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Title: Of marks and men : the functional and historical context of the workmen's marks of the Royal Theban Necropolis

Issue Date: 2016-09-15

CHAPTER 5. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 19TH DYNASTY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Having discussed the ostraca from the 18th and the 20th Dynasties, we can finally move on to the 19th Dynasty. In order to date ostraca from this period we will have to rely in part on our knowledge of the identity marks of the 20th Dynasty. We shall also be able to reveal the identity behind some the 19th Dynasties workmen's marks by comparing ostraca with marks to the hieratic administration of that time, as well as by examining the provenance of the ostraca and other objects inscribed with marks. It will become apparent that ostraca with marks from time of Ramesses II are best understood due to the existence of hieratic ostraca with ordered name lists and of ostraca with marks that are arranged in accordance with this ordered sequence as well. A comparison of both types of documents will result in the identification of a number of workmen's marks, and will provide important chronological anchor points. Unfortunately we do not seem to possess ostraca with ordered lists of workmen's marks from the second half of the 19th Dynasty, and comprehension of ostraca from this period is therefore restricted.

5.2 CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

5.2.1 Objects and inscriptions with a proper name and a workman's mark

Through a happy stroke of fortune a number of objects were found in and around Deir el-Medina that bear both a proper name as well as an identity mark. Thanks to the inscription on a limestone seat discovered in hut J of the East group of the workmen's huts at the so-called *Station de la Repos du Col*¹, we can connect the person of deputy Baki (i) with mark $\overline{\text{A}}$. Similarly, a limestone headrest from the Grand Puits² inscribed with the name of Baki (i)'s grandson and successor in the office of deputy Anuy (i) displays mark $\overline{\text{A}}$, and suggests that Anuy may have been represented with that particular mark. Another interesting find from the *Station de la Repos* is a pebble with mark $\overline{\text{A}}$ found in hut G³ belonging to a Nebenmaat. This man is perhaps Nebenmaat (ii) who lived during the reign of Ramesses II,⁴ and indeed we shall encounter mark $\overline{\text{A}}$ on ostraca datable to this period.

We are able to recognise other 19th Dynasty workmen's marks by looking at funerary contexts. Most straightforwardly identified is Neferabet (i), whose name is written in hieroglyphs immediately next to mark $\overline{\text{A}}$ on pottery fragments from his tomb (TT 5).⁵ Similarly, mark $\overline{\text{A}}$ is attested on blocks used in the construction of the north and south walls of the court of the tomb of Sennedjem (i) (TT 1).⁶ Interestingly, two out of three known pottery fragments from the tomb of a son of Sennedjem (i), Khabekhnet (i) (TT 2) are inscribed with a mark that resembles that of Sennedjem, mark $\overline{\text{A}}$, and suggest a relation between the tomb owner and this identity mark.⁷ This is supported by the fact that the very

¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* III, 355, pl. XL. The seat was attributed by Andreas Dorn to a previously unidentified deputy, Baki (VII), attested on stela BTdK 194, Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 195; 274. That this cannot be correct is demonstrated by the workman's mark on the same seat; we shall see below, 403, that this mark belonged undoubtedly to Baki (i), the person who lived during the first half of the 19th Dynasty.

² Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, 49-50, fig. 8 nr. 42.

³ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* III, 357.

⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 236.

⁵ Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, *La tombe de Nefer-Abou*, 54, fig. 32.

⁶ Bruyère, *La tombe No. 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el Médineh*, 5. Some blocks with the same mark were discovered in tomb DM 1181 as well as in tomb DM 1182 situated in the court of TT 1.

⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 115, fig. 77. More on this similarity, see chapter 6, 6.5.4.7.

same mark is incised on two ceramic jars from Sennedjem's tomb,⁸ which may be funerary gifts presented by Khabekhnet to his father.

Other 19th Dynasty burials contain many more different identity marks on pottery fragments. A very important body of ceramic vessel fragments, many incised with workmen's marks, was recovered from two tombs, TT 359 (dating to the 20th Dynasty) and TT 360 (dating to the 19th Dynasty), and their vicinity.⁹ Although the owners of both tombs are securely identified as respectively Iniherkhau (ii) and his father Qaha (i) – both at one time foreman of the left side of the crew – the exact provenance of the pottery from their tombs is ambiguous, as the content of one tomb was interspersed with that of the other.¹⁰ Therefore, all material described by Nagel as pottery from tomb TT 359 should be regarded as objects from *either* that tomb *or* from TT 360. Some of the ceramic ware may even have come from the area north of both tombs and south of TT 1, as the French excavations explored that section during the same season as when TT 359 and TT 360 were unearthed.¹¹ Moreover, as was the case with many Ramesside tombs at Deir el-Medina, TT 359 and TT 360 are reused and enlarged sepulchres originally cut during the 18th Dynasty,¹² and some of the finds could date to the latter period.

