the Theban mountains suggest that mark 𓂏 designated Amennakht (vi)/(xii) called Pawonesh.¹²² Assuming that it was used exclusively for this man, we recognise the mark of Amennakht (vi)/(xii) on a number of ostraca inscribed with identity marks. The inclusion of his identity mark serves as an indication of an approximate date for such documents. Yet, it will become clear that the majority of ostraca on which the mark of Pawonesh occurs, as well as several associated pieces (TABLE 68), are rather difficult to date.

Perhaps the most clear cut case is ostrakon ONL 6436. The first line displays marks 𓂏 and 𓂏 , two marks we encountered in Theban Graffito 1077. Presumably these marks represent respectively Hay (vii) and Amennakht (vi)/(xii) called Pawonesh. Apart from marks 𓂏 and 𓂏 , all other marks on ONL 6436 are attested on O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca and it is therefore likely that all marks refer to workmen of the left side of the crew. The order of marks $\text{𓂏} - \text{𓂏} - \overline{\text{𓂏}} - \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ in the middle line of ONL 6436 resembles the sequence of $\overline{\text{𓂏}} - \overline{\text{𓂏}} - \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ in the list of O. ARTP 99/27. Amennakht called Pawonesh was indeed the foreman of the left side, and we may assume he is here attested with mark 𓂏 in that function, or as a workman of the left side. By association, mark 𓂏 could have been a workman of the left side of the crew as well.

¹¹⁹ Davies, *Who's who*, 69.

¹²⁰ An alternative explanation would be to interpret mark 𓂏 as a general mark for the chief workman of the left side of the crew. If this were true, 𓂏 could on O. Leipzig 1821 refer to foreman Iniherkhau (ii) in which case the ostrakon could date closer to O. ARTP 99/27 and associated pieces. See also below, chapter 6, 6.5.4.7.

¹²¹ See above, 4.2.8.

¹²² See above, 4.2.6.

The mark of Amennakht called Pawonesh occurs also on O. Cairo JE 46862. This document is somewhat difficult to date, and does not contain an ordered list of workmen's marks on which we can rely. Instead, the marks are scattered throughout the ostrakon, often with numerals and strokes added to the left of the mark. The marks are inscribed in different groups which are separated from each other by thick lines, creating different sections. This remarkable lay-out is recognisable in another ostrakon that we will discuss here, O. UC 31939+. Not only are the marks and numerals of the latter ostrakon presented in the very same fashion, a quick glance at the shape of the marks suggests O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ were written by the same hand. That both ostraca are related is also suggested by the number of marks that overlap. O. UC 31939+, inscribed with 22 different marks, includes 13 marks that are also present on O. Cairo JE 46862 (TABLE 68).

The similarity between the two documents is significant, because it is possible to suggest a broad and tentative date for O. UC 31939+. Like O. Cairo JE 46862, this ostrakon does not provide us with an ordered list of identity marks, but a section at the bottom of the document appears to be related to the sequence of marks of O. ARTP 99/27 and O. BTdK 550. As on these two ostraca, we observe marks ξ – Ξ – ξ in a column. The ostrakon breaks off after the third mark, but the column to the left of it lists \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{T} in the same order as O. ARTP 99/27 and O. BTdK 550, suggesting two marks have been lost below ξ . The accordance to the sequence of marks on O. ARTP/27 and related documents is at first sight suggestive of a date for O. UC 31939+ in or close to the reign of Ramesses IV. Such a date would agree with the repertory of marks on O. UC 31939+, which is inscribed with 16 (out of a total of 22 different marks) that are included on O. ARTP 99/27 as well. Nevertheless, it is necessary to be cautious while dating O. UC 31939+, because it displays six more marks that are absent on O. ARTP 99/27. O. UC 31939+ may therefore date to a period after the reign of Ramesses IV as well.




A date for this ostrakon before the reign of Ramesses IV seems unlikely, because of its close similarity to O. Cairo JE 46862. This ostrakon is not preserved in its entirety and yet contains 31 different marks. The original number of marks could thus have well exceeded the total of 30 workmen, which indicates that the ostrakon must have been made after the workforce had been enlarged in year 2 of Ramesses IV to 60 workmen per side of the gang. Moreover, O. Cairo JE 46862 was discovered in the settlement of workmen's huts near the tomb of Ramesses X, and material from this area dates almost exclusively to the period between the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses VII.¹²³ Perhaps O. Cairo JE 46862 was inscribed at a somewhat later period than O. UC 31939+, because even though it is slightly more intact, it displays 17 out of 31 marks that are included in the list of O. ARTP 99/27, but 14 marks that are not attested on that document. Moreover, as mentioned above, O. Cairo JE 46862 includes mark \mathfrak{A} for Amennakht called Pawonesh. It is unfortunately not clear when precisely he was active as a workman. His first secure attestation dates to a period prior to year 7 of the reign of Ramesses VI, but he may have already been part of the workforce in the reign of Ramesses IV or Ramesses V.¹²⁴

As a result of the difficulties in dating O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+, we are not able to determine with certainty the identity behind many of the workmen's marks. Although it cannot be proven, it is very tempting to identify mark \mathfrak{V} on O. Cairo JE 46862 with the workman Akhpet (iii), whose name is written with the determinative \mathfrak{R} . Hieratic ostrakon O. DeM 831, which as we have seen coincides partially with the list of workmen's marks on O. ARTP 99/27, informs us that Akhpet (iii) was a workman of the left side.¹²⁵ An appearance of Akhpet (iii) on O. Cairo JE 46862 is therefore plausible, as this document is























¹²³ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 181.

¹²⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 70.

¹²⁵ Cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 209 and n. 76.

related to the list of O. ARTP 99/27 as well and seemingly deals with the left side of the gang primarily. Akhpet (iii) is also named on O. Glasgow D. 1925.68, an undated document attributed to the period of the late reign of Ramesses III – reign of Ramesses IV,¹²⁶ which also makes mention of a scribe called Paser. This Paser might be referred to on O. Cairo JE 46862 by mark , which resembles hieroglyph  with phonetic value *sr*. According to Davies, the Paser on O. Glasgow D. 1925.68 is Paser (iv), who was a scribe of the vizier who occasionally visited the community of workmen at Deir el-Medina.¹²⁷ Yet, he is not mentioned with this title on O. Glasgow D. 1925.68, so we may propose that in this document we deal with Paser (iii) instead, a scribe who busied himself with the administration of deliveries for the left side of the gang and who is attested in the reign of Ramesses III.¹²⁸ The same ostrakon also records Ptahkha (i), who we may tentatively identify as the workman referred to by the mark representing the god Ptah, .

4.2.13 O. BTdK 538: a puzzling ostrakon from the middle of the 20th Dynasty

Two other marks that we encounter for the first time on O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ are  and . Interestingly, these marks occur on another ostrakon: O. BTdK 538. Unfortunately this is a badly damaged piece, but it is very useful because it contains an ordered list of workmen's marks. As we have seen in various other instances, the obverse of this ostrakon is dedicated to a list of workmen of the right side of the gang, while the reverse seems to list workmen of the left side. It is clear that the order of marks on the obverse is similar to the hypothetical 45 days turnus attested in the reign of Ramesses V. The sequence  –  –  in the right column of O. BTdK 538 adheres perfectly to the 45 days turnus, while the sequence  –  –  –  in the left column is quite similar to the order  –  –  – . Because the sequence of marks on O. BTdK 538 differs somewhat from the 45 days turnus,¹²⁹ the ostrakon probably dates to a slightly later period, yet it is older than ONL 6515 and the even later ostrakon O. IFAO C 7638, which show a rather different sequence of marks. O. BTdK 538 dates therefore most likely somewhere between year 2 of Ramesses V and year 4 of Ramesses VI. The reverse of O. BTdK 538, dedicated to the left side, displays an interesting sequence of marks. First of all, we encounter several marks that are also present on O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+:  (UC 31939+);  (O. Cairo JE 46862);  (O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+);  (O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+);  (O. Cairo JE 46862);  (O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+). Furthermore, when we examine the right column of the reverse of O. BTdK 538 we see that the sequence of marks is very similar to that of lists of marks of workmen of the left side from the reign of Ramesses IV. The order is more akin to that of O. ARTP 99/27 than to that of O. Cairo JE 72491. This observation suggests that O. BTdK 538 dates closer to the middle of the reign of Ramesses IV than to the beginning of the reign, which agrees with our idea that the obverse of the O. BTdK 538 should date in the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI. Comparison with the sequence of O. ARTP 99/27 (TABLE 67) indicates that mark  is no longer situated between  and  on O. BTdK 538.

¹²⁶ McDowell, *Hieratic ostraca*, 6.

¹²⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 103.

¹²⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 102-103, 283.

¹²⁹ See chapter 3, 3.2.7.3.






























ARTP 99/27	BTdK 538
	
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













TABLE 67. SEQUENCE OF O. ARTP 99/27 COMPARED TO THAT OF O. BTdK 538







The shift of mark  in the right column is another indication that O. BTdK 538 was inscribed at a later point in time than O. ARTP 99/27. The sequence in the left column is more remarkable. The first two discernable marks appear to be  and . These marks are not present together in the 45 days turnus from the time of Ramesses V, but they are attested in exactly this sequence in O. IFAO C 7638, datable after year 4 of Ramesses VI. However, on that document the marks clearly belong to the right side of the crew. What is more, we have observed that in the period prior to O. BTdK 538, mark  referred to Wesekhmetet (i), who is still attested as a workman of the right side of the crew in the reign of Ramesses V. At that time, his identity mark was listed immediately before that of Maaninakhtuf (iii), whose mark  is still visible at the bottom of the left column on the obverse of O. BTdK 538. Postulating that mark  belongs to a workman of the left side on O. BTdK 538 therefore means that this individual, originally associated with the right side of the gang, was transferred to the left side somewhere at the end of the reign of Ramesses IV – Ramesses V, and then moved back to right side in the reign of Ramesses VI. Similarly, mark  would have shifted from the left to the right side.




















Although this reconstruction of events is very odd, such shifts are certainly not unthinkable. We may otherwise propose that the left column on the reverse of O. BTdK 538 records in fact a list of workmen of the right side. The sequence of the hypothetical 45 days turnus would indeed suggest that after  at the bottom of the left column of the obverse we could continue reading with  at the top of the left column on the reverse. As a result of this interpretation, marks  and  in the same column would most likely belong to workmen of the right side as well, suggesting that ostraca O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ indeed record workmen of both sides of the crew. Yet another possible interpretation would be to suggest that after listing marks  and  (members of the right side of the crew), the left column on the reverse of O. BTdK 538 continued with members of the left side of the gang.

None of the suggested scenarios concerning the listing of marks  and  is particularly attractive, but regardless of the side of the gang these workmen may have been associated with on O. BTdK 538, their presence on that ostrakon and the order in which they are listed indicates that the left column on the reverse of O. BTdK 538 is related to O. IFAO C 7638, while the sequence of marks in the right column is related to O. ARTP 99/27. O. BTdK 538 dates therefore most probably to the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI. As marks  and  are not securely attested on O. ARTP 99/27 and O. IFAO C 7638 and associated ostraca, or on older ostraca, we may by extension tentatively propose a date in the reign of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI for O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ as well.

4.2.14 Ostraca related to O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+

Ostraca O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ are only inaccurately dated. That is unfortunate, because the documents record several workmen's marks that we have not come across before, and which cannot be securely identified. In contrast, there are some marks that we have already encountered, but whose presence on O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ is difficult to comprehend. These marks are  (a more elaborate variant of mark ) , , and  on O. Cairo JE 46862, and  on O. UC 31939+. We know these marks from duty rosters composed with marks from the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V, where they refer to workmen of the right side of the crew. The conundrum lays in the fact that ostraca O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+, seemingly documenting workmen of the left side of the gang only, probably date to about the same time. Marks , , , and  can thus be seen as other examples of the same identity mark used for different but contemporaneous workmen, as we saw must be the case for marks  and  on O. ARTP 99/27.¹³⁰ On the other hand, O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ may simply record both workmen of the left as well as of the right side of the gang. We can be certain that from the middle of the 20th Dynasty onwards, marks ,  and  are attested in lists of workmen of the right side of the gang in O. IFAO C 7638 and associated ostraca as well as on O. BM 5642 and associated ostraca.

Similarly puzzling is the occurrence of marks  and  on O. Cairo JE 46862. This ostrakon, possibly of a slightly later date than O. UC 31939+, records both these marks, while we have observed that in the order of workmen from the reign of Ramesses IV mark , still present on O. Cairo JE 72491, was apparently replaced by mark , attested on O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca.¹³¹ Perhaps this assumed substitution was only a temporary situation, and it must be emphasised that few of the lists of workmen's marks of the left side from the time of Ramesses IV are preserved in their entirety. In fact, O. ARTP 99/27 is the only ostrakon in which mark  is attested in the fourth slot of the order of workmen of the left side. The workman represented by , or possibly the workman who inherited his identity mark, thus (re)appears around the time of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.

The same mark is also attested on the obverse of ONL 6482,¹³² in a list of what appear to be exclusively marks of workmen of the left side (TABLE 68). Besides mark  and mark  for Amennakht (vi)/(xii) Pawonesh, the ostrakon is inscribed with other marks that are also attested on O. Cairo JE 46862:  perhaps for Paser, and mark . The occurrence of these marks suggests a date for ONL 6482 around the same period in which O. Cairo JE 46862 was made. In addition to marks that we have already come to know, we encounter mark  for the first time. Mark  is also attested on ONL 6482. This ostrakon is unfortunately very fragmentary, and only mark  on the reverse is discernable. We may date it to the same period as ONL 6482. Mark  also appears on O. BTdK 551, an ostrakon that cannot be dated with much precision but which must have been composed around the same time as ONL 6482, O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+. O. BTdK 551 displays several marks that are not attested on O. ARTP 99/27, while marks , , , , , and  are found on O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+. The mark left of  is perhaps an allomorph of mark , or a mark that is not attested elsewhere, like  in the line above it. Besides these marks, there is one unclear mark that might have been erased. We recognise furthermore mark , presumably for the scribe of the tomb, and mark , which most probably refers to a workman of the right side. The sequence of the identity marks on O. BTdK 551 is not attested on other ostraca, but the fact that the piece was found at the workmen's huts close to the tomb of Ramesses X allows for a date around the time of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI.

¹³⁰ See above, 4.2.8.

¹³¹ See above, 4.2.8.

¹³² The reverse of this ostrakon presumably lists workmen of the right side.

A comparable ostrakon is O. Cairo JE 46866 with the same provenance. Like O. BTdK 551, it seems to record workmen of the right and left side of the crew alike. The mark of the scribe of the tomb might have been inscribed on the ostrakon as well, but it is insecurely identified as it is oddly shaped. If we are correct in interpreting the mark as 𐀓 then the fact that mark 𐀓 is written immediately below it suggests that the ostrakon is related to O. BTdK 551 where marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 are inscribed next to each other. The occurrence of mark 𐀓 on O. Cairo JE 46866 places it in the group of ostraca datable to the middle of the 20th Dynasty as well. The same is true for three other ostraca discovered at the site of the workmen's huts next to the tomb of Ramesses X. O. Cairo JE 46858, inscribed with marks of workmen of the left side only, belongs to this group based on the occurrence of marks 𐀓 , 𐀓 , and 𐀓 , not attested on O. ARTP 99/27 but all present on O. Cairo JE 46862; O. BTdK 407 belongs to this group in view of the occurrence of marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 , both attested on O. Cairo JE 46862 as well; and O. Cairo JE 46864, inscribed with several now illegible signs, belongs to this group because of the occurrence of marks 𐀓 , 𐀓 , and 𐀓 , not attested on O. ARTP 99/27 but all present on O. Cairo JE 46862.

Ostrakon O. Cairo JE 46863 was also found in the area of the huts near the tomb of Ramesses X. This provenance indicates that in all probability the ostrakon does not date to the period prior to the reign of Ramesses IV. Such a date is in accord with some of the marks displayed on O. Cairo JE 46863, such as 𐀓 (probably Paneferemdjedu) and 𐀓 (probably Amennakht (vi)/(xii) Pawonesh). Yet, the ostrakon seems to be inscribed with mark 𐀓 as well, a mark that is otherwise only attested in the second half of the 19th Dynasty.¹³³ The presence of this sign cannot be fully explained. O. Cairo JE 46863 is evidently not an ordered list of workmen of the left side. It should therefore be possible that the workmen represented by marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 were no longer listed as members of the crew, yet were still alive and retired, and could as such feature on documents other than lists of active workmen. Alternatively and perhaps more probably, mark 𐀓 was in use during the middle of the 20th Dynasty but has by chance only survived on this ostrakon.

An ostrakon inscribed with a number of enigmatic marks, O. Turin N. 57427, is possibly attributable to the same period. Dating the ostrakon is problematic because several marks are damaged and some are partially erased. Some marks are of an odd shape, while others do not seem to be attested on other ostraca from the 20th Dynasty. Discernable are 𐀓 , perhaps 𐀓 , perhaps 𐀓 , perhaps 𐀓 , perhaps 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , perhaps 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 and 𐀓 . The majority of marks are characteristic for the repertory of the 20th Dynasty, but mark 𐀓 is not that frequently attested. It does occur on ostraca O. UC 31939+, O. BTdK 551 and O. Cairo JE 46866, suggesting a date around the middle of the 20th Dynasty. Indeed, other marks on O. Turin N. 57427 are attested on other ostraca in this group, but a particular good parallel is O. UC 31939+, which shares marks 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 and 𐀓 with O. Turin N. 57427. Perhaps related to the latter document is the small fragment ONL 6651. Besides mark 𐀓 it displays mark 𐀓 , possibly an allomorph of mark 𐀓 on O. Turin N. 57427.

We may attribute ONL 6483 to the same group of ostraca. This piece is not completely preserved and the marks are difficult to distinguish because they are only faintly inscribed. We may tentatively discern 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 and 𐀓 . Mark 𐀓 is not often attested as an identity mark and seems to be typical for the group of O. UC 31939+ and associated ostraca. Indeed, four of the six legible marks on ONL 6483 are also attested on O. Cairo JE 46862 (𐀓 , 𐀓 , 𐀓 and 𐀓). Mark 𐀓 is not securely attested in the 20th Dynasty, and its reading is doubtful. Perhaps it is better interpreted as mark 𐀓 , attested around the middle of the 20th Dynasty for a workman of the left side as well on O. Cairo CG 25318.

¹³³ See chapter 5, 5.2.2.

4.2.15 The left side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses IX: OL 170+ (reverse), O. BM 5642 (reverse) and related ostraca

We had already established that ostraca OL 170+ and O. BM 5642 record an ordered list of workmen of the right side on the obverse, and of the left side of the gang on the reverse. Having examined the lists of the right, we concluded that the sequences of marks on both ostraca overlap to a great extent, and that the ostraca date to the period of year 1 – 16 of the reign of Ramesses IX. Furthermore, we have observed that the list of workmen recorded in the journal text of year 17 of the reign of this king (P. Turin Cat. 2001+) presents a rather different order of men, but simultaneously provides some interesting correspondences to the list of workmen's marks.¹³⁴ At this point, we direct our attention to the reverse of the two ostraca.

The reverse of both OL 170+ and of O. BM 5642 is dedicated to the left side of the gang. This is confirmed by a third ostrakon inscribed with marks, O. Turin N. 57534. It presents a sequence of marks that is very similar to the upper portion of the left column on the reverse of O. BM 5642. Like O. BM 5642, O. Turin N. 57534 begins with mark \AA . This mark is followed by mark $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ for the scribe of the tomb, and then by mark $\text{\textcircled{B}}$. Since the mark of the scribe of the tomb is listed in the second position, one would expect O. Turin N. 57534 to be an ordered list that includes the captains of the tomb, implying that the mark in the first position, \AA , is that of the foreman, and the mark in the third position, $\text{\textcircled{B}}$, that of the deputy. The fact that marks \AA and $\text{\textcircled{B}}$ are found in the first and third position respectively in the left column of the reverse of O. BM 5642 is in accord with that assumption. As we had already determined, the obverse of this ostrakon lists the foreman and deputy of the right side of the gang, which indicates that the foreman and deputy listed on the reverse can only refer to the captains of the left side. Moreover, in the analysis of O. Leipzig 1821 we had already assumed a connection between the foreman Harmose (ii) and mark \AA . On O. BM 5642, mark \AA must therefore designate the foreman Harmose (ii) as well, and indeed he is securely attested with this title in year 8 of the reign of Ramesses VII and in year 17 of the reign of Ramesses IX.¹³⁵

In all likelihood, the reverse of O. BM 5642 and of OL 170+ each contain an ordered list of workmen of the left side of the crew in the same fashion as the list of workmen of the right side on the obverse. When we compare the sequence of marks on the reverse of both ostraca to the list of workmen of the left recorded in P. Turin Cat. 2001+, that assumption is confirmed. Juxtaposing marks and name list we discover that the first two entries correspond:

P. Turin Cat. 2001+		O. BM 5642 reverse		OL 170+ reverse	
1	Chief workman Harmose (ii) son of Iniherkhau (ii)	1	\AA	1	...
2	Chief draughtsman Amenhotep (vi) son of Amennakht (v)	2	$\text{\textcircled{A}}$	2	...
3	Draughtsman Amennakht (xvii) son of Amenhotep (vi)	3	$\text{\textcircled{B}}$	3	...
4	Deputy Amenhotep (iv) son of Pentaweret (iv)	4	$\text{\textcircled{C}}$	4	...
5	Amennakht (vi)/(xii) son of Hay (vii)	5	$\text{\textcircled{D}}$	5	$\text{\textcircled{D}}$
6	Qenna (i) son of Iniherkhau (ii)	6	$\text{\textcircled{E}}$	6	$\text{\textcircled{E}}$
7	Aapatjau (i) son of Siwadjet (iii)	7	$\text{\textcircled{F}}$	7	$\text{\textcircled{F}}$
8	Harnefer (iii) son of Qenna (i)	8	$\text{\textcircled{G}}$	8	$\text{\textcircled{G}}$

¹³⁴ See above, 4.2.3.

¹³⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 27-28.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

9	Hormin (i) son of Hori (ix)	9	𐀀	9	𐀀
10	Nebnefer (xiii) son of Amenemope (x)	10	𐀁	10	𐀁
11	Amenhotep (iii) son of Aapatjau (i)	11	𐀂	11	𐀂
12	Neferhotep son of Amennakht ¹³⁶	12	𐀃	12	𐀃
13	...	13	𐀄	13	𐀄

TABLE 69. NAME LIST OF P. TURIN CAT. 2001+ COMPARED WITH THE LISTS OF O. BM 5642 AND OL 170+: NO OVERLAP?

After mark A of foreman Harmose (ii), O. BM 5642 lists mark d , which we have encountered on several occasions in duty rosters as the mark for draughtsman Amenhotep (vi). Indeed, it is this individual who is mentioned immediately after the foreman of the left side in the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+. He probably owed this position in slot 2 to the fact that he was promoted to the position of chief draughtsman – one of the captains of the crew – and seems to have acted as a counterpart to the scribe of the tomb, perhaps performing his duties for the administration of the left side of the gang.¹³⁷ The other entries in the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+ do not correspond perfectly to the sequence of workmen of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, but we do find some names that we can connect with the workmen's marks:


P. Turin Cat. 2001+		O. BM 5642 reverse		OL 170+ reverse	
1	Chief workman Harmose (ii) son of Iniherkhau (ii)	1	A	1	...
2	Chief draughtsman Amenhotep (vi) son of Amennakht (v)	2	d	2	...
		3	𐀅	3	...
		4	𐀆	4	...
		5	𐀇	5	𐀇
		6	𐀈	6	𐀈
5	Amennakht (vi)/(xii) son of Hay (vii) ?	7	e	7	e
7	Aapatjau (i) son of Siwadjet (iii)	8	𐀉	8	𐀉
6	Qenna (i) son of Iniherkhau (ii)	9	𐀀	9	𐀀
10	Nebnefer (xiii) son of Amenemope (x) ?	10	𐀁	10	𐀁
		11	𐀂	11	𐀂
		12	𐀃	12	𐀃
		13	𐀄	13	𐀄


TABLE 70. NAME LIST OF P. TURIN CAT. 2001+ COMPARED WITH THE LISTS OF O. BM 5642 AND OL 170+: IN ADJUSTED ORDER


The seventh name in the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+ is that of Aapatjau (i), whose mark we have identified on O. ARTP 99/27 as f . Through no coincidence, this mark is listed in position 8 on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. Similarly, we can connect the mark of Qenna (i) in slot 6 with mark a in slot 9. The Amennakht son of Hay who is mentioned as the fifth person in the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+ is the same man as the Amennakht (vi)/(xii) Pawonesh who is attested with mark g on several ostraca and graffiti. However, it would seem that on ostraca O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ it is mark e , listed in slot 7, which refers to this individual. His father Hay (vii) is known to have been represented by mark e , so we may propose that








¹³⁶ Not in Davies, *Who's who*.

¹³⁷ See Davies, *Who's who*, 130-131 for an overview of the attestations of the 'scribe' Amenhotep.

after his father's retirement or death Amennakht decided to discard his own identity mark  to take over that of his father.¹³⁸

We had tentatively identified mark  on O. ARTP 99/27 as Bakenwerel (vii). The same mark is also present on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, and it is tempting to relate it to the workman Nebnefer (xiii), son of Amenemope (x). This individual is however in no way related to Bakenwerel (vii), and the identification is far from secure.

Other marks on the reverse of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ that we have already identified, such as  for the workman Qedherakhtuf (ii), are apparently no longer included in the fragmentary hieratic workmen's list of year 17. Yet, the lists of workmen's marks indicate that they were still active at an earlier time in the reign of Ramesses IX.

One of the unidentified marks is . We have seen this mark in lists of workmen's marks of the left side of the crew and it has been proposed that it represented a man called Amenkha.¹³⁹ On O. BM 5642 however the mark appears to be used for the deputy of the left side. During the reign of Ramesses IX Amennakht (xii) called Pawonesh is attested as the deputy for this side of the crew,¹⁴⁰ but we have determined that his identity mark was  or perhaps also . Unfortunately much is unclear about the office of the deputy in the reign of Ramesses IX. In years 15¹⁴¹ and 17,¹⁴² another deputy is attested for the left side, Amenhotep (iv), whose tenure as deputy appears to have been a brief interruption of the much longer term of Amennakht (xii). Nevertheless, Amenhotep (iv) is the deputy who is mentioned in the ordered list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+. As we had established in chapter 3, the mark of Amenhotep (iv)'s father, Pentaweret (iv), was . Identifying mark  as the deputy Amenhotep (iv) would thus imply that this man did not inherit his mark from his father, and that his mark was not related to an element in his own name either. A priori there is nothing problematic about these observations, but it is curious that we cannot trace the origins of his mark, which as a hieroglyph has the phonetic value *h^c*. We may therefore consider the possibility that mark  belongs instead to the deputy Seny (i), son of *Khaemhedjet* (i). This deputy is generally thought to have served in this office on the right side of the crew, primarily based on the fact that he is mentioned in the same document with deputy Amennakht (xii),¹⁴³ who must have belonged to the left side around the period of year 9 – year 11 of Ramesses IX.¹⁴⁴ His other attestations as deputy¹⁴⁵ do not specify with which side of the crew deputy Seny is associated. Without any kind of clear evidence we may very tentatively propose that at some point in the reign of Ramesses IX, Seny (i) served as the deputy of the left side of the crew, and that he is listed as such on O. BM 5642 with mark . This assumption would add a fourth deputy to the pool of individuals including Amennakht (xii) Pawonesh, Amenhotep (iv) and Pa'anqen (i) who seem to have acted as deputy, perhaps even simultaneously, around years 15 to 17 of the reign of Ramesses IX.¹⁴⁶

The other marks listed on the reverse of O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ cannot be securely identified because of the absence of contemporaneous hieratic ordered name lists. As

¹³⁸ Hay (vii) probably passed away in the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI, cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 69. For a discussion of the marks of Hay (vii) and Amennakht (vi)/(xii) see also below, chapter 6, 6.5.4.5.

¹³⁹ See above, 4.2.8.

¹⁴⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 69-71.

¹⁴¹ Davies, *Who's who*, 111, based on Gutgesell, *Die Datierung I*, 140.

¹⁴² Davies, *Who's who*, 70.

¹⁴³ P. Turin Cat. 1891.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 70, 72.

¹⁴⁵ Ostraca Cairo CG 25742 and O. Cairo CG 25236.

¹⁴⁶ Lanny Bell has suggested that in this period, when the famous investigations into the tomb robberies took place, more officials were installed at the head of the workforce in order to heighten security, see Lanny Bell, 'Only one high priest Ramessesnakht and the second prophet Nesamun his younger son' *Serapis* 6 (1980), 14; Davies, *Who's who*, 71.

a consequence, we cannot accurately date both ostraca. Moreover, O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ do not necessarily date to the exact same period. Whereas the lists of workmen's marks on the obverse correspond to a very great extent, we notice some differences in the lists on the reverse (TABLE 71). While O. BM 5642 records mark 𐀓 after mark 𐀔, OL 170+ lists marks 𐀕, 𐀖, and 𐀗 between 𐀔 and 𐀓. In contrast, marks 𐀘 and 𐀙 listed on O. BM 5642 are not preserved on OL 170+. The list of marks on the latter document continues after mark 𐀚 with 𐀛 and 𐀜, and probably a few more marks, now lost.

The sequences of marks on O. BM 5642 and on OL 170+ do nevertheless seem to represent the hierarchical order of the workmen during the time they were composed, and other ostraca exist with a similar sequence of marks (TABLE 71). As we have already determined, O. Turin N. 57534 is closely related to ostraca O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, and must therefore likewise date to a time in the reign of Ramesses IX prior to year 16. O. Turin N. 57534 is, however, not a list of all workmen of the left side of the gang, which might explain why after mark 𐀞 it displays a somewhat different sequence of marks 𐀟 – 𐀠 – 𐀡 – 𐀢.

The reverse of O. Ashmolean HO 1098 is presumably a similar list of the workmen of the left side of the gang, datable to the second half of the 20th Dynasty. The middle and left columns on the reverse contain a sequence of marks that is more akin to that of the list of OL 170+ than to O. BM 5642. As in the former ostrakon, O. Ashmolean HO 1098 displays marks 𐀔 – 𐀕 – 𐀖 – 𐀗 (the latter apparently an allomorph of 𐀗), but the following slot is not filled by mark 𐀓, but by mark 𐀘 that is positioned in the same slot on O. BM 5642. The right column of O. Ashmolean HO 1098 must have contained marks that preceded the other columns. Only the uppermost mark 𐀙 is still discernable, and its position at the top of a column and before marks 𐀕 – 𐀖 suggests that mark 𐀙 could be an allomorph of mark 𐀙 for the foreman Harmose (ii). The height of the middle and left column suggest that the right column contained no more than four workmen's marks, which would mean that the reverse of O. Ashmolean HO 1098 did not present a list of the entire left side. Turning to the obverse of the ostrakon, we find marks of workmen who belonged both to the right as well as to the left side of the crew. Yet, when we compare them to the list of workmen's marks of the right side as recorded on the obverse of O. BM 5642 and of OL 170+, we find some discrepancies. Marks 𐀑 and 𐀒, well attested in the reigns of Ramesses IV and V, are no longer listed in these lists, but they do occur on O. Ashmolean HO 1098. This observation, coupled with the slightly diverging list of workmen's marks of the left side, indicate that O. Ashmolean HO 1098 is probably older than O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. In turn, OL 170+ is presumably older than O. BM 5642, because the sequence of marks on OL 170+ resembles that of O. Ashmolean HO 1098 more than that of O. BM 5642.

Two other related ostraca are ONL 6322 and ONL 6399. We had already dated both documents to the same time frame as O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ on account of the marks on their obverse.¹⁴⁷ Like O. BM 5642 and OL 170+, the reverse of each of these ostraca was reserved (predominantly) for marks of workmen of the left side of the crew. On ONL 6399, the marks 𐀞 – 𐀟 – 𐀠 are listed in the same sequence as our two key pieces O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. The lines above 𐀞 are incomprehensible, but the other discernable marks on ONL 6399, 𐀡, 𐀢, 𐀣, and 𐀤, are represented according to their relative position in the lists of the two key pieces. In that respect ONL 6322 is very similar. In accordance with our key pieces it displays the sequence 𐀞 – 𐀟 – 𐀠. With the exception of what appears to be mark 𐀡, the other discernable marks 𐀢, 𐀣, and 𐀤 all occur in the lists of the key pieces, while mark 𐀠 is included in the sequence of OL 170+.

¹⁴⁷ See above, 4.2.3.

Ostrakon ONL 411 records a brief list of workmen that agrees much with the part in the sequence of marks on O. BM 5642 starting with 𐀓 and ending with 𐀕. The difference is the occurrence on ONL 411 of mark 𐀆 in the slot of mark 𐀓. Because the sequence 𐀓 to 𐀕 is situated at the part of the list O. BM 5642 that diverges from the sequence on OL 170+, we may assume that ONL 411 dates closer to O. BM 5642 than OL 170+ does.

The wonderful ostrakon O. Brooklyn 16118+, discussed in more detail below,¹⁴⁸ is not inscribed with a great number of marks. It may originally have displayed more marks, since some seem to have been intentionally erased by the scribe of this piece. The ostrakon can be dated to the late 20th Dynasty on account of mark 𐀎 on the reverse. This mark is listed on O. BM 5642 and OL 170+ among the workmen of the left side of the crew. All other marks on O. Brooklyn 16118+ might be associated with the same side, although the interpretation of mark 𐀐 is difficult. It may be an allomorph of mark 𐀑 listed on the left side of the crew in OL 170+, or of mark 𐀒 belonging to a member of the right side. The other marks are 𐀔, 𐀕 and 𐀖, situated in subsequent positions in the list of workmen of the left side of OL 170+. This observation weighs in favour of reading mark 𐀐 as 𐀑, situated two positions down from mark 𐀖.

The marks on ONL 6480 are not arranged in rows or columns but we nevertheless recognise in it the ordered sequence of the left side as recorded on OL 170+: 𐀕 – 𐀖 – 𐀗 – 𐀘 – 𐀙. This ostrakon demonstrates that mark 𐀘 was most probably occasionally used as an allomorph of mark 𐀑, which ties in with our earlier assumption that 𐀐 on O. Brooklyn 16118+, coincidentally written by the same scribe,¹⁴⁹ is also an allomorph of 𐀑.

Ashm. 1098 rev.	OL 170+ rev.	ONL 6322 rev.*	BM 5642 rev.	Turin N. 57534	ONL 6399 rev.*	ONL 411
𐀠			𐀠	𐀠		
			𐀡	𐀡		
		𐀢	𐀢	𐀢		
		𐀣	𐀣	𐀣	𐀣	
	𐀤	𐀤	𐀤	𐀤	𐀤	
	𐀥		𐀥	𐀥	𐀥	
	𐀦		𐀦	𐀦		
	𐀧	𐀧	𐀧		𐀧	
	𐀨		𐀨			
𐀩	𐀩		𐀩			
𐀪	𐀪	𐀪	𐀫			
𐀬	𐀬		𐀬			𐀬
𐀭	𐀭	𐀭	𐀭			𐀭
𐀮	𐀮		𐀮			𐀮
𐀯	𐀯		𐀯			𐀯
𐀰	𐀰	𐀰	𐀱			𐀱
𐀲	𐀲		𐀲			𐀲
𐀳	𐀳		𐀳			𐀳
𐀴	𐀴	𐀴	𐀴			𐀴
𐀵	𐀵	𐀵	𐀵			𐀵
𐀶	𐀶		𐀶			𐀶
𐀷	𐀷		𐀷			𐀷
𐀸	𐀸		𐀸			𐀸
𐀹	𐀹		𐀹			𐀹
𐀺	𐀺		𐀺			𐀺
𐀻	𐀻		𐀻			𐀻
𐀼	𐀼		𐀼			𐀼
𐀽	𐀽		𐀽			𐀽
𐀾	𐀾		𐀾			𐀾
𐀿	𐀿		𐀿			𐀿
𐁀	𐁀		𐁀			𐁀
𐁁	𐁁		𐁁			𐁁
𐁂	𐁂		𐁂			𐁂
𐁃	𐁃		𐁃			𐁃
𐁄	𐁄		𐁄			𐁄
𐁅	𐁅		𐁅			𐁅
𐁆	𐁆		𐁆			𐁆
𐁇	𐁇		𐁇			𐁇
𐁈	𐁈		𐁈			𐁈
𐁉	𐁉		𐁉			𐁉
𐁊	𐁊		𐁊			𐁊
𐁋	𐁋		𐁋			𐁋
𐁌	𐁌		𐁌			𐁌
𐁍	𐁍		𐁍			𐁍
𐁎	𐁎		𐁎			𐁎
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TABLE 71. ORDERED LISTS OF O. BM 5642 (REV.) AND OL 170+ (REV.) AND ASSOCIATED OSTRACA (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER). WITH * = NOT ENTIRELY IN THAT ORDER.

4.2.16 The right side of the crew: O. BTdK 475

This ostrakon is inscribed with two columns of workmen's marks, some of which are difficult to discern. The document was found at the site of the workmen's huts in the Valley of the Kings near the tomb of Ramesses X, which suggests that it dates to the 20th Dynasty. One mark in the left column of the ostrakon is particularly noteworthy: mark 𓂏𓂏 is composed of cursive hieroglyphs and reads *qd*. The mark is attested exclusively on O. BTdK 475, but because we can read the mark it is attractive to connect it with a *šs-*qd**, 'draughtsman'. The mark could well be an elaborate form of mark 𓂏, the hieroglyph for *qd*, used by the famous draughtsman Amenhotep (vi).

In the right column of O. BTdK 475 we recognise mark 𓂏𓂏. We are already acquainted with the ram-shaped mark, as we have identified it with the workman Khnummose (i) elsewhere.¹⁵⁰ O. BTdK 475, however, must be quite some time later, and it is more probable that the mark here refers to Khnummose (iv), a grandson of Khnummose (i). It is this Khnummose who is mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 2084+,¹⁵¹ a document attributed to the reign of Ramesses IX that contains several columns with lists of names.¹⁵² Interestingly column IV lists *pꜣ šš-*qd**, 'the draughtsman', without further specification. The mention of this title with the definite article but without a name is not at all common and does not normally feature in name lists. It would therefore seem that there is a close relation between O. BTdK 475 and P. Turin Cat. 2084+. When we align the name Khnummose in column III of the verso of the papyrus with identity mark 𓂏𓂏 in the right column O. BTdK 475 (TABLE 72) we observe another plausible correspondence. Three entries above the entry of Khnummose P. Turin Cat. 2084+ lists Pasenedjem (i), the son of Meryre (vi),¹⁵³ while O. BTdK 475 displays mark 𓂏 three positions up from the mark of Khnummose. We know mark 𓂏 well as the identity mark of Neferhotep (xi) and his son Meryre (vi). It is therefore conceivable that the latter workman had in turn passed on his mark to his son Pasenedjem (i). This identification is however very uncertain, because we have seen above that there are reasons to believe that Meryre (vi) passed on his mark to another son of his, Panefer (i).¹⁵⁴ Whether mark 𓂏 was used by both brothers is unclear.

The proposed connection between the three entries would suggest the two documents date to more or less the same period. O. BTdK 475 must then have been composed somewhere in the reign of Ramesses IX. But caution should be taken. The other marks on O. BTdK 475 are not evidently linkable to the list of P. Turin Cat. 2084+, and quite some time could have passed between the moments these documents were written down. If our understanding of O. BTdK 475 is correct, however, it would seem to be a list of workmen of the right side. Khnummose (iv) is associated with the right side of the crew on O. Brussels E. 301,¹⁵⁵ as is Khonsu (vii) son of Ipyu.¹⁵⁶ If we can equate the Iyerniutef in column III of the verso of P. Turin Cat. 2082+ with Iyerniutef (v), this is probably a member of the right side as

¹⁵⁰ See above, 4.2.2.

¹⁵¹ Davies, *Who's who*, 262.

¹⁵² *KRI* VI, 603-608; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 490-493.

¹⁵³ Davies, *Who's who*, 231-232.

¹⁵⁴ See above, p. 284.

¹⁵⁵ *KRI* VII, 358; Davies, *Who's who*, 262, n. 735.

¹⁵⁶ Recorded on the right side of the crew in P. Turin Cat. 2001+ rto.

well.¹⁵⁷ The mention of ‘the draughtsman’ in vso. column IV should then be a reference to Amenhotep (vi), member of the right side during most of the 20th Dynasty.

P. Turin Cat. 2084+	O. BTdK 475
vso. III 3. Iyerniutef (v) ?	
vso. III 4. Pasenedjem (i)	𓆎
vso. III 5. Khonsu (vii) son of Ipuy	
vso. III 6. Neferhotep	
vso. III 7. Khnummose (iv)	𓆎
vso. III 7. Hapiwer	

vso. IV 2. Pa-idenu	𓆎
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TABLE 72. ORDERED LISTS P. TURIN CAT. 2084+ COMPARED TO O. BTdK 475

4.2.17 The right and left side of the crew during the reigns of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI: O. Turin N. 57008 and related ostraca

In our analysis of ordered lists of workmen’s marks from the reigns of Ramesses III to that of Ramesses IX, we have identified up to this point the following key pieces:

The right side of the crew

The reign of Ramesses III:	duty rosters with marks
The reign of Ramesses IV:	duty rosters with marks
The reign of Ramesses V:	duty rosters with marks; O. BM 50716; O. Cairo SR 12218
The reigns of Ramesses VI – XI:	O. IFAO C 7638; O. BM 50731
The reign of Ramesses IX:	O. BM 5642; OL 170+; ONL 6240

In addition we have signalled a group of ostraca inscribed mostly with marks of workmen belonging to the left side of the workforce (TABLE 68), roughly datable to the period between the reigns of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI or a somewhat later date. Other key ostraca with lists of workmen of the left side of the crew are:

The left side of the crew

The reign of Ramesses IV:	O. Cairo JE 72491; O. ARTP 99/27; O. BTdK 550
The reign of Ramesses IX:	O. BM 5642; OL 170+


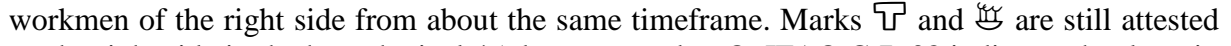
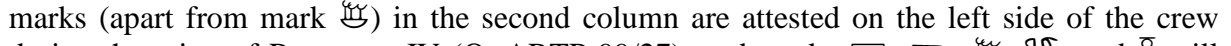
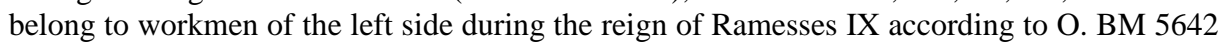
At this point we can turn our attention to ostrakon O. Turin N. 57008 and a group of associated ostraca. O. Turin N. 57008 is inscribed with at least 38 workmen’s marks presented in four columns (TABLE 73). The ostrakon is, however, damaged, so originally the total number of marks was probably higher. In order to understand the composition of this ostrakon, we need to compare it to ordered lists from earlier and later times (TABLE 74).

We begin with column 1, the column farthest to the right. We probably lack a number of marks at the top of the column that have not survived. Our first discernable mark is $\Delta\Delta$, which is followed by 𓆎 and 𓆎 . We recognise this sequence from the hypothetical 45 days turnus of the reign of Ramesses V. However, after mark 𓆎 the list of O. Turin N. 57008 continues with marks $\Sigma - \square - \mathcal{A}$, a sequence that is in accord with the list recorded on O. IFAO C 7638. Moreover, after marks \mathcal{A} and \perp the list of O. Turin N. 57008 continues with $\text{𓆎} - \text{𓆎} - \perp$, which is in accordance with O. IFAO C 7638 as well. We have dated the latter

¹⁵⁷ Iyerniutef (v) is listed on the right side in the list of P. Turin Cat. 2001+ rto. as well.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

ostrakon somewhere in the interval of the reigns of Ramesses VI – Ramesses IX. The sequence of marks in the first column on O. Turin N. 57008 thus appears to fit in between the group datable to the reign of Ramesses V and the group datable to the period of Ramesses VI – Ramesses IX.

The top of the next column has not been preserved either. It is inscribed with marks . Remarkably, hardly any of these marks occur on the list of O. IFAO C 7638 and on other ostraca with lists of marks of workmen of the right side from about the same timeframe. Marks  are still attested on the right side in the hypothetical 45 days turnus, but O. IFAO C 7638 indicates that later in the 20th Dynasty these workmen were no longer listed for this part of the crew. In contrast, all marks (apart from mark ) in the second column are attested on the left side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses IV (O. ARTP 99/27), and marks  still belong to workmen of the left side during the reign of Ramesses IX according to O. BM 5642 and OL 170+. It would therefore seem most sensible to interpret the second column of O. Turin N. 57008 as a list of workmen of the left side, despite the preceding column of marks of workmen who belonged to the right.


















































Column IV	Column III	Column II	Column I
...
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
















TABLE 73. THE FOUR COLUMNS OF MARKS ON O. TURIN N. 57008

Right side				Left side	
Ram. IV	Ram. V	Ram. VI - IX	Ram. IX	Ram. IV	Ram. IX

Moving on to the third column on O. Turin N. 57008, we encounter marks which surprisingly seem to belong yet again to workmen of the right side. The sequence of marks on ostraca IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6450 are particular good parallels for the order of marks in the third column, and apart from mark , all marks are recorded for the right side of the crew in the period between the reigns of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, while marks , , , , and  are already attested on the right side in the reign of Ramesses V. We can only conclude that after a column of workmen of the right side and a column of the left side, the third column on O. Turin N. 57008 continues with the right side of the crew.

It is at this point not so remarkable that, in analogy to the second column, the fourth column is inscribed with workmen of the left side exclusively. Indeed, all of these marks are attested on the left side during the reign of Ramesses IV (O. ARTP 99/27), and marks , , , , , and  are still listed on the left side in the reign of Ramesses IX (O. BM 5642 and OL 170+).

O. Turin N. 57008 thus is a document with ordered lists of the workmen of both the right as well as the left side, dating somewhere between the beginning of the reign of Ramesses V and some point in the reign of Ramesses VI. The division of the columns of marks is odd, and might perhaps suggest that around the middle of the 20th Dynasty each side of the crew was divided in half, resulting in four subgroups, but such a division is not attested in hieratic sources or other ostraca with marks. Our interpretation of columns 1 and 3 as a list of workmen of the right side and columns 2 and 4 as a list of workmen of the left side is nevertheless supported by the fact that there is a considerably large amount of blank space below mark  in the third column, separating it from the marks in column 4. The fact that the sequence of marks on O. Turin N. 57008 is not attested on any other ostrakon agrees with our theory as well. In fact, there are several ostraca inscribed with a sequence of marks that are in accord with that of either columns 1 and 3, or columns 2 and 4 of O. Turin N. 57008 (TABLE 76).

An example of the former group of ostraca is O. Cairo JE 46865. This document is incompletely preserved, and in its current state it displays three fragmentary columns of marks. The ostrakon was discovered at the site of the workmen's huts near the tomb of Ramesses X and should therefore date in the period covered by the reigns of Ramesses IV to Ramesses VII. The sequence of marks corresponds very well to the order of marks on O. Turin N. 57008, and by association O. Cairo JE 46865 can be attributed to the reigns of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI. The first two marks in the leftmost column,  and , are followed by marks  and , suggesting that this sequence partly overlaps with the lacuna at the top of column 1 of O. Turin N. 57008. The next column, right of the previous one, begins with mark , and is followed by , , and . This sequence of marks is entirely in accord with the sequence of O. Turin N. 57008, which suggests that on O. Cairo JE 46865 four marks are missing between the left column and the middle column. Unfortunately the sequence of marks on that document breaks off after mark , so it does not offer us any insight into the number of marks that may have been listed between columns 1 and 3 on O. Turin N. 57008. To return to O. Cairo JE 46865, we observe that the first mark in the right column is damaged beyond recognition. After this damaged mark follow , , and . The first mark is present in column 3 on O. Turin N. 57008, while the third mark is listed at the top of that column. We thus see that the list of O. Cairo JE 46865 is not entirely the same as the sequence on O. Turin N. 57008. Yet, our previous assumption that column 3 follows after column 1 seems to be justified. Estimating that there were originally about four marks between the top of the right column and the middle column of O. Cairo JE 46865 and two marks before the first mark of the left column, and that cf. column 3 on O. Turin N. 57008 five more marks follow below  (excluding mark , which is positioned before ), we would come to a total of about 27 marks for the reconstructed list on O. Cairo JE 46865.

The suggestion that more marks are to be added before mark AA in the sequence of workmen's marks of the right side on O. Turin N. 57008 is not only indicated by O. Cairo JE 46865, but also by O. BTdK 535. This ostrakon is inscribed in three rows of marks in a sequence that adheres perfectly to that of the first column on O. Turin N. 57008, with the addition of mark ⤵ before mark AA. The addition of mark ⤵ is in accord with the sequence of O. Cairo JE 46865 as well.

Ostrakon ONL 6268 is similar to O. Cairo JE 46865 in that it displays three rather fragmentary columns of marks, listed in a sequence of marks that ties it to columns 1 and 3 of O. Turin N. 57008. Regrettably the sequence of ONL 6268 is even less well preserved, and so it does not inform us about the full sequence of marks of workmen of the right side at the time O. Cairo JE 46865 was written. Mark ⤵ above mark ⤵ in the right column of ONL 6268 indicates furthermore that the sequence is different from that of O. Cairo JE 46865. The middle column of ONL 6268 begins with mark †, suggesting that about seven marks are lost between the bottom of the right column and the top of the middle column on ONL 6268. After marks ⤵ and ⊥, the sequence of marks is once again cut off. When we continue in the left column, we encounter marks ⤵, ⤵, ±⤵, and ⤵. We have not encountered this exact sequence before, but these marks are related to column 3 of O. Turin N. 57008, where we find a similar sequence with marks ⤵, ⤵, ±⤵, and ⤵. Moreover, we have seen that mark ⤵ belongs to this part of the workmen's list on O. Cairo JE 46865. As the sequence of ONL 6268 is similar to that of both these ostraca, we can tentatively date ONL 6268 in between O. Turin N. 57008 and O. Cairo JE 46865.

Turning now to ostrakon ONL 6314, very fragmentary as well, we note that the right column is also inscribed with a sequence of marks that is similar to that of O. Turin N. 57008 and O. Cairo JE 46865. It displays, however, yet another mark before ⤵. The mark is damaged, but the traces clearly indicate that it could not have been ⤵ or ⤵. Instead, the damaged mark could well be ⤵. The subsequent marks ⤵ – AA – ⤵ are in accord with the sequence on O. BTdK 535. The two marks that can be discerned in the left column are presumably ⊥ and †. Together with the marks in the right column, these marks suggest that the list of workmen's marks on ONL 6314 is related to the hypothetical 45 days sequence known from the reign of Ramesses V as well as with O. Turin N. 57008 and associated ostraca. The relation is illustrated in TABLE 75, where the sequences are juxtaposed. Taking mark ⤵ as the reference point to align the sequence, it becomes clear that the slot of mark ⤵, three positions before mark ⤵ is recorded on ostraca from the reign of Ramesses V as well as on ONL 6314. On the other hand, the sequence of marks ⤵ – AA – ⤵ is attested on ostraca from a later period. Similarly, we see that mark ⤵ is no longer situated in the series of marks AA to † on ostraca related to O. Turin N. 57008, whereas it still is present on ostraca associated with the 45 hypothetical days turnus. This suggests that ONL 6314 is older than O. BTdK 535, yet it was in all probability inscribed in the period after the ostraca of the hypothetical 45 days turnus.

Hyp. 45 days turnus	ONL 6314	O. BTdK 535
⊥		
†		
⊥		
⊗		
⤵		
⤵	⤵ (?)	...
⤵	⤵	⤵
⊥	AA	AA

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𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
𐀁	...	𐀁
±	...	⊗
𐀂	...	𐀂
𐀃	...	𐀃
AA	𐀂 (?)	𐀂
𐀄	𐀄	𐀄

TABLE 75. ONL 6314 COMPARED WITH THE HYPOTH. 45 DAYS TURNUS AND O. BTdK 535

Conversely, O. BTdK 542, inscribed with three columns of marks, is presumably of a later date than O. Turin N. 57008. The first mark of the rightmost column is 𐀄, but it is unclear whether traces of ink right of this column indicate that more marks once preceded it. Regardless, the remainder of the sequence of marks in the right column fully agrees with that of O. Turin N. 57008 and O. Cairo JE 46865, as does the middle column that follows immediately after the last mark in the right column. After mark 𐀂, some marks are lost, and when we continue with the left column we see marks 𐀃 and 𐀄. The latter mark belongs to the second half of the list of workmen's marks of the right side on O. Cairo JE 46865 and ONL 6268. Mark 𐀃 on the other hand is not attested on these ostraca or on O. Turin N. 57008. Yet, discussing O. IFAO C 7638 we had observed that after mark ⊗ on that ostrakon followed marks 𐀃 and 𐀄, a sequence that is similar to what we find on O. BTdK 542. We are therefore inclined to date O. BTdK 542 closer to the reign of Ramesses VI than to the reign of Ramesses V on the basis of the inclusion and position of mark 𐀃.

ONL 6314	BTdK 535		Turin N. 57008	ONL 6268	Cairo JE 46865	BTdK 542
𐀃?		Column 1		𐀃	𐀃	
𐀄	𐀄		...	𐀄	𐀄	𐀄
AA	AA		AA		AA	AA
𐀀	𐀀		𐀀		𐀀	𐀀
...	𐀁		𐀁			𐀁
...	⊗		⊗			⊗
...	𐀂		𐀂			𐀂
...	𐀃		𐀃			...
𐀂?	𐀂		𐀂		𐀂	𐀃
𐀄	𐀄		𐀄	𐀄	𐀄	𐀄
			𐀅	𐀅	𐀅	
			𐀆	𐀆	𐀆	
		Column 3			...	
					𐀃	
			...	𐀃	𐀃	
			⊗	𐀃	⊗	
			𐀃	±		
			𐀄	𐀃		
			±			
			𐀃			


						
						

TABLE 76. O. TURIN N. 57008 COL. I AND III: THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE CREW

Our suspicions that several marks are lost above mark AA in the first column of O. Turin N. 57008 are confirmed by ostracon O. Cairo JE 46860. Having examined the sequences of the previous ostraca we can now interpret this piece, which is inscribed with columns of mostly pairs of marks. It is now clear that these marks too are inscribed in accordance with an ordered list, although not very strictly so; it seems that the scribe was not so much concerned with the placement of a particular mark within each pair. For example, in the sequence of O. Turin N. 57008 we find marks X and □ after mark 𐀀, but in O. Cairo JE 46860 the pair following mark 𐀀 is given as □ and X. Regardless, it is evident that the sequence of O. Cairo JE 46860 is an important parallel to the sequence of the right side as recorded on O. Turin N. 57008. Having stated this, we do see some discrepancies between the two sequences, and in some respects the order of marks on O. Cairo JE 46860 is more akin to that of later ostracon O. IFAO C 7638. Comparing the three lists is enlightening:

Turin N. 57008	Cairo JE 46860	IFAO C 7638
		□∧
		卅
	卅	𐀀
	𐀀	𐀀
	𐀀	𐀀
	𐀀	𐀀
...	𐀀*	?
AA	AA*	AA
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀?
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
X	X*	X
□	□*	□?
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀*	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀*	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
...	𐀀	𐀀
	𐀀	𐀀
	𐀀	𐀀
	𐀀	𐀀
...	𐀀	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
𐀀	...	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
𐀀	𐀀	𐀀

¹⁵⁸ In comparison with the sequence of O. Turin N. 57008 and O. IFAO C 7638 the traces of this mark might allow for a reading of 𐀀.

𐀀	𐀀	𐀀
		𐀁

TABLE 77. O. TURIN N. 57008, O. CAIRO JE 46860 AND O. IFAO C 7638 COMPARED

Marks 𐀁 to 𐀀 on O. Cairo JE 46860 are almost entirely in accord with the sequence of O. Turin N. 57008. Comparing the list to the sequence of O. IFAO C 7638, we observe some of the changes that occurred in the ordered list. To begin with, the marks 𐀁 and 𐀂 of draughtsmen Amenhotep (vi) and Pentaweret (iv) are positioned quite high in the list of O. Cairo JE 46860, but have descended a considerable bit in the list of O. IFAO C 7638. Additionally mark 𐀃 has dropped while marks 𐀄 and 𐀅 have gone up. The mark of Bakenamun (i) 𐀆 has disappeared in O. IFAO C 7638. These changes indicate that O. Cairo JE 46860 must date somewhere in between O. Turin N. 57008 and O. IFAO C 7638.

Apart from ostraca that are related to the list of marks of workmen of the right side recorded on O. Turin N. 57008, there is a group of ostraca inscribed with marks that belong to workmen of the left side of the crew datable to about the same period as O. Turin N. 57008 (TABLE 78). One such ostrakon is O. Cairo CG 25318. This fragmentary piece is inscribed with two columns of marks. The sequence of the right column is almost exactly the same as that of O. Turin N. 57008, apart from the omission of mark 𐀇 on O. Cairo CG 25318. We can therefore probably date this ostrakon to about the same time as O. Turin N. 57008. The left column contains marks 𐀈 and 𐀉, which are not attested on O. Turin N. 57008, but could have been recorded in the sections of columns 2 and 4 which have been lost.

ONL 6602 appears to be a completely preserved ostrakon inscribed with a column of marks in a sequence that is very similar to that of O. Turin N. 57008, recording marks 𐀊 to 𐀋. The difference with the sequence of O. Turin N. 57008 is the position of mark 𐀌 between 𐀊 and 𐀋. Notably, we have already encountered the sequence 𐀌 – 𐀋 on O. ARTP 99/27, dated to the reign of Ramesses IV. The order of these marks may therefore be an indication that ONL 6602 dates closer to O. ARTP 99/27 than to O. Turin N. 57008.

That may also be true for O. Cairo JE 72499. The sequence of marks with which it is inscribed is both similar to O. Turin N. 57008 and O. ARTP 99/27. On O. Cairo JE 72499, marks 𐀍, 𐀎, 𐀏, 𐀐, 𐀑, and 𐀒 are positioned in the same order as on O. Turin N. 57008. After mark 𐀒 follows mark 𐀓, which might have been inscribed below mark 𐀒 on O. Turin N. 57008 as well. However, the marks preceding 𐀓 on O. Cairo JE 72499 are 𐀔 and 𐀕. Mark 𐀕, the mark of Aanakhtu (iii) = (iv) = (i) is still present on O. ARTP 99/27 and associated ostraca, but it is no longer listed on O. Turin N. 57008 or related ostraca. In the list of O. ARTP 99/27 marks 𐀔 and 𐀕 are positioned very close to each other, with mark 𐀒 situated in between them. The column of marks on O. Cairo JE 72499 might therefore present us with traces of this older sequence of workmen. If, as proposed earlier,¹⁵⁹ Aanakhtu (iii) is the same individual as Aanakhtu (iv), we can date O. Cairo JE 72499 to a time in or prior to year 6 of Ramesses IV.¹⁶⁰ The exclusion of mark 𐀕 in the lists of O. Turin N. 57008 and related ostraca supports the suggested date in the period of the reigns of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI.

Another list of workmen of the left side is inscribed on O. Ashmolean HO 626. Its sequence of marks links it to O. Turin N. 57008, and apart from the omission of mark 𐀐, marks 𐀑 – 𐀒 are listed in the same order in the left column. To the right of this column we observe 𐀓, 𐀔, and 𐀕 in the same sequence as in column 4 of O. Turin N. 57008. Interestingly, some more marks are discernable above mark 𐀑 in the left column. Just above

¹⁵⁹ See above, p. 292; 295.

¹⁶⁰ Aanakhtu (iv)'s career seems to have come to a halt in that year, see Davies, *Who's who*, 40. We have already seen that mark 𐀕 reappeared on later ostraca, see above, 4.2.14; 4.2.15.

a damaged section marks Ξ and 𐀀 are clearly visible. Both marks are situated in highly positioned slots in the lists of O. ARTP 99/27, O. BTdK 550 and ONL 6289, so it should not come as a surprise that we observe these two marks before 𐀁 on O. Ashmolean HO 626. On this ostrakon, we may have reached the upper part of the list as well with marks Ξ and 𐀀 . Frustratingly, the mark above Ξ , that may have been the mark of the deputy of the left side and could have presented a more precise date for the document, is damaged.

The occurrence of marks Ξ and 𐀀 on ostraca from the time of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI brings us to O. Prague NM P 3836. This is a puzzling but very interesting ostrakon, which is most likely to be dated to about the same time as O. Turin N. 57008. That is suggested by the occurrence of sequences $\text{𐀂} - \text{𐀃} - \text{𐀄} - \text{𐀅} - \text{𐀆} - \text{𐀇} - \text{𐀈}$ (in the second column from the right) and $\text{𐀉} - \text{𐀊} - \text{𐀋} - \text{𐀌} - \text{𐀍} - \text{𐀎}$ (in the third column of the right, continuing on the reverse), also found on O. Turin N. 57008. On O. Prague NM P 3836, the column farthest to the right is probably the first column because it seems to be headed by the foreman of the left side, scribe of the tomb and deputy of the left side. That is suggested by the position of mark 𐀏 in the second slot of this column. Just above it, a damaged mark is visible, which is most probably identifiable as mark 𐀐 or its allomorph 𐀑 .¹⁶¹ Discussing the reverse of O. BM 5642 and related pieces, we noted that on O. Ashmolean HO 1098 mark 𐀐 is used as an allomorph for mark 𐀒 , which probably refers to Harmose (ii), the foreman of the left side. The deputy is listed immediately below the mark of the scribe in slot 3. It is mark Ξ , for Qedherakhtuf (ii) who is indeed known to have been the deputy of the left side. The inclusion of the deputy Qedherakhtuf (ii) on O. Prague NM P 3836 supports our date in the reigns of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI, as his time in office falls approximately in this period.¹⁶² However, when we attempt to identify the foreman on O. Prague NM P 3836 we run into the same problems we encountered with O. Leipzig 1821: it is difficult to interpret 𐀐 as the mark of Harmose (ii) on the Prague ostrakon because his first attestation as a foreman dates to the reign of Ramesses VII.¹⁶³ Yet, an earlier date in the time of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI seems more probable for the Prague ostrakon. At this time Iniherkhau (ii) must still have been the foreman of the left side,¹⁶⁴ whom we have securely connected with mark 𐀒 . As a consequence, we may have to reconsider our date for the Prague ostrakon and suggest that it is in fact of a list from the time of Ramesses VII. A second possibility is to resort to our earlier suggestion that mark 𐀐 , allomorph of 𐀒 , was used as the general mark for the foreman of the left side, regardless of his identity.

What is also remarkable about the sequence of the Prague ostrakon is the appearance of mark 𐀓 following Ξ for the deputy Qedherakhtuf (ii). We had tied the former mark to the person of Anynakht (i). It is very plausible that he remained in the position of deputy at the time O. Prague NM P 3836 was composed, let us say Ramesses V – Ramesses VI.¹⁶⁵ He was, however, the deputy of the right side of the crew and his presence in an ordered list of men of the left side is puzzling.

To some extent, the sequence of marks on O. Cairo CG 25319 reconciles the list of O. Prague NM P 3836 with the list of O. Turin N. 57008. As in the latter sequence, O. Cairo CG 25319 displays the sequence $\text{𐀔} - \text{𐀕}$. These two marks are preceded by mark 𐀖 , which in O. Prague NM P 3836 is in all probability one mark removed from 𐀔 . The remaining seven marks do not adhere to the ordered list but they are all attested for workmen of the left side on O. Turin N. 57008, the Prague ostrakon and associated documents.

¹⁶¹ See above, 4.2.1, ONL 6232; chapter 3, 3.2.7.5.

¹⁶² Davies, *Who's who*, 56, 281.

¹⁶³ Davies, *Who's who*, 27-28.

¹⁶⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 27-28, 279.

¹⁶⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 74.

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Two further ostraca can be attributed to the same period as O. Turin N. 57008, because they are inscribed with marks that are more or less in accordance with the sequence roster of the left side during that period. O. Cairo JE 96614 is inscribed with two incompletely preserved columns of marks. The left column contains a sequence of marks that is comparable to that of the second column of O. Turin N. 57008, but unlike this piece and associated ostraca, O. Cairo JE 96614 includes marks \uparrow and $\overline{\text{T}}$. The right column of O. Cairo JE 96614 is perfectly in agreement with the sequence of the marks in the fourth column of O. Turin N. 57008. The sequence of marks on ONL 6693 is comparable with the second column of O. Turin N. 57008 too, as well as the lists of O. Cairo CG 25319 and O. Ashmolean HO 626, and must thus be placed in the same timeframe.

Cairo JE 72499	Ashmolean HO 626	ONL 6602	ONL 6693		Turin N. 57008	Cairo CG 25318	Cairo CG 25319	Cairo JE 96614	Prague 3836	
				Column 2					Λ/Λ	
	::									ⲁ
	Ⲛ									Ⲛ
	ⲛ									ⲛ
	...									ⲛ
			ⲛ							ⲛ
						::		ⲛ		ⲛ
		ⲛ				ⲛ		ⲛ		...
ⲛ		ⲛ				ⲛ	ⲛ			...
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ				ⲛ	ⲛ			ⲛ
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ*		ⲛ?
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ			ⲛ
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ*		ⲛ
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ		ⲛ	ⲛ
ⲛ	ⲛ		ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ		ⲛ	ⲛ
ⲛ			...			ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ*	ⲛ	ⲛ
ⲛ			ⲛ			ⲛ	...		ⲛ	ⲛ?
ⲛ			⊕	ⲛ*	ⲛ	...	
...			ⲛ		...	ⲛ		ⲛ?	...	
				Column 4			ⲛ*		...	
	ⲛ					...				ⲛ
	ⲛ					ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ
	ⲛ					ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ
						ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ
						ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ
						ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ
						ⲛ			ⲛ	ⲛ
						ⲛ	ⲛ*	ⲛ*	ⲛ	ⲛ
						ⲛ	ⲛ*	ⲛ*	ⲛ	

TABLE 78. O. TURIN N. 57008 COL. II AND IV: THE LEFT SIDE OF THE CREW. WITH * = NOT ENTIRELY IN THAT ORDER

Excursus III. The expansion of the crew to 120 workmen

According to P. Turin Cat. 1891, the workforce was expanded from 60 to 120 workmen in the second year of the reign of Ramesses IV. As we have seen, this increase had no effect on the number of men that partook in the duty roster,¹⁶⁶ which appears to include no more than 30 men throughout the reign of Ramesses IV. The consequences of doubling the total number of workmen may however be detected in the turnus of the reign of Ramesses V, which would seem to have included 45 workmen.¹⁶⁷ Yet, there is not a single ostrakon that records the marks of all of the 60 men that must have comprised one side of the crew around the middle of the 20th Dynasty. In fact, most of the well preserved ordered lists of the left side of the crew from the reigns of Ramesses IV, Ramesses V and Ramesses VI, such as O. ARTP 99/27, O. Cairo JE 46860 and O. IFAO C 7638, record a total of about 30 men (TABLE 79).¹⁶⁸ Even in the settlement of huts near the tomb of Ramesses X, a site that was in use over the course of about 25 years during the reigns of Ramesses IV to Ramesses VII,¹⁶⁹ no more than 90 different workmen's marks were attested.¹⁷⁰ This observation does not mean that we should mistrust the note in P. Turin Cat. 1891 about the expansion of the crew, but it forces us to consider the status of the group of men that reinforced the existing pool of workmen.

Janssen suggested that these workers may have been sent from temples on the East Bank of Thebes or elsewhere. In his opinion they could not have been *smd.t* agents because they “lacked all necessary skills and could only be used to carry the rubble away.”¹⁷¹ But perhaps carrying away rubble was all that the reinforcements were tasked with. If the assumption that these newcomers are not included in lists of workmen is correct, they may have not all been considered full members of the community. We may envisage (some of) these 60 new men as relatively unskilled workers who assisted the original, more specialised necropolis workmen in the excavation of the rooms and galleries of the royal tomb. The additional 60 men mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1891 may therefore have been present at the worksite, but their *individual* activities seem not to have been relevant enough to be included in the necropolis administration, whether written in hieratic or composed with marks. There is even a possibility that these men did not live with the original crew members in the village of Deir el-Medina.¹⁷² Andreas Dorn proposed that all of these 120 men would have had their own identity mark,¹⁷³ but this seems unlikely in the light of unpublished evidence that is now available to us, since these documents record smaller numbers of workmen. Additionally, the c. 90 different workmen's marks attested at the site of the huts need not necessarily be exactly contemporaneous, and in 25 years some workmen may have retired to be replaced by other men with their own identity marks.¹⁷⁴ What is more, the estimate of c. 90 different marks is

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Haring, ‘Workmen’s marks on ostraca’, 149.

¹⁶⁷ Compare preliminary observations in Haring and Soliman, ‘Ostraca with Workmen’s Marks’, 78.

¹⁶⁸ As a group the mid-20th Dynasty ostraca with workmen’s marks of members of the left side such as O. UC 31939+ include over 50 different workmen, but we are not sure how far these ostraca date apart exactly. The best preserved ostraca from this group include a number of ostraca that does not even approach the total of 60 (O. Cairo JE 46862: 32 marks; O. UC 31939+: 24 marks).

¹⁶⁹ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 217.

¹⁷⁰ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 140.

¹⁷¹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 163.

¹⁷² As suggested by Janssen, *Village Varia*, 136, n. 16, where he also mentioned O. Cairo CG 25234, an ostrakon from the middle of the 20th Dynasty that concludes with the enigmatic phrase *iw 60 n hnw dmi 60 n bnr* ‘60 of/to <the> inside of <the> village and 60 of/to the outside’. It is unclear if it refers to a division of the 120 workmen into one half that lived outside and one half that lived inside of the village.

¹⁷³ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 140-141.

¹⁷⁴ Note however that the repertory of marks of the members of the right does not appear to have changed much from the time of Ramesses IV to Ramesses IX, see chapter 6, 6.5.4.6.

	△					𓄠		
	𓄡					𓄢		
	𓄣							
	𓄤							
	𓄥							
	𓄦							
	...							
	𓄧							
	𓄨							
	𓄩							
	𓄪							
	𓄫							
	𓄬							
	𓄭							

TABLE 79. ORDERED LISTS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY

4.2.18 The right and left side during the reigns of Ramesses IV – Ramesses VII: The ostraca and marked objects from the workmen’s huts close to the tomb of Ramesses X

A considerable number of ostraca and pottery fragments with workmen’s marks has been discovered in and around the workmen’s huts in the Valley of the Kings nearby KV 18 (Ramesses X) during the excavations of Davis and Ayrton, and during the excavations carried out by the University of Basel. Finds from this camp of huts indicate that it was used throughout the reigns of Ramesses IV through VII, and perhaps in the brief reign of Ramesses VIII.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, we have already discussed several ostraca with identity marks from this area that date to this period, and we will examine other ostraca from this site in sections below.

The remaining ostraca with workmen’s marks should probably date to about the same period. In some cases this can be demonstrated by comparing the marks to other ostraca discussed above, but in those instances where an ostrakon is inscribed with one or two marks only we have to rely on its provenance for a plausible date. The ostraca in question are discussed in Appendix I, § 16.

4.2.19 O. Cairo CG 25317 and other ostraca with the identity mark of Qaydjeret (i)

O. Cairo CG 25317 is inscribed with two columns of workmen’s marks. Oddly, mark 𓄢 is written both in the right and in the left column. As the left column is clearly shorter than the right one, it is most likely that the scribe of this ostrakon began writing at the top of the right column. The second instance of mark 𓄢 is written towards the very end of this list of marks. Inscribed immediately above this mark is the horizontal variant of mark 𓄩, which is rarely attested in the 20th Dynasty. It occurs also on O. Cairo Unnumbered R, which dates to the second half of the 20th Dynasty.¹⁷⁷ In this document, the mark is situated towards the bottom of the list as well. One is reminded of accounts of the distribution of grain from the 20th Dynasty, where the doorkeeper, 𓄩 𓄩 𓄩 *ir.y-‘z* in Egyptian, is often recorded as one of the last individuals of the list.¹⁷⁸ We find a striking parallel in O. Berlin P 14264, attributed to the middle of the 20th Dynasty. The obverse of this text lists the quantities of emmer to be distributed among the foremen, scribe, and workmen, as well as the amounts destined for the ‘Divine Offering’. The total is mentioned in the final line (line 9), while in line 7 the ration of the doorkeeper is listed. In line 8, an amount of grain is recorded for the “lord of both lands”

¹⁷⁶ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 181.

¹⁷⁷ See Appendix I, § 28.