Identifying the incised workmen's marks is sometimes difficult, because they are not all completely preserved, and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a mark is an allomorph of a known workmen's mark or not. The overview below lists those marks attested on the pottery of both tombs that can be identified with a fair amount of certainty, omitting two damaged and unidentified marks. Many different forms of what seem to be allomorphs of mark $\text{A}\delta$ have been taken to represent just that mark. Likewise, mark AA has been tentatively interpreted as an allomorph of mark A .¹³ The following marks have been recognised:

$\text{A}\delta$	8 (?)	δ	1
T	7, perhaps 10	H	1
R	7	$\text{O}\wedge$	1
E	5, perhaps 7	M	1
G	4	N	1
A	3, perhaps 4	X (?)	1
E	3	Y	1
\times	3	F	1
$\times\times$	1	I	1
O	2, perhaps 3	H (?)	1
P	2	S (?)	1
WY	2	D (?)	1
E	1	$\text{E} + [\dots]$	1
W	1		
$\text{W}\delta$ (?)	1		

⁸ Cairo JE 27216 and JE 27284, Adel Mahmoud Abd el-Qader, *Catalogue of funerary objects from the tomb of the Servant in the Place of Truth Sennedjem (TT1): ushabtis, ushabtis in coffins, ushabti boxes, canopic coffins, canopic chests, cosmetic chests, furniture, dummy vases, pottery jars, and walking sticks, mainly from Egyptian Museum in Cairo and Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York*. DVD (Cairo 2011) 210-211; 218, nrs. 139 and 146.

⁹ Nagel, *La céramique*, 14-51.

¹⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 71; Nagel, *La céramique*, 14; Aston, 'Potmarks from Deir el-Medineh', 58.

¹¹ E.g. Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 91.

¹² Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 86.

¹³ Note however that the double variant AA occurs on O. Hawass, see below, 5.2.2.6.

Some of the simpler marks, such as γ and \times could in fact be potter's marks and should be distinguished from the identity marks of Deir el-Medina workmen.¹⁴ One of the most frequently attested marks is $\bar{\text{L}}$. In previous chapters we had already deduced that Iniherkhau (ii) must have been represented by mark $\bar{\text{L}}$, and that it was used for his son Qenna (i) at some point. Our assumption that $\bar{\text{L}}$ was also the mark of Iniherkhau (ii) is supported by the fragments of pottery from his tomb.

Other frequently occurring marks are \square and $\text{A}\delta$. The relation between mark $\bar{\text{L}}$ and Iniherkhau (ii) is logical, as the mark represents a hieroglyph for a phonetic element in the name of *Iniherkhau*. Associating Iniherkhau (ii) with $\text{A}\delta$ is not probable because we have related this mark to Khabekhnet (i). Some of the ceramic material with this mark may be intrusive, because the tomb of Sennedjem (i) (TT 1) and Khabekhnet (i) (TT 2) are located just above TT 359 and TT 360. During the excavation of the latter tombs, material from TT 1 and TT 2 was discovered (perhaps to the north of these tombs).¹⁵ It is therefore very plausible that ceramic vessels and vessel fragments with mark $\text{A}\delta$ originate from the tomb of Sennedjem and are other instances of items belonging to Khabekhnet that he offered to the funerary equipment of the burial of his father. Alternatively the pottery fragments may have come from his own burial. A relation between Iniherkhau (ii) and mark \square is not likely either, because this mark appears to represent another individual. Of all published pottery fragments inscribed with workmen's marks from TT 356, the tomb of Amenemwia (i), mark \square is attested most frequently (four instances).¹⁶ Once again, the predominance of a specific mark within a burial suggests a connection between the mark and the owner of the tomb.