¹⁷⁸ See for a convenient overview Maren Goecke-Bauer, ‘Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern’ in: Janssen, Frood and Goecke-Bauer, *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers*, 79-89. We are unable to determine which doorkeeper is referred to in this document, because the mark refers to the occupation of this man rather than to his name, as do hieratic administrative texts, see Gabler, ‘Could I Stay or Could I go?’ (forthcoming).

(*nb t3.w.y*). This seems to be a reference to a temple or chapel of the ruling king or a deified king.¹⁷⁹ It is very well possible that the marks on O. Cairo CG 25317 form a very similar list. If mark 𓂏 is indeed a reference to a doorkeeper it is likely that the second instance of mark 𓂏 , a hieroglyphic sign group readable as *nb t3wy*, inscribed below the supposed mark for the doorkeeper does not refer to a workman, as it does in the right column, but to a temple or chapel of the king. This is an interesting observation because it would date O. Cairo CG 25317 around the same period, and it demonstrates that marks were not only used to refer to individuals, commodities, and units of measured time, but also to institutions.

Moreover, the ostrakon provides evidence for the assumption that apart from workmen, doorkeepers of the necropolis are also recorded in ostraca with marks. This is a salient detail, particularly in regard to another mark on O. Cairo CG 25317 that could refer to a doorkeeper. It is the third mark from below in the right column that attracts our attention here, and even though it is damaged we recognise it to be the mark 𓂏 . This mark is attested on several ostraca as well as graffiti. It occurs possibly in Theban Graffito 3980, which mentions Amennakht (v), the famous scribe who was active throughout the 20th Dynasty, but it is certainly present in a number of graffiti from the end of the 20th Dynasty. We find the mark in Theban Graffiti 1261 and 1561, which both include the name of a scribe called Penhiribtahutnakht. He is perhaps identical to the scribe Pentahutnakht (i), an army scribe connected with the temple of Medinet Habu attested in the reigns of Ramesses IX, Ramesses X and Ramesses XI. Although Davies explicitly notes that this scribe is not attested in graffiti,¹⁸⁰ we cannot think of any objections to his identification in the aforementioned graffiti because the scribe was frequently involved in the lives of the necropolis workmen.¹⁸¹ The mark is also found in Theban Graffito 1769 and perhaps in Theban Graffito 1577, both of which mention Penparei (ii), who appears to have been the scribe of the tomb in the reign of Ramesses XI.¹⁸²

The attestations of mark 𓂏 on ostrakon O. Cairo CG 25317 and several graffiti can thus be pinpointed in the second half of the 20th Dynasty. Because the mark, evidently borrowed from hieroglyphic script, has the phonetic value *q3(i)*, we are tempted to connect it with one particular individual who is very often attested in the same timeframe: Qaydjeret (i). His earliest secure attestation in hieratic sources dates to about the middle of the reign of Ramesses IX.¹⁸³ The identification of this man with mark 𓂏 is as plausible as it is challenging, because Qaydjeret (i) was not a workman but a doorkeeper. Although O. Cairo CG 25317 demonstrates that a doorkeeper could be recorded on ostraca with marks, mark 𓂏 refers to the occupation of that doorkeeper rather than to his own identity. This stands in contrast to mark 𓂏 that seems to be a reference to the name of Qaydjeret rather than to his occupation. Moreover, identifying mark 𓂏 with Qaydjeret (i) would suggest that O. Cairo CG 25317 records two doorkeepers. There is however a way out of this conundrum, as Qaydjeret (i) was promoted to the position of guardian.¹⁸⁴ It is perhaps in this capacity that he is attested with his mark in the graffiti in the Valley of the Kings. In fact, graffiti of guardians are not uncommon, and one of Qaydjeret (i)'s predecessors, guardian Penmennefer (i) is attested in

¹⁷⁹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 34-35.

¹⁸⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 122.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 121-122.

¹⁸² Davies, *Who's who*, 104.

¹⁸³ Davies, *Who's who*, 200. Alternatively there is a possibility that mark 𓂏 refers to an obscure workman called Paqaydjeret, who is mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 2018, dating to year 8 of Ramesses XI. This individual is not attested elsewhere, but he cannot be identical to Qaydjeret (i) who is recorded in the very same papyrus in a list of men associated with the right side of the crew.

¹⁸⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 201.

three graffiti¹⁸⁵ together with a necropolis scribe in a fashion that is similar to Qaydjeret's mark and the scribes Penhiribtahutnakht and Penparei.

In his role as doorkeeper and guardian of the necropolis, Qaydjeret (i) stood in close contact with the crew of workmen.¹⁸⁶ He is recorded in several administrative hieratic documents of the time, and is often listed as the last or penultimate person in accounts of the distribution of grain rations.¹⁸⁷ It can therefore not be a coincidence that mark 𓆎 is situated at the bottom of a list of workmen in four ostraca: O. Area K Unnumbered (which is associated with ostraca from the reign of Ramesses IX),¹⁸⁸ O. ARTP 02/224; O. Cairo CG 25315,¹⁸⁹ and O. Cairo JE 96647. These ostraca seem to record the doorkeeper Qaydjeret, and should therefore date to the period of Ramesses IX – Ramesses XI.

O. Cairo JE 96647 may be of a particularly late date. Although it is very difficult to identify the workmen who are recorded by this document it is very probable that the right column lists workmen of the right side of the crew and the left column workmen of the left side. The damaged mark at the top of the right column could well be 𓆎 for the foreman of the right side, but the upper mark of the left column is not 𓆎 , the mark which designates the foreman of the left side in some instances.¹⁹⁰ Still, a comparison of the marks and their position on some of the ostraca with ordered lists of marks from the reign of Ramesses IX suggests a division in a right and a left side. Excluding chief workman and scribes, we come to the following table:

Left column	Attested on left side of crew	Right column	Attested on right side of crew
𓆎		𓆎	O. BM 5642; O. DeM 264; ONL 6449
𓆎	O. BM 5642; OL 170+; ONL 6322; ONL 6399; O. Turin N. 57534	𓆎	
𓆎		𓆎	OL 170+; ONL 6449
𓆎		𓆎	ONL 6603
?		𓆎	
𓆎	OL 170+; O. Ashm. 1098	𓆎	O. BM 5642; OL 170+; ONL 6322; ONL 6449
𓆎	O. BM 5642; ONL 6322; O. Turin N. 57543	?	
𓆎		𓆎	O. BM 5642
𓆎		𓆎	O. BM 5642; ONL 6399
𓆎		𓆎 ?	
𓆎		𓆎 ?	
𓆎		?	
𓆎		?	
		?	
		𓆎	

TABLE 80. MARKS ON O. CAIRO JE 96647 AND THEIR ATTESTATIONS ON EITHER SIDE OF THE CREW

¹⁸⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 197, n. 71.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Goecke-Bauer, 'Torwächter', 144-146.

¹⁸⁷ E.g. P. Turin Cat. 2004+ rto. III.4, (although there reportedly recorded as the son of a Hay, compare Davies, *Who's who*, 200, n. 120); P. Turin Cat. 2001+ rto. A IV.8.

¹⁸⁸ See Appendix I, § 24.

¹⁸⁹ This ostrakon is discussed in more detail below. The hieratic inscription on the other side of the document confirms a date in the late 20th Dynasty.

¹⁹⁰ As proposed above, 4.2.10; 4.2.17, O. Prague NM P 3836.

It is noteworthy that the sequence $\overline{\text{F}}$ - \star is also attested in the list of the right side of the crew on O. BM 5642. If the left column of O. Cairo JE 96647 is a list of members of the left side, the occurrence of mark $\overline{\text{X}}$ in position three is remarkable. It follows H , the mark of the scribe, which is also situated in position 2 of the right column. The mention of a single scribe for each side is another indication that the ostrakon dates to the end of the 20th Dynasty, because from about the reign of Ramesses X onwards there were two necropolis scribes who were each assigned to a single side of the crew.¹⁹¹ As a consequence, the marks in position 1 and 3 on O. Cairo JE 96647 should refer to the foremen and the deputies. Unfortunately our comprehension of the marks of the late 20th Dynasty is not sufficient enough to identify these men. We have seen mark $\overline{\text{X}}$ in the position of the deputy of the right side of the crew as well on ostraca O. BM 5642, O. DeM 264 and ONL 6449, which should date to the last years of the reign of Ramesses IX. Mark $\overline{\text{X}}$ belonged to the workman Nesamun (III) in the first half of the 20th Dynasty, but nothing is known about his offspring. Therefore we cannot securely connect the mark with any of the deputies of the right side of the late 20th Dynasty. The deputy recorded on the left side of the crew by mark $\overline{\text{X}}$ might be Amenhotep (iii) or his brother Pamerenamun (i). The father of these two men was Aapatjau (i), who was referred to by mark $\overline{\text{X}}$ that we find in position 3 of the left column on O. Cairo JE 96647. If this identification is correct, the ostrakon should probably date to the reign of Ramesses XI, as he is attested for the first time in the function of deputy in year 8 of that reign.

At the top of the left column we do not find mark A , assumedly the mark used during much of the 20th Dynasty for the foreman of the left side. Instead we encounter mark $\overline{\text{E}}$. That is interesting because this mark is absent from lists of workmen's marks of the reign of Ramesses IX.¹⁹² Before that period, the mark belonged to Pentaweret (vii), who seems to have retired from the left side of the crew after the reign of Ramesses VI. The fact that the mark reappears in the list of the left side of O. Cairo JE 96647 suggests we are dealing with another individual, presumably a son of Pentaweret (vii). Unfortunately little is known about Pentaweret (vii),¹⁹³ and his only known son, Nebnefer (xii), is not attested as foreman. We can therefore not be sure whether $\overline{\text{E}}$ represents a foreman or not. During the reign of Ramesses XI one of the foremen of the left side was Qenna (ii), who is unrelated to Pentaweret (vii). His first attestation as foreman is in year 8, and he held this position at least until year 10.¹⁹⁴ It is therefore theoretically possible that a son of Pentaweret (vii), perhaps Nebnefer (xii), preceded or succeeded Qenna (ii) as foreman of the left side of the crew in the reign of Ramesses XI,¹⁹⁵ which would explain the position of mark $\overline{\text{E}}$ on O. Cairo JE 96647. On the other hand we may attribute more weight to the fact that mark A for the foreman of the left side is not used, and hypothesise that mark $\overline{\text{E}}$ refers to a workman – perhaps Nebnefer (xii) – who by way of exception acted on behalf of the foreman of the left side. This list would then constitute another example of a regular workman who was given precedence over the official deputy as the substitute of the foreman.¹⁹⁶

The mark of Qaydjeret does not occur exclusively at the bottom of lists of workmen. In other instances, he appears to be listed among regular workmen, such as in Theban Graffito 390 and Theban Graffito 1941. In O. Cairo CG 25317 the mark of Qaydjeret is situated in between the marks of workmen as well. There he is probably not listed as a doorkeeper, but perhaps as a guardian.

¹⁹¹ Davies, *Who's who*, 136-138.

¹⁹² See above, 4.2.15.

¹⁹³ Davies, *Who's who*, 228.

¹⁹⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 29-30.

¹⁹⁵ Compare Davies' overview of foremen, *Who's who*, 279.

¹⁹⁶ For a similar case, compare the career of Weserkhepesh (i), see Davies, *Who's who*, 57; see also above, 4.2.3.

The mark of Qaydjeret is furthermore attested on three different pieces belonging to a distinct group of ostraca with marks. These ostraca were all discovered in the Valley of the Kings and share a corpus of marks. The style of the layout as well as the palaeography of the marks indicate they were probably made by a single scribe. The group consists of ostraca O. MMA 09.184.783, O. MMA 09.184.784+, O. Cairo JE 72493, O. Cairo JE 72495, O. Cilli 84, O. ARTP 02/225, O. ARTP 02/224 and O. KV 10041 (TABLE 82). We can attribute to this group O. ARTP 02/223 on the basis of find context (together with O. ARTP 02/224 and O. ARTP 02/0225) as well as its lay-out, although no marks are preserved in their entirety.¹⁹⁷

Apart from palaeographic resemblances and a shared corpus of marks, three ostraca are evidently connected because they display a very similar sequence of marks:

MMA 09.184.783	MMA 09.184.784+	ARTP 02/224

TABLE 81. ORDERED SEQUENCE OF O. MMA 09.184.783 AND SIMILAR OSTRACA

O. MMA 09.184.784+ is best preserved and inscribed with a large number of marks. It demonstrates an aspect that is common to O. MMA 009.184.783, O. Cilli 84 and O. KV 10041 as well: a single mark is often repeated on the same ostrakon. This would mean that the document records different events in which the same workmen took part. On the other hand, the fact that duplicated marks are inscribed one immediately after the other on O. MMA 09.184.784+, O. Cilli 84 and O. KV 10041 renders such an explanation unlikely. Instead, we could be dealing with a father and a son who were represented by the same mark, as on ostraca from the 18th Dynasty.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Of this ostrakon only a handcopy is available to us, which does not allow the secure identification of any of the marks.

¹⁹⁸ See chapter 2, 2.6.3.

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MMA 09.184.784	MMA 09.184.783	JE 72493	JE 72495	Cilli 84	ARTP 02/225	ARTP 02/224	KV 10041

TABLE 82. OSTRACA FROM THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS DATING TO THE LATE 20TH DYNASTY

In all probability the column of marks on O. MMA 14.6.204 is related to this group of ostraca and to O. MMA 09.184.784+ in particular. The column contains eight marks, but they are not all discernable because lines of the drawing of two crocodiles run through them. The fourth and fifth mark could be and , but the penultimate mark cannot be identified. All marks are attested on O. MMA 09.184.784+, suggesting O. MMA 14.6.204 too should date to the very end of the 20th Dynasty.

The ostraca in this group are rather difficult to interpret. Theban Graffito nr. 390 is probably associated with these ostraca, as it contains several of the same marks and features the same repetition of a single mark. Unfortunately it does not provide further indications as to the date or meaning of the ostraca. However, the presence of mark situates the ostraca and the graffito at the end of the 20th Dynasty.

4.2.20 The Grand Puits group: ostraca from the reign of Ramesses XI?

The very same mark 𐎏 occurs also on ONL 6185, an ostracon that belongs to another group of ostraca consisting of ONL 1409, ONL 6178 – 6185, ONL 6239, ONL 6242, ONL 6282, ONL 6685, ONL 6711, and ONL 6832. This group of ostraca is characterised by the use of (semi-)hieratic numerals, signs and sign groups, which are intricately interwoven with workmen's marks. Moreover, three of these pieces are headed by a date line. A common factor of almost all of the ostraca is that they record different days of the month. In most cases a day date is written using the sign 𐎏 for *sw* 'day' combined with semi-hieratic numerals. The provenance of 11 of 16 of these ostraca is not recorded, but they must have all been discovered by the French excavations at the village of Deir el-Medina. Ostraca ONL 6185, ONL 6282, ONL 6685, ONL 6711 and ONL 6832 were found in the Grand Puits during the season of 1949. For our convenience we shall refer to all ostraca under discussion here as the Grand Puits group. The interpretation of these documents is rather problematic because the ostraca are often very fragmentary, and there are seemingly no hieratic parallels for these ostraca. Related to this group of ostraca is O. Louvre N. 699, which we will discuss in this section as well.

Although three ostraca from this group are inscribed with a year number, they are not unambiguously datable. The earliest date is written at the top of ONL 6239. After the group *rnp.t-sp* follows a neat hieratic sign for the numeral 6. However, it is followed by the numeral '10', after which the ostracon breaks off. One would expect a month number after the numeral '6'. However, the date line at the top of ONL 1409 demonstrates that it was sufficient for the scribe of these ostraca to note only the year number, after which other signs follow, suggesting the '10' on ONL 6239 is not related to the date. On the other hand, we can interpret the numerals '6' and '10' on ONL 6239 as a defective spelling of '16', where the '6' erroneously precedes the '10'. This reading is plausible, as there are several other instances in which the scribe made similar mistakes in his compound numerals. A date in year 16 is also favorable over a year 6, because ONL 1409 dates to year 20, and as the ostraca are clearly related we do not expect them to date very far apart. The date of ONL 6685 is difficult to ascertain because the ink has faded away to a great extent. After the sign group for 'year' the numeral '10' is clear, as is a horizontal stroke. This might be the hieratic numeral '7', but there are traces of another horizontal stroke above it, suggesting the year is '18'. After the year number follow two hieratic ligatures for *ꜥbd* III and *ꜥh.t* as well as the numeral '10'. The ostracon can thus be pinpointed to year 18, III *ꜥh.t*, day 10. This date would fit neatly in the timeframe set by ONL 6239 and ONL 1409.

The ostraca thus date to the time of a king who reigned at least 20 years. We can exclude the reign of Ramesses II because we shall see that the marks on the ostraca belong to workmen of the 20th Dynasty. This narrows our options down to the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses XI, as both ruled for more than 20 years.¹⁹⁹ In order to date the ostraca more precisely it is necessary to examine the workmen's marks they record (TABLE 83). Even though the ostraca display a number of unexplained signs, the workmen's marks that are attested with certainty are given in the table below. We find that many of the marks attested in the Grand Puits group are also found on O. ARTP 99/27, as well as on the core ostraca belonging to a group discussed above, O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+.

¹⁹⁹ Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 215; 216.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

Mark	Ostraca	ARTP 99/27	JE 46862	UC 31939+
	ONL 1409; ONL 6711; ONL 6832; ONL 6711; ONL 6832	✓	✓	✓
	ONL 1409; ONL 6185; ONL 6832	✓		
	ONL 1409; ONL 6282; ONL 6685			
	ONL 1409; ONL 6183 (?)			
	ONL 6180; ONL 6185	✓		
	ONL 6181; ONL 6185	✓		✓
	ONL 6182	✓	✓	
	ONL 6182; ONL 6832	✓	✓	✓
	ONL 6182; ONL 6185	✓	✓	
	ONL 6185 (?);	✓		✓
	ONL 6185; ONL 6685			
	ONL 6185	✓		
	ONL 6239	✓	✓	✓
	ONL 6239			
	ONL 6239; ONL 6282; ONL 6685; ONL 6832	✓	✓	
	ONL 6239; ONL 6685			
	ONL 6239; ONL 6832		✓	
	ONL 6239; ONL 6242; ONL 6685	✓		
	ONL 6282	✓	✓	✓
	ONL 6282; ONL 6685	✓	✓	✓
	ONL 6282; ONL 6685	✓		
	ONL 6685 (?)			
	ONL 6685			
	ONL 6685		✓	
	ONL 6685			
	ONL 6685 (?)	✓		
	ONL 6685; ONL 6832	✓		✓
	ONL 6711			
	ONL 6832	✓		✓
	ONL 6832 (?)			
	ONL 6832 (?)			
	ONL 6832 (?)			

TABLE 83. MARKS ON THE OSTRACA FROM THE KOM SUD GROUP COMPARED

The relation between the repertory of marks in O. ARTP 99/27 and that of the Grand Puits group is evident. Interestingly, the Grand Puits ostraca also provide additional attestations for and , two rather rare identity marks that are inscribed on O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+. In fact, the corpus of marks attested in the Grand Puits group overlaps to some extent with the corpus of ostraca that include mark for Amennakht (vi)/(xii) called Pawonesh and associated ostraca (TABLE 84). In this light, we may contemplate whether the sign that is attested four times on ONL 6185 is a rather abstract allomorph of mark .

ONL 6436	ONL 6482	JE 46862	BTdK 551	JE 46866	JE 46863	JE 46858	BTdK 407	UC 31939+	JE 46864	GP Group
𐎠	𐎠	𐎠		𐎠	𐎠					𐎠?
𐎡						𐎡		𐎡	𐎡	
𐎢		𐎢						𐎢		𐎢
𐎣		𐎣				𐎣		𐎣		
𐎤		𐎤							𐎤	
𐎥								𐎥		
𐎦		𐎦	𐎦					𐎦		
𐎧								𐎧		𐎧
𐎨	𐎨		𐎨							
𐎩	𐎩			𐎩						𐎩
𐎪										𐎪
	𐎫		𐎫							
	𐎬			𐎬						𐎬
	𐎭	𐎭					𐎭			
	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮							𐎮
	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯					𐎯		𐎯
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		𐎱						𐎱		
		𐎲						𐎲	𐎲	𐎲
		𐎳				𐎳				𐎳
		𐎴				𐎴	𐎴	𐎴		𐎴
		𐎵				𐎵				𐎵
		𐎶						𐎶		
		𐎷	𐎷							𐎷
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4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

								𐤔		𐤔
								𐤔?		
								𐤔		
								𐤔		𐤔

TABLE 84. MARKS ON THE OSTRACA OF THE GRAND PUIITS GROUP

As demonstrated above, O. Cairo JE 46862 and O. UC 31939+ date to the middle of the 20th Dynasty, more or less in the reigns of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI. We have also determined that O. ARTP 99/27 dates to the reign of Ramesses IV. The repertory of marks in the Grand Puits group therefore suggests that a date in the reign of Ramesses III is very unlikely. Marks 𐤔 and 𐤔 are not attested in the reign of Ramesses III, but do occur on later ostraca. We have associated the former mark with the workman Ptahkhou (i), whose earliest attestation seems to be on O. DeM 657. This ostrakon cannot be earlier than the reign of Ramesses IV, as it mentions Nakhemmut (vi) as the foreman of the crew. Similarly, the workman nicknamed Pawonesh whose mark may be inscribed on ONL 6185, is not securely attested before the reign of Ramesses IV.²⁰⁰ A date in the second half of the 20th Dynasty is also suggested by the presence of mark 𐤔 for Qaydjeret (i) on ONL 6185. As we have discussed above, he is securely attested in the reigns of Ramesses IX to Ramesses XI.

In summary, it is rather unlikely that the ostraca from the Grand Puits group date to the reign of Ramesses III. As a consequence, the documents ought to date to the reign of Ramesses XI. This however presents us with somewhat of a dilemma, because it is during the reign of Ramesses XI that the village of Deir el-Medina is abandoned. It has been pointed out that towards the end of this reign necropolis workmen seem to have been living inside the quarters of the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.²⁰¹ Yet, other authors have disputed this assumption, and a closer examination of the sources suggests that *some* members of the crew might have lived at Medinet Habu.²⁰² Regardless, it is a fact that we do not possess any ostraca from the village of Deir el-Medina that securely date to the reign of Ramesses XI.²⁰³ The ostraca of the Grand Puits group would then be unique in this respect.

It is also problematic that ostrakon ONL 1409 records a year 20. While it is true that Ramesses XI reigned for more than 20 years, year 19 of his reign was proclaimed as the beginning of a new era, a *renaissance* called *whm msw.t*. The count of his reign was reset to year 1 from that point onward, and the previous count was generally abolished. In the written administration of the Theban Necropolis no year numbers of the old count are known after year 19, and the years of the *whm msw.t* are applied instead. We should therefore question the attribution of ONL 1409 to the reign of Ramesses XI, because if it dates to his reign a more correct date would have been ‘year 2 of the *whm msw.t*’ instead of ‘year 20’. Yet, P. Turin. Cat. 2034 demonstrates that at least in year 19 the old year count was not entirely abandoned, as it mentions both ‘year 19’ as well as ‘year 1 of the *whm msw.t*’. We may assume that during the first years of the *whm msw.t* scribes were not completely accustomed to the new year count, and continued to use the older system. Moreover, usage of the *whm msw.t* years may have been reserved for official documents only, while in more mundane settings one


²⁰⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 70.








²⁰¹ E.g. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 123-125.




²⁰² Haring, ‘Scribes and scribal activity’, 111-112.

²⁰³ A date to this reign has been proposed for only four ostraca: O. DeM 571 (Grand Puits), O. Turin N. 57372 (Deir el-Medina), O. Turin N. 57387 (Deir el-Medina), and O. UC 39649 (provenance unknown), but this cannot be confirmed. In addition, there is a corpus of documents, some of which are of an administrative nature, that come from the Theban necropolis and date to the beginning of the 21st Dynasty. The texts are currently under study by Rob Demarée; for a preliminary overview see his article ‘Quelques textes de la fin de la XX^e et du début de la XXI^e dynastie’ in: Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, 246-250.

would have maintained the older count. As will be made clear below, the ostraca of the Grand Puits group are indeed anything but official, standardised documentations.

One of the characteristics of the ostraca from the Grand Puits group is the use of semi-hieratic numerals. To record quantities the scribe wrote down the hieratic forms of the numerals '1', '10', '100', and '100.000', but used them as if they were hieroglyphic numerals, noting down multiples of these hieratic signs. The scribe may, however, have been acquainted with true hieratic numerals, because he used them to write down numerals '6',²⁰⁴ '8',²⁰⁵ and '20',²⁰⁶ for day numbers and year numbers. The scribe's familiarity with the hieratic script is clear from his use of other hieratic signs and sign groups, such as the incompletely preserved group  in the first line of ONL 6184.

Within the Grand Puits group there is a subgroup of smaller, fragmentary ostraca that can be distinguished from the other ostraca. This group is formed by ONL 6178 – ONL 6185 and ONL 6242. In these ostraca, all lines of marks are separated from each other by horizontal dividing lines. The ostraca are all written on the same type of whitish limestone, each of more or less the same thickness. In fact, some of these fragments may have once belonged to the same document, but none of the surviving pieces join. Additionally, there are a number of recurring signs that are typical for these ostraca. Frequent is sign , which resembles a clumsily executed hieratic or cursive hieroglyphic sign for  *h3.t* 'front'. In analogy with the sign for *h3.t*, sign  is probably an odd hieratic sign for  *ph* 'end'. Within the subgroup, *h3.t* en *ph* are often followed by the group  or in one instance sign . Since the scribe of these ostraca wrote all multiples of 10 simply by repeating the numeral '10', we probably should not read these signs as '90' or '60', but as *pn* and *p*. This group is often – but not exclusively – followed by the sign  that only occurs in combination with the *pn* group. The meaning of all these signs is rather problematic. There are no direct parallels for the combined use of *h3.t* and *ph* in the hieratic administrative nomenclature of Deir el-Medina. One might be inclined to interpret *h3.t* as part of the phrase *hr h3.t* 'previously', 'firstly'.²⁰⁷ This expression occurs throughout the 19th and 20th Dynasties in the administrative texts from the Theban Necropolis as a way to record deliveries that had already been made.²⁰⁸ Similarly, *ph* could be an abbreviation of *ph.wy* used in O. DeM 895, presumably to express the remainder of quantities of wood to be delivered.²⁰⁹

An alternative explanation would be to interpret *h3.t* as a reference to the fisherman *Hatnefer* who is attested throughout the 20th Dynasty and still appears in the hieratic administration dating to the reign of Ramesses IX.²¹⁰ Sign  could then refer to the individual *Rekhpehtyef* who is recorded delivering wood in the reign of Ramesses IX.²¹¹ Signs  and  would then probably be references to *smd.t* agents as well. None of this can, however, be proven, and it is unlikely that the fisherman *Hatnefer* would still have been active in year 20 of Ramesses XI. The content of ostraca ONL 6178 – ONL 6242 remains thus highly enigmatic:

²⁰⁴ ONL 6239.

²⁰⁵ ONL 6685.

²⁰⁶ ONL 6181; ONL 6182; ONL 1409.

²⁰⁷ *WB* III, 23, 16; 18.

²⁰⁸ Examples from the end of the 20th are found in P. BM EA 9997, P. Turin Cat. 1884+; P. Turin Cat. 1895; P. Turin Cat. 1945+ and P. Turin Cat. 2013+.

²⁰⁹ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* IX, 68 and 69. One might interpret the sign as a reference to *ph rm.w*, the ends of fish that were eaten at Deir el-Medina, see Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 23. However, the frequent occurrence of both *h3.t* and *ph* on our ostraca makes this interpretation improbable.

²¹⁰ P. Turin Cat. 1881+; P. Turin Cat. 2013+.

²¹¹ P. Turin Cat. 1900+.

ONL 6178

[...] 300 (+ x ?); *sw* 15 *ph pn* ⚡ [...]
 [...] *pn* [...]

ONL 6179

[...]
 [...] *sw* 11²¹² *h3.t p <n>* ⚡ [...]
 [...] ⚡ [...]

ONL 6180

[...] ⚡ 250 [...]
 [...]] [200 + x?]

ONL 6181

[...] 370 (?); *s[w]* [...]
 [...] 120; 10; *ph p[n]* [...]
 [...] ⚡ (?) 120; *sw* 17 [...]
 [...] [damaged mark] 500 [+ x?] [...]

ONL 6182

[...] ⚡ \ 400; *sw* 25 *ph* (?) [...]
 [...] ⚡ 440; *sw* 10 *h3.t pn* ⚡ [...]

ONL 6183

[...] 250 [...]
 [...] *sw* 7 *h3.t pn* (?) [superimposed sign ⚡ ?] [...]
 [...] ⚡ 600 (+ x?) [...]

ONL 6184

[...] *h3y* [...]
 [...] [*h*] *3.t pn* □ [...]
 [...] 13 (+ x?) [damaged sign] [...]

ONL 6242

[...] *ph* [...]
 [...] *ph* ⚡ 300 (+ x?) [...]

The last ostrakon in this group is ONL 6185, an accession number given to two fragments, although it is not entirely certain if both pieces truly formed part of a single document. ONL 6185 contains several more mysterious signs. Firstly, we observe sign ⚡ in lines 3, 4 and 5. It somewhat resembles the hieratic sign for ⚡ *ht* ‘wood’, and might give us a clue as to the content of this ostrakon as well as the other pieces in our subgroup: they seem to record wood deliveries. Sign ⚡ in line 3 seems to be an incorrectly orientated variant of ⚡, *h3.t*. It is followed by a hieratic sign group, which also occurs at the beginning of line 4. The group resembles hieratic signs ⚡ and ⚡, but it is unclear what they denote.²¹³ One might speculate that sign ⚡ should be read as ⚡ for I *3bd*, but the group is not clearly followed by a day

²¹² Written ‘10’ + ‘1’.

²¹³ Possibly a reference to *š3i* flowers?

number. Alternatively but less likely the group could be read as $\overline{\text{sd}}$, perhaps referring to a *smd.t* agent with this element in his name.²¹⁴

ONL 6185

[...] *sw* 1 *ph pn* [damaged sign] $\overline{\text{sd}}$ (?) [damaged sign] [...] *sw* [...]
 [...] $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 790; *sw* [...] *ph pn* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ (?) [...]
 [...] 50; *sw* 17 *h3.t zbd* 1 *zhd* (?) [...] 150; *sw* 13 *ht* [...]
 [...] *zbd* 1 *zhd* (?) $\overline{\text{sd}}$ Δ 250; *sw* 10 (+ x?) [...] 3 *ht zbd* 1 *zhd* (?) $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 510 (+ x?) [...]
 [...] *ht* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 200 (+ x?) [...] 3 *ph* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 150 [...]
 [...] 200 (+ x?)

Ostracon ONL 6685 is better preserved than the pieces discussed above, but some of its sections are almost illegible. Sign $\overline{\text{sd}}$ in lines 1 and 2 seems to be a very cursive variant of the inverted sign $\overline{\text{sd}}$. By line 3, the same sign appears to have been reduced to $\overline{\text{sd}}$. Like the sign $\overline{\text{sd}}$ in ONL 6178 – ONL 6185, $\overline{\text{sd}}$ and $\overline{\text{sd}}$ are inscribed immediately after day dates. This interpretation is however problematic for line 4, which would then read ‘*sw* 20 (?): *h3.t* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ *h3.t* Δ 300’, and the repetition of the second ‘*h3.t*’ is difficult to explain. Sign $\overline{\text{sd}}$ occurs in lines 3 and 4, and is perhaps a hieroglyphic sign for *whm* ‘repeating’, a term regularly found in hieratic administration of the Theban Necropolis.²¹⁵

ONL 6685

rnp.t-sp 18 *zbd* 3 *zhd* 10 *h3.t* 4 (or *p < n >* ?) \ *zhd* (?) 720; *h3.t p < n >* [...] 600; 500; 500; 80; *sw* 1 10 *h3.t* [unclear sign] \ 500; 300; *sw* 5 $\overline{\text{sd}}$ [...]
 10 *ph* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ \leq 200; *sw* 11 *ht whm* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 700; *sw* 15 *ph whm* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 400 (+ x?) [...]
sw 18 *ph whm* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 350; *sw* 20 (?) *h3.t* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ Δ 300
 [...] $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 100; *sw* 22 $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 200
 [...] $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 190; *sw* 10 *ph* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ (?) $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 200
 [...] 340; *sw* 11 *h3.t* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$

Ostraca ONL 6711 and 6282 are very fragmentary pieces that do not present us with further unattested signs.

ONL 6711

[...] 20 [...]
 [...] *p < n >* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ [...]
 [...] 600; 500 [...]
 [...] 300 [...]
 [...] $\overline{\text{sd}}$ [...]
 [...] 300 (+ x?); 20; 20; 20; 20 [...]

ONL 6282

[...]
 900 + x (?)
 --
 [...] *h3.t* $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 820
 [...] $\overline{\text{sd}}$ $\overline{\text{sd}}$ 520 [... .. .]

²¹⁴ E.g. Amenemipetnakht attested in the reign of Ramesses XI in P. Turin Cat. 2094.

²¹⁵ Examples from the reign of Ramesses XI are P. Turin Cat. 1895+ and P. Turin Cat. 1898+.

-- 400; 400; 300; 300; 𐀀
 500.000 400; 400; 400; 400; 400
 3

ONL 6239 would appear to be another indication that the ostraca in the Grand Puits group record deliveries, because sign 𐀀 in lines 5 and 9 resembles the hieratic sign for 𐀀 *rm* ‘fish’. The signs in line 10 are only faintly preserved, but traces of ink suggest a reading of 𐀀 for 𐀀 } *wp-rnp.t* ‘New Year’s Day’.²¹⁶ The reading and meaning of sign 𐀀 in line 3 and signs 𐀀 𐀀 in line 8 are unclear.

ONL 6239

rnp.t-sp 16 [...]

320 (+ x ?) [...]

𐀀 𐀀 𐀀 200 (+ x ?) [...]

𐀀 𐀀 420 (+ x?) [...]

rm.w ht

𐀀 270 𐀀 𐀀 [...]

[?] 40 (?); 410; 20 (+ x?) [...]

10 *ht p < n >* 𐀀 𐀀 (?) 𐀀 700 (+ x?) [...]

[?] 𐀀 *rm.w ht*

[...] *wp.t rnp.t* 𐀀

In ostrakon ONL 6832 the group 𐀀 occurs in five instances. Except for the instance in line 4, the group is always followed by a series of strokes, suggesting the group should be read as a variant of 𐀀 *sw* ‘day’. Sign 𐀀 occurs also in the spelling of *hrw* ‘day’ in P. BM EA 10375, vso. 8, which dates to the reign of Ramesses XI.²¹⁷ Alternatively, the group may be read as 𐀀 *t* ‘bread’, but this word would not seem specific enough for a document recording deliveries, as hieratic delivery texts of the 20th Dynasty generally record particular types of bread. In the third line from below, traces of ink resemble a cartouche of which the lower sign group might be *imn*. The sign above it is a horizontal one, and could be *htp*. The signs seem to form a defective spelling for the name of king Amenhotep, which might be a reference to the month III *pr.t*, called *p3-n(y)-imn-htp*, or to a festival of this deified king.

ONL 6832

[...] 𐀀 𐀀 200; 200; 450

[...] 𐀀 100 *sw* 8 *ph* 𐀀 𐀀 *ph* 270

[...] *h3.t* 𐀀 𐀀 4 (+ x?) [...]

[...] 𐀀

[...] 280; *sw* [sic] 𐀀 340 (+ x?) [...]

[...] 𐀀 (?) 𐀀 (?) 540; *sw* 1 [...]

[...] *h3.t* 𐀀 (?) 𐀀 300; *sw* 4 𐀀 420 (+ x?) [...]

[...] *h3.t* [...] 180; *sw* 2 *ht* 𐀀 (?) [...]

²¹⁶ WB I, 305, 1.

²¹⁷ Jac. J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*. Hieratic papyri in the British Museum VI (London 1991), pl. 40.

The group $\overline{\text{ō}}$ reoccurs in ONL 1409 and should probably read as *sw* as well.

ONL 1409

rnp.t-sp 20 *h3.t* [?] \equiv

900; 900; 900; 900 (?); 600; 700

sw 19 \square 450 *sw* [...]

$\overline{\text{ō}}$ $\overline{\text{ō}}$

ph 600; 600; 600; 500 + x; 200 + x [...]

[s]w 20 [...]

We come to the disappointing conclusion that the ostraca of the Grand Puits group are poorly understood. We recognise parts of year and day dates, and perhaps references to festivals of the New Year and of the deified Amenhotep I. The documents would seem to record deliveries, among which are quantities of fish and wood. Some signs are very tentatively explained as references to members of the *smd.t* personnel.

O. Louvre N. 699, perhaps associated with the Grand Puits group, is rather different from the other documents in terms of handwriting and layout. The document is written in a tabular format, presented below. It displays some of the same workmen's marks attested in the Grand Puits group. More importantly the sign for *ph* is unmistakably added to two of the cells. Additionally the ostrakon seems to deal with wood as well, and the sign for *ht* is inscribed in four of the cells. The upper cell of the middle column is inscribed in hieratic with the word *wsf* 'inactive'. The sign for wood is superimposed, but unlike the other instances of this sign, it is not accompanied by strokes. At least two or perhaps three cells contain a reference to a divinity. In the rightmost column we notice $\overline{\text{ō}}$, perhaps for Isis, as well as $\overline{\text{ō}}$ for Thot. In the leftmost column, the cobra could well refer to the goddess Renenutet. Taking into account the signs for months or month festivals that we encountered on duty rosters composed with marks, we may interpret the signs on Louvre N. 699 in a similar way. It is then remarkable that the table contains 12 cells, suggesting one cell was inscribed for each month of a year.²¹⁸ If we pursue this hypothesis, sign $\overline{\text{ō}}$ should refer to month *dhwtj* (I *3h.t*), and sign $\overline{\text{ō}}$ to month *p3-n(y)-rnmw.t.t* (IV *pr.t*). Reading the columns from right to left we count exactly six cells between the cell with $\overline{\text{ō}}$ and the cell with $\overline{\text{ō}}$, exactly the number of months between I *3h.t* and IV *pr.t*. The goddess in the cell above that of *dhwtj* could then indeed be Isis, as a reference to the fourth epagomenal day attached to the previous month, IV *šmw*.

Up to this point, the puzzle that is O. Louvre N. 699 makes some sense, but the interpretation of the ostrakon as a year calendar is not without problems. First of all, if each cell of the ostrakon represents a single month, would that mean that during the entire month of II *3h.t* – represented by the upper cell in the middle column according to our hypothetical reading – the crew was *wsf*, 'inactive'? Not only does this seem unlikely, but the author does not know of any instances in which *wsf* is used to describe a unit of time longer than a single day. One also wonders why the calendar begins with month II *šmw*. We have associated O. Louvre N. 699 with the ostraca of the Grand Puits group, which we had situated in the reign of Ramesses XI. It is generally thought that P. Turin Cat. 1888 demonstrates that the regnal years of this king began on III *šmw*,²¹⁹ a month later than the supposed calendar of the Louvre ostrakon. The answers to these questions escape us completely.

²¹⁸ The ostrakon is perhaps not completely preserved, but considering the table on the reverse, not much seems to have been lost.

²¹⁹ For references, see Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 217.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

In fact, we cannot ascertain the meaning of the first two cells in the rightmost column. The depiction of a bovine in the cell that we assume represents II *šmw* could designate the slaughter of an ox at the occasion of a festival,²²⁰ but there is nothing that upholds this suggestion. The signs in the cell below it are not immediately evident either. Sign \sqcup could refer to month *k3-ḥr-k3* (IV *3ḥ.t*), but this would not agree with our proposed direction of reading this ‘calendar’. Additionally, signs \ddagger (?) and 𐀓 in the second and third cell are unexplained. We may therefore propose an alternative interpretation of the ostrakon. Instead of references to months, the majority of signs could – with the exception of 𐀓 for wood and perhaps 𐀓 for an actual bovine – refer to workmen or other individuals in the same way we had proposed to take 𐀓 as a reference to a *smd.t* agent. Indeed, signs 𐀓 , 𐀓 and 𐀓 are probably recorded as workmen in the Grand Puits group, and the bovine in the first cell is perhaps a poorly drawn allomorph of workmen’s mark 𐀓 that seems to occur in ONL 6832. Each cell of this ostrakon might then represent a single day, and those of the middle column could record wood deliveries as well as a day off from work at the tomb. This interpretation is still far from satisfactory because it does not explain the meaning of the deities.

𐀓 8	𐀓 𐀓	8 𐀓 𐀓
𐀓 6 𐀓	8 𐀓	6 \ddagger \sqcup
10 𐀓	7 𐀓 𐀓	𐀓 𐀓 4 𐀓
𐀓 10 (+ x?)	6 (+ x?) 𐀓 𐀓 6(+ x?)	10 (+ x?) 𐀓

In this context we may also mention O. Cairo CG 25316. It is remarkably similar to ostraca from the Grand Puits group and O. Louvre N. 699 because it displays semi-hieratic numerals, signs 𐀓 , 𐀓 and 𐀓 , and possibly also workmen’s marks. Unfortunately the fragmentary state of the ostrakon prohibits a conclusive interpretation. We can decipher the ostrakon to some extent:



























12 𐀓 *ḥ3.t* 400
 [...] 𐀓 𐀓 *pḥ* 900
 [𐀓] 400 600

The sign that resembles 𐀓 is not elsewhere attested as a workman’s mark, and whether it here represents a workman, a *smd.t* agent, or a building or shrine is entirely unclear. Likewise we cannot be sure if sign 𐀓 is here a hieratic *p* or the numeral ‘60’. Signs 𐀓 and [𐀓] could be

²²⁰ Jauhiainen, “Do not celebrate your feast”, 273; 297.





workmen's marks and are indeed attested as such in the 20th Dynasty. Still, a date and a reasonable interpretation of this ostrakon cannot be provided. On account of its resemblance to ostraca from the Grand Puits group it is hesitantly attributed to the late 20th Dynasty.

4.2.21 Overview of tentatively identified workmen's marks

Aanakhtu (iii) = (i) = (iv)	
Aapatjau (i)	
Amenenheb (i) = (ii) or Amenemheb (iv)	
Amenhotep (iii) or Pamerenamun (i)	
Amenkha (ii) ?	
Amennakht (vi)/(vii)	 (and  ?)
Amenpahapy (iii)	
Bakenwerel (vii)	
Hay (iv)	 ?
Hay (v) = (iii) or Hay (xi)	
Hay (vii)	
Hay (xi) of Hay (v) = (iii)	
Hori (ix)	
Hori (xii)	
Khaemhedjet (i)	
Khnummose (iv)	
Khons (vi)	
Meryre (vii)	
Merysekhmet (iii)	
Nakht-en- / -her-khopshef (I) ?	
Nakhtmin (vii)	
Nebimentet (i)	
Nebnefer (ix)	
Nebnefer (xii)	
'Pa-imyperhedj' = a Montuemtawy?	
Panefer (i)	
Paneferemdjedu (i)	
Pasennedjem (i)	
Paser (iii)	
Patjaudiamun (ii) ²²¹	
Penamun (V)	
Penniut (i) = (iii)	
Penniut (IV) ²²²	
Prehotep (ii)	
Ptahkha (i)	
Qaydjeret (i)	
Qedherakhtuf (ii)	
Qenymin (i)	
Ramessesnakht (i)	
Scorpion controller Amenmose	
Seny (i)	
Seti (i)	

²²¹ Ibidem.

²²² See Appendix I, § 15, O. BTdK 539.

Siwadjet (iii)		
Wennefer (iii)		
Weserkhepesh (i)		
Foreman of the left side; or personal identity mark of Harmose (ii)		

4.3 THE PURPOSE OF THE RECORDS WRITTEN WITH IDENTITY MARKS

In the chronological discussion of 20th Dynasty ostraca with marks we have already touched upon the meaning and purpose of some of the records, but the ostraca deserve a more thorough study. An analysis of the lay-out of the ostraca, as well as scrutiny of the use of hieroglyphic and hieratic signs, numerals and depictions of objects elucidates the meaning and purpose of documents composed with identity marks.

4.3.1 Use of hieroglyphic text on ostraca with marks

Hieroglyphic inscriptions are attested on only six ostraca from the 20th Dynasty, and in most cases they are not related to the workmen's marks on the same document. The hieroglyphs on the obverse of O. MMA 14.6.204 are most probably exercises made by same hand that also drew a beautiful face and two crocodiles on the ostrakon, all unconnected with the column of identity marks. The inscription on a second ostrakon, ONL 6258, is ambiguous. It may be interpreted as mark $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ of Nakhtmin next to an odd cursive hieroglyphic writing $p < n > -niw.t$ for Penniut. This reading – and the date of the ostrakon for that matter – is uncertain, as it requires the signs to be read as a column. Moreover, the relationship between a Penniut and a Nakhtmin is unclear.

The hieroglyphic inscription written at the top of ONL 6874 is damaged and difficult to read, but the style of the signs, the thickness of the lines and the colour of the ink indicate that it was added by the same scribe who inscribed the rest of the document. The hieroglyphic text is therefore most probably related to the rest of the document, and may have served as a heading. The hieroglyphic inscription of O. MMA 14.6.218 on the other hand was clearly inscribed over the column of marks, and is seemingly unrelated to the column of workmen's marks. The meaning of the hieroglyphic inscription is completely unclear.

O. BTdK 454 is inscribed on its reverse with the cartouche of Ramesses VI in what appears to be a different hand, suggesting the ostrakon was reused. ONL 170+ displays the cartouche of Ramesses IX and a large elaborate drawing of the hieroglyphic sign $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ (Gardiner G1), written over the columns of marks. The marks are drawn by a very competent hand in a style that is similar to the hieroglyphs of the cartouche. It is therefore probable that the scribe reused a list of workmen's marks for unrelated hieroglyphic exercises. O. BTdK 485 is inscribed with a column of poorly executed and incorrectly orientated hieroglyphs that can be deciphered as “Chief of sculptors in the Place of Truth, Pashedu,” probably Pashedu (iii).²²³ There is however no evidence to connect this man with workmen's mark $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ that is incised over the inscription, the more so because mark $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ was used for either Hay (v) = (iii) or Hay (xi) in the reign of Ramesses IV.²²⁴ These men are not related to the family of Pashedu (iii), and the mark may have been added at a moment when O. BTdK 485 was reused.

Finally, there is the complicated case of O. BTdK 547. It displays an inscription in poorly drawn hieroglyphs, many of which are incorrectly orientated. The column was deciphered by Dorn and translated as an invocation of Amun-Re followed by titles and an identity mark: “Amun-Re, lord of the sky, for the *ka* of the scorpion controller, the *wab* priest, at the sky of the lord of both lands in the Place of Truth, $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ ”.²²⁵ Indeed, the column ends with

²²³ Cf. Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 357.

²²⁴ See above, 4.2.8.

²²⁵ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 372.

a reference to the Theban Necropolis, the Place of Truth, and the inscriptions seems to continue on the side, at the top of which the identity mark is written. However, if we follow Dorn's interpretation of the text, this would most likely mean that we are dealing with a member of the family of Hay (iv), Hay (v) = (iii) or Hay (xi), whom we have tentatively connected with mark 𓏏 . None of the known scorpion controllers is evidently related to the family of any of these men.²²⁶ Dorn suggested that the scorpion controller of O. BTdK 547 was Amenmose,²²⁷ but we have established that this person was signified by mark 𓏏 . The reading of O. BTdK 547 is therefore altogether problematic. There are several possible ways to read the ostrakon. Perhaps the mark at the side of O. BTdK 547 was not incorporated in the hieroglyphic text after all, and the inscription in the column stands on its own. Alternatively, the hieroglyphic inscription on O. BTdK 547 might need to be read in different way. The reading of 'scorpion controller' makes sense, as the sign of the scorpion is recognisable, but the sign for *hrp* is not. Yet, we are unable to offer a better interpretation of these signs. We may propose that there existed a contemporaneous, previously unattested scorpion controller who was called Hay and who used the same mark as the man who was designated by mark 𓏏 , or who was a son of the latter man. Finally, it could be that Dorn's reading of the piece is entirely correct, and that mark 𓏏 refers indeed to the scorpion controller Amenmose. We may then speculate that this Amenmose was a son of Hay (iv), and identify him with the workman otherwise known as Mose (ii), a son of Hay (iv) according to the base of a stela.²²⁸

4.3.2 Use of hieratic text on ostraca with marks

4.3.2.1 Texts unrelated to marks

Some hieratic inscriptions are clearly unrelated to the marks that are inscribed on the document as well, and the document appears to have been reused. In five cases, the hieratic text is clearly unrelated: the obverse of O. BM EA 50716 displays a drawing of a bull, part of a miscellany text, and an account of received goods, none of which are clearly linked to the ordered list of workmen's marks on the reverse; the columns of marks on ONL 6273 are written over an erased hieratic account, probably a delivery text; in contrast, the letter on O. Ashmolean HO 5 was written over the columns of marks and its content is not connected with any of the listed workmen; the oracle text on O. IFAO 876 is not linked to the duty roster that is recorded on this ostrakon fragment as well.

4.3.2.2 Unclear relation between texts and marks


There are several more instances of the use of hieratic on ostraca that are inscribed with marks as well, but often a possible relation between the marks and the hieratic text is far from evident. Sometimes the hieratic text is just not well enough preserved to determine its exact content, and it could well be that these ostraca were reused by the author who added the marks.²²⁹ In other instances the marks are uncertain.²³⁰

²²⁶ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 27-29.

²²⁷ A scorpion controller attested in the 20th Dynasty, see Janssen, *Village Varia*, 29; Davies, *Who's Who*, 233.

²²⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 21; for the base of the stela, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* III, 358, fig. 208; perhaps also attested on O. Cairo CG 25534. For Mose as a contraction of the name *Ramose* or *Minmose*, see Davies, *Who's who*, 124. For Mose as hypocoristic form of *Khnummose*, see Davies, *Who's who*, 260-261.

²²⁹ O. Cairo JE 96581 reverse; O. Berlin P 14231 reverse; O. Leipzig 1821 reverse; ONL 311 reverse; ONL 309; ONL 6392 reverse; ONL 773 reverse; ONL 6267 reverse; ONL 6684 obverse; ONL 6693; O. Keimer 54: the hieratic inscription is described but not visible in the available images; O. DeM 5055 = O. Ashmolean HO 1047: the first line of hieratic is undoubtedly read as 'the weight of the spike of' but the second line, which mentions the name of the owner of the weight, is uncertain; it was read as 'Qenna, son of Seba' by Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 48, but photos of this piece show that this reading is utterly uncertain; the sign 𓏏 below it suggests a

Elsewhere a connection between the marks and the hieratic text is plausible, but cannot be proven. For example, there is the puzzling O. Cairo CG 25270, inscribed with four lines. The first line mentions the date, year 4, IV *ꜥh.t* day 7, which was attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV by Helck.²³¹ Lines 1 and 2 record that the crew went to the Valley of the Kings, but we are not sure for what reason, as the end of line two is missing. The next line contains four signs, which were interpreted by Darresy²³² and Helck²³³ as the marks added by the crew to stones that they had extracted in the valley. One assumes they came to this conclusion by interpreting the traces at the end of line 2 as  *r inr.w* ‘to the stones’. Such a reading is very hypothetical. The signs in line four appear to be \perp , the hieratic sign for (*w*)*dꜣ* ‘deficit’; then \sqcup , perhaps a depiction of a cup with handle, and \square and ⌘ , both frequently attested as workmen’s marks. The fourth and final line is enigmatic as well, as it appears to read *m pꜣ hrw m hrw pn*, which seems superfluous. The meaning of the ostrakon is thus very unclear. There is not much evidence for the suggestion that the signs were added to stones cut in the Valley of the Kings. Two of the four signs could be workmen’s marks, but the other two signs are inexplicable. Moreover, the purpose of the supposed workmen’s marks on this ostraca is far from evident.

O. DeM 10028 contains a hieratic text on the obverse and reverse, and at least one, perhaps two workmen’s marks on the reverse. The hieratic text consists of nothing more than consecutive day dates occasionally followed by a hieratic numeral, mostly ‘one’ but once ‘twenty’. Three day dates seems to be preceded by the sign \wedge *iw*, perhaps indicating attendance at the worksite.²³⁴ The text is thus a very simple document in which no full sentences or standard phraseology are used. Nevertheless the scribe made several mistakes in this brief account. He appears to have been less familiar with the horizontal numerals used in the writing of dates, causing him to write $\overline{\text{⌘}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{⌘}}$, $\overline{\text{⌘}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{⌘}}$, $\overline{\text{⌘}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{⌘}}$ and $\overline{\text{⌘}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{⌘}}$.²³⁵ It is interesting to observe that identity marks occur in the document of someone who was not a trained scribe, although it is utterly unclear whether mark ⌘ on the reverse is related to this list of dates. While the hieratic text is written in black ink, the mark is done in red ink and is somewhat larger in size than the hieratic signs. Moreover, the hieratic text was turned 180 degrees to add the mark at the other end of the reverse.

A much more plausible relation between a hieratic inscription and workmen’s marks is found on O. Glasgow D. 1925.72, which is an account of commodities given to an unnamed individual at several different occasions. One of these moments is dated to year 19, which is generally thought to refer to the reign of Ramesses III.²³⁶ However, O. Leipzig Inv. No. 1907,

connection with Iniherkhau (i), Iniherkhau (ii) or Qenna (i) but none of these names fit the traces of ink in the second line.

²³⁰ O. Berlin P 12649 reverse: unclear whether the large inscribed falcon is a workman’s mark; O. UC 39606 reverse (possibly mark of Bakenamun (i)) and O. UC 39661 reverse: unclear if workmen’s marks; O. DeM 556: the sign at the bottom of the text is probably attested in the 20th Dynasty as a workman’s mark on ONL 303, but it is uncertain if it was added as an identity mark on O. DeM 556 and if so, what its function may have been. The marks or signs on the reverse of O. UC 39620 are very unclear as well. The obverse contains a hieratic text recording items given as payment by workman Weserhat. There is a possibility that the marks ⌘ and perhaps ⌘ refer to recipients of such items. The unclear sign left of ⌘ may in fact record one of the items, but too little of this ostrakon is preserved to verify such suggestions.

²³¹ Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 391.

²³² Daressy, *Ostraca*, 69.

²³³ Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 391.

²³⁴ See below, 4.3.3.2.

²³⁵ Cf. Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* X, 34.

²³⁶ McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 13; *KRI* VII, 285.

which mentions a year 15, may join to the Glasgow piece.²³⁷ If this reconstruction is correct, the first occasion of the transfer of goods to the anonymous individual would be in this year 15, when he was appointed to the crew of workmen. A clue as to the identity of this man may be found on the reverse of this ostrakon, where mark $\Delta\Delta$ is inscribed. Not far from it the numeral 560 is written in red ink, but it is not clear if it is related to this mark. In the reign of Ramesses III, this mark referred to Nakhemmut (vi). The long career of this man extended to the reign of Ramesses IX, but thanks to Theban Graffito 2661²³⁸ it is known that he must have been appointed to the gang prior to year 16 of Ramesses III. Nakhemmut (vi) therefore fits the description of the man mentioned on the obverse of O. Glasgow D. 1925.72. We may speculate that a scribe added the mark of Nakhemmut on the reverse, as a mnemonic device that summarised the content of the text, but we cannot prove such a connection.²³⁹

O. Stockholm MM 14129 presents a similar case. The text records an account of a payment and the transfer of goods. The workmen recorded by the workmen's marks and the items of furniture that are inscribed and depicted on the ostrakon may well be connected with this transfer, but we cannot prove this.²⁴⁰ Similarly, the account of water deliveries recorded on the obverse of O. Michaelides Nr. 91 may or may not be related to workmen that are recorded on the reverse of the same document. The obverse of ostrakon ONL 322+ contains a duty roster composed with marks. The reverse of this piece is inscribed with a hieratic note about the *h3k.w* quota²⁴¹ of two water-carriers. As argued in the previous chapter (3.3.11),²⁴² it seems unlikely that the author of the duty rosters with marks was able to write in hieratic. The note is therefore probably the work of another scribe. On the basis of our investigation of the duty rosters composed with marks we may suggest that this scribe may have been the man (perhaps Hori) with whom the author of the ostraca with marks appears to have cooperated.²⁴³ On the other hand it is possible that the ostrakon was reused, and that the hieratic note belongs to an earlier or later text.

Ostraca O. BTdK 545 and O. BTdK 572 are inscribed on the obverse with one and two hieratic names respectively, while the reverse is dedicated to several workmen's marks. There may well be a connection between obverse and reverse, but of what nature is not at all evident.²⁴⁴ On ONL 6737, a connection between the marks and what appears to be a hieratic inscription is very likely, as the inscription was evidently made by a single scribe. However, the text cannot be deciphered because the ink has faded away.

Ostrakon O. Cairo CG 25569 contains a hieratic account of the issuing of wicks. It was attributed to the 20th Dynasty by Černý.²⁴⁵ It is difficult to verify this date, although it is not necessarily incorrect. The text consists of two lines that each begin with a date, followed by the phrase *iw=i swd hbs dbn x*. This formula is not known from other documentary texts and the use of the first person singular is a bit odd. Below the two lines of hieratic there are two lines containing workmen's marks. The lower line is damaged and only a workman's mark is preserved, but left of the two marks in the upper line a hieratic numeral is inscribed. It is possible that this numeral, 8 and 10 respectively, signifies an amount of lamps issued by the scribe of the ostrakon to corresponding workmen. There are similar 20th Dynasty documents

²³⁷ Although McDowell had some reservations, see *Hieratic Ostraca*, 13.

²³⁸ Černý and Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* IV.2, 114; Černý and Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* III.3, pl. CXLIV; Davies, *Who's who*, 50.

²³⁹ Compare also O. Ashmolean HO 68, see below, 4.3.2.3.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Killen and Weiss, 'Markings on objects of daily use', 143-144. See also below, 4.3.3.3.

²⁴¹ A more or less fixed work quota of members of the *smd.t* personnel, see Jac. J. Janssen, 'B3kw: From work to product' *SAK* 20 (1993), 88-90.

²⁴² See also below, p. 394.

²⁴³ See chapter 3, 3.3.11.

²⁴⁴ For O. BTdK 572, see below, p. 373.

²⁴⁵ Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques. Nos. 25501-25832*, 25-26.

that seem to record the distribution of lamps to specific workmen and that were found at the settlement of workmen's huts in the Valley of the Kings.²⁴⁶ On the other hand, the marks below the hieratic text are larger than the hieratic signs. They are inscribed in red ink instead of the black of the hieratic text. It is therefore possible that they were added by another scribe, and they might not be related to the hieratic text at all.

Finally, there is the fascinating case of O. Ashmolean HO 261. The obverse of this ostrakon contains a hieratic text that records the hire of a donkey to the water-carrier *Weserhatnakht* for 11 days, and subsequently the hire of the same donkey to woodcutter *Pa-ib*. The hire of the donkey took place in some month of the *pr.t* season, and it is attributed to the end of the reign of *Ramesses III* or the beginning of the reign of *Ramesses IV* based on the mention of the *smd.t* agents.²⁴⁷ The reverse of the same document might be inscribed with mark \times , referring to *Pentaweret (iv)*. The mark is damaged and the preceding bit is not preserved. Still, it is very plausible that we are dealing here with workmen's marks, because it is inscribed with *sw* dates in the same way that duty rosters composed with marks are. The sign $\uparrow s$ is used for the word *sw* after which a hieratic numeral follows. Obverse and reverse therefore appear to date to the same period. Nevertheless, the reverse does not record a duty roster, as there are no workmen's marks or signs of commodities added to the day numbers. Moreover, the day numbers appear to have been written in descending order, starting with day 25 at the top of the left column and probably ending with day 1 in the right column. As the scribe went along, the sign for *sw* was omitted from day 22 onwards, although it probably reappears for days 3 – 1. The handwriting is very similar to that of the scribe who authored the duty rosters composed with marks, but it is not immediately clear what the purpose of the dates on O. Ashmolean HO 261 is. *Pentaweret (iv)*'s mark is not evidently connected with a *sw* date, and he is not mentioned in what remains of the hieratic text on the reverse. It is therefore unclear if the reverse and the obverse are related. It is very unlikely that the scribe of the duty rosters was the author of the text on the obverse, because it has been demonstrated in chapter 3 that he was not trained as a hieratic scribe. The limited scribal capabilities of this man are underlined by the reverse of O. Ashmolean HO 261, where the numeral 20 is erroneously mirrored in the writing of days 22 – 20. We may therefore propose that the scribe of the reverse enumerated the days of a month independently from the author of the text on the obverse, to count for himself the days on which a donkey was hired to the two *smd.t* agents. If the two texts are indeed related, we note once again that the scribe of the duty roster composed with marks is concerned with matters that belong to the domain of the *smd.t* personnel.

4.3.2.3 Texts related to marks

The relation between the hieratic text and the marks on O. Cairo CG 25660 and O. Cairo JE 37649 has already been discussed, but the facsimile of the piece does not allow a comparison of both hands. We have also seen that on O. Cairo CG 25651, a dated note is concerned with the same month as the duty roster composed with marks, but it is again not possible to determine whether marks and hieratic were made by the same scribe. In the case of ostrakon O. Ashmolean HO 68 that does seem very likely. The obverse of the document records an oath by *Neferher*, promising he will pay back *Bakenwerel* for a metal vessel he had given him, while the reverse is inscribed with two neat and elaborate workmen's marks: \uparrow for *Bakenwerel (vii)* and $\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$ for *Neferher (vi)*. The scribe may have written the marks on the back of the ostrakon as a summary of its content, facilitating him in retrieving the document from his archive.

²⁴⁶ O. BTdK 643 – 645.

²⁴⁷ As kindly suggested by Kathrin Gabler, personal communication, 2014.

Ostrakon O. Cairo CG 25315 is inscribed with hieratic and with marks as well. The obverse of the ostrakon displays two columns of marks. Left of each mark a hieratic numeral, or a combination of a numeral and a number of dots is written. Although the ostrakon is rather effaced, the recognisable marks can be dated to the second half of the 20th Dynasty. The reverse of the same piece is inscribed with nine lines of hieratic text comprising a somewhat disorganised account. Several parts of the text are illegible, but in lines 6-11 we can decipher amongst other things:

[...] doorkeeper [...]
 [...] the Divine Offering [...]
 [...]
 Right side, total: 161 *khar* ½
 Left side: 150 *khar* ½
 Total: 311 *khar* ½

We are evidently dealing with an account of the distribution of grain rations. In fact, the mention of a doorkeeper and the Divine Offering²⁴⁸ as the recipients of grain rations dates the text to the 20th Dynasty. Other such accounts often list the recipients in a meaningful order, beginning with the foremen of the crew, followed by the scribe and the workmen, and sometimes other groups such as slaves and youths.²⁴⁹ The doorkeeper and the Divine Offering are frequently listed near the end of these lists, and in exactly this order they are attested on five papyri dating to the reigns of Ramesses IX and Ramesses XI.²⁵⁰

Apart from its date, the significance of this ostrakon lies in the relation between the obverse and the reverse. It is more than probable that the numerals written behind the workmen's marks on the obverse are to be interpreted as amounts measured in *khar*, and the dots as amounts of *oipe*, as in hieratic script. The obverse is thus an overview of the distribution of grain among the workmen, and should be read in the following way:

[...] 4 <i>khar</i>	⊕ 5 <i>khar</i> ½
⊕ 4 <i>khar</i>	⊗ 5 <i>khar</i> ½
⊕ 2 <i>khar</i>	[...] 5 <i>khar</i> ½
⊕ 4 <i>khar</i>	[...]
⊕ 6 <i>khar</i>	[...]
⊕ 2 <i>khar</i>	[...]
⊕ 2 <i>khar</i>	[...]
± 2 <i>khar</i>	[...] 5 <i>khar</i>

²⁴⁸ Probably an amount of grain that was offered to one or more divinities in the local cults of Deir el-Medina, compare e.g. Haring, *Divine Households*, 32, n. 4.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Donker van Heel, 'Drafts', 23.

²⁵⁰ P. Turin Cat. 2002+ vso. I (Ramesses IX); P. Turin Cat. 1906+ rto. III (Ramesses IX / XI); P. Turin Cat. 2071+ vso. I (Ramesses IX); P. Turin Cat. 1932+ rto. II (Ramesses IX); P. Turin Cat. 2018+ rto. A II; A III; A IV; C I; C III (Ramesses XI). Cf. above, 4.2.19.

𐀀 1 <i>khar</i> ½	𐀁 5 <i>khar</i>
𐀂 1 <i>khar</i> ½	𐀃 5 <i>khar</i>
𐀄 5 <i>khar</i>	𐀅 5 <i>khar</i>
- 1 <i>khar</i> ½	𐀆 5 <i>khar</i>
	[...] 𐀇 4 <i>khar</i>

Accounts of grain ration distributions from the 20th Dynasty usually do not list the names of the individual workmen, but record them as a group: “the workmen”. There are nevertheless examples of accounts that do enumerate the members of the crew separately.²⁵¹ This may have been done when the rations differed greatly per individual, as is the case on the obverse of O. Cairo CG 25315. The reverse of the ostrakon recapitulates this account in hieratic and adds details about other destinations for the rations of grain, such as the doorkeeper and the Divine Offering. The hieratic numerals next to the workmen’s marks on the obverse are written in red ink, as is the hieratic account on the reverse. There is therefore no reason to think that obverse and reverse were not written by one and the same individual.

A somewhat similar ostrakon is ONL 6539, inscribed in hieratic on the obverse with an account of a payment of various wooden objects to the draughtsman Hormin. On the reverse we find several workmen’s marks, again connected with a numeral and a group of dots each. At a first glance it would seem plausible that in analogy with O. Cairo CG 25315, these numerals and the dots are amounts measured in *khar* and *oipe*. This interpretation had been suggested by Killen and Weiss, who considered the possibility that the obverse, an account of the payment in quantities of barley to workmen involved in the construction of furniture, was connected with the workmen’s marks on the reverse.²⁵² A closer inspection of the dots on the reverse however reveals that they cannot represent *oipe*. Most marks are accompanied by four dots and one by up to six dots. In contrast, dots that represent *oipe* occur only in ones, twos and threes because one *oipe* equals a quarter of a *khar*.²⁵³ Four dots cannot represent four *oipe*, since that would amount to one *khar*, which are always signified by hieratic numerals. The meaning of the combination of hieratic numerals and dots on ONL 6539 is thus unfortunately unclear, and the marks on the reverse may not be related to the text on the obverse at all.

The hieratic line inscribed on the obverse of O. BTdK 546 is partially legible: “those who have received fr[om ...]”. The reverse is inscribed in black ink with six marks of workmen of the right side of the crew. A red dot, perhaps a check mark, is added to each one of the marks. The marks are written in an elegant hand that definitely belonged to a trained scribe. It is therefore well possible that obverse and reverse are related, which would mean that the workmen on the reverse were the recipients of the transaction alluded to on the obverse.

ONL 411 presents a difficult example. It contains a fragmentary hieratic name list, which mentions a Paqarer, a Pashedu, perhaps a Qenherkhapshef, and a Neferhotep. The other names are no longer recognisable. The first name is rather unusual, and appears to belong to an individual who is recorded in four other instances.²⁵⁴ Three of these texts were dated to the

²⁵¹ E.g. P. Turin Cat. 1906+ rto. I (Ramesses IX, year 7, III *sh.t*).

²⁵² Killen and Weiss, ‘Markings on objects’, 141.

²⁵³ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 109-111.

²⁵⁴ O. Ashmolean HO 274; O. Cairo JE 72472; O. DeM 256; P. Turin Cat. 2014.

20th Dynasty, and a fourth one as late as the 21st Dynasty. As was established earlier, the column of marks on ONL 411 is a list of workmen of the left side of the crew that is datable to the reign of Ramesses IX. It is therefore plausible that the hieratic name list and the list of workmen's marks were inscribed at the same moment. Another very fragmentary name list written in hieratic during the time of Ramesses X²⁵⁵ might be related to the hieratic name list on ONL 411, because it includes a Pashedu, son of Hori, as well as two different workmen called Neferhotep. As in ONL 411, there are eight names between Pashedu and Neferhotep son of Buqentuef. On the other hand, it does not mention Paqerer or Qenherkhopshef. Regardless, the list of workmen's marks and the hieratic name list on ONL 411 could well be of the same date, and it is more than likely that they relate to the same group of persons, i.e. the left side of the crew. However, it appears that the marks that are preserved on this piece do not correspond to the names in the hieratic list. It is even unsure if the marks and the hieratic were written by one and the same scribe as the marks, which are larger than the hieratic signs, are inscribed in a red ink while the hieratic text is written in black.

4.3.2.4 Marks incorporated in hieratic text

There are instances in which one or more workmen's marks were incorporated in hieratic texts. The presence of such marks is highly uncertain in some of these documents.²⁵⁶ In four other instances the marks added to a hieratic ostrakon are clearly related to the content of the text. It should perhaps not come as a surprise that these four ostraca are all hieratic duty and delivery texts from the beginning of the reign of Ramesses III, the time when a hieratic scribe and a scribe employing a system of marks and ancillary signs both composed administrative records of the same topic. Moreover, we recognise the hand of a hieratic scribe on the ostraca with marks, suggesting the author of the ostraca with marks was in contact with at least one hieratic scribe. The four hieratic ostraca that were also inscribed with identity marks are O. DeM 32, O. DeM 34+, O. DeM 150+ and O. Glasgow D. 1925.67. They all date between years 25 and 27 of the reign of Ramesses III. Moreover, they were all most likely written by the same scribe and possibly kept in his archive.²⁵⁷

The most evident example is O. Glasgow D. 1925.67, a hieratic journal text that records the duty roster and deliveries for year 25, II *pr.t* in the reign of Ramesses III. The marks at the top of the obverse record deliveries for days 9 and 10 of that very month and perhaps day 20 of the preceding month. Marks and hieratic text thus deal with the same subject matter.

The marks added just above the first hieratic line of O. DeM 32, a journal text recording the duty roster and deliveries for year 25, IV *šmw*, may be explained in a similar fashion. We find mark 𐎃 for Khaemwaset (iii) accompanied by the numeral '350' and mark 𐎄 for Nakhtmin (vi) with numeral '750'. The position of these two marks at the top of the ostrakon is significant. Nakhtmin's *wrš* duty took place on the first day of IV *šmw*, as is recorded in the first hieratic line of O. DeM 32. Khaemwaset had thus been on duty on the last day of the previous month. The marks and numerals above the hieratic account of O. DeM 32 may therefore somehow refer to events that took place in the previous month, before O. DeM 32 was written: '350' may be the quantity of wood received on III *šmw* day 30 by

²⁵⁵ P. Turin Cat. 1932+ vso.

²⁵⁶ The narrow edge of O. Ashmolean HO 4 is inscribed with a few signs: the group reading *imn* and the sign for *hꜥp*, both attested as workmen's marks in the 20th Dynasty, but here probably added as a summary of the document's subject matter, which involves the oracle of the deified Amenhotep (for this practice compare O. Ashmolean HO 68 and perhaps also O. Glasgow D. 1925.72); O. BM EA 5643 is a hieratic account written on a piece of pottery that is incised with a workman's mark, which is most likely not related to the text; O. Turin N. 57508: an account of commodities including flax; the sign 𐎃 may instead be a determinative or an ideogram for the word 'flower'.

²⁵⁷ Donker van Heel, 'Individual handwritings', 74, n. 135.

Khaemwaset. The amount of ‘750’ could perhaps be wood brought to Khaemwaset on IV *šmw* day 1, although the hieratic line on O. DeM 32 records a much higher amount for the wood delivery of that day. We may therefore assume that the batch of wood for day 1 was delivered in two instances, and the ‘750’ at the top of the ostrakon records the earlier batch. Such an interpretation is not unthinkable, because it was a habit of this hieratic scribe to record information about the end of the previous month at the beginning of a new month record.²⁵⁸ The hieratic scribe would then have to be the person who noted down these identity marks, and indeed, the marks are clearly not written in the hand that produced the numerous duty rosters composed with marks.

It is not clear whether the marks on O. DeM 34+ were written by the same scribe who wrote down the hieratic account, as the handwriting is somewhat reminiscent of the scribe of the duty rosters with marks. The marks on O. DeM 34+ are related to the hieratic text in the sense that they too deal with workmen of the right side. Each mark is accompanied by a hieratic numeral:

𐀀 100	𐀀 100	
	𐀀 50 (?)	𐀀 50
𐀀 100	𐀀 50	

The marks belong to the workmen Pentaweret (iv), Mose (iv), Kasa (v/vi), Nakhemmut (vi) and Hori (ii) = (iii), but the reading of mark 𐀀 for the foreman of the right side is uncertain.²⁵⁹ The data recorded by these marks and numerals is not evidently related to the content of the hieratic text on O. DeM 34+. Moreover, the marks are not listed according to their position in the duty roster. They are therefore more likely an additional section to the hieratic account. The quantities mentioned in this section are comparable to those in the lists of O. Cairo JE 96328 and O. Berlin P 10842.