In analogy with the other identified marks, there is a case for identifying mark A with the owner of TT 360, Qaha (i).¹⁷ This mark certainly is not the most frequently attested mark within the pottery assemblage of TT 359 and TT 360, but it occurs more often than most other marks. We will explore this connection further below.¹⁸

In the case of TT 290, the tomb of Irynefer (i), we cannot determine such a connection with any certainty. Four unpublished shards with workmen's marks were recovered from this tomb, one of which is incised with $\bar{\text{X}}$. This mark, a hieroglyph readable as *wzḏ*, may be related to either Siwadjet (i), the father of Irynefer (i), to Irynefer's son Siwadjet (ii), or perhaps even to Irynefer (i) himself. We had already encountered mark $\bar{\text{X}}$ in chapter 4 where we demonstrated that the mark was used for Siwadjet (iii) and his son Aapatjau (i). Not much is known about the parentage of Siwadjet (iii), but we may here propose a connection between him and an earlier individual, Siwadjet (ii), son of Irynefer (i).

¹⁴ Aston, 'Potmarks from Deir el-Medineh', 64-65.

¹⁵ Fragments of the pyramidion of TT 1, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 92, nr. 1; fragments of a lintel from TT 1, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 93-94, nr. 1; fragments of door jambs from TT 1, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 95-96, nr. 3; fragments of a door jamb from TT 2, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 96, nr. 4. The distance between tomb TT 2 and tombs TT 359 and 360 is considerable, but it should be kept in mind that the area may have been disturbed by local villagers (Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 28) and European visitors such as Lepsius (Lise Manniche, *Lost Ramessid and Post-Ramessid Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis*. CNI 33 (Copenhagen 2011), 92, 96).












¹⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928 II*, 113, fig. 63 and 117, fig. 64. The suspicion that mark \square refers to Amenemwia (i) will be confirmed below. In the previous chapter we had seen that mark \square was used for Seti (i) in the reign of Ramesses IV. This Seti (i) was a son of a man name Amenemone, identified as Amenemone (ii)/(iii), see Davies, *Who's who*, 212-214. Amenemone (ii)/(iii) was active in the late 19th Dynasty, see Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 130, and it should therefore at least be theoretically possible to equate this man with the guardian Amenemone (iv), son of Amenemwia (i), all the more since the parentage of Amenemone (ii)/(iii) is unclear. If this equivalency is correct, Seti (i) may have inherited his mark from his grandfather Amenemwia (i), or perhaps his father Amenemone.

¹⁷ Cf. Aston, 'Potmarks from Deir el-Medineh', 58.

¹⁸ See below, p. 422-423, O. Ashmolean HO 1120.

Finally, as we shall see at a later point, Theban Graffito 1233¹⁹ is meaningful too. The graffito consists of two hieratic lines, each mentioning the name of a necropolis workman and his father. The second line reads “Pashedu; his father Hehnakht.” These two men can only be the 19th Dynasty individuals Pashedu (ii) and his father Hehnakht (ii). Below the hieratic lines, workman’s mark $\square\perp$ has been incised, and we will be able to connect it with the person of Hehnakht (ii).

This assessment of the co-occurrence of workmen’s marks on an object or in a text or space attributable to a specific 19th Dynasty individual leads to the following, preliminary identifications:





Baki (i)	
Anuy (i)	
Nebenmaat (ii)	
Neferabet (i)	
Senedjem (i)	
Khabekhnet (i)	
Iniherkhau (ii)	
Qaha (i)	
Amenemwia (i)	
Siwadjet (i) / Irynefer (i) / Siwadjet (ii)	
Hehnakht (ii)	

5.2.2 Ostraca with workmen’s marks datable to the first half of the 19th Dynasty

5.2.2.1 Ostraca from the huts near the tomb of Amenmesses (KV 10) and related ostraca

Excavations carried out under the direction of Otto Schaden in the Valley of the Kings in the area around the tomb of Amenmesses (KV 10) uncovered a settlement of workmen’s huts that dates to the 19th Dynasty.²⁰ The excavators described the complex as consisting of an eastern and a western section. In one of the Western Huts, a jar docket inscribed with the name of Ramesses II was discovered. Among other objects found at the settlement was a series of ostraca with hieratic inscriptions as well as ostraca with workmen’s marks. One ostrakon, O. Schaden 96, is in fact a weight, and carries the following inscription: “Year 38, III *pr.t.*, day 7. Weight of four spikes for the right side.” Obviously, year 38 can only refer to the reign of Ramesses II. Other material, predominantly from the Eastern Huts, could be dated to the reigns of Merenptah, Amenmesses and Seti II. The settlement may therefore have been in use during the second half of the reign of Ramesses II and the reigns of three of his successors.