In O. DeM 150+, mark 𐀀 of Amenemope (x) and the numeral 60 are written next to an account of deliveries and deficits of wood in year 26. The meaning of this note is not immediately clear, as are the brief hieratic remarks beneath the mark. Lines 6a and 7a²⁶⁰ are encircled and attached to a line that is directed to the beginning of line 10. These lines seem to indicate that the encircled section was added to the entry written in line 10, and thus the line with the marks below should be interpreted as a later addition as well. In lines 4a and 5a we read:

𐀀	𐀀𐀀
𐀀	𐀀𐀀
𐀀	𐀀𐀀
𐀀	𐀀𐀀

Since the deliveries mentioned in the hieratic account were all made on day 10, 20 or 30, we should perhaps interpret sign 𐀀 as a reference to the last day of the month, as in the duty rosters composed with marks. Line 5a would then read ‘1200, day 30, deficit’. This does not explain the mark of Amenemope (x) above the entry, because he was not scheduled for *wrš* duty on day 30 during year 26 of Ramesses III. The inscription thus remains problematic. It is nevertheless clear that it was written by the same scribe who wrote the rest of O. DeM 150+, and not by the scribe of the duty rosters with marks. The hieratic scribe may have resorted to

²⁵⁸ Donker van Heel, ‘Individual handwritings’, 76-77.

²⁵⁹ It was transcribed by Černý as a bird-shaped sign, but the sign is probably not identifiable as 𐀀, which is mentioned further down.

²⁶⁰ See Jaroslav Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. II. Nos. 114 à 189. DFIFAO 4 (Cairo 1937), pl. 24.

the usage of marks to quickly add a brief note to his hieratic text, but switched to hieratic in line 6a when he needed to note down more complex information.

4.3.2.5 Hieratic text added to marks

O. DeM 264 is inscribed with a hieratic name and two columns of workmen's marks, each of which is connected with the hieratic numeral '5'. Although the ostrakon is not very detailed, we are able to interpret it quite well. As we have seen²⁶¹ the document dates probably to the reign of Ramesses IX. In all probability, the Pased mentioned in O. DeM 264 is the gardener Pased, who is recorded in documents from the reign of Ramesses IX.²⁶² This gardener occurs also in O. Černý 22, a document that was attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV²⁶³, Ramesses V²⁶⁴ or possibly a later king.²⁶⁵ Interestingly, this hieratic document records the delivery of bundles of vegetables to the crew by various gardeners, amongst whom Pased is mentioned. The hieratic ostrakon presents a hierarchical list of the different groups of the crew that begins with a foreman, a scribe, presumably the workmen of the right side and then those of the left side, followed by the 'boys'. We read that the foreman receives 10 bundles, while the scribe and each workman receives five bundles. O. Černý 22 thus records similar information as O. DeM 264: in the latter ostrakon, the name of the gardener Pased at the head of the document suggests that the ostrakon is connected with the delivery of vegetables. Just as in O. Černý 22, the individuals are listed in a hierarchical order, and each workman receives five bundles. The difference between O. DeM 264 and O. Černý 22 is that the former document enumerates the individual members of the crew, whereas O. Černý 22 lists the recipients in categories of men, as is the custom in contemporary hieratic texts. O. DeM 264 is exceptional as it deals with only seven workmen, while hieratic documents are concerned with the entire crew. It might record a special delivery of vegetables, as we observe that the foreman of the crew collects just as many bundles as the six workmen. Moreover, while the men referred to on O. DeM 264 are recorded in an ordered list, the scribe of the tomb is omitted after the mark of the foreman. Obviously, O. DeM 264 is also different from O. Černý 22 in that it is inscribed with workmen's marks. It is however very likely that O. DeM 264 was written by a scribe who was well acquainted with hieratic script, as evidence by his writing of the name of Pased as well as the workmen's marks that clearly betray a hieratic hand.

On O. DeM 10121 we also find a combination of hieratic names and workmen's marks. The shapes and the size of the marks indicate that they were made by the same hand that wrote the hieratic lines. In the right column, four workmen's marks are inscribed beneath each hieratic name, while in the left column only two workmen's marks follow below the hieratic name. Groups of names and marks are separated from each other by a horizontal dividing line. Notably, all workmen belong to the left side. The grouping of these workmen is unclear. The presence in this ostrakon of mark $\overset{\circ}{\text{f}}$ on the left side of the crew suggests that it predates the reign of Ramesses IX. Although the marks in the first group of O. DeM 10121 are reminiscent of the sequence of for example ARTP 99/27 (positions 7, 15, 8 and 19), marks $\overline{\text{T}}$, C and D are attested in the same subsequent order on later ostraca O. Cairo JE 96614 and O. Turin N. 57008. Other than these marks, the sequence of O. DeM 10121 does not adhere very strictly to any of the ordered lists from the 20th Dynasty. Moving on to the hieratic names, we struggle to identify some of the mentioned individuals. A Huy, son of Nes[...] is apparently not elsewhere attested, while the names of Amenhotep and Wennefer are extremely common at Deir el-Medina. The name [...]tahut can probably be completed to

²⁶¹ See above, 4.2.3.

²⁶² P. Turin Cat. 1900+; P. Turin Cat. 1999+.

²⁶³ Gutgesell, *Die Datierung I*, 260; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 365.

²⁶⁴ *KRI VII*, 353-354.

²⁶⁵ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 137, n. 19.

Panakhtemtahut, attested as a fisherman²⁶⁶ in the reign of Ramesses XI. He might well be the same person as Pentahutnakht,²⁶⁷ a fisherman who is recorded on P. Turin Cat. 1898+. The last name is Pa-‘aemtainet. Several men of that name are known as members of the *smd.t* crew, and are recorded delivering wood²⁶⁸ and grain²⁶⁹ and water,²⁷⁰ but also pottery.²⁷¹ The hieratic writing of *smd.t* agents is analogous to O. DeM 264, and it is therefore probable that the other names on O. DeM 10121 are *smd.t* members as well. In contrast to O. DeM 264, however, it is not immediately clear what is recorded on O. DeM 10121. First of all, it appears that the *smd.t* agents do not belong to one clear category, say woodcutters. Moreover, no numerals are added next to the workmen’s marks, and thus it seems that this ostrakon does not record deliveries by *smd.t* agents to groups of workmen. But it is not evident what it does record. The group consisting of C^{Q} and D^{S} is the only meaningful one as Menna (i) is the father of Merysekhmet (iii), but other workmen do not seem to be related. Hence, one may speculate that the workmen listed here are the representatives of different households of the left side of the crew, and that the *smd.t* members associated with them were responsible for deliveries to these households. This explanation is still very unsatisfactory, because nothing on O. DeM 10121 explicitly refers to any sort of delivery.

A very similar case is O. OIM 19215. The ostrakon is headed by the hieratic writing of a name, followed by seven workmen’s marks. It was evidently written by a single well trained hieratic scribe. The name at the top of the ostrakon is that of Ikhemnetef. This is a very obscure individual who is probably attested in three different sources from the middle of the 20th Dynasty, although there his name is spelled as Ikhnetef or Ikhnetef. Only O. IFAO 860 offers some context. This document consists of nothing more than the name of Ikhemnetef and that of an Iuferikh. The latter individual is probably a *smd.t* agent who is recorded delivering wood and as a water-carrier.²⁷² We are unaware of any further attestations of Ikhnetef. He is nowhere attested as a workman, and his occurrence together with Iuferikh suggests that he may have been a rarely mentioned *smd.t* agent as well. In analogy with O. DeM 264 and O. DeM 10121, his mention on O. OIM 19215 in this capacity is not implausible. Yet again, the purpose of the ostrakon is not clear. In this instance, the workmen belong to the right side of the crew. They are recorded according to their relative position in the ordered lists from the reigns of Ramesses IV and V, and the workmen are not family members. Apart from these facts we are, as in the case of O. DeM 10121, left in the dark regarding the meaning of the document, and we can only propose that Ikhnetef was responsible for the delivery of goods to these workmen of the right side and perhaps their families. It can be pointed out that ostrakon O. OIM 19215 as well as the previous two ostraca O. DeM 264 and O. DeM 10121 are similar to a number of hieratic ostraca from the first half of the 20th Dynasty, which are headed by the name of a water-carrier, after which a list of workmen follows.²⁷³ The purpose of such lists was never commented on, but it is conceivable that they record that water deliveries were to be made to the workmen listed on such documents.

²⁶⁶ P. Turin Cat. 1895+.

²⁶⁷ As kindly suggested by Kathrin Gabler, personal communication, 2014.

²⁶⁸ O. DeM 409.

²⁶⁹ O. Ashmolean HO 203.

²⁷⁰ O. Ashmolean HO 104; probably also O. Gardiner AG 90, see Janssen, *Donkeys at Deir el-Medīna*, 29.

²⁷¹ O. Berlin P 12343.

²⁷² O. DeM 557; O. DeM 631; O. DeM 958; P. Turin Cat. 1880. The (amusing) names of both men – *ih-ntf*, literally ‘What-is-he?’; and *iw=f-r-ih*, ‘What-will-he-be?’ – are so similar that it is likely that they belong to a father and his son, as kindly suggested by Ben Haring.

²⁷³ E.g. O. DeM 262; O. DeM 415; O. DeM 709; O. Turin N. 57447; compare also O. DeM 10003.

The fact that in the previous three ostraca no identity marks are used for *smd.t* agents suggests that no such marks were employed by members of the *smd.t* personnel, or that they were unknown to the scribes of these ostraca. These three documents stand therefore in contrast to the duty rosters composed with marks. The scribe of these ostraca did use marks, or rather abbreviations, to refer to *smd.t* agents. The variability of these designations (𓆎 and 𓆏; 𓆑 and 𓆒) combined with the fact that almost all of the designations contain simple signs that can be read suggests that they were invented by the scribe of the ostraca, rather than that they were true identity marks used by the members of the *smd.t* personnel themselves. This in turn might be another indication that the scribe of the duty rosters with marks was not fully literate, because his method diverges from scribes who are capable of writing hieratic.

A rather different case is that of ONL 6462. This ostrakon contains an ordered list of marks of workmen of the right side of the crew, but to the left of this list a date has been added in hieratic that seems to read *rnp.t-sp* 22. The shapes of the workmen's marks suggest that the ostrakon was in all probability made by the same man who created the duty rosters with marks.²⁷⁴ As we saw earlier there are clear indications that he was not well trained in writing hieratic, but he is known to have added year numbers to his documents. Therefore this ostrakon was probably entirely written by him. The meaning of the document is unclear.

A hieratic word was also added to ONL 6220, which contains the identity marks of six workmen of the right side of the crew and the word *mrḥ.t* 'oil'. Apart perhaps from mark 𓆑, the other marks display a hieratic ductus, which makes it likely that the ostrakon was written by one and the same scribe. A single dot was added to each mark. The ostrakon might therefore be a list of workmen who received portions of oil. Similar hieratic accounts from the 20th Dynasty are ostraca O. DeM 1872 reverse and O. IFAO 321.

ONL 6576 was also probably made by a single scribe. It contains a group of workmen's marks that are faintly inscribed with charcoal. In what is certainly the same hand a drawing of a man's head and shoulders were added to the lower part of the ostrakon, as well as an inscription in hieratic that reads: '20 men [of the crew ?] Sennedjem'. Perhaps the numeral 20 is to be read separately, leaving *rmṯ* <*n*> [*t3 is.t*] as the title of the name Sennedjem. Alternatively the numeral may refer to the number of workmen's marks, but only 14 marks are clearly recognisable (taking the double flower as a single mark). Since the ostrakon is dated to the second half of the 20th Dynasty, the Sennedjem mentioned in the text is perhaps an early attestation of Pasennedjem (i), who was indeed a regular workman.²⁷⁵

Hieratic is furthermore incorporated in a few of the duty rosters composed with marks. The most straightforward example of this is ONL 300+ discussed in chapter 3.²⁷⁶ A hieratic scribe began composing the duty roster and added hieratic entries recording the distribution of goods for some of the days. The rest of the duty roster was made by the 'marks scribe' who normally authored such documents. In O. Glasgow D. 1925.80, a duty roster from the reign of Ramesses V, a brief hieratic inscription seems to have been added to day 30, but the ostrakon is not preserved well enough to confirm this or to decipher it.²⁷⁷ This short inscription could well have been the work of a hieratic scribe, as the shape of the sign for wood diverges significantly from the other signs on the ostrakon. Another document, ONL 1639, contains elements of duty rosters with marks but may have been another type of document. Its fragmentary state makes it difficult to determine what is recorded on the ostrakon, but besides several hieratic numerals, *sw* dates (not connected with marks), and individual workmen's marks, the left side of the ostrakon is inscribed with a fragmentary hieratic line, of which the

²⁷⁴ See below, 3.2.3.1.

²⁷⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 231.

²⁷⁶ See chapter 3, 3.3.11.

²⁷⁷ One is tempted to read after 'wood, 480' the hieratic elements for *nmt.t*, as day 30 was the day on which Wesekhmet performed his *wrš* duty, but the reading of the other elements is unclear.

first elements seem to read ‘total: wood [...]’. Apart from this hieratic text, the handwriting of the ostrakon would seem to be that of the man who wrote the duty rosters with marks, and it is therefore very unlikely that he wrote the hieratic line as well.

A more elaborate document with both workmen’s marks and hieratic writing is O. OIM MH 2666. Reverse and obverse are inscribed with a hieratic account:

Obverse

<i>ḥ.t nh.t</i>	<i>ḥ3r</i> 1		
<i>ḥnw</i>	<i>ḥ3r</i> 1	<i>tb.ty</i> (?)	
[...]	<i>[ip.t]</i> 2 (?)	<i>nb-nfr</i>	<i>ip.t</i> 1 (?)
[...]ty... (?)	<i>ip.t</i> 2	<i>ḥw.t.y</i>	<i>it ip.t</i> 1

it ḥ3r 1 *ir.n* 8*it ḥ3r* 1*it ip.t* 1*it ip.t* 2

Sycamore wood	1 <i>khar</i>		
Plants	1 <i>khar</i>	2 sandals (?)	
[...]	2 <i>oipe</i> (?)	Nebnefer	1 <i>oipe</i> (?)
[...]	2 <i>oipe</i>	Hutiya	grain 1 <i>oipe</i>

Grain 1 *khar* makes 8Grain 1 *khar*Grain 1 *oipe*Grain 2 *oipe*Reverse

[...]			
<i>idn.w imn-nḥ.t it ip.t</i> 2		<i>idn.w imn-nḥ.t it ip.t</i> [1] (?)	
<i>t3-ḥfn.w it ip.t</i> 2		<i>idn.w imn-nḥ.t</i> [...]	
<i>[id]n.w imn-nḥ.t it ḥ3r</i> 1 <i>ip.t</i> 2 <i>it bd.t ḥ3r</i> 1			
<i>idn.w imn-nḥ.t it ḥ3r</i> 1		<i>ir.n ḥ3r</i> 9 <i>ip.t</i> 3	
<i>t3-ḥfn.w it ip.t</i> 2		<i>it <ḥ3r></i> 1	10; 3 (?)
<i>idn.w imn-nḥ.t <ḥ3r></i> 1		<i>ir(i).n</i>	
		13 (?)	

[...]

Deputy Amennakht: grain: 2 *oipe*Deputy Amennakht: grain: 1 *oipe* (?)Tahefnu: grain: 2 *oipe*











Deputy Amennakht [...]








Deputy Amennakht: grain: 1 *khar*, 1 *oipe*; emmer: 1 *khar*Deputy Amennakht: grain: 1 *khar*Makes 9 *khar*, 3 *oipe*Tahefnu: grain: 2 *oipe*Grain: 1 *khar* 10; 3Deputy Amennakht: 1 *khar*

Makes [sic]

13 (?)

On the basis of the individuals recorded in the document we can date the ostrakon to the later part of the 20th Dynasty. The deputy Amennakht is straightforwardly identified as Amennakht (xii), who was the husband of the woman recorded in the same document, Tahefnu (i). The

individuals on the obverse are the brother of Amennakht (xii), Nebnefer (vii) and his wife Hutiyi (i).²⁷⁸ The hieratic account appears to record private transactions related to these persons, but the ostracon records more details. Left of the hieratic text on the obverse we find the workman's mark  inscribed next to what appears to be a depiction of a cloth with fringes on one side. Below it is perhaps another effaced mark as well as a depiction of a bed with a neck support, with underneath it mark  and the word *psš* 'distribution'. The last line seems to contain workmen's marks and simple hieratic signs:     . The most probable interpretation of this line is: workman  causes/gives the work²⁷⁹ of workmen  and .²⁸⁰ What the exact relation is between the hieratic text, the depictions of items and the semi-hieratic inscription is not clear. Perhaps workmen are here put to work to craft or decorate furniture, for which they are subsequently paid.²⁸¹

The ostraca discussed so far in this section are all documents composed with marks, to which some phrases or words written in hieratic were added. But there also exist ostraca in which hieratic and marks are completely interwoven. A fascinating example is O. Brooklyn 16118+, which display a roster on both obverse and reverse with multiple cells containing depictions of items of furniture and of commodities, identity marks, as well as hieratic captions. We recognise some of the same elements as in the previous ostracon, including the word *psš* 'distribution', as well as the sign . In fact, the handwriting of both ostraca is so similar that they must have been made by the same scribe. The date of O. Brooklyn 16118+ certainly would not refute that, because like O. OIM MH 2666 it dates to end of the 20th Dynasty.²⁸² The top of the obverse displays a depiction of a chest, probably accompanied by a workman's mark that is almost completely lost. Below it is a depiction of (the upper part of ?) a coffin. Left of both items a piece of cloth with fringes on the upper and right side is depicted. It appears that like the cloth on O. OIM MH 2666, a brief hieratic inscription was added inside of the cloth, but damage to the ostracon prevents us from reading it. The three cells below contain, from right to left: a cursive hieroglyphic group reading *psš* 'distribution', a depiction of a man bending over to fold or to manufacture a mat made of palm fibres²⁸³ accompanied by mark , and a depiction of a man holding a vessel hanging from a handle probably accompanied by mark . In the register below, we observe in the rightmost cell an object that resembles the wooden, mushroom-shaped tools that might have been used in the process of sanding down surfaces.²⁸⁴ In the adjacent cell a brush has been depicted²⁸⁵ next to mark , and to the far left we notice a depiction of a bed with head rest and mark . The lower section of the ostracon displays a table consisting of four columns and four rows. Two columns are filled with depictions of fish: *in(t)*, *Tilapia*²⁸⁶ on the left and *whꜥ*, *Synodontis* (schall)²⁸⁷ on the right. Left of each depicted fish is a cell with hieratic – but incorrectly orientated – sign  *fꜣi* over a hieratic group consisting of the signs . In combination with the depiction of fish, the word *fꜣi* is here most likely not the verb 'to carry', but the noun 'weight'.²⁸⁸ The group below it contains the sign for *is(y)*, another word for weight,²⁸⁹ but

²⁷⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, chart 8.

²⁷⁹ For another interpretation of this sign, here read as *kꜣ.t*, see below, O. Brooklyn 16118+.

²⁸⁰ The identification of the latter workman's mark is highly uncertain.

²⁸¹ As such the document is perhaps similar to the 'furniture ostraca' discussed below, 4.3.3.3.

²⁸² See above, 4.2.15.

²⁸³ For actual mats from Deir el-Medina see e.g. Louvre Inv. E 14446, Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes*, 94, nr. 26.

²⁸⁴ See e.g. Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes*, 199, nr. 147 a-e.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes*, 96, nr. 30 and fig. on p. 94.

²⁸⁶ Perhaps *Tilapia zillii*, a common type of fish at Deir el-Medina, see Janssen, *Village Varia*, 49-50.

²⁸⁷ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 49; perhaps also called *sꜣr* on weights, see Janssen, *Village Varia*, 49, n. 90; Jaroslav Černý, 'Deux noms de poisson du Nouvel Empire' *BIFAO* 37 (1937), 35-37, figs. 1-3.

²⁸⁸ Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 3-6.

here apparently used together.²⁹⁰ The *n* below it forms the indirect genitive, undoubtedly connected with the workmen's marks that were once inscribed left of these hieratic sign groups but appear to have been erased. Traces of mark 𓆎 are still visible in the third row. Inside each depicted fish a hieratic sign is added. In the two upper rows, that sign is 𓆎 or 𓆏 for *wꜣd* 'fresh', 'raw'.²⁹¹ At least one fish in the third row is inscribed with sign 𓆐 , presumably for *sšr* 'dried',²⁹² which is apparently distinguished from fish in the lower row that is marked with sign 𓆑 for *šw* 'dried (in the sun?)'.²⁹³ Together, the depictions, signs and marks can be understood to mean "Tilapia / *Barbus bynni* fish, fresh / dried, in the amount of the weight of workman X".²⁹⁴ Below this table traces of another fish are visible, as is another instance of the sign 𓆒 . Fragment O. Ashmolean HO 1131 most probably fits to the bottom of the Brooklyn fragment, and contains two more fragmentary depictions of fish, and of an unclear object.

The reverse of Brooklyn 16118+ appears to be divided into a right and a left section. Several of the cells on the left half appear to have contained workmen's marks that have been deliberately erased and are unrecognisable. The cells in the leftmost column each seem to contain a particular product, some of which are written within a more or less square-shaped container. The first legible product is *bi.t* 'honey', correctly but rather summarily written with sign 𓆓 .²⁹⁵ The hieratic inscription one cell below it reads *mrh.t* 'oil'.²⁹⁶ One cell below that we can probably make out the hieratic spelling for *smi* 'curd'.²⁹⁷ The two lowermost cells of the column contain depictions of vessels that are found on the right half of the ostrakon as well. The lower one is a large amphora that seems to be inscribed with a now much faded hieratic caption. At the top of the right side of the ostrakon a hide is depicted.²⁹⁸ Below it we see half of a rectangular shape that is damaged. Inside the depiction part of a hieratic inscription is still preserved, and in the light of the hide above it, we may tentatively read the traces as *msti* 'leather basket'.²⁹⁹ The object is accompanied by mark 𓆔 . The two cells below it each contain a depiction of a kid or a goat, both with a different hieratic caption written over it, and one accompanied by mark 𓆕 . The lower inscription is too damaged to read, the upper inscription ends in signs *r* and *n*. Perhaps the word *rn*, usually followed by a noun and used to describe a young animal,³⁰⁰ was here added as a specification of the figure of the animal. In the next cell a goose is depicted, and the 𓆖 sign above it may indicate that a live goose is meant. Below it is a cell with a depiction of an amphora, inscribed with an odd spelling 𓆗

²⁸⁹ Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 6-7.

²⁹⁰ Although the words are apparently never attested together, W. DeM 5202 would suggest the words are used interchangeably, see Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 6, n. 9.

²⁹¹ WB I, 265, 11; Janssen, *Village Varia*, 48.

²⁹² WB IV, 295, 9.

²⁹³ WB IV, 429, 10; Janssen, *Village Varia*, 48.

²⁹⁴ Compare formulae *fꜣ (n) object n X*; *isy (n) object n X*; Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 6; 7; and see e.g. W. DeM 5219: *isy n sd-ḥwti n qnnꜣ*, 'Weight of *sd-ḥwti*-fish of Qenna'.

²⁹⁵ WB I, 434, 6; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 352-353.


²⁹⁶ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 333-336. Fragmentary ostrakon O. DeM 731 is also inscribed in hieratic with the word *mrh.t* within a very similar rectangular container. It was tentatively interpreted as a countermark by Pierre Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Dêr el-Médîneh VIII. Nos. 706-830*. DFIFAO 39 (Cairo 2000), 5 and 29, but it may have been part of a larger ostrakon such as O. Brooklyn 16118+.


²⁹⁷ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 353-355.





²⁹⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 398-400.





²⁹⁹ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 403-404; perhaps this ostrakon finally sheds some light on the question as to what such a basket may have looked like?




³⁰⁰ WB II, 429, 1.


for the word *irp* ‘wine’.³⁰¹ In the column right of it an object is depicted that resembles hieroglyph , a bundle of reeds.³⁰² Records from Deir el-Medina do make mention of *isr* reed,³⁰³ and perhaps the depiction refers to this commodity. The *nfr* sign written inside the depiction may refer to the quality of the reed.³⁰⁴ To the far right of the reverse three more objects are depicted. We find a round vessel in the middle cell,³⁰⁵ above what seems to be an architectural element, and below it an unidentified object.





Workmen’s marks are marvellously combined with hieratic numerals, signs and sign groups in ONL 1371. The ostrakon, evidently written by a single scribe, contains a list of workmen represented by their identity marks. Although the list, which is not preserved in its entirety, starts with  for the chief workman of the right side of the crew, the other marks are not mentioned according to a known ordered sequence. On the contrary, the list intermingles members of the right and of the left side of the crew. Apart from identity marks, the ostrakon is inscribed in hieratic, and we can read the words such as ‘meat’, ‘*mḥ*-dish’,³⁰⁶ ‘white bread’,³⁰⁷ ‘*kk*-bread’,³⁰⁸ and perhaps ‘flowers’. The occurrence of such items in combination with a large group of different individuals clearly classifies the ostrakon as a list of gifts, well known from the 20th Dynasty.³⁰⁹ Yet, because of the abbreviated nature of the phrasing in this document it still holds many riddles.





For example, the meaning of one very frequent sign, , escapes us. It cannot be the hieratic sign for , perhaps for *rdi* ‘to give’, because in line 7 it appears after  (an identity mark or a reference to a live bird?) and in front of a workman’s mark. Neither can it be the sign  for *s3* ‘son’, because in line 2 it is situated between a workman’s mark and the word for ‘meat’. Other signs and sign groups are also problematic, but we are able to decipher the ostrakon to a great extent:





  1;  2 []?






 , meat: 1 *mḥ*-dish;  10


 white bread: 1





 white bread: 2;  white bread: 1;  []?





 ;  white bread: 1;  white bread: 1






 *kk*-bread: 1;  white bread: 1;  



 white bread: 10, ;  (?) , flowers: 4 (?), 

 20, meat: 1 *mḥ*-dish

 white bread: 1;  *kk*-bread: 1,  20,  10, flowers: 1 (?)

 white bread: 1;  , meat: 1 *mḥ*-dish;  white bread: 1; [?] white br[ead ...]


 ;  white bread: 1;  

 white bread ; half of a white bread 1

³⁰¹ WB I, 115, 5-8.



³⁰² Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. (Oxford 1957) 484, sign M 40.

³⁰³ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 365.

³⁰⁴ Alternatively, but less likely due to the addition of the *nfr* sign,  may be a reference to a particular category of clothing called *isw* ‘(old) rags’, see Jac. J. Janssen, *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medina. Words for Clothing*. GHPE 8 (London 2008), 71-72.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Nagel, *La céramique*, 38, nr. 19 and fig. 25; Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 81, fig. 52, top centre.

³⁰⁶ WB II, 126, 13

³⁰⁷ For the spelling of this word see WB III, 210, 8; Janssen, *Egyptian Ship’s Logs*, 22-23; note however that scribe of ONL 1371 erroneously used hieratic sign  (Gardiner V25) instead of  (Gardiner T3) to write the word *hd*.

³⁰⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 344-346; Janssen, *Village Varia*, 58, h.

³⁰⁹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 55-86.

𐎃 white bread: 1; 𐎃𐎍 white bread ⚡

The ostrakon does not mention on what occasion these goods were donated. That is also typical for similar hieratic lists of commodities and individuals, but Janssen suggested that they record goods, usually small objects or items of food, brought by different persons to a party. Such parties were probably organised during private feasts.³¹⁰ While such lists often include women, our ostrakon seems to be concerned with workmen exclusively.

We have already noted that in a number of ostraca from the late 20th Dynasty, here dubbed the ‘Grand Puits group’, hieratic signs are inscribed alongside (semi-)hieratic numerals and workmen’s marks. Their meaning is not always very clear, but we have identified hieratic date lines, as well as signs and sign groups that may or may not refer to members of the *smd.t* personnel, and perhaps for administrative phraseology such as *whm* ‘repeating’.³¹¹ Brief hieratic word groups are sometimes used in duty and delivery texts composed with marks as well, as discussed in chapter 3.³¹²

4.3.3 Well distinguishable document types

4.3.3.1 Name lists

In the chronological overview of ostraca with marks from the 20th Dynasty we have made ample use of ostraca that record identity marks according to an ordered list. Ordered lists were used in the hieratic administration of the workmen’s community as well. One of the document types of this administration is the name list.³¹³ In such name lists, whether recorded in hieratic or with marks, the workmen are to some extent ordered according to their seniority. This fact was pointed out by Collier. He observed with respect to hieratic name lists from the second half of the 19th Dynasty that “those individuals who served throughout the period tended to gravitate towards the tip of the roster [...] and thus, in broad terms (with a few exceptions [...]) represent the senior, experienced members of the gang (with another interesting group of more senior workmen at the bottom of the list, including figures explicitly termed ‘draughtsmen’ and ‘sculptors’ in some sources)”.³¹⁴

To some extent the same is true for hieratic name lists of the 20th Dynasty.³¹⁵ If we look at the ordered list of the workmen of the right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses IV,³¹⁶ we see that it is headed by the chief workman, and subsequently the scribe of the tomb and the deputy of the right side follow. Three of the next four workmen, Neferher (vi), Amenemope (x), Nesamun (III) and Khaemnun (i), were by this time very experienced workmen.³¹⁷ Moreover, when the crew was expanded in year 1 of Ramesses IV and 11 new, younger workmen were added to the right side, they were listed at the bottom of the ordered

³¹⁰ Jac. J. Janssen, ‘Gift-giving in Ancient Egypt as an Economic Feature’ *JEA* 68 (1982), 253-258; Jac. J. Janssen, *Village Varia*, 55-86.

³¹¹ See above, 4.2.20.

³¹² Words like ‘year’ and ‘deficit’, see chapter 3, 3.2.2.1; 3.2.2.3.

³¹³ The designation *im.y-rn=f* was probably used to refer to lists of names of individuals. These lists could be incorporated in greater administrative texts, but they also existed as autonomous documents. A text consisting of nothing else but a list of names was referred to as an ‘*r.t im.y-rn=f*’, see Ben J.J. Haring, ‘Egyptian text denominatives’ in: Donker van Heel and Haring, *Writing in a workmen’s village*, 86-87.

³¹⁴ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 19.

³¹⁵ Contra Christophe, ‘Les enseignements’, 120, n. 2.

³¹⁶ Conveniently listed by Collier, ‘The right side’, 2.

³¹⁷ Neferher and Amenemope are already attested on the right side in year 15 of Ramesses III on O. DeM 406; Khaemnun belonged to the left side in year 20 (O. Turin N. 57432) but is attested on the right side as early as year 23 (O. Turin N. 57026). Nesamun (III) on the other hand was relatively new to the right side and is first attested among this part of the crew in year 28 as we have seen in chapter 3, p. 180, n. 94.

list.³¹⁸ When we examine the list from the reign of Ramesses IV we do not see evident clusters of specialists:

1. Neferher (vi)	workman?
2. Amenemope (x)	workman
3. Nesamun (III)	workman?
4. Khaemnun (i)	workman
5. Hori (ii) = (iii)	workman
6. Neferhotep (xii)	workman / “scribe” ³¹⁹
7. Penanuqet (iii)	workman
8. Khaemwaset (iii)	workman
9. Nakhtmin (vi)	workman
10. Reshupeteref (i)	workman
11. Meryre (vi)	workman
12. Mose (iv)	workman
13. Pamedunakht (i)	workman
14. Weserhat (ii)	workman
15. Minkhau (i)	workman
16. Iry-‘a (i)	workman?
17. Amennakht (xxv)	workman
18. Harshire (i)	draughtsman / scribe
19. Iyerniutef (iii)	sculptor
20. Nebnakht (viii)	workman
21. Wesekhnemtet (i)	workman
22. Pentaweret (iv)	draughtsman
23. Nakhemmut (ii)	draughtsman
24. Amennakht (xxvi)	workman
25. Amennakht (ix)	workman
26. Ta (i) = Tasherī	workman / scribe
27. Maaninakhtuf (iii)	workman
28. Amenhotep	draughtsman
29. Bakenamun (i)	workman
30. Anynakht (i) ³²⁰	workman

The hierarchy that must have existed within the community of necropolis workmen was not only expressed in the position one was attributed in an ordered name list, but more so in the height of the wages one was paid for one’s services. For example, the foremen and scribe of the crew earned higher monthly wages than did the regular workmen, who in turn got more rations than e.g. doorkeepers and young men associated with the crew.³²¹ Ranking of individuals in the administration of Deir el-Medina was therefore not purely formal or symbolic, but served an administrative purpose. Ordered name lists are thus functional lists, and may simultaneously, or rather consequentially, have functioned as mnemonic devices.

³¹⁸ Well illustrated by Collier, ‘The right side’, 6-7.

³¹⁹ Davies, *Who’s who*, 230.

³²⁰ According to the ordered list of P. Turin Cat. 1891 rto. Neferher (vi) occupied the first position on the right side during year 2 of Ramesses IV. The duty rosters of O. DeM 45 and O. DeM 46 indicate that Anynakht (i) must then have been the very last man on this list (see also Collier, ‘The right side’, 1-4). We have seen, however, that during the reign of Ramesses V, the mark of Anynakht precedes that of Neferher suggesting the list of the time of Ramesses IV could have started with his name as well. Either way, his situation in slot 30 is by no means a reflection of a lower standing.

³²¹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 13-34.

As pointed out earlier, ordered lists were employed in numerous hieratic texts of different types from the 19th Dynasty³²² and the 20th Dynasty.³²³ As Donker van Heel remarked, any administration that is concerned with a large group of individuals will necessitate the use of name-lists.³²⁴ Following a suggestion by Grandet³²⁵ he proposed that hieratic ostrakon O. DeM 706, inscribed with nothing else than an ordered list of the names of all workmen of the crew, was a mnemonic instrument, an *aide-mémoire*, that a scribe could use when composing other administrative documents. A plausible example of such a document is O. BM EA 5634, the famous list of workmen from the reign of Ramesses II that enumerates the entire crew according to the ordered sequence, and the days on which they were absent from work. Both ostraca date to about the same period and present the workmen in accordance with more or less the same sequence, and thus O. BM EA 5634 could have been drawn up by a scribe who consulted O. DeM 706 or a similar document.³²⁶ Donker van Heel demonstrated furthermore how name lists may have been used to draw up accounts of the distribution of grain rations.³²⁷ This was confirmed in Collier's extensive study of ostraca from the later part of the 19th Dynasty, which also revealed that numerous absentee lists, name lists, duty roster records and some delivery texts were composed according to ordered sequences.³²⁸ Eyre, however, cautioned that simple lists of names without any heading are not necessarily connected with the administration of work on the tomb.³²⁹

As we have seen there are numerous examples of 20th Dynasty ostraca that contain ordered lists of workmen's marks. A number of these ostraca dating from the early, middle and late 20th Dynasty and found both in the Valley of the Kings and in the village are (most likely) lists of the entire side of the crew. O. BM EA 50716, O. IFAO C 7638, ONL 6268 and ONL 6240 seem to record all members of the right side of the crew, while O. ARTP 99/27 and O. Cairo JE 72491 are complete lists of workmen of the left side. O. BM EA 5642 and OL 170+ document the entire workforce with an ordered list of the workmen of the right on one side of the ostrakon and that of the left on the other.³³⁰ There may well be more name lists composed with workmen's marks, but the fragmentary nature of many ostraca prevents us from confirming this. Yet, the close adherence to a known sequence of workmen and/or the attestation of a foreman, scribe and deputy suggest that such an assumption is defensible in the cases of ONL 6314, ONL 6469, ONL 6511, ONL 6603 and O. Cairo JE 46865, which were probably lists of all workmen of the right side. Likewise, O. Ashmolean HO 626, the reverse of O. Ashmolean HO 1098 and ONL 6273 might well be lists of the entire left side of the crew.

Such ordered lists of workmen's marks could have served the same purpose as hieratic name lists, that is, as master lists, mnemonic devices used by a scribe to create accounts of the collective distributions of goods or lists of the workmen that were present and absent on the construction site. The lists with marks may have served as Vorlage for hieratic records as well as other records composed with marks. Indeed, some lists such as O. Cairo JE 72491 clearly reveal the hand of a trained scribe.³³¹ Moreover, the lists may have been used for oral practices such a roll-call at the beginning of a workday, regardless of the question if any

³²² Collier, *Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 14.

³²³ Collier, 'The right side', 1-2; *passim*.

³²⁴ Donker van Heel, 'Drafts', 18; compare also Eyre, *Employment and labour relations*, 19-22.