O. Schaden 16

Apart from the date written on O. Schaden 96, we are interested in this object because it is also inscribed with four workmen’s marks, two of which we have connected with 19th Dynasty workmen: , ,  and . At least three of these marks are also attested on another ostrakon from the settlement near KV 10, O. Schaden 16. This is a very valuable document, because it contains some of the marks that we have tentatively identified, as well as a number of marks that we recognise from the repertory of 20th Dynasty workmen’s marks. O. Schaden 16 is inscribed with two rows of workmen’s marks that were inscribed from right to left. This series of marks is attested – with minor differences – on other ostraca as well,

¹⁹ Černý, *Graffiti 1060 à 1405*, 13, pl. 30.

²⁰ The huts are briefly mentioned in Schaden, ‘The Amenmesse Project’, 231. For a more detailed discussion of the excavation of the huts see the summaries of the activities of excavation seasons 1992 to 2006 available on www.kv-10.com.

suggesting this particular sequence of marks represents an ordered list of workmen. The fact that O. Schaden 16 is inscribed with 19 different workmen's marks, closely approximating the total of the 20 workmen who constituted one half of the workforce around the middle of the reign of Ramesses II,²¹ points in the same direction.

In the upper row of our ostrakon the fourth mark from the right is \equiv , attested on the limestone seat of Baki (i) and attributed to his person. This man was the foreman of the left side during the reign of Seti I,²² but he was succeeded in the reign of Ramesses II by Pashedu (x)²³ and Qaha (i).²⁴ We have two reasons to assume that it is unlikely that Baki (i) is represented by mark \equiv on O. Schaden 16. First of all the ostraca from the 19th Dynasty huts settlement probably date to the reign of Ramesses II, and secondly mark \equiv is not found at the head of the sequence where one would expect the mark of a foreman of the crew. Instead, we may propose that mark \equiv here refers to one of the sons of Baki (i) who, like so many individuals of the 20th Dynasty, had inherited his identity mark from his father.

In analogy with the interpretation of recurring sequences of marks from the 20th Dynasty, O. Schaden 16 thus appears to be an ordered list of workmen, dating to the time of Ramesses II, recording a son of Baki (i). We may therefore compare this ostrakon to hieratic ostraca from the reign of Ramesses II that contain ordered name lists.²⁵ One of the most famous documents of this type is O. BM 5634, inscribed with an ordered list of all workmen of the right side and a list of all workmen of the left side (excluding both foremen, deputies and scribe).²⁶ It turns out that this ostrakon records a list that compares well to that of O. Schaden 16. We come to this conclusion when examine what is nowadays called the obverse of O. BM 5634, which is inscribed with an ordered list of all workmen of the left side.²⁷ The third workman mentioned in this list is Siwadjet (ii). As suggested by a shard from TT 290, this man may have been represented by mark 𐀓 , and indeed it is this very mark that we find in the third position on O. Schaden 16. This promising agreement between the two documents invites us to compare the sequence of marks to the hieratic name list. The first four marks correspond relatively well to the names on O. BM 5634:

O. Schaden 16			O. BM 5634	
1	Ψ	=	1	Pendua (i)
2	Υ		2	Harnefer (i)/(ii)
3	𐀓	=	3	Siwadjet (ii)

²¹ Černý, *Community*, 106; Jac. J. Janssen, 'Absence from work by the necropolis workmen of Thebes' *SAK* 10 (1980), 107-152.

²² Davies, *Who's who*, 2.

²³ Davies, *Who's who*, 2.

²⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 12.

²⁵ For the usage of this term, see chapter 4, 4.1.

²⁶ Donker van Heel, 'Drafts', 18-21. The ostrakon was studied in detail by Jac. J. Janssen, 'Absence from work', 127-152. Many of the men recorded on this piece are discussed by Davies' *Who's who*, see the index on p. 308.