³²⁵ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* VIII, 2.

³²⁶ Donker van Heel, 'Drafts', 19-21.

³²⁷ Donker van Heel, 'Drafts', 23-27.

³²⁸ Collier, *Late XIXth Dynasty ostraca*, *passim*.

³²⁹ Eyre, *Employment and labour relations*, 20.

³³⁰ A similar lay-out is attested on 19th Dynasty hieratic ostraca, e.g. O. BM 5634 and O. Ashmolean HO 57, cf. Collier, *Late XIXth Dynasty ostraca*, 14.

³³¹ See below, 4.4.

absent workmen were subsequently noted down. Because ordered lists of workmen's marks deal with the collective tomb administration we expect them to have been created and used by the scribe of the tomb, but also by the other captains of the crew. It is even conceivable that the system of workmen's marks may have provided an alternative system of administration to foremen and deputies who were not sufficiently acquainted with hieratic script. We do not know much about the degree of literacy of these men. Baines and Eyre³³² as well as Janssen³³³ maintained that these captains of the crew were "fully literate", but hardly provide concrete evidence for that statement.³³⁴ In contrast, but without any substantiated evidence either, Černý was of the opinion that the scribe of the tomb would have written the letters of the foreman to the higher authorities in Thebes.³³⁵ We should therefore not exclude the possibility that not every foreman and every captain were trained scribes.

4.3.3.2 Records of absence from or attendance at the worksite

Two ostraca dating to the 20th Dynasty are certainly lists of absence and presence, because they display signs that were employed in hieratic texts. Hieratic documents recording absence and presence of workmen are well attested from the 19th and 20th Dynasties.³³⁶ Over the course of time there were various manners to record if workmen were present at the worksite and if they performed work or not. It seems that different scribes had different ways of doing so.³³⁷ In some lists of workmen the sign $\sim n$, the negative particle, with the meaning 'not (at work)', was added next to the name of a workman to denote absence. It could be alternated with the sign $\wedge iw$ '(has) come', indicating that a workman was present at the worksite. Hieratic lists documenting the activities of individual workmen are attested in the second half of the 19th Dynasty.³³⁸ Yet, both these signs are also added to ONL 6851, an ostrakon with columns of workmen's marks that should date to the 20th Dynasty on account of the individuals it records. Fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6463 displays similar columns of workmen's marks accompanied by signs \wedge or \sim , but because these workmen's marks occur both in the 19th and 20th Dynasties the date of this piece is not certain.

The sign \wedge is also found on ostrakon O. Cairo JE 96647 which is inscribed with two columns of workmen's marks and dates to the end of the 20th Dynasty. Sign \wedge is written right of at least 11 marks. Right of the other marks a single dot or diagonal tick is added, and probably indicates that a workman was absent at the worksite. We find a parallel in the journal text of P. Turin Cat. 1880, the famous Strike Papyrus, where either a dot or sign \wedge was added to the day entries on vso. VIII to indicate whether the crew in its entirety had gone to the worksite or not.³³⁹ Interestingly, O. Cairo JE 96647 informs us that both scribes of the crew were absent. This could be the reason why on this day the list of absentees was not written in hieratic, but made by another crew member with less or no scribal experience who preferred to make use of identity marks instead.

The three ostraca described above demonstrate that in the 20th Dynasty individual attendance and work activity were sometimes recorded by means of the marking system. With

³³² Baines and Eyre, 'Four notes on literacy', 86, 90.

³³³ Janssen, 'Literacy and Letters', 82.

³³⁴ Baines and Eyre, 'Four notes on literacy', 86, refer only to O. UC 32054, indeed seemingly written by (*ir.w in*) the foreman Nakhemmut (vi). Haring also mentions O. Ashmolean HO 104, see Haring, 'From Oral Practice to Written Record', 261.

³³⁵ Černý, *Community*, 129.

³³⁶ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 87-98; Haring, 'Document headings', 143-145.

³³⁷ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 92.

³³⁸ O. DeM 913; O. Strasbourg H 119.




³³⁹ See *Deir el-Medina Database*.

this information in mind, we may propose that some ostraca with a list of workmen's marks not of the entire crew, but of a part of it, may be documents of attendance and activity as well. Indeed there are hieratic documents from the 20th Dynasty that record similar details. Hieratic lists usually contain a heading such as "those who are working", "those who are active", and "the crew was at this place (i.e. the Valley of the Kings)", followed by a list of the workmen concerned.³⁴⁰ Many of our ostraca with workmen's marks from the 20th Dynasty, either with a long list of workmen's marks or with only a small number of marks, can be interpreted in the same way, but without the addition of a written heading this is not more than a suggestion.³⁴¹ Evidently, longer lists of workmen's marks would then be lists of attendance rather than records of absence.

4.3.3.3 Depictions of furniture and other objects combined with marks.

Ostraca O. OIM MH 2666 and O. Brooklyn 16118+ have demonstrated how scribes combined depictions of commodities and objects with written captions as well as workmen's marks to create accounts. There are similar ostraca that deal predominantly with items of furniture. A number of these documents were discussed by Killen and Weiss in an article where they were dubbed 'furniture ostraca'. The ostraca were interpreted as records of business transactions, depicting the objects of the transactions and the identity marks of the manufacturer, the recipient or both.³⁴² We shall see, however, that ostraca that have come to light after their publication depict other objects besides furniture and indicate that this term is somewhat too limited.

Regarding ostraca with depictions of items of furniture, Killen and Weiss pointed out that they fit well into the idea put forward by Cooney that the members of the necropolis community cooperated in what she called an 'informal workshop', "an entity in which they could not only pool their talents, but also work within existing formal hierarchical specialisations, using their reputations as members of the official Deir el-Medina crew to gain customers, as well as utilising their access to materials to make additional income in the private sector, beyond their workshop salaries."³⁴³ Cooney collected over 200 documents from Deir el-Medina that record instances of manufacture, commission, trade, and inheritance of privately produced craft goods. Although it remains a matter of debate under which circumstances such objects were manufactured, either as an individual commercial activity or in an exploitative situation, the artisans of the Royal Necropolis certainly were involved in the production of primarily funerary objects.³⁴⁴

Three of the ostraca discussed by Killen and Weiss, O. Florence 2628, O. Florence 2629 and O. Florence 2630, were dated to the Ramesside Period. Each ostrakon was taken to represent an "[o]rder of pieces of furniture or a receipt of a sale/manufacture of pieces of furniture".³⁴⁵ All three ostraca are very similar documents in terms of subject matter, style, and palaeography. We may venture a guess that they were written by the same scribe. The occurrence of mark  for Menna (i) on O. Florence 2628-2630 dates this group to the 20th Dynasty. Mark for  Bakenamun (i) on O. Florence 2629 is no longer attested in the second half of the 20th Dynasty, while mark  on the same piece suggests a date in the reign of

³⁴⁰ Haring, 'Document headings', 144-145.

³⁴¹ Similarly hieratic ostraca with name lists but no additional information are difficult to interpret, cf. Eyre, *Employment and Labour Relations*, 20. Also in the case of O. Turin N. 57082, headed by a date and followed by a list of workmen, it is unclear whether these men are recorded as absentees or men who attended work, see Haring, 'Document headings', 145.

³⁴² Killen and Weiss, 'Markings on objects', 140.









³⁴³ Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'An informal workshop: Textual evidence for private funerary art production in the Ramesside Period' in: Dorn and Hofmann (eds.), *Living and writing in Deir el-Medine*, 44.

³⁴⁴ Cooney, 'An informal workshop', 43-44.

³⁴⁵ Killen and Weiss, 'Markings on objects', 145, 151, 153.




Ramesses V. The three ostraca can therefore be dated in the first half of the 20th Dynasty, the period from which most of our information about workmen's marks stems. That is fortunate because it means that we can now identify the majority of the individuals represented by the identity marks. The three ostraca provide the following details:

Florence 2628

	Amenemope (x) – workman
	Menna (i) – draughtsman
	Pentaweret (vii) – workman
	Iyerniutef (iii) – sculptor
	Bakenamun (i) – workman
	Nakhemmut (vi) ? – later foreman?
	Mose (iv) – workman
	Hori – workman



Objects:³⁴⁶ chairs, chests, tables, vase for *mrḥ.t* oil, perhaps a basket, beds,³⁴⁷ coffins.

Florence 2629

	Khaemwaset (iii) – workman
	Bakenamun (i) – workman
	Unidentified

Objects:³⁴⁸ chair, chests, tables




Florence 2630

	Penanuqet (iii) – workman
	Neferher (vi) – workman

Objects:³⁴⁹ stool (?), chests, bed

We can almost certainly ascribe O. Turin N. 57141 to the same hand. Like the previous three ostraca it depicts items of furniture in combination with workmen's marks. The use of limestone as a surface, the lay-out with horizontal line dividers, the use of black ink, and the shape and repertory of the marks on this piece connect it with the Florence group. In addition, this document also displays marks of workmen of the right side exclusively.

O. Turin N. 57141

	Khaemwaset (iii) – workman
	Bakenamun (i) – workman
	Penanuqet (iii) – workman

³⁴⁶ Compare Killen and Weiss, 'Markings on objects', 146-150.

³⁴⁷ Perhaps the *yt.t* or *iz.t.y* funerary couch that occurs often together with coffins, see Jac. J. Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medina including Wooden Containers of the New Kingdom and Ostrakon Varille 19*. GHPE 9 (London 2009), 4-5.

³⁴⁸ Compare Killen and Weiss, 'Markings on objects', 151-152.

³⁴⁹ Compare Killen and Weiss, 'Markings on objects', 153-154.

𐓗𐓗 Iyerniutef (iii) – sculptor

Objects: chairs, chests, and perhaps a bed.

There are about a dozen more ostraca in which identity marks are combined with a pictorial list of mostly items of furniture. Their style and the repertory of marks suggest a date in the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

O. Turin N. 57523

Although the ostrakon is partly damaged, several marks can be discerned, all belonging to workmen of the right side of the crew. On the basis of the occurrence of marks 𐓗, 𐓗𐓗, and 𐓗𐓗, the document dates most likely to the time of Ramesses IV – Ramesses V.

𐓗 Nakhtmin (vi) – workman
 𐓗 Mose (iv) – workman
 𐓗𐓗 Pamedu(netjer)nakht (i) – workman
 𐓗 Amenwa (i) – draughtsman
 𐓗 Nebnakht (viii) – workman
 𐓗 Iry-‘a (i) – workman?
 𐓗 Pahemnetjer (ii) – workman?
 𐓗 Amennakht (ix) – workman
 𐓗 Penmennefer (II) – workman?

Objects: chests, chair, table

O. BM 5861

This ostrakon is less well legible. With perhaps one exception the marks that can be discerned are all used for workmen of the right side of the crew throughout the 20th Dynasty. The ostrakon does not record any marks that are typical for the second half of the 20th Dynasty and in analogy with the previous ostraca we may propose that O. BM 5861 too dates to the period of Ramesses III – Ramesses V.

𐓗 Penanuqet (iii) – workman
 𐓗 Neferher (vi) – workman
 𐓗 Iyerniutef (iii) – sculptor
 𐓗 Khaemwaset (iii) – workman
 𐓗 Neferhotep (xii) – workman, but styled as scribe in Theban Graffito nr. 889³⁵⁰
 𐓗 A Khnumnakht ? – workman?

Objects: chests, beds

O. München 398

The marks inscribed on this ostrakon belong predominately to workmen of the right side of the crew.

𐓗 Amennakht (xxv) – workman
 𐓗 Nebnakht (viii) – workman
 𐓗 Amennakht (ix) – workman

³⁵⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 230.

⊕(?)	Neferher (vi) – workman
□	Amenemope (x) – workman
𐎢	Aanakhtu (iii) – workman
⊔	Anynakht (i) – deputy
⊔	Penanuqet (iii) – workman
𐎢	Mose (iv) – workman

Objects: chairs, stools, a table (?)

O. Cairo SR 11303

This ostrakon, certainly related to the ostraca above, is inscribed with only one item of furniture in combination with three workmen's marks. It is therefore somewhat more difficult to date. All marks are prevalent during the 20th Dynasty. In analogy with the previous documents it is tentatively attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

⊕	Nakhemmut (vi) – workman / Pamedunakht (i) – workman ?
𐎢	Amennakht (xxv) – workman
𐎢	Huynefer (xi) – workman / Minkhau (i) – workman

Objects: stool with two handles (?)

O. Stockholm MM 14129

As we have seen above this ostrakon is dated to the period of Ramesses III – Ramesses V. It displays the marks of workmen of both sides of the crew as well as two rarely attested marks 𐎢 and 𐎢.

𐎢	Aapatjau (i) – workman
𐎢	Unidentified
⊔	Amenwa (i) – draughtsman
𐎢	Hay (iii) = (v) / (xi) – workman
□	Amenemope (x) – workman
𐎢	Pentaweret (iv) – workman
𐎢	Mose (iv) – workman
⊕	Neferher (vi) – workman
𐎢	Unidentified

Objects: chests, chairs

ONL 6670

This ostrakon, presumably completely preserved, displays six identity marks and nine items of furniture, but it is not always clear which items are connected with which individuals. All identity marks belong to workmen of the right side of the crew and are attested in the duty rosters from the time of Ramesses IV and V. Mark 𐎢 is legible as *wn-nfr* and is probably an elaborate allomorph of 𐎢. It refers to Penamun (V), son of Wennefer (iii), or less likely to the latter man.

⊕	Reshupeteref (i) – workman
𐎢	Amennakht (xxv) – workman
⊔	Penanuqet (iii) – workman
𐎢	Amennakht (ix) – workman

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

𓆎	Weserhat (ii) – workman
𓆏	Harshire (i) – draughtsman / scribe
𓆐	Nakhemmut (vi) – workman / Pamedunakht (i) – workman ?
𓆑	Penamun (V) – workman
𓆒	Mose (iv) – workman / unidentified workman of left side
𓆓	Unidentified workman of left side

Objects: chests, tables, chairs

ONL 6644

This ostrakon is tentatively attributed to the 20th Dynasty on account of its similarity to ONL 6670. Both ostraca are limestone pieces inscribed in red ink with depictions of furniture as well as workmen's marks. The only mark that is preserved on ONL 6644 is 𓆎 for workman Nebnakht (viii).

𓆎	Nebnakht (viii) – workman
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Objects: chests, a chair (?)

O. BTdK 589

Not all drawings and marks on this ostrakon are well discernable, but five marks are probably identifiable as workmen of the 20th Dynasty. A date in the first half of this period is very well plausible.

𓆔	Amenemope (x) – workman
𓆕	Hay (iii) = (v) / (xi) ? – workman
𓆑	Penamun (V) – workman
𓆒 ³⁵¹	Unidentified workman
𓆓	Amenpahapy (iii) ? – workman

Objects: chest, stools

O. BTdK 590

The marks and drawings on this ostrakon are inscribed in charcoal and are poorly preserved. A date in the first half of the 20th Dynasty is plausible on account of the provenance of the piece (the huts settlement that was in use from Ramesses IV to Ramesses VII) and the tentatively identified workmen's marks:

𓆖	Neferher (vi) – workman
𓆗	Merysekhmet (iii) – draughtsman
𓆘	Pentaweret (iv) – draughtsman

Objects: beds, a stool, a chest (?)

O. IFAO C 7586 should be mentioned in this context, despite its uncertain date and fragmentary state of preservation. Apart from what may perhaps be workmen's marks and a drawing of a human figure, it seems to display depictions of objects among which we may

³⁵¹ Contra Dorn, *Arbeiterhütter*, 381, who interpreted the latter marks as mark 𓆒 with a basket underneath. Such a mark is not attested elsewhere.

recognise a bed and perhaps a table. Similarly unclear is O. Turin N. 57140. Traces of the inscription display several items of furniture among which are probably chests and perhaps chairs. One mark may be \perp . By association with the other ‘furniture ostraca’ it probably dates to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.

There are two related ostraca which are difficult to date accurately, yet a date in the first half in the 20th Dynasty is plausible as well. They differ from the ostraca listed above in that they depict other items besides furniture, most likely objects that were part of the funerary equipment of the royal burial. That is most obvious in O. BTdK 382, which depicts a striding statue of the king holding a staff:³⁵²

O. BTdK 382

The ostrakon includes perhaps one workmen’s mark, \AA , which features on several other ‘furniture ostraca’. A damaged semi-hieratic inscription at the bottom of the ostrakon was read by Dorn as *wp.t rnp.t 10* ‘opening of year 10’. This interpretation is not unambiguous, but if correct it refers to the reign of Ramesses III, Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI.³⁵³

\AA Nakhemmut (vi) – workman /Pamedunakht (i) – workman ?

Objects:³⁵⁴ construction elements of furniture (?), the end of a bed (?) decorated with a Bes-figure flanked by hippopotamus figures, a stool, chests, a staff, cloths (?), decorated foots of a chair (?), a Bes-figure and two sitting lion figures, incense burners, a royal statue, door leaves, a shrine, a head rest decorated with a Bes-figure

O. Ashmolean HO 1123

This ostrakon is very similar to O. BTdK 382. Both ostraca are limestone pieces inscribed in red ink and in the same style. There is on this document no clear connection with the royal burial but both ostraca depict items worked in wood or stone decorated with Bes-figures as well as incense burners.

\AA Amenhotep (vi) – draughtsman
 \AA Merysekhmet (iii) – draughtsman
 \AA Amennakht (ix) – workman

Objects: cloths (?), chests, a head rest decorated with a Bes-figure, the end of a bed (?) decorated with a Bes-figure flanked by sitting lions, incense burners

All our ostraca with depictions of furniture seem to be situated in the first half of the 20th Dynasty, or more precisely in the reigns of Ramesses III, Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. A priori it is not certain if these ostraca are evidence of activities performed in the context of a semi-formal workshop. The ostraca are hardly informative, and it is often unclear which identity mark accompanies which object. A few hieratic numerals are inscribed on some of the ostraca, probably indicating the quantity of objects, but they do not elucidate the records. Ostraca that exclusively depict items of furniture such as complete chests and chairs could in theory record everything from ownership to transport of the depicted object. That is not the case with O. BTdK 382 and probably also O. Ashmolean HO 1123, where the depiction of a royal statue and a shrine do not signify private ownership.

³⁵² Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 329. There is of course the possibility that the royal statue was destined for a local temple.

³⁵³ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 330.

³⁵⁴ Compare Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 329-330.

An important hint is provided by signs ⲃⲃⲃ and ⲃⲃⲃⲃ that accompany some of the depicted objects on O. Florence 2628. They have been interpreted by Killen and Weiss as indicators of quality. This explanation seems plausible for this ostrakon, but as rightly pointed out by both authors, it is uncertain if these quality marks also occur on other ostraca. On other ostraca they could be identity marks ⲃⲃⲃ for Tasherī or ⲃⲃⲃ for Neferher (vi).³⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the quality indicators in O. Florence 2628 do suggest that the ostraca record the production of the depicted objects, otherwise the mention of quality makes little sense. The identity marks that accompany the items are then best explained as references to the individuals involved in the production process.

The evidence that emerges from these documents is that during this period of Ramesses III – Ramesses V quite a large group of at least 38 different individuals must have been involved in some way in the ‘informal workshop’ (TABLE 85). The majority of the identity marks (28) on these ostraca refer to members of the right side of the gang, although the left side is represented in this category of ostraca as well (10 marks). It is noteworthy that the ostraca do not point to particular teams of workmen that occasionally collaborated. Instead, each ostrakon records a different combination of workmen’s marks. The number of workmen with a certain specialisation is not particularly high. Against thirty ‘regular’ workmen we have one deputy (Anynakht (i), one instance), one self-styled scribe (Neferhotep (xii), one instance), one draughtsman/scribe (Harshire (i), one instance), four draughtsmen (Menna (i), one instance; Amenwa (i), two instances; Pentaweret (iv), one instance; Amenhotep (vi), one instance), and one sculptor (Iyerniutef (iii), three instances). Remarkable is also that in seven ostraca³⁵⁶ no specialist is recorded. O. München 398 does include the mark of deputy Anynakht (i), but to what extent this man may have been a specialist is unclear.

One would perhaps expect more attestations of scribes if the ostraca truly record the preparation of funerary furniture. The only ostrakon that features sign ⲢⲢ is O. Florence 2628. The mark is written left of the lid of a coffin, and it is of course conceivable that a scribe may have been tasked with decorating it and inscribing it with funerary texts. Another explanation however would be to take this sign as a mark describing the properties of the lid, in analogy with the quality marker ⲃⲃⲃ . Together, the signs and depictions would then mean ‘an inscribed coffin lid of excellent quality’, and the mark of Pentaweret (vii) below it could refer to the individual responsible for it.

The absence of scribes in the documents may be due to the fact that the scribes were the individuals who obtained the orders from clients outside of the community of workmen, and who subsequently organised the work on the objects to be executed by their colleagues.³⁵⁷ As the coordinators of the work process, they may have been the authors of the ‘furniture ostraca’. Indeed, several of the ‘furniture ostraca’ display the steady and neat hand of an individual with at least some scribal experience. The same is suggested by the use of the more elaborate allomorphs of marks Ⲣ , Ⲣ and Ⲣ for marks that occur more often as Ⲣ , Ⲣ and Ⲣ . The authors may not all have been professional scribes, which would explain the incorrectly orientated hieratic numerals 12 and 15 on O. Florence 2628,³⁵⁸ but were rather draughtsmen with restricted proficiency in hieratic script.

The scribes of the ostraca may themselves have been responsible for the penultimate phase in the process of the production of funerary objects such as coffins and furniture, which

³⁵⁵ Cf. Killen and Weiss, ‘Markings on Objects’, 143-144 and n. 25; 149, nrs. 43 and 46; 150, nrs. 48, 51, 54, 56; 154, nr. 7.

³⁵⁶ O. Florence 2629, O. Florence 2630, O. Turin N. 57141, O. Cairo SR 11303, ONL 6644, O. BTdK 382 and O. BTdK 589.

³⁵⁷ Cooney, ‘An Informal Workshop’, 49.

³⁵⁸ Misread as 22 and 24 by Killen and Weiss, ‘Markings on Objects’, 148-149, nr. 34; 149, nr. 40.

was their decoration,³⁵⁹ and therefore often omitted themselves from the ostraca. These documents would then attest to an earlier phase in the production process: the construction of the objects from the raw materials.³⁶⁰ Indeed, ‘ordinary’ workmen are recorded to have been tasked with carpentry-work, and some may have been specialised in this craft and therefore took on the title *hmww* ‘carpenter’.³⁶¹ If the ‘furniture ostraca’ are indeed documents of carpentry and construction of objects, this would explain the high number of workmen’s marks of non-specialists. Would one accept these assumptions, then the ostraca are best not interpreted as receipts of the sale or manufacture of objects, but rather as work sheets that stipulate which objects were to be produced by individual workmen. By creating a pictorial list combined with identity marks, such plans could be understood by illiterate individuals as well, and the records may be materialised oral agreements between workmen to craft a set of items, assumedly within the context of the ‘informal workshop’.

³⁵⁹ Cooney, ‘An Informal Workshop’, 51.

³⁶⁰ Cooney, ‘An Informal Workshop’, 50.

³⁶¹ Cooney, ‘An Informal Workshop’, 46-47; 50.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

Flor. 2628	Flor. 2629	Flor. 2630	Turin N. 57141	Turin N. 57523	BM 5861	München 398	Cairo SR 11303	Stockh. 14129	ONL 6670	ONL 6644	BTdK 589	BTdK 590	BTdK 382	Ashm. HO 1123
Members of the right side of the crew														

The ostraca discussed above do not only depict items of furniture, but also purely funerary objects such as coffin lids and perhaps a funerary statue. In addition we have encountered drawings of vessels. Purely pictorial lists of objects are known from the 20th Dynasty, and a good example is O. BTdK 383, which depicts a chair, a pair of sandals, perhaps a sack, two chests and a head rest.³⁶² No workmen's marks are added to the objects and the document could therefore be a private inventory or a list of items involved in a personal transaction. O. BTdK 567 is probably of a 20th Dynasty date as well. That is suggested by its provenance in the settlement near KV 18 and by the inscription of mark 𓆎 . The mark is situated below the drawing of an axe, and the ostrakon was interpreted as a record of the issue of an axe by the tomb administration to the workman represented by 𓆎 .³⁶³ Such an interpretation is plausible, although the ostrakon may perhaps also attest to the ownership of the axe by the workman.

The meaning of O. BTdK 529 from the same site is unclear. It represents a drawing of a vessel with to its left 12 vertical strokes. An additional sign left of these strokes is damaged. One may take the vessel to represent an actual object and the 12 strokes as an indication of the quantity of the vessels. We cannot however exclude the possibility that the vessel is in fact a crude form of the workman's mark 𓆎 , here accompanied by 12 tally strokes. In the case of the reverse of O. Cairo JE 46864 it is clear that the rather crude drawings of jars and amphorae refer to actual vessels because of their number and the fact that they are accompanied by semi-hieratic numerals. The ostrakon is not perfectly well preserved and its lay-out is rather disorganised. The account can therefore not be properly understood, but in all likelihood the numerals, vessels, and workmen's marks represent a record of the distribution or delivery of a commodity kept in amphorae. O. Cairo CG 25325 may be a similar record, but is even less well legible. Above the column of marks on the reverse we distinguish at least one drawing of an amphora, and this piece too could be an account of deliveries or distribution. In contrast, the meaning of fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6591, tentatively attributed to the 20th Dynasty, escapes us completely. It may depict some sort of portable incense burner³⁶⁴ with to its left large hieratic numerals for the numeral 11 and perhaps a fragment of a cartouche. The connection between this numeral, the object, and the two workmen's marks for members of the right side just above it is not evident.

Finally there is the reverse of O. Turin N. 57008. While the obverse of this ostrakon is inscribed with an ordered list of workmen of the right and the left side, the reverse displays five mindboggling lines of identity marks, depictions of objects and hieratic numerals. The account is difficult to interpret because it has not survived in its entirety and because the ink is rather effaced:

[stool] [...] $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ [table]
 [stool ?] 𓆎 ; [unidentified object] ⊕ $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ 𓆎 [unidentified object]; [unidentified object] 5
 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 ; 𓆎 [unidentified object]; 𓆎 mrh.t vessel; loaf of bread; 𓆎 ; bundle 𓆎
 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 folded cloth (?); 𓆎 · 𓆎 ; 𓆎 [unclear signs]
 [...] [unidentified object] [unclear sign]; folded cloth (?); 𓆎 [...]

It is evident that the inscription is concerned with objects, and we recognise the depictions of tables and a stool in the first two lines. The square-shaped objects in lines 1, 2 and 5 may also be pieces of furniture. Line 2 ends with a circular shape followed by what is perhaps the hieratic numeral five. The tall sign that occurs in lines 2 and 3 could be a hieratic sign for 𓆎 'repeating'. Another hieratic sign group is found in line 3, readable as 𓆎 'white'. In

³⁶² Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 330.

³⁶³ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 377.

³⁶⁴ Compare Nagel, *La Céramique*, 176-181.

contrast to ONL 1371, this word does not seem to refer to white bread as it is not connected with a sign for, or a depiction of a loaf of bread. Instead it is followed by a depiction of an unidentified object, perhaps a piece of clothing. Further down in line 3 a vessel for *mrh.t* oil is depicted, as is a pointed triangular object, probably a loaf of bread. The penultimate sign of line 3 depicts a bundle of vertical objects, perhaps wood or vegetables.³⁶⁵ In lines 4 and 5 a rectangular shape might represent one or more folded cloths. Because of the inclusion of loaves of bread, the ostrakon is perhaps best explained as a list of gifts contributed by a group of individuals on a special occasion. A hieratic parallel for such a list is O. Cairo CG 25624, dating to year 27 of Ramesses III. Besides various types of bread it records items such as sandals, a *ṯzy*-box, an *fd.t*-box, a *tpy*-box and perhaps a folding stool.³⁶⁶ If the reverse of O. Turin N. 57008 is contemporaneous with the obverse, our list dates probably to the period of Ramesses V – Ramesses VI. It would then be quite a bit younger than the hieratic gift-giving record, but the subject matter of both documents seems to be comparable.

4.3.3.4 Name stones

A group of ostraca from the 20th Dynasty site of workmen's huts in the Valley of the Kings are inscribed with nothing else but a single identity mark. They were interpreted by Dorn – with good reason – as so-called 'name stones'.³⁶⁷ The term 'name stones',³⁶⁸ applies to pieces of limestone that were inscribed with (usually) not more than a single name. For such ostraca Grandet employed the label "tessère onomastique".³⁶⁹ He proposed they were used in an administrative practice as personal countermarks ("contremarques") that were to be presented at the occasion of the distribution of commodities or tools. Grandet theorised that such small documents were prepared by the scribe according to a list he had drawn up, after which they were given to the corresponding individuals who would then need to present them to the scribe at the occasion of a distribution.³⁷⁰ Dorn considered this interpretation and suggested that some name stones may have been used as countermarks for the distribution of chisels.³⁷¹ Although definitely plausible, Grandet's reconstruction appears a bit overcomplicated. If a scribe did indeed make use of a specific list during the distribution of goods or tools, there would not seem to be any necessity for members of the community to present their token to the scribe, because once they arrived in front of him he could simply cross them off his list. Moreover, this practice would be highly susceptible to counterfeiting.

Grandet's interesting discussion of name stones and their use extended to ostraca inscribed with a group of names as well as ostraca inscribed with a single word. The ostraca of the former category were seen as collective countermarks. Similarly, ostraca like O. DeM 710, inscribed with the word 'left' for the left side of the crew, were suggested to be countermarks that represented the entire group of workmen associated with this side. They were supposedly used at an earlier administrative stage before the distribution to individual workmen had taken place, and were to be handed over to a scribe to receive tools or victuals

³⁶⁵ A very similar bundle is found on the obverse and reverse of ONL 6663, an ostrakon that is not inscribed with writing or with marks but contains depictions of objects connected with dots and strokes.

³⁶⁶ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 69-72.

³⁶⁷ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 140.

³⁶⁸ Cf. 'Namenssteine', Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 142-143.

³⁶⁹ From Latin *tessera frumentaria*, a token that could be exchanged for a specific amount of wheat.

³⁷⁰ Grandet, *Ostraca hieratiques*, VIII, 4.

³⁷¹ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 143. One of the name stones, O. BTdK 596, is inscribed with the name of the Overseer of the Treasury Montuemtawy. This particular piece was not interpreted as purely a name stone, but as a writing exercise (see Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 143; 384). As a result of our examination of late 20th Dynasty ostraca with marks we can propose that the name and title of this man may in fact be a reference not that official, but to one of the workmen of the same name who perhaps jokingly styled himself after this official, and had taken on the identity mark $\overline{\text{mn}}$ in the same vein.

destined for that half of the workforce. Although there is no evidence at all to disprove this hypothetical use of the ostraca under discussion, such a practice would again seem needlessly complicated. Certainly we imagine the scribe and/or the captains of the workforce dividing any amount of commodities or tools into two halves. But who would have had to present a countermark in this process? The most likely representatives of one half of the crew are the foreman and his deputy. It is hard to envisage these high-ranking individuals turning in an ostrakon reading 'left side' to the scribe, only to begin the procedure of distribution to individual workmen, a practice in which this very same scribe was probably involved.

Grandet's vision is not necessarily incorrect, but in the light of ostraca inscribed with a single mark, we may broaden our scope a bit. According to Grandet's theory, hieratic name stones were issued by a scribe. One wonders if this was also the case for name stones with identity marks. It is definitely possible that a professional hieratic scribe produced them, but it is equally plausible that the owner of a name stone with a workman's mark had created it himself. The latter possibility seems more likely regarding name stones with a mark inscribed with kohl rather than with ink,³⁷² with an incised mark,³⁷³ or with a mark that clearly does not display a hieroglyphic or hieratic ductus.³⁷⁴

There are other ostraca with marks that may fall into the category of name stones, even though they display more than a single mark. We may interpret these pieces as collective name stones, in analogy to Grandet's 'collective countermarks'. As a possible example of a collective countermark Grandet mentioned O. DeM 709.³⁷⁵ This ostrakon is perhaps best explained not as a countermark but as a document pertaining to the delivery of water, since it is headed by the name of water-carrier Pentaweret.³⁷⁶ Nevertheless, there exist ostraca that better fit Grandet's description of 'collective countermarks'. They are completely preserved ostraca inscribed with no other text except for the names of two workmen.³⁷⁷ Such pieces are paralleled by ostraca O. BTdK 569, O. BTdK 571, O. BTdK 572, and O. BTdK 574, which are each inscribed and/or incised with two workmen's marks. Among these ostraca are also marks that were evidently not drawn by the hand of a professional scribe.

If these ostraca with marks were indeed created by the owners themselves, their possible function as an official countermark necessary to receive tools or commodities makes little sense. Comparing such ostraca to other instances in which the workmen themselves added ostraca we enter the domain of potmarks, objects inscribed and incised with identity marks, and graffiti. In all these contexts, the marks convey the identity of the owner of the mark to other individuals, either as the owner of an object or as an individual in a specific space. Such marks are meant to be seen by the collective of the workforce. Name stones with identity marks could have functioned in a similar way. The owner of a name stone might have placed it in his house, his hut or his stable, as a way to declare ownership of that space and the objects therein. While it has been suggested that the roofs of the houses in the village of Deir el-Medina must have been considered public space used to facilitate movement across the settlement,³⁷⁸ it is clear that ownership of these houses was conveyed by means of inscriptions. The names of the owners are recorded on lintels, doorposts columns and column bases.³⁷⁹ Further evidence that workmen claimed a specific space by furnishing it with an inscribed object is found in the text of O. UC 39622, where a stela is erected to mark the

³⁷² O. BTdK 563.

³⁷³ O. BTdK 584; O. BTdK 585; O. BTdK 586; O. BTdK 587; BTdK 588.

³⁷⁴ O. BTdK 565; O. BTdK 575; O. BTdK 583.

³⁷⁵ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* VIII, 5.

³⁷⁶ For similar ostraca see the discussion of O. DeM 264, O. DeM 10121 and O. DeM 19125 above, 4.3.2.5.

³⁷⁷ E.g. O. IFAO 168, O. IFAO 1509, O. Cairo JE 72472 and O. Qurna 655/1.

³⁷⁸ Meskell, 'Spatial analyses', 261-262.

³⁷⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1931-1932*, 81; 89.

ownership of a hut.³⁸⁰ Whether hieratic name stones were used in the same fashion is open to discussion.³⁸¹

Ceramic ostraca with a single mark that could be name stones are not in every instance clearly identifiable, they could also be potmarks, added to convey the owner of the property. Likewise, there are limestone jar stoppers with marks on them. These marks may have functioned like a potmark and represented the owner of the jar. But it is also possible that the jar stoppers were later reused to function solely as a name stone. Apart from these difficulties it is often very problematic to date a name stone inscribed with a mark. It has been demonstrated that large numbers of marks were used throughout the 20th Dynasty, and we will see that many of them occurred already in the 19th Dynasty. In isolation, such marks cannot be dated accurately.

One body of ostraca with one or two marks can more or less safely be attributed to the period of the reigns of Ramesses IV to Ramesses VII. These are the examples discovered at the site of the huts near KV 18. Nine jar stoppers³⁸² and four ceramic fragments with marks (which could also be potmarks)³⁸³ are here considered as ostraca with one or two marks that may have function as name stones. Seven of these objects from this settlement can be categorised as collective name stones. Unfortunately the marks inscribed on them do not elucidate their meaning or purpose.

We have already mentioned the enigmatic O. BTdK 572, inscribed on one side with two names that are not directly related to the marks on the other side. These marks are $\underline{\text{v}}$ and $\hat{\text{p}}$, during the reign of Ramesses IV used for Pentaweret (vii) and Penniut (i). Why both men shared a name stone is not evident because they were no family members. Perhaps they possessed a joint name stone because they were at some point colleagues on the left side of the crew. Two marks, X and r , probably for Nesamun (III) and Nakhemmut (ii), are inscribed on O. BTdK 574. These men are not known to have been family members either. They both served on the right side of the crew during the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. That may also be true for the workmen referred to on O. BTdK 571, with f for Minkhau (i) and A , if here indeed used as an allomorph of AA , for Pamedunakht (i). Similarly, marks C and d on O. BTdK 569 are attested together on O. Cairo JE 46862 probably as workmen of the left side of the crew. O. BTdK 579 and ONL BTdK 580 are both inscribed with the pair z and v . The former mark belonged to Maaninakhtuf (iii), workman of the right side, and the latter mark is attested for an unidentified workman of the right side on O. Turin N 57008. O. BTdK 581 is incised with two signs, f and e . The latter is worked in very shallow lines, and although it is attested as a workman's mark for a member of the left side it is unclear if it is here used as such. We may alternatively propose that mark f used for Minkhau (i) is here combined with hieroglyph e with phonetic value h^c , as another reference to Minkhau (i). O. BTdK 583 is inscribed with three instances of the mark t . All may refer to Iry-'a, who used this mark during the first half of the 20th Dynasty, but there is a possibility that here it signifies his person and that of his sons or two apprentices of his.

³⁸⁰ Robert J. Demarée, 'Remove your stela'. (O. Petrie 21 = *Hier. Ostr.* 16, 4) in: Demarée and Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings*, 101-108.

³⁸¹ One may object that hieratic name stones could not have functioned in the same way because the majority of the members of the crew would not have been able to read the ostraca. A tentative explanation of such pieces is that they were used in oracular practice or as labels added to commodities in a storeroom that were yet to be distributed among the workmen by the captains of the crew. The same explanation may be offered for ostraca which only mention one side of the crew or a specific commodity.

³⁸² KD 18; O. BTdK 485 = KD 20; O. BTdK 576 = KD 35; O. BTdK 577 = KD 41; O. BTdK 578 = KD 9; O. BTdK 579 = KD 29; O. BTdK 580 = KD 21; O. BTdK 581 = KD 42; and O. BTdK 582 = KD 26.

³⁸³ O. BTdK 585; O. BTdK 586; O. BTdK 587 and O. BTdK 588.

The marks on these pieces from the huts settlement were made with charcoal³⁸⁴ or with black ink³⁸⁵ or red ink,³⁸⁶ but the majority is incised.³⁸⁷ The practice of incising limestone pieces with marks seems to be typical for this site. Numerous Ramesside ostraca with a single mark have indeed been discovered in and around the village of Deir el-Medina, but these are generally inscribed in ink. It is nevertheless plausible that some of the Ramesside ceramic fragments incised with a mark, found in great quantities in the Grand Puits,³⁸⁸ functioned as name stones as well. Instead of inscribing a shard with a mark to use it as name stone, workmen may have incised a shard when no charcoal or ink was available.

As stated above, it is as a rule impossible to attribute an accurate date to ostraca with one or two marks found at Deir el-Medina because in most cases the archaeological context of these pieces is insufficiently understood.³⁸⁹ Nevertheless it should be clear that several of these marks are also attested in the 20th Dynasty, and it is practically certain that during this period name stones with identity marks were created and used at the village. Several Ramesside examples were discovered at the Grand Puits or its adjacent *kom*. Besides numerous administrative ostraca, this findspot yielded many objects that were used in a domestic context. It is therefore likely that they were used in the same way as the name stones with marks found in the settlement in the Valley of the Kings.

One ostrakon inscribed with two marks from the Grand Puits is ONL 432. It is a remarkable example because it is inscribed with mark $\overline{\text{X}}$ on the obverse while the reverse is inscribed with mark $\overline{\text{T}}$. The later mark is attested for Qenymin (i), while the former mark has been connected with Apatjau (i) as well as his father Siwadjet (iii). The possibility exists that Qenymin (i) was, like Apatjau (i), a son of Siwadjet (iii).³⁹⁰ If we assume that ONL 432 records two of these three individuals the name stone may be dated to the end of the 19th Dynasty or the first half of the 20th Dynasty. Since the individuals are family members, it is likely the piece refers to a commodity, object or space that was in the possession of this family.

4.3.4 Analysis of lay-out

Ostraca with identity marks from the 20th Dynasty display a wide variety in the design of their lay-out and show different arrangements of identity marks. Formats attested in the 18th Dynasty, such as ostraca with rows of marks, ostraca where marks are combined with strokes and dots, and ostraca with a single identity mark were still current in the 20th Dynasty. Yet, an analysis of the lay-out of 20th Dynasty ostraca with marks demonstrates that by this period several new ways of recording information with identity marks had been introduced. Columns of marks seem to have become the preferred arrangement for documents listing a great number of marks.³⁹¹ We shall see furthermore that the 20th Dynasty scribes were able to combine hieroglyphic or hieratic signs and numerals as well as self-invented signs and depictions of objects to convey information.

In the sections below the ostraca are divided into different categories, among which are the group of ostraca with marks in columns and the group of ostraca with marks in rows. Such a division is purely artificial, and there are no clear indications that there are significant

³⁸⁴ O. BTdK 351; O. BTdK 563; O. BTdK 566; O. BTdK 568 and O. BTdK 583.

³⁸⁵ O. BTdK 89; O. BTdK 557; O. BTdK 558; O. BTdK 562 and O. BTdK 575.

³⁸⁶ KD 18; O. BTdK 350; O. BTdK 406; O. BTdK 559; O. BTdK 561; O. BTdK 564; O. BTdK 565 and O. BTdK 573.

³⁸⁷ O. BTdK 123; O. BTdK 530; O. BTdK 560; O. BTdK 576; O. BTdK 578; O. BTdK 582; O. BTdK 584; O. BTdK 585; O. BTdK 586; O. BTdK 587 and O. BTdK 588.

³⁸⁸ See for example Bruyère, *Rapport 1948 – 1951*, pls. 16-17.

³⁸⁹ See also the ostraca mentioned above, Introduction, p. 17, n. 107.

³⁹⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 186.

³⁹¹ Cf. Haring, 'Workmen's Marks on Ostraca', 146.

differences in the meaning of these two document types. As we will see, both ostraca with columns of marks and ostraca with rows of marks can be accompanied by dots, strokes and / or numerals. In fact, ONL 6297 demonstrates that within a single document both columns and rows may feature side by side.

The ostraca with marks are, like hieratic ostraca, most often written in black ink, but the use of red ink is not at all uncommon. It has already been pointed out that the use of red ink in the duty and delivery texts composed with marks from the first half of the 20th Dynasty probably relates to different stages in the progress of the scribe's account.³⁹² Only few comments will be made in the following sections in regard to the use of red or black ink. Examination of the use of one particular colour does not lead to clear patterns. It seems instead that a scribe's choice for a certain colour was mostly motivated by the sort of ink at hand. The use of charcoal to inscribe ostraca with marks is rare during the 20th Dynasty. One example is ONL 6576. Such ostraca may have been written at moments when ink was not available to the scribe, although the crude handwriting of ONL 6576 also suggests that this individual, obviously not a trained scribe, may not have had access to ink at all.

An attempt will be made here to deduce the meaning and function of the ostraca. In most cases this is a difficult undertaking because the documents are far from explicit about their content. With two exceptions,³⁹³ the ostraca do not have a heading, and in many cases we can unfortunately only offer tentative interpretations of the records. We may however take a cue from the ostraca inscribed both with marks and with hieratic and with hieroglyphic texts. In sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 we had seen that several of them are records of the distribution of goods: O. Cairo CG 25569 is an account of wicks; O. Cairo CG 25315 records the distribution of portions of grain; O. OIM MH 2666 records the distribution of perhaps grain and other items; and O. Brooklyn 16118+ attests the distribution of fish, oil, honey, curd and perhaps objects. In addition we have seen that ostraca ONL 1371 and O. Cairo CG 25660+ are lists of items brought by particular individuals on a special occasion. All these ostraca have a common factor: the identity marks of workmen are associated with commodities. We may therefore expect that other ostraca with lists of workmen's marks accompanied by numerals, strokes or dots are similar accounts. These figures and signs may tally commodities allotted to or presented by workmen.

4.3.4.1 Ostraca with marks in columns

There are 193 ostraca from the 20th Dynasty that are inscribed with columns of marks. In several instances, dots, strokes, numerals and / or other signs are added to these marks. A very precise examination of these ostraca reveals that there are many possible combinations:

- Columns of marks without additional signs (60)
- Columns of marks with dots to the right (10)
- Columns of marks with dots to the left (7)
- Columns of marks with dots to the right and/or left (4)
- Columns of marks with dots to the right, left and/or underneath (1)
- Columns of marks with dots underneath (1)
- Columns of marks with separate group of dots (1)
- Columns of marks with dots and hieratic signs for 'presence' and 'absence' to the right (3)
- Columns of marks with vertical strokes or dots to the right (1)
- Columns of marks with vertical strokes underneath (1)

³⁹² See chapter 3, 3.3.9.

³⁹³ The label *psš* 'distribution' is added to O. OIM MH 2666 and O. Brooklyn 16118+.

Columns of marks with vertical strokes to the right (2)
 Columns of marks with vertical strokes to the left (3)
 Columns of marks with vertical strokes to the right or left (1)
 Columns of marks with horizontal strokes to the right or underneath (1)
 Columns of marks in sections with strokes to the right (1)
 Columns of marks with hieratic numerals to the right (2)
 Columns of marks with hieratic numerals to the left (4)
 Columns of pairs of marks with hieratic numeral to left and dots to right or left (1)
 Columns of marks with hieratic numerals and/or dots to the left (1)
 Columns of marks with hieratic numerals and dots to the left or underneath (1)
 Columns of marks with hieratic numerals and/or dots to the left or right (4)
 Columns of marks with hieratic numerals and/or dots to the right, above or underneath (1)
 Columns of marks with numerals and/or dots to the right and rows of marks with marks underneath or to the right (1)
 Columns of marks in sections with hieratic numerals to the right, or dots to the right, left, above or underneath (1)
 Columns of marks with *sw* data, marks, sign for commodities and *smd.t* agents and hieratic numerals (80)

Columns of marks without additional signs

About two thirds of these 80 ostraca were discovered at the village of Deir el-Medina, while the other third comes from the Valley of the Kings. In 36 ostraca we observe marks that are written in an ordered sequence. Among these documents are four ostraca that record members of both sides of the crew.³⁹⁴ While the marks in three of these ostraca are only partly written in an ordered sequence, O. BM 5642 is in all probability an ordered list of the entire crew. There are 21 additional ostraca that contain columns of what appear to be ordered lists of workmen of the right side, or with marks that are listed in an order that agrees with the relative position of these marks in the duty roster.³⁹⁵ In the case of O. BTdK 475 it is not quite certain whether the list of workmen is an ordered one, but as it compares to some extent to a hieratic list of workmen we assume it is. Eleven of such documents exist for workmen of the left side.³⁹⁶ The ostraca with ordered lists of workmen may have functioned in the same way as hieratic name lists, as discussed in section 4.3.3.1.

In 23 other ostraca with columns of marks we do not recognise an ordered list. Eight of these ostraca contain workmen of both sides of the crew,³⁹⁷ seven record workmen of the right side exclusively,³⁹⁸ and two ostraca record members of the left side exclusively.³⁹⁹ Six additional ostraca do not adhere to any attested ordered sequence but apart from ONL 6217, the marks in the other five ostraca clearly belong to a single pool of workmen who may have

³⁹⁴ O. BM 5642, O. Area K Unnumbered, O. Cilli 111 and O. Cilli 335.

³⁹⁵ O. BM 50716; O. BTdK 475; O. BTdK 542; O. BTdK 552; O. Cairo JE 46865; O. IFAO C 7638; ONL 6240; ONL 6268; ONL 6314; ONL 6322; ONL 6399; ONL 6429; ONL 6437; ONL 6440; ONL 6450; ONL 6469; ONL 6494; ONL 6511; ONL 6548; ONL 6603 and O. OIM 19215.

³⁹⁶ O. Ashmolean HO 626; O. Ashmolean HO 1098; O. BTdK 475; O. Cairo JE 72491; O. Cairo JE 72497; O. Cairo JE 72499; O. DeM 10121; O. MMA 14.6.218; ONL 6273; ONL 6478; ONL 6481 and ONL 6693.

³⁹⁷ O. Ashmolean HO 704; O. BTdK 547; O. Cairo Unnumbered R; ONL 307; ONL 6275; ONL 6323; ONL 6453 and ONL 6283.

³⁹⁸ O. BTdK 543; O. Cairo JE 96529 ; O. Cairo CG 25323; O. Cairo CG 25324; O. IFAO C 2470; ONL 6427 and ONL 6468.

³⁹⁹ O. Cairo CG 25320 and ONL 6482; the document might also record workmen of the right side, but seemingly not in an ordered list.

served on one side of the workforce.⁴⁰⁰ The purpose of such ostraca is very unclear. O. Cairo Unnumbered R⁴⁰¹ also records a doorkeeper near the bottom of a column and it could therefore be an ordered list to some extent. Since the lists are not ordered they do not necessarily have to be documents of the collective tomb administration. Instead they could be private notes.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with dots

To this category belong 23 ostraca: three of unknown provenance, eight from the village of Deir el-Medina, and 12 from the Valley of the Kings. A small majority of 14 ostraca is entirely or partially written conform an ordered list, suggesting they are part of the collective tomb administration. Twelve of these ostraca contain marks that are accompanied by a single dot. These 12 ostraca record lists of workmen of the right side,⁴⁰² of the left side⁴⁰³ and of both sides.⁴⁰⁴ Presumably these dots are check marks, made by the scribe when he revised his document. In the case of O. Cairo SR 12218 and ONL 6602 the dots are added in another colour than the marks, perhaps evidence of a second revision. Alternatively the dots may indicate the absence or presence of a particular workman on a particular day. Indeed, some of the dots originally added on O. ARTP 99/27 have been deliberately erased by the scribe, indicating the dots were of certain significance.

Ostraca ONL 6256 and ONL 6502, discovered at the village, record workmen of the right side in an ordered sequence. On these documents the marks are accompanied by respectively two and three dots each. What these dots count is unclear, but since the marks occur in an ordered list the documents could record the distribution of goods.

Some of the other ostraca do not contain ordered lists of marks, but are nevertheless concerned with workmen of one particular side of the crew exclusively. O. BTdK 546 (from the settlement near KV 18) and ONL 6531 (from the village) record workmen of the right side. In both documents a single dot is added in a different colour than the marks, suggesting they were added at a later moment for administrative purposes. ONL 6713 records members of the left side and O. BTdK 539 deals with workmen of both the right and the left side. The single dots accompanying the marks could be check marks.

The meaning of O. Michaelides Nr. 91 and ONL 6675 is not quite clear. The latter document is perhaps a record of members of the left side. Large numbers of dots, ranging from one to 14, accompany the marks. Several dots are added to the marks on O. Michaelides Nr. 91 but it can often not be determined which dots belong to which mark. It is unclear what exactly is being counted in these documents.

Ostrakon O. Cilli 84 is very fragmentary. A dot has been added next to only one workman's mark, and the document may have been a list of workmen as well. A single dot is perhaps added next to one of the marks on O. BM 41649, the provenance of which is unclear. O. MMA 09.184.785 displays two incomplete columns of workmen's marks.⁴⁰⁵ Two marks have been intentionally erased by the scribe. The name of a female, Wasetnakht (i), is written in the left column in a rather abbreviated hieroglyphic spelling. A second name written in hieroglyphs may feature at the bottom of the right column but is severely damaged. A dot or rather a blob of ink had been added next to eight of the marks and names, some of which have not survived. The two horizontal strokes below the second column may be interpreted as the hieratic numeral 8, added as a total. O. MMA 09.184.785 is not necessarily a document made

⁴⁰⁰ O. ARTP 02/225; O. Cairo JE 72493; O. Cairo JE 72495; O. KV 10041; O. MMA 14.6.204 and ONL 6217.

⁴⁰¹ Appendix I, § 28.

⁴⁰² O. BTdK 537; O. BTdK 538; O. BTdK 541; O. BTdK 554; O. Cairo SR 12218; ONL 6251; ONL 6513.

⁴⁰³ O. ARTP 99/27; O. BTdK 555; O. Cairo CG 25318; ONL 6602.

⁴⁰⁴ O. Ashmolean HO 1118.

⁴⁰⁵ Appendix I, § 12.

in the context of work on the tomb, as some recorded individuals are family members. Wasetnakht (i) was the daughter of Khaemnun (i) and brother of Maaninakhtuef (iii), whose marks feature in this document. The document may therefore be a private account recording the distribution of commodities among family and friends.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with dots and a hieratic sign for 'presence' and 'absence'
The three ostraca of this category have been discussed above in section 4.3.3.2. While O. Cairo JE 96647 was discovered in the Valley of the Kings, ONL 6463 and ONL 6851 come from the village of Deir el-Medina. All three ostraca are explicitly concerned with attendance at the work site.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with a separate group of dots
One ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings, O. Cairo CG 25319, is inscribed with two columns of marks for members of the left side in an order that is comparable to the ordered sequence. On the right side of the ostrakon 10 superimposed dots are added that conceivably correspond to the 10 marks. The meaning of the document is unclear, but the adherence to the ordered sequence suggests that it was part of the collective necropolis administration.




Ostraca with columns of marks and with vertical strokes
Instead of dots, vertical strokes are occasionally added to marks on some ostraca. The strokes all appear to represent amounts, and are all integers. If they record quantities of grain or any other commodity measured in *khar*, they apparently never include portions with $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ *khar* because the strokes are never combined with dots.⁴⁰⁶ In O. Cairo CG 25317, the strokes indeed represent *khars*, as pointed out below in this section. If the quantities in other ostraca are indeed amounts of commodities, they could represent bundles of vegetables (distributed in portions of ten, five and one bundle on O. Černý 22 dated to the middle of the 20th Dynasty), or loaves of bread (distributed in portions of one or two on O. DeM 296 dated to the middle of the 20th Dynasty). Other items are of course possible as well and in hieratic distribution texts from the 20th Dynasty we find commodities such as beer, oil, honey etc. Theoretically the strokes could also tally the number of days a workman had been present or absent at the worksite during a specific timeframe, or perhaps the output of labour over the course of a particular period, but there are no parallels for such records in the hieratic administration.

Ostraca with marks and vertical strokes were found at the village of Deir el-Medina as well as the Valley of the Kings. Ostraca O. BTdK 550, O. Cairo JE 96614, O. Prague NM P 3836 and ONL 6253 are ordered lists of workmen of the left side. On O. BTdK 550 one stroke is added to one mark only. Its meaning is unclear. Similarly, ONL 6253 displays one mark accompanied by two strokes. On O. Cairo JE 96614 and O. Prague NM P 3836 there are many more marks with strokes, added in greater quantities. Seven or eight strokes are added on O. Prague NM P 3836, and up to 16 strokes on O. Cairo JE 96614. These documents are evidently accounts of collective administration and tally something about which we can only guess. Related is also the obverse of O. Turin N. 57008. It displays four columns of marks, separated from each other by column dividers, and horizontal rather than vertical strokes are added to a few of the marks. The strokes feature in quantities of one, two or three. It seems probable that just like the vertical strokes they are tally strokes.

All such ostraca may be accounts of the distribution of goods. This is at least suggested by O. Cairo CG 25317.⁴⁰⁷ In this ostrakon, two strokes are added next to four of the marks. The marks without strokes count as one and the marks with two strokes as two,

⁴⁰⁶ For the use of marks in combinations with strokes and dots, see below.

⁴⁰⁷ It is very unlikely that the dot to the right of one mark is significant. It may be a check mark or simply a splatter of ink.

resulting in a total of 24, to which the hieratic numeral at the bottom of the ostrakon must refer. As we pointed out above, the list of marks on this ostrakon is to some extent an ordered one, because it mentions a doorkeeper at the bottom. We have also remarked that mark  at the bottom of the left column is a reference to a temple or chapel of the king. In analogy with hieratic lists such as O. Berlin P 14264, which also record a doorkeeper and the chapel of the 'Lord of both Lands', we can interpret O. Cairo CG 25317 as a record of the distribution of grain rations. The strokes most likely represent amounts of *khar*, indicating that most of the recorded individuals received one *khar* and four colleagues were allotted two *khar*. Similar figures are known from hieratic grain distribution texts from the end of the 20th Dynasty.⁴⁰⁸ The reason for the higher portions for some of the individuals in this list must be connected with their rank, but we are not able to identify all of them. Mark  may refer to the guardian Qaydjeret (i), but men of this occupation were usually not given a higher ration than workmen. Mark  may however refer to Qenna (i), who was deputy of the left side in the second half of the 20th Dynasty.⁴⁰⁹ Whereas hieratic distribution texts always list the individuals in categories, such as 'the four captains' and 'the workmen', O. Cairo CG 25317 is an individualised list. We may therefore assume that O. Cairo CG 25317 was a draft made by a hieratic scribe in preparation of a more elaborate hieratic distribution text.

Ostraca O. Ashmolean HO 5 and ONL 6540 display marks of workmen of the right and the left side and they are not inscribed in accordance with an ordered sequence. In the former ostrakon one or two strokes are added to each mark, in the latter ostrakon we observe up to four strokes. Since these documents do not feature ordered lists, they could be private accounts.

Ostraca with columns of marks in sections with strokes

The marks on ONL 6303 are listed in two columns in accordance with an ordered sequence of the left side. The marks are inscribed in a table that contains compartmented groups of marks. Each mark, written in black ink, is accompanied by six strokes in red ink, suggesting the strokes were added at a later stage. There are no apparent differences between marks in one group and in the other apart from faint traces of ink in two boxes in the right column that appear to be depictions of pieces of shawls with fringes.⁴¹⁰ The strokes may thus tally the number of clothes distributed among a group of workmen. After the first few boxes the scribe may have decided to stop repeating the depiction of the shawl for each group of individuals.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with dots or vertical strokes

The only ostrakon in this category is ONL 6435. On this document there are three marks with two dots, one mark with three dots and one mark with two vertical strokes. It would seem that the dots signify something different than the strokes. One may propose that the strokes stand for quantities of *khar* and the dots for *oipe*, but that cannot be proven.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with hieratic numerals

The six ostraca in this category have been discovered at the village as well as in the Valley of Kings. Thanks to the mention of Pased on O. DeM 264 we have been able to interpret this ordered list of marks of members of the right side accompanied by the hieratic numeral five as an account of the distribution of bundles of vegetables. O. Cairo JE 96326 and ONL 6549 too are ordered lists of members of the right side with the number five, and could therefore be similar documents.

⁴⁰⁸ See the overview in Goecke-Bauer, 'Torwächter', 84-87.

⁴⁰⁹ Davies, *Who's who*, 22.


⁴¹⁰ Cf. pictorial depictions of items of laundry and other objects, see chapter 5, 5.3.2.3.

The meaning of O. Cairo CG 25660+ was also elucidated thanks to the hieratic inscription on the same vessel. It represents a gift-giving list of members of both sides of the crew and the number of loaves they contributed on the occasion of a festival. Since it corresponds rather well to the hieratic text, it may be a first draft of that text, or perhaps a transcription of it, so it would be comprehensible to a larger public of individuals without scribal training.

O. Cairo JE 96581 is only a brief document, displaying two marks accompanied by the numeral seven and one mark with the numeral four. The men belong to the right side of the crew, but the meaning of the document is not at all evident.

The purpose of the account on ONL 6874, a large amphora inscribed with marks, is not completely clear either. The workmen that are recorded belong to both sides of the crew and are not listed in accordance with an ordered sequence. The added numerals range from two up to as great a number as 35. Like O. Cairo CG 25660+ this text may be an account of the gifts brought by individuals to a party. An alternative but unsubstantiated explanation would be that it is an account of the distribution among various community members of the content of the amphora itself.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with hieratic numerals and/or dots

Nine ostraca with columns of marks feature dots as well as hieratic numerals. We have seen that in O. Cairo CG 25315 this is done to record quantities of *khar* and *oipe* in an account of the distribution of grain rations. The notation of these units seems, however, to be limited to this single ostrakon. The significance of the dots and numerals that accompany several marks on the reverse of ONL 6539 is utterly unclear because we do not comprehend the system of counting that is employed there. Four ostraca from the group of documents from the Valley of the Kings were made by a single scribe towards the end of the 20th Dynasty.⁴¹¹ The fact that some of the marks appear in a recurring sequence suggests that these may be partially ordered lists of workmen. In these lists, some marks are accompanied by a set of dots, others by semi-hieratic numerals, and some by a combination of both. The semi-hieratic numerals are often incorrectly orientated and are composed of multiples of the signs for one, 10 and 20. What these figures count is not clear. Several marks display five or six dots, but the numerals range from eight to perhaps 33. Perhaps the dots are nothing more than alternative signs for the numeral one. A group such as  should then be read as '16'.

Both ostraca O. BM 50731 and OL 170+ are ordered lists written in columns separated by column dividers. In OL 170+ we can see that the numerals and dots were added at a later moment, after the list had been completed. Hieratic numerals ranging from two to 12 are added to some but not all of the marks, and we can only guess as to their meaning. The fact that the lists are ordered probably indicates that they were made as part of the collective tomb administration. The single dots added to some of the marks must be check marks.

The marks on ONL 6297 are accompanied by semi-hieratic numerals for 400, 500, 600 and 700 which are all wrongly orientated. Five dots are added above one instance of the numeral 500, but in all probability these dots have no meaning. They seem rather to have been made when the scribe of the document checked his documents and counted the vertical strokes of that particular numeral.

Ostraca with columns of pairs of marks and with hieratic numerals and/or dots

Only one ostrakon of this type is known, O. Cairo JE 46860, discovered in the settlement of huts near the tomb of Ramesses X. It is inscribed in red ink and records all members of the right side following the ordered sequence. Most workmen are listed in pairs, with the

⁴¹¹ O. ARTP 02/223, O. ARTP 02/224, O. MMA 09.184.783 and O. MMA 09.184.784+.

inexplicable exceptions of λ , $\bar{\Pi}$ and $\bar{\Pi}$. The meaning of the pairs of workmen is unclear, but every pair is connected with the hieratic numeral five. Only in the case of the pair of workmen represented by marks $\underline{\lambda}$ and $\underline{\lambda}$ is the numeral five added to both marks. The workmen designated by λ , $\bar{\Pi}$ and $\bar{\Pi}$ that feature on their own are likewise connected with the numeral five. The single dots added to some of the marks are most probably check marks. The significance of the numeral 42 below the columns of marks is unclear. It cannot refer to a total of the recorded numerals, because that figure should be 85. Since the ostrakon concerns the entire right side of the crew, we may suppose that it documents a collective distribution of an unspecified commodity issued in quantities of five, as on O. Cairo JE 96326. In contrast to the latter account, most of the workmen in O. Cairo JE 46860 had to share their portion with a colleague, while others were attributed a full allotment. The arrangement in pairs is odd, and the only other parallel is ONL 6269.

Ostraca with columns of marks with day dates, marks, sign for commodities and smd.t agents and hieratic numerals

The 80 ostraca of this type are discussed in detail in section chapter 3.

4.3.4.2 Ostraca with marks in rows

A considerably smaller body of ostraca from the 20th Dynasty record ostraca that are arranged in rows. The majority of such ostraca record marks without additional signs, but there are several ostraca in which marks are combined with dots, strokes, numerals or a combination of such elements:

- Rows of marks without additional signs (40)
- Rows of marks with dots underneath (2)
- Rows of marks with dots to the left (1)
- Rows of marks with dots to right and left (1)
- Rows of marks with dots above and underneath, to right or left (1)
- Rows of marks with a separate group of dots (1)
- Rows of marks with vertical strokes to the left (2)
- Rows of marks with vertical strokes underneath (1)
- Rows of marks with hieratic numerals to the left (5)
- Rows of marks with hieratic numerals or dots (1)
- Rows of marks in sections divided by horizontal lines (1)
- Rows of marks in columns with dots and vertical strokes underneath (2)

Ostraca with rows of marks without additional signs

The majority of ostraca in this category come from the village of Deir el-Medina. Only 12 out of 39 ostraca were discovered in the Valley of the Kings. Remarkable is also that only 12 ostraca in this category display an arrangement of marks that is in accordance with an ordered sequence. It seems therefore that during the 20th Dynasty the preferred lay-out for ordered lists of workmen's marks were columns. Of the ostraca that do at least partly follow the ordered sequence, eight record members of the right side exclusively,⁴¹² and four are solely concerned with members of the left.⁴¹³ These documents are not different from ordered lists of workmen's marks arranged in columns, and may have served the same purpose.

⁴¹² O. Ashmolean HO 1095, section on reverse; O. BTdK 535; ONL 6229; ONL 6290; ONL 6301; ONL 6397; ONL 6439 and ONL 6554.

⁴¹³ ONL 533; ONL 6246; ONL 6289; and O. Turin N. 57534.

The ostraca in which an ordered sequence cannot be detected could have had a different function. Of these documents 10 record workmen of both sides of the crew,⁴¹⁴ but other ostraca display a clear distinction between the right and the left side: 10 ostraca record only members of the right,⁴¹⁵ and three ostraca contain only marks of members of the left side.⁴¹⁶ Four additional ostraca are difficult to interpret and it is not clear to which side the marks belong.⁴¹⁷ Regarding the ostraca that deal with one side exclusively, an administrative character may be considered. Yet, all documents in this sub-category may also constitute private notes.

Ostraca with rows of marks in sections divided by horizontal lines

The only ostrakon that fits this description is fragmentary O. BTdK 407. It records workmen of one side but its sequence is not ordered. The marks are listed in a sort of table, but it does not appear to change the meaning of the document. In all probability the format of a table was chosen to create a neater overview. Its format does suggest that this record was created as part of the collective tomb administration.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with dots

There are five ostraca with marks arranged in rows that are accompanied by dots.⁴¹⁸ They were all discovered at the village but it is unclear if this means that the subject of this type of documents is related to the location at which they were written. Except perhaps for ONL 6506, the rows of marks on the other four documents were not arranged in an ordered sequence. In every ostrakon each mark is not accompanied by more than a single dot. In ONL 6430 it is perhaps one mark that is connected with a dot, in ONL 6483 there are only two marks with a dot. A semi-hieratic numeral 33 seems to be added below the row of marks in the latter ostrakon, but its meaning is unclear. In fact, we cannot ascertain what the other ostraca record exactly. In all cases the dots can be nothing more than check marks. Since the documents are not arranged in an ordered sequence, we cannot exclude the possibility that the records are private accounts of some event.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with a separate group of dots

O. BTdK 520, an ostrakon from the settlement near the tomb of Ramesses X, is inscribed with two or three marks for workmen of the right side. The other side is inscribed with at least 10 dots, but whether the two sides are related is unclear.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with vertical strokes

Like the five ostraca with rows of marks with dots, the three ostraca with rows of marks with vertical strokes were all discovered at the village of Deir el-Medina. Another parallel is the fact that the marks are not exactly enumerated in an ordered sequence, although the order of marks on ONL 6507 and O. UC 31987+ does seem to be related to one. On ONL 6575 the number of strokes ranges from three to a number over four, on O. UC 31987+ from four to perhaps ten, and on ONL 6507 from four to five. Once again we are left in the dark as to what

⁴¹⁴ O. BTdK 536; O. BTdK 548; O. BTdK 569; ONL 6255; O. Cairo JE 46866; ONL 6261; ONL 6311; ONL 6438; ONL 6576 and O. UC 45702.

⁴¹⁵ An ostrakon depicted in Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII (nr. 7); O. ARTP 99/29; O. BTdK 545; O. Cairo JE 46857; O. Cairo CG 25270; ONL 6259; ONL 6474; ONL 6551; ONL 6569 and ONL 6581. Note that the classification of O. Cairo CG 25270 is uncertain because the three marks are incorporated in a hieratic text. Moreover, in contrast to Amenemope (x) referred to by mark \square , mark ⌘ may or may not belong to a workman of the right side depending on the date of the ostrakon.

⁴¹⁶ O. BTdK 454, O. BTdK 551 and ONL 6448.

⁴¹⁷ O. BTdK 494; ONL 6248; ONL 6358 and O. UC 39620.

⁴¹⁸ ONL 6430, ONL 6470, ONL 6483, ONL 6506 and ONL 6508.

these ostraca document exactly. Since the marks are not arranged in an ordered sequence the ostraca could be private accounts.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with hieratic numerals

Apart from O. Cairo CG 25569, the marks on the ostraca in this category are inscribed in accordance with ordered lists of the right side. Two ostraca were found at the village of Deir el-Medina, the other three were discovered in the Valley of the Kings. O. Cairo CG 25569 contains only three marks for workmen of both sides of the crew. The hieratic inscription on this piece records the issue of wicks to the crew members. It is therefore plausible that the numerals connected with two of the marks, eight and ten, refer to quantities of wicks. The two marks added to hieratic ostrakon O. DeM 32 are situated in subsequent positions in the turnus of that time, and the numerals 750 and 350 might record wood deliveries. In both documents the marks and numerals may be quick notes added to hieratic accounts. In the ordered lists of O. Berlin P 10842 and O. Cairo JE 96328 the majority of the marks are connected with the numeral 100. In the latter ostrakon, mark 𐤎 for the foreman is accompanied by the numeral 200. It appears that on this ostrakon the foreman is allotted a portion that is twice as big as that of the other crew members, suggesting the document records a distribution of goods. In O. Berlin P 10842 on the other hand the first recorded mark is that of Harshire, who is allotted a quantity of 60. His portion thus is smaller than that of the other crew members, and we do not understand why. O. Cairo JE 96321 is probably a similar account of the distribution of goods, but the much smaller quantities indicate that it concerns a different commodity. Each workman is allotted either a quantity of seven or of ten. The total of 54 is given at the end of the second row of marks.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with hieratic numerals or dots

The meaning of O. BM 14214 is very unclear. It is inscribed with marks for workmen of both sides of the crew and the sequence of marks is not attested in an ordered list. Some marks are accompanied by dots and others by hieratic numerals. The numerals used are 'five' or 'ten', while the sets of dots range from one to presumably six. One of the hieratic numerals for 'five' is incorrectly orientated suggesting the scribe of the ostrakon was not very familiar with hieratic script. There is therefore a possibility that the dots are used instead of hieratic numerals to tally something, but it is completely unclear what the numerals and dots refer to.

Ostraca with rows of marks in columns and with dots and vertical strokes

There is at least one ostrakon from Deir el-Medina, O. Turin N. 57427, which belongs in this category, and another, ONL 6651, that we may attribute to it. O. Turin N. 57427 is an enigmatic ostrakon that displays a table consisting of 17 columns with at least one mark each. Some columns are subdivided into two or three section with another mark. Scores of dots and strokes feature below these marks, with the exception of the column with mark 𐤎 , which has only one stroke. At the bottom of this column we observe mark 𐤎 , which for unclear reasons is not inscribed in a separate section of the column. This mark too is accompanied by a single dot only. It is difficult to establish if the marks on O. Turin N. 57427 are listed in an ordered sequence because it probably dates to a period from which we do not possess many long ordered lists of marks. The organised lay-out of the ostrakon suggests that it records collective tomb administration. That is also suggested by the fact that it was corrected and perhaps reused, as evidenced by the erasure of dots and marks. Although fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6651 does not display as many dots or strokes, the marks on this piece are also arranged in a column and it may have been a similar document.

4.3.4.3 Ostraca with marks not arranged in columns or rows

A smaller group of ostraca is inscribed with marks that are not arranged in columns or rows. Such documents are often rather difficult to interpret because many of them do not adhere to an ordered sequence. The following arrangements are attested:

- Marks not in columns or rows without additional signs (23)
- Marks with one dot to the right (1)
- Marks with dots to the right or left (1)
- Marks with dots or strokes in cells (1)
- Marks with dots and vertical strokes to the right or above (1)
- Marks with dots and hieratic numerals in cells (5)
- Marks with numerals to the left (1)
- Marks with numerals to the left or underneath (1)
- Marks with numerals to the right or left (1)
- Marks with numerals to the right and underneath (1)
- Marks with semi-hieratic numerals in compartmented sections (2)
- Marks with a separate group of numerals (1)

Ostraca with marks not in columns or rows

The 23 ostraca of this type display marks that are mostly scattered over the surface of the ostrakon. They were found both in the village as well as in the Valley of the Kings. Four, perhaps five ostraca in this category record marks of workmen of both sides of the crew that are not arranged in an ordered sequence.⁴¹⁹ It is completely unclear what purpose such ostraca may have served.

Four other ostraca found at the village are slightly easier to interpret because they are at least partly arranged in an ordered sequence despite their looser lay-out. ONL 6434, ONL 6458 and ONL 6572 record workmen of the right side, and ONL 6480 concerns workmen of the left side. These four ostraca are essentially the same sort of documents as ostraca with workmen's marks arranged in columns or in rows that conform to an ordered sequence. They probably played a role in the collective administration of the tomb and could be lists of workmen who were absent or present at the worksite. That may or may not be true for five other ostraca that record workmen of one particular side of the crew exclusively, although not in an ordered sequence. ONL 6425+, ONL 6537, ONL 6684 and O. Schaden 215 record men of the right side, and ONL 6243 men of the left side.