²⁷ Janssen, 'Absence from work', 131-132 struggled with the division of the workmen and was not even certain whether the names of the workmen were ordered according to the side of the crew they belonged to. Comparing O. BM 5634 to a very similar ostrakon, O. DeM 706, Grandet suggested that the column headed by workman Pendua (on the obverse of O. BM 5634) contained a list of all workmen of the right side because of the occurrence of workman Merysekhmet, as he seems to have belonged to this very side according to O. DeM 621, see Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* VIII, 1-2. Although this may be so, O. Fitzwilliam E.GA.6119.1943 proves beyond any doubt that the obverse of O. BM 5634 is a list of workmen of the left side. The former ostrakon is an ordered list of workmen as well, and it is headed by the foreman of the left side, Iniherkhau (ii). Listing scribe Qenherkhopshuf (i) in the second position, the ostrakon then enumerates a list of other workmen of the left side in a sequence that is almost identical to that of the list on the obverse of O. BM 5634. For a discussion of this piece see Fredrik Hagen, *New Kingdom Ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. CHANE 46 (Leiden and Boston 2011), 18-20.

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4		=	4	Haremwia (i)
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TABLE 88. O. SCHADEN 16 COMPARED TO O. BM 5634

Although , the first mark of the ostrakon, has a rather abstract appearance, it may be interpreted as an allomorph of sign Gardiner A30, , readable as *dwꜣ* and thus related to , the name of *Pendua* (i). The mark of Baki (i), , is situated in the fourth slot and corresponds to Haremwia (i) who was indeed a son of the former²⁸ and could have inherited the mark of his father. Our comparison suggests that mark refers to the Harnefer²⁹ mentioned on O. BM 5634, but there is no further evidence for this equivalency.

The fifth name on O. BM 5634 is Amennakht, and it is at this point that the hieratic list and the list of workmen's marks begin to diverge a bit. It is possible that , the fifth mark, represents nr. 5 Amennakht or nr. 6 Wadjmose, but there is no evidence in favour of any of these assumptions. Yet, marks 6 to 10 compare very well to names 7 to 11:

O. Schaden 16			O. BM 5634	
5			6	Wadjmose (i)
6		=	7	Nebimentet (i)
7		=	8	Hehnakht (ii)
8		=	9	Nakhtmin (vi)
9			10	Pennub (ii)/(iii)
10		=	11	Aapehty (i)/(ii)

TABLE 89. O. SCHADEN 16 COMPARED TO O. BM 5634

The sixth mark is , and we have seen in the previous chapter that it was related to Penniut (i) and his grandfather Nebimentet (i). O. BM 5634 lists exactly the latter individual in position seven and thus confirms this assumption. O. BM 5634 and O. Schaden 16 suggest furthermore that Hehnakht (ii) was represented by mark , and this is in accord with Theban Graffito 1233. The next mark is coupled to the person of Nakhtmin (vi), which makes perfect sense because we know that the same mark was used in the 20th Dynasty for his grandson Nakhtmin (vi). In fact, we had already seen that there were indications for a connection between Nakhtmin (iv) and mark .³⁰ Moving on to the following mark, our comparison suggests a connection between mark and the workman Pennub (ii) or (iii) but unfortunately there is nothing to substantiate this identification.³¹ Likewise we are not entirely certain about mark and the relation with Aapehty (i) or (ii), but perhaps the mark is to be interpreted as the hieroglyphic group that forms the first element in his name , Aapehty.

With marks 11 – 14 O. Schaden 16 appears to record a section of workmen that were introduced to the crew or moved up in the order at a moment after O. BM 5634 was written. They cannot be connected, securely or tentatively, with any of the names in the hieratic list. In contrast, marks 15 – 19 are to some extent related to names 13 – 16 on O. BM 5634:

O. Schaden 16			O. BM 5634	
15		≈	13	Amenmose ?
16		≈	14	Anuy (ii) ?
17		=	15	Wennefer (ii)

²⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 2.

²⁹ Either Harnefer (i) or Harnefer (ii).

³⁰ See above, chapter 3, 3.2.3.1

³¹ We know mark as allomorph of mark for Neferher (vi) during the 20th Dynasty, but this man was probably not related to Pennub (ii) or (iii), see chapter 6, 6.5.4.2.