The two marks inscribed on the reverse of O. Ashmolean HO 68 are not arranged in a column or a row, but as demonstrated above they are clearly related to the hieratic text on the obverse and were probably added on the piece to summarise the subject matter.

The remaining ostraca in this group⁴²⁰ contain no more than two or three marks. These documents are even more difficult to interpret. They may be small notes, or perhaps collective name stones. In the case of O. BTdK 136 the identification of the signs as marks is not certain.

Ostraca with marks and with dots

No more than two ostraca belong to this category. O. BTdK 540 was discovered at the settlement close to the tomb of Ramesses X, and O. Berlin P 14231 must have come from the village of Deir el-Medina. The latter ostrakon records workmen of both sides of the crew in black ink, and single reds dots were added to several of them. These dots could be check marks, but might perhaps also indicate presence or absence at the worksite. O. BTdK 540

⁴¹⁹ O. Cairo CG 25322, O. Keimer 54, O. WHTM 0692+, ONL 6264 and O. Turin N. 57353.

⁴²⁰ O. BTdK 571, O. BTdK 572, O. BTdK 574, O. BTdK 577, O. BTdK 579, O. BTdK 580 and O. FES 01.34.

records members of the right side exclusively. A single dot is added to two of the marks, although one of them might in fact be two vertical strokes. Two marks are accompanied by two dots. This document must therefore be of a different nature than O. Berlin P 14231. The dots are most likely tallies, and because the ostrakon deals with workmen of one particular side they may count commodities distributed among the workmen. Such an understanding of the ostrakon is not at all certain because it does not explain the presence of the marks to which no dots have been added.

Ostraca with marks and with dots or strokes in cells

Only a single ostrakon, O. UC 45733, belongs in this category, the description of which is not completely accurate because many of the marks on this ostrakon are not inscribed in actual cells. Instead, the scribe appears to have drawn vertical and horizontal lines between the marks to separate the marks and the series of dots or strokes from the each other. The dots on this document are in all probability nothing else than shorter strokes, and nowhere do we observe a combination of dots and strokes. The number of strokes or dots per mark ranges from two to fifteen, but unfortunately it is unclear what the strokes tally exactly.

Ostraca with marks and with dots and vertical strokes

The marks preserved on fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6512 belong to workmen of the right side. Two strokes are added left of one particular mark, and a dot below the same mark may be a check mark. Because of the fragmentary nature of this account we cannot determine its exact meaning.

Ostraca with marks and with dots and hieratic numerals in cells

Five ostraca of this kind are known, four of which were found at the village of Deir el-Medina.⁴²¹ The provenance of O. Florence 2631 is unknown. The interpretation of these documents is primarily based on that of O. Florence 2631, which might record deliveries that took place in year 18 of Ramesses III and the workmen of the right side who were involved in these matters.⁴²² The other ostraca are far less comprehensible, and include members of the left side of the crew as well. The supposed mention of a donkey on O. IFAO no SA 284 supports the idea that these ostraca are concerned with deliveries.⁴²³

Ostraca with marks and with numerals

Three ostraca of this type were discovered at the village of Deir el-Medina and a fourth comes from the Valley of the Kings. The marks on ONL 6269 appear to be grouped in pairs and the ostrakon is in that respect similar to O. Cairo JE 46860. Each pair is connected with the numeral 120. The marks belong to workmen of the right side, and the arrangement of the marks is reminiscent of their positions in the ordered list. We may assume that this indicates that the ostrakon deals with the collective tomb administration. It may be an account of the distribution of goods.

The marks on O. DeM 34 all belong to workmen of the right side and together with the numerals they may be additions to the hieratic text inscribed on the ostrakon. The numerals could refer to quantities of wood delivered to the crew, perhaps with assistance of the workmen recorded by their marks. Otherwise the marks and numerals may record a distribution of goods. The marks on O. Turin N. 57350 also refer to members of the right side. The two vertical strokes juxtaposed with two marks are perhaps hieratic numerals

⁴²¹ O. IFAO no SA 284, ONL 6671, O. Turin N. 57144 and O. Turin N. 57145.

⁴²² See Appendix I, § 4.

⁴²³ See Appendix I, § 4.

4. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 20TH DYNASTY. PART II

TABLE 87. SECTIONS OF MARKS ON O. UC 31939+

We observe that there is little overlap between the groups of marks within a single ostrakon, and the groups on O. Cairo JE 46862 do not correspond well to the groups on O. UC 31939+. There are some marks that appear in more than one section. This indicates that each section refers to a different event. Mark is inscribed twice in the upper left section of O. UC 31939+, perhaps because no numeral is added to it in the first instance.⁴²⁴ The marks are all accompanied by a semi-hieratic numeral that is composed in the same way as on O. Cairo JE 46858. These numerals range on both ostraca between one and 30, figures that are similar to those on O. Cairo JE 46858. We assume that the vertical strokes on O. UC 31939+ also represent units, although some of them look rather like semi-hieratic hundreds. Yet, their position left of numerals ‘ten’ and ‘twenty’ renders the latter reading problematic. Because both ostraca are concerned with one specific side of the crew, and because they assumedly record several instances of a certain event it seems likely that they are documents created for the collective tomb administration. They may deal with deliveries or the distribution of goods. We have seen that O. Cairo JE 46858 is probably a similar document, but rather records a single instance of such an assumed distribution or list of deliveries. That is also suggested by O. Cairo JE 46864, a document dated to the same period and discovered at the same site. The rather chaotic arrangement of the marks as well as the use of semi-hieratic numerals indicates they were composed by the same scribe. The reverse of this ostrakon suggests it deals with commodities stored in jars.⁴²⁵

Ostraca with marks and with separate group of numerals

The only ostrakon in this category is O. Cilli 156, which displays 10 marks referring to workmen of the right and left side. Above it two hieratic numerals are inscribed for 20 and 23, the latter incorrectly orientated. We may suppose that the numerals are related to the marks as they appear to have been inscribed by the same hand. The ostrakon is therefore an account of some sort, but its meaning escapes us.

⁴²⁴ Alternatively the double mark refers to two family members with the same mark.

⁴²⁵ See above, p. 371.

4.3.4.4 Ostraca with marks combined with journal dates and signs for commodities and objects

As discussed above, a group of 15 ostraca most of which were discovered at the Grand Puits may be interpreted as journal texts that record day dates in combination with workmen's marks and signs for commodities and objects.⁴²⁶ These ostraca were probably created by the same hand. Because of the fragmentary state of these ostraca, some of which may actually have belonged to one single document, they are difficult to interpret. They are perhaps records of deliveries received by workmen on *wrš* duty.

4.3.4.5 Ostraca with marks in a roster with dots and strokes and signs for festivals

As discussed above, O. Louvre N. 699 is probably a calendar of sorts that records deliveries and inactivity for 12 days, or less likely for a complete year. In our corpus it is the only ostrakon of this type. Reportedly its provenance was the village of Deir el-Medina.

4.3.4.6 Ostraca with marks and depictions of furniture and other objects

Ostraca of this type have been analysed above in section 4.3.3.3. The number of ostraca in this category that were discovered in the Valley of the Kings is almost as great as the number of ostraca with marks from the village of Deir el-Medina. ONL 6262 belongs perhaps also in this category if the vessel in the left corner is not the identity mark \heartsuit .

4.3.4.7 Ostraca with one or two marks

Ostraca that display nothing else but one or two identity marks are most probably name stones. Their purpose has been discussed in section 4.3.3.4. There may be many more of such names stones, but their identification and their date is problematic. There are other ostraca which feature no more than two marks, but they are of a different nature. As discussed above, \square is the only mark within the hieratic administrative text of O. DeM 150+. Together with the hieratic numeral to its left this may be a brief addition to a delivery text.


There are two ostraca, O. BTdK 353 and O. BTdK 553, which are difficult to interpret because they are not completely preserved. In their current state they display only a single mark each, with one or two dots added to them. These dots are difficult to explain, and the ostraca were probably part of a larger document.

Ostraca O. Cairo CG 25326 a-i are each inscribed with a single workman's mark and a large amount of vertical strokes. These nine ostraca clearly belong together. It seems they were discovered in the Valley of the Kings as a group and are all written on limestone. Each mark is accompanied by a series of strokes, written in one, two, three or four lines. The number of strokes per ostrakon ranges from 11 to 42. The meaning of these ostraca is very obscure, but because they are evidently related to each other they could be short work notes that were at a later point consulted to compile another document, perhaps a hieratic account.


4.3.4.8 Ostraca with an unclear lay-out

A small number of ostraca do not quite fit into any of the categories discussed above. In most cases this is due to the poor state of preservation, and therefore these ostraca are incomprehensible. O. UC 39606 and O. UC 39661 display a row of signs but they cannot be securely identified as workmen's marks. ONL 6586 and ONL 6574 certainly date to the 20th Dynasty but are very damaged. They seem to belong to the category of ostraca with marks that are neither arranged in columns nor in rows. ONL 6523 probably does not display any workmen's marks, but the fragment may have belonged to a larger document that did. Enough signs on this piece are reminiscent of the duty and delivery ostraca from the first half of the

⁴²⁶ ONL 1409, ONL 6178, ONL 6179, ONL 6180, ONL 6181, ONL 6182, ONL 6183, ONL 6184, ONL 6185, ONL 6239, ONL 6242, ONL 6282, ONL 6685, ONL 6711 and ONL 6832.

20th Dynasty to relate ONL 6523 to the same category. The lay-out of O. DeM 10028 cannot be accurately determined because the sign below mark  is unclear. The mark may or may not be related with what appears to be a hieratic delivery account on the obverse. ONL 6660 might be a row of marks but only that of Harshire (i) is clearly visible. ONL 6258 could be a collective name stone if one accepts that it is partly written with cursive hieroglyphs. It contains a brief column that can be read as *p < n > -niw.t*:



To the left of it we observe mark , used for Nakhtmin (vi). This man is not related to a Penniut and we are unable to explain the occurrence of both men on this piece. O. BTdK 556 records the marks of at least three, perhaps four draughtsmen. The meaning of the strokes is not at all clear, the more so because several series of strokes are not connected with a mark. Since the document mentions a group of draughtsmen it could be a record of paint jobs on objects or within the royal tomb, but that is of course highly speculative. The hand in which the marks are inscribed is not evidently that of a trained draughtsman.

4.4 SCRIBES AND SCRIBAL COMPETENCE

In chapters 3 and 4 we have discussed the total of 379 ostraca with marks that date to the 20th Dynasty. The real number of preserved ostraca from this time is presumably somewhat higher, because there exist several ostraca that are only broadly attributed to the Ramesside Period. The total of 379 ostraca includes so-called name stones (composed with marks) as well as ostraca that are also inscribed with hieratic. The amount of 379 ostraca is very small considering the span of the 20th Dynasty, and it is extremely low when compared to the estimated total of 12000 hieratic ostraca both published and unpublished from the Ramesside Period. The ratio of hieratic documentary ostraca to ostraca with marks can be investigated to some extent through the finds from the controlled excavations at the settlement of the huts near KV 18 carried out by the University of Basel that point towards very similar figures. The mission recovered 255 administrative texts and objects (including weights and name stones),⁴²⁷ and 56 ostraca with marks (excluding jar stoppers and other objects incised or inscribed with (an) identity mark(s)),⁴²⁸ indicating that of all 311 documents, c. 82% was written in hieratic and c. 18% was composed with marks.

Regardless of the absolute numbers of hieratic ostraca and ostraca with marks, it seems reasonable to assume that for every 10 ostraca that were ever composed, about two were inscribed with marks, and presumably even less. We may infer from this observation that certainly not the entire population of Deir el-Medina would have been in the habit of creating documents with the use of marks. This would in theory seem possible, but the number of ostraca with marks is far smaller than the number of texts created by the group of literati within the community. Still, the palaeography of the marks differs from ostrakon to ostrakon, suggesting we are not dealing with a select group of ‘scribes’ that employed marks.

We are of course curious as to who the individuals that created ostraca with marks were, but concrete indications are unfortunately lacking. It has been proposed that the duty and delivery ostraca from the first half of the 20th Dynasty was the ‘*smd.t* scribe’ Pentaweret (iii), but we know very little about this man. We have to some extent been able to demonstrate that although he certainly had some knowledge of hieratic script – particularly of uniliteral signs and numerals – he was not a professionally trained scribe. Apparently he compensated for his scribal incompetencies by inventing his own signs and combining them with

⁴²⁷ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 142.

⁴²⁸ O. BTdK 382, 407, 454, 475, 487, 494, 535 – 520; 552 – 575; 577; 583 – 580.

workmen's marks. In the case of this man, whose archive we can examine in detail, we are able to come to such conclusions, but for the majority of the other ostraca with marks this is not possible. It is extremely difficult to qualify whether a particular handwriting belongs to a professional scribe or an untrained individual. It is easier to identify hands that show signs of a professional at work than detecting the handwriting of someone who was not trained; a crude, sloppy manuscript with unattractive marks may also have been made by a trained scribe with a bad handwriting or by a trained scribe who was in a hurry. There are, however, instances in which one is able to recognise a scribe with very limited skills through the use of semi-hieratic numerals or mistakes in marks with hieroglyphic elements.

Still, it is in general a difficult and dangerous mission *to systematically and factually assess* a scribe's proficiency in writing. Ostraca O. ARTP 99/27 and O. Cairo JE 72491 (FIG.13) illustrate how handwriting, orientation, shape and lay-out of the marks in a particular document inform us about the level of scribal training of its author. Both of these well preserved documents are most likely lists of the entire left side of the workforce and date to the reign of Ramesses IV. O. ARTP 99/27 displays two columns of workmen's marks, the majority of which is orientated to the left, suggesting the direction of reading is from left to right. Yet it is clear that the right column was made before the left column, because it contains the mark of the deputy of the left side. Moreover, the marks are not all orientated to the left: marks $\bar{\text{L}}$, $\bar{\text{T}}$, \mathcal{A} , and \ddagger are orientated to the right, demonstrating that the author of the piece was not very attentive about the orientation of his signs. The scribe was for some reason not greatly concerned with the general lay-out of his document, and the columns of marks are not perfectly vertical. For example, there is a bend in the right column because the scribe preferred to align his marks to the edge of the ostrakon. Moreover, when the scribe finished his right column he did not continue at the top of the left column. As a comparison of the same sequence of marks on other ostraca indicates, the continuation of the right column begins with mark 𓆎 in the short column at the bottom of the ostrakon, which in turn is followed by mark 𓆏 heading the larger column at the left side of the ostrakon. Several features of the shape of the marks on O. ARTP 99/27 are rather unorthodox. Some demonstrate that the author of the ostrakon was not a trained scribe. That is most obvious in his allomorph of mark 𓆑 , probably referring to a workman with the element *m-hb* in his name, rendered by our scribe as *hb-m*. His unfamiliarity with script is also evident in his variant of 𓆒 , in which the semi-circular element on which the feather rests is inverted. Moreover, this scribe's variant of mark 𓆓 is vertically orientated. Mark 𓆔 has been written as if it were a hieratic ligature, but apart from its unconventional shape it is incorrectly orientated for a hieratic sign (FIG.14A). We may question the extent of the scribe's familiarity with the workmen's marks as well, because his allomorph of mark 𓆕 , the pentagram, becomes an otherwise unattested four-pointed star (FIG.14B). Other marks are not necessarily incorrectly shaped but do seem to indicate that the scribe's way of thinking was not embedded in script. The inspiration for some of his marks appears not to have originated from signs used in Egyptian writing, but from the actual objects. For example, the scribe's allomorph of mark 𓆖 , a hieroglyphic sign depicting a sistrum with the phonetic value *shm*, referring to a workman called *Merysekhmet*, is depicted as an actual *shm*-sistrum (FIG.14C). Similarly, the allomorph of 𓆗 , the neck support, is shaped as an actual block-shaped neck support (FIG.14D).⁴²⁹

⁴²⁹ For examples of block-shaped neck supports from Deir el-Medina see Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* III, figs. 117 and 118.

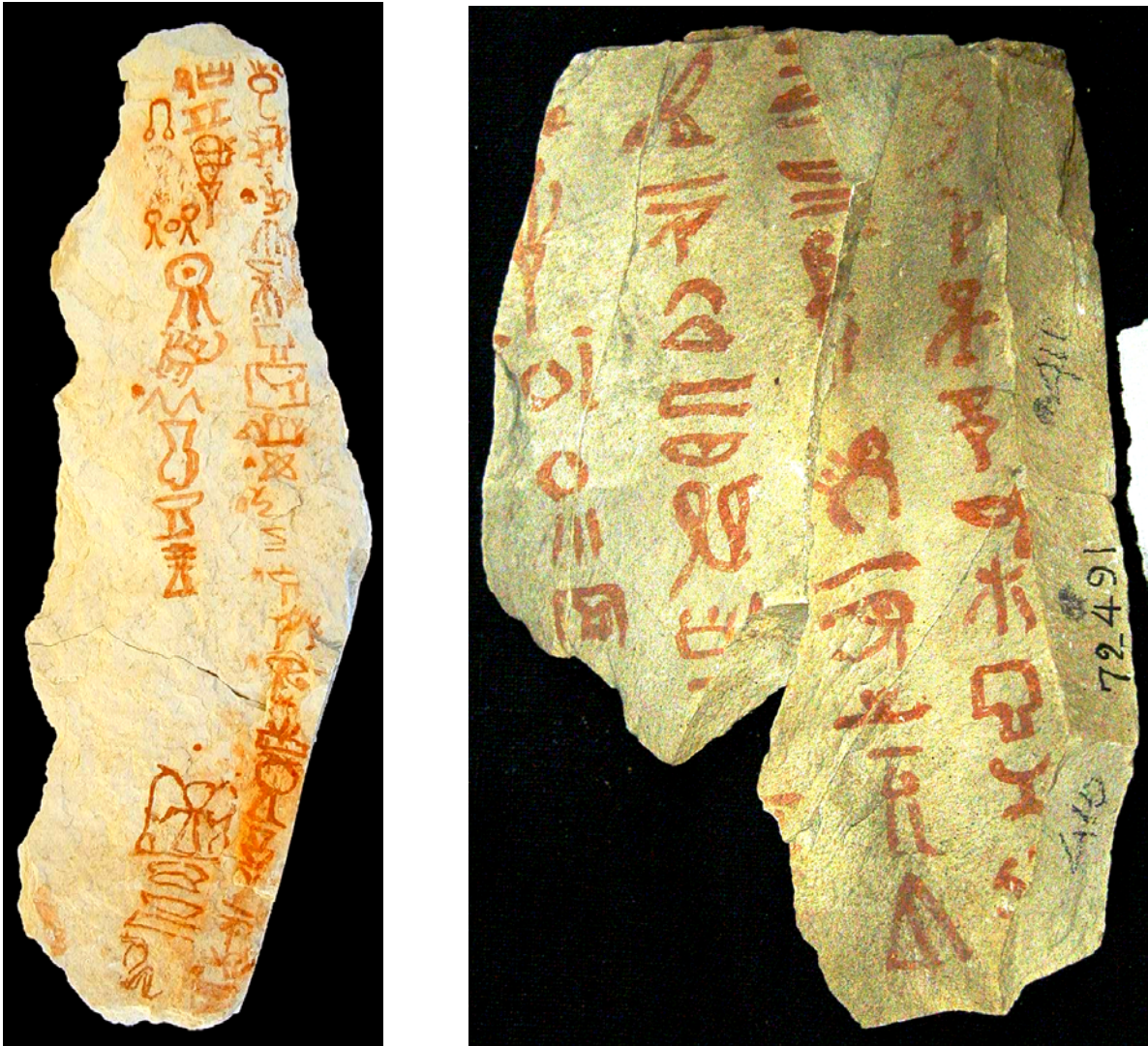


FIGURE 13.A-B O. ARTP 99/27 (LEFT) AND O. CAIRO JE 72491 (RIGHT)



FIGURE 14.A-D O. ARTP 99/27, DETAILS







The scribe evidently had difficulty with the execution of some of the marks, and his rendering of marks  and  resulted in very awkwardly formed specimens with uncertain strokes and unevenly proportioned elements (FIG.15A-B). Other marks such as  and  are exceptionally detailed, perhaps evidence that the scribe worked not with the swift strokes of an experienced author but laboured hard to produce clear marks (FIG.15C-D). Examining the shape of the marks we notice that the marks are of uneven size. Mark  for example is rather small, while  is relatively large (FIGS. 14B – 15C).



FIGURE 15.A-D O. ARTP 99/27, DETAILS

Turning to O. Cairo JE 72491, we find ourselves studying the work of a different man. Here, the majority of marks is orientated to the right, which is in agreement with the order in which the four columns of marks need to be read. However, on this ostracon too there are marks that are incorrectly orientated. The ostracon is inscribed with four straight columns of sufficiently and evenly spaced marks. All marks are of a conventional shape and do not contain erroneous elements. The scribe's acquaintance with cursive hieroglyphs is evident from his rendering of mark $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$, the straight line for the water ripple in mark 𓆎 , and the ligature for $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ (FIG. 16). All marks are inscribed with few, swift strokes, and all lines are steady and straight while all curves are fluid. His marks are all approximately of the same size.



FIGURE 16.A-C O. CAIRO JE 72491, DETAILS


In many respects O. Cairo JE 72491 thus gives the impression of having been made by a professional scribe, trained in (cursive) hieroglyphic script, who created well-balanced columns of quickly but elegantly drawn marks. In contrast, O. ARTP 99/27 diverges from conventional scribal practices in a number of ways. The awkward shape of some of the marks as well as some 'writing' mistakes indicate that the individual who inscribed the ostracon was not a trained scribe. We find therefore that the shapes and the arrangement of marks on an ostracon can be indicative of the scribal proficiency of the creator of the document. Apparently this is not necessarily true for the orientation of marks on an ostracon, as marks written by the professional scribe of O. Cairo JE 72491 face both to the left as well as to the right. Yet, an assessment of the lay-out of a document, the size, shape and orientation of its marks, and the elements borrowed from hieratic and hieroglyphic script provide clues as to the scribal competence of the author. This approach is of course not unassailable. ONL 6297 illustrates the difficulties one faces when attempting to gauge the degree of literacy of a scribe on account of his handwriting. The marks on this ostracon are of even size, written in a fluid hand with steady strokes, and display all the hallmarks of having been made by a well-trained scribe. That is also suggested by the elaborate allomorphs of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ for \pm and 𓆎 instead of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$. The marks are not all orientated to the same side, but as we had observed on O. Cairo JE 72491 this is not necessarily an indication of an untrained hand. Yet, despite the beautifully executed marks the scribe of ONL 6297 employed semi-hieratic numerals, which are hard to explain. One would think a professional hieratic scribe would only use proper hieratic numerals. On the other hand, the semi-hieratic numerals are more practical when one is counting and simultaneously noting down figures in a document. Alternatively, this ostracon is the work of a trained draughtsman with great expertise in hieroglyphic signs, but with a more restricted knowledge of hieratic script.

This dissertation is not the place to elaborately examine the handwriting of every single 20th Dynasty ostracon with marks and the degree to which its author was literate, but we may briefly remark on such issues. It can be reported that on the basis of the aspects pointed out above, 97 ostraca with marks from the 20th Dynasty can be discerned which could

well have been created by professional scribes or draughtsmen. In 52 ostraca the hand displays a hieratic ductus,⁴³⁰ and in an additional nine ostraca it is very likely that the marks were inscribed by the same hand that wrote a hieratic text on the same document.⁴³¹ In 36 other ostraca we are fairly certain we recognise a hand that is trained in writing (cursive) hieroglyphs.⁴³² These 97 ostraca represent a quarter of the total of 379 ostraca with marks from the 20th Dynasty. How great the actual percentage of ostraca with marks made by professional scribes was, is very hard to determine, but it is evident that ostraca with marks of this period are certainly not exclusively the products of unschooled workmen.

The archive of duty and delivery ostraca made by a man of restricted literacy, perhaps ‘*smd.t* scribe’ Pentaweret (iii), has been discussed at length in the previous chapter. If our observations are correct, this individual was responsible for that particular type of documents over a period of about 18 years. His handwriting can however also be recognised in other ostraca. ONL 6523 is probably also related to the duty and delivery texts, but ostraca O. Cairo JE 96321 and O. Cairo JE 46860, probably from his hand as well, could be accounts of the distribution of goods. Like the duty and delivery records, they deal with the right side of the crew. That too can be said about three other ostraca ascribed to him, ONL 6684 and ONL 6462, and ONL 6420. This individual can thus be recognised as a man concerned with the supply and distribution of goods among the members of the right side, and in that occupation he created ostraca with marks over c. two decades.

If our tentative interpretation of the ostraca from the Grand Puits group is correct, we deal there with a similar administrator. This man too appears to be concerned with commodities and perhaps a duty roster. The hesitant understanding of these ostraca suggests that this scribe created these ostraca over the course of at least four years. His handwriting, mistakes in orientation of signs and use of semi-hieratic numerals indicate that he was not well acquainted with hieratic script, despite the use of some hieratic signs and sign groups. The use of semi-hieratic numerals in other ostraca such as O. Cairo CG 25329, O. Cairo JE 46858, O. Cairo JE 46862, O. Cairo JE 46864, O. MMA 09.184.784, ONL 307, ONL 6483, O. UC 31939+ and O. UC 31989 is perhaps indicative of limited knowledge of the hieratic script as well.

Interestingly, we can also follow the hand of the man who inscribed O. Cairo JE 72491 through time. O. Cairo JE 72491, dated to the reign of Ramesses IV, is the earliest recognisable document that we possess of this particular scribe, but his beautiful and distinctive marks are noticeable on much later documents too. The most evident case is O. Brooklyn 16118+, dated to the reign of Ramesses IX. Particularly the shape of mark  on

⁴³⁰ O. Ashmolean HO 704; O. Ashmolean HO 999; O. Ashmolean HO 1123; O. Berlin P 12649; O. Berlin P 14231; O. BM 41649; O. BM 5642; O. Brooklyn 16118+; O. BTdK 539; O. BTdK 546; O. BTdK 589; O. Cairo CG 25315; O. Cairo CG 25318; O. Cairo CG 25319; O. Cairo CG 25324; O. Cairo JE 72491; O. Cairo JE 96529; O. Cairo JE 96581; O. Cairo JE 96647; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 264; O. Florence 2628; O. Florence 2629; O. Florence 2630; O. IFAO C 2470; O. IFAO C 7638; O. MMA 09.184.785; O. OIM MH 2666; O. OIM 19215; ONL 307 obverse (different hand on reverse?); ONL 533; ONL 6229; ONL 6246; ONL 6249; ONL 6251; ONL 6253; ONL 6256; ONL 6258; ONL 6261; ONL 6289; ONL 6290; ONL 6301; ONL 6450; ONL 6482 reverse (different hand on obverse?); ONL 6511; ONL 6548; ONL 6603; ONL 6670; O. Turin N. 57141; O. Turin N. 57523; O. Turin N. 57534; and O. UC 45702.

⁴³¹ O. Ashmolean HO 261; O. BTdK 545; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. DeM 150+; O. Glasgow D. 1925.72; ONL 300+ (partly); ONL 1371; ONL 6220 (possibly); and ONL 6737.

⁴³² O. Area K unnumbered; O. Ashmolean HO 68; O. BM 50731; O. BTdK 89; O. BTdK 447; O. BTdK 550; O. BTdK 554; O. BTdK 558; O. BTdK 561; O. BTdK 562; O. BTdK 572; O. Cairo CG 25317; O. Cairo CG 25320; O. Cairo CG 25323; O. Cairo CG 25325; O. Cairo JE 46865; O. Cairo SR 11303; O. Cairo SR 12218; O. DeM 10121; O. OIM 19130+; ONL 6243; ONL 6255; ONL 6268; ONL 6273; ONL 6303; ONL 6425+; ONL 6430; ONL 6438; ONL 6453; ONL 6478; ONL 6480; ONL 6502; ONL 6596; O. Turin N. 57008; O. UC 31987+; and O. WHTM 692+.

both documents (FIG. 17) is convincingly similar and allows us to attribute both ostraca to the same scribe.

















FIGURE 17.A-B O. CAIRO JE 72491 (LEFT) AND O. BROOKLYN 16118+ (RIGHT), DETAILS

O. OIM MH 2666 can most likely be ascribed to the hand of O. Brooklyn 16118+ on account of the shape of the marks, the pictorial list of objects and the use of the word *ps̄š* ‘distribution’. This ostrakon bears a hieratic inscription that demonstrates that the scribe possessed the capacities to write short texts. The same is suggested by the hieratic captions on O. Brooklyn 16118+. Other ostraca with marks that we can assign to this man are ONL 6273 and ONL 6480, and perhaps also ONL 6246, ONL 6596 and O. DeM 10121. All these documents are nearly exclusively concerned with members of the left side and date between the reign of Ramesses IV and the reign of Ramesses IX. This timeframe as well as the scribe’s ability to draw attractive workmen’s marks and write in hieratic fit the description of two draughtsmen of the 20th Dynasty: Harshire (i), the draughtsman turned scribe⁴³³ and Amenhotep (vi) whose career path may have taken similar turns.⁴³⁴

The list of marks on the obverse of O. Turin N. 57008 and that on the obverse of O. BM 50731, and perhaps also the list of OL 170+ were probably created by a single scribe as well. That is suggested by the palaeography of the marks, but also by the style of the ostraca. All three ostraca contains columns of marks with dots and small hieratic numerals in the margins of the columns. The hieroglyphic ductus of the marks suggests that these documents too were made by a draughtsman.⁴³⁵

⁴³³ Davies, *Who’s who*, 114-115. Avenues to explore the idea that Harshire may have created these ostraca with marks are hampered because there are no hieroglyphic inscriptions that can be attributed to his hand, see Černý, *Community*, 354.

⁴³⁴ Davies, *Who’s who*, 112-113; 140. The handwriting of Amenhotep (vi) has been identified in a number of hieroglyphic inscriptions, see Cathleen A. Keller, ‘Un artiste égyptien à l’oeuvre: le dessinateur en chef Amenhotep’ in: Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, 85-114. Although this dissertation is not the place to pursue any palaeographic inquiries, some tentative and preliminary remarks in that direction will be made here that may serve as a starting point for future research. It can be reported that a quick look at the hieroglyphic signs on some of the texts assigned to Amenhotep (vi) would not directly speak against the identification of this man as the author of the ostraca with marks under discussion here: the sign groups  and  on the reverse of O. Cairo CG 25029 (Keller, ‘Un artiste’, 104, fig. 2) resemble marks  and ; like mark , sign  on O. Cairo CG 25117 (Keller, ‘Un artiste’, 106, fig. 6) consists of long rays that are not connected to the sun disk; sign  in KV 2 (Keller, ‘Un artiste’, 111, fig. 14) resembles mark  on OL 170+; and sign  in KV 9 (Keller, ‘Un artiste’, 111, fig. 15) is very wide like mark  on OL 170+. In contrast, the shape and ductus of the hieroglyphic signs of two more or less contemporaneous draughtsmen Nebnefer (ix) and Harmin (i), whose handwriting has been identified by Cathleen Keller, do at a first glance not quite resemble that of the marks on the ostraca of this group, see Cathleen A. Keller, ‘A family affair: the decoration of Theban Tomb 359’ in: William Vivian Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London 2001), 73-93. The tomb of foreman Inherkhau (ii), TT 359 (see Nadine Cherpion, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Médina*. I-II. MIFAO 128 (Cairo 2010)) was for the most part decorated by this duo, and leaving through Cherpion’s publication one does not immediately recognise the handwriting of the scribe of the ostraca with marks. For example, the sign groups in pl. 31, fig. 49 are not reminiscent of marks , , , or .

⁴³⁵ Proper palaeographic analysis will have to reveal whether this hand is the same as that of Brooklyn 16118+ and associated ostraca or not.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

The earliest ostraca with marks of the 20th Dynasty appear around the middle of the reign of Ramesses III. They continued to be created throughout most of the 20th Dynasty, and the latest datable pieces are attributed to year 20 of Ramesses XI, although only tentatively so.

The exact meaning and purpose of the majority of ostraca is unknown because of the implicit character of the documents. However, a close comparison to hieratic documents as well as the occurrence of writing on some of the 20th Dynasty ostraca with marks aid in exposing the meaning of these ostraca. The ostraca that record deliveries and duty rosters had already been analysed in the previous chapter. In chapter 4 we revealed more connections between identity marks and the deliveries that were transferred to the community. Marks are found in hieratic documents that record the delivery of vegetables, daily deliveries such as wood and beer, and probably also wicks and water.

The administrative purpose of many ostraca with marks can also be surmised from ostraca without hieratic inscription, which display check marks, corrections and revisions. Several ostraca with marks are arranged in an ordered sequence, and it is likely, sometimes even demonstrable, that such records were created as part of the collective necropolis administration. Numerous ostraca in which such an order is lacking do demonstrate a clear division of the workmen: they record workmen of one side of the crew exclusively, suggesting they are related to the administration of labour and distribution or delivery of commodities as well.

Besides the documentation of deliveries, identity marks were employed in the 20th Dynasty to record the distribution of goods and commodities, absence and presence at the worksite, and in all likelihood other matters that pertained to work on the royal tombs. Ordered name lists composed with identity marks are attested throughout the period. They may have been used for a number of purposes, including perhaps oral practices such as the daily roll-call. A very specific category of documents are the so-called 'furniture ostraca' that attest to the 'informal workshop'. It seems certain that some ostraca with marks record more private matters. O. MMA 09.184.785 for example lists several members of a single family, among which is a lady. Various name stones composed with identity marks are attested in this period as well. They are difficult to explain as countermarks, and it is proposed here that they served instead as the markers of space and property.

The ostraca from the 20th Dynasty appear in various formats. It is evident that the authors of the ostraca were not instructed to follow a particular lay-out. Instead each individual scribe had his own conventions and scribal habits. An arrangement of marks in columns is most common during the 20th Dynasty, and this was the preferred lay-out for ordered lists of workmen. In contrast, lines of marks are less common and less often used for ordered sequences. Ostraca with marks arranged in lines are somewhat more frequent at the village of Deir el-Medina than at the Valley of the Kings. Otherwise there is no apparent relation between location and lay-out or document type.

The number of ostraca from the 20th Dynasty is far greater than that of the 18th Dynasty, but the composition of such documents must still have been a marginal practice. It is clear that a diversified but small group of the necropolis workmen occupied themselves with such matters. The majority of ostraca with marks were probably made by workmen who were not educated in writing hieratic or hieroglyphic, as suggested by the ductus of the marks, the arrangement of the marks and the use of semi-hieratic numerals. The lack of scribal abilities may have prompted two individuals to invent their own system of notation, of which the documents of the duty and delivery rosters from the first half of the 20th Dynasty are best understood. The ostraca of this man were probably copied into hieratic records, and such a chaîne opératoire is conceivable for a small number of other ostraca with marks as well. The

list of absent and present workmen recorded with marks on O. Cairo JE 96647 suggests that the document was made by someone else than the senior scribes of the tomb because they were not at the worksite on that day.

Estimates suggest that about a quarter of the ostraca with marks from the 20th Dynasty were created by professional scribes or men with training in hieroglyphic script. Among these individuals there may well have been several draughtsmen. The hand of one draughtsman can be recognised in ostraca from the reign of Ramesses IV to the reign of Ramesses IX. Some professional scribes may have on occasion created a preparatory note with an individualised list of workmen before writing up a final hieratic account of rations and deliveries. On ostraca O. Glasgow D. 1925.72 and O. Ashmolean HO 68 an identity mark may have been added to a hieratic document by its author as a way of labeling the subject matter of the text. At other times, it would seem that a scribe made an ostrakon with identity marks so its content could be understood by persons with limited or no hieratic reading skills. This is, for example, suggested by the ‘furniture ostraca’ that could well have been composed by draughtsmen who had organised a pool of workmen to craft funerary objects.

The 20th Dynasty ostraca offer interesting perspectives on the usage of marks. The evidence appears to point out that not every workman that was introduced to the crew during the expansion in the reign of Ramesses IV was designated by an identity mark. On the other hand we have seen that one scribe used marks for a doorkeeper as well as for a chapel of the king. In addition it seems very plausible that the guardian Qaydjeret (i) possessed an identity mark as well. Scrutiny of O. ARTP 99/27 brought to our attention the fact that a single mark could simultaneously be in use for two different men, associated with different sides of the crew.

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that the scribe of the duty and delivery ostraca with marks employed signs for members of the *smd.t* personnel. There are indications that a scribe from the very end of the 20th Dynasty may have developed a similar system, but ostraca such as O. DeM 264 show us that the *smd.t* agents probably did not possess a mark for their own use. In these documents the names of the *smd.t* agents are written in hieratic, while the workmen are represented by their identity marks.