18	𐤒			
19	𐤔	=	16	Buqentuef (i)

TABLE 90. O. SCHADEN 16 COMPARED TO O. BM 5634

Mark 𐤓 is here possibly related to Amenmose, which would suggest that mark 𐤔 is related to Anuy (ii). Some corroboration for the latter identification may be found in several shards inscribed or incised with both mark 𐤔 and mark 𐤕 belonging to Anuy (ii)'s brother Nebimentet (i).³² The sequence of O. Schaden 16 then brings us to mark 𐤖, which could well be related to Wennefer (ii), the 15th name on the obverse of O. BM 5643. As discussed earlier, this mark referred to Khaemwaset (iii) and possibly his father Penamun (iii).³³ Since Wennefer (ii) is the grandfather of Penamun (iii),³⁴ assigning mark 𐤖 to the former workman is unproblematic. After this mark, O. Schaden 16 records mark 𐤒, which would then seem to relate to the workman Buqentuef (i). However, it makes more sense to skip over this mark to connect 𐤔, the 19th mark of O. Schaden 16, with this workman. We know mark 𐤔 to have belonged to Hay (vii) during the beginning of the 20th Dynasty, and because Hay (vii) was the grandson of Buqentuef (i) a connection between the latter and mark 𐤔 seems more likely.³⁵

O. Schaden 74

Some form of confirmation of the suggested identifications is offered by O. Schaden 74, a column of eight marks, left of which mark 𐤒 is inscribed. Although the column contains marks 𐤒 and 𐤓, which are not attested on O. Schaden 16, it certainly is related to this piece because the other six marks appear in the same relative order: 𐤕, 𐤖, 𐤗, 𐤓, 𐤔, and 𐤖. The first two marks are clearly related to the first workmen of the ordered list of workmen, but marks 𐤒 to 𐤖 are related to workmen of the lower half of the sequence recorded on O. BM 5634. Interpreting mark 𐤒 as Gardiner sign F18 (𐤒) with phonetic value *ḥw*, and mark 𐤓 as an allomorph of Gardiner sign D4 (𐤓) used as a determinative in the verb *mꜣꜣ* 'to see', we may tentatively identify them as the workmen *Huy* and *Maaninakhtuef* (i) recorded on the left side of the crew on O. BM 5634:³⁶

	O. Schaden 74		O. BM 5634
2	𐤒	18	Huy ³⁷
3	𐤓	17	Maaninakhtuf (i)
4	𐤕	11	Aapehty (i)/(ii)
5	𐤓	13	Amenmose
6	𐤔	14	Anuy (ii)
7	𐤖	15	Wennefer (ii)

TABLE 91. O. SCHADEN 74 COMPARED TO O. BM 5634

O. Schaden 1

Another ostrakon that is closely related to the ordered list of O. BM 5634 is O. Schaden 1. This ostrakon consists of a number of columns. The upper section of each column is inscribed with a workman's mark. The ostrakon is not preserved in its entirety, so we cannot be certain whether it recorded all workmen of the left side. The marks of the first two workmen of the

³² Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVI, nr. 66; pl. XVII, nrs. 53 and 54; WHTM 563.

³³ See chapter 3, 171; 187.

³⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, chart 2.

³⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 63-64.

³⁶ Mark 𐤓 is also attested with what seems to be an allomorph of 𐤖 in a graffito that may thus date to the 19th Dynasty, see Černý and Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* III.3, pl. CLVII; Černý and Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* IV.2, 124.

³⁷ The name Huy is too frequently attested in the necropolis administration to identify in this context.

ordered sequence might have been lost and we begin with mark 𓆎 , the third position according to the sequence of O. Schaden 16. Comparison of the list of marks with the list of names on O. BM 5634 corroborates our previous identifications and allows us to suggest some new ones:

O. Schaden 1			O. BM 5634	
3	𓆎	=	3	Siwadjet (ii)
4	𓆏	=	4	Haremwia (i)
5	𓆐	=	5	Amennakht ?
6	𓆑		6	Wadjmose (i)
7	𓆒	=	7	Nebimentet (i)
8	𓆓	=	8	Hehnakht (ii)
9	𓆔	=	9	Nakhtmin (vi)
10	𓆕		10	Pennub (ii)/(iii)
11	𓆖			
12	𓆗			
13	𓆘	≈	14	Anuy (ii)
14	𓆙	=	15	Wennefer (ii)
15	𓆚	=	16	Buqentuef (i)
16	𓆛	=	17	Maaninakhtuf (i)
17	𓆜			
18	...			

TABLE 92. O. SCHADEN 1 COMPARED TO O. BM 5634

We observe that the suggested marks of Siwadjet (ii), Haremwia (i), Nebimentet (i), Hehnakht (ii), Nakhtmin (vi) and Pennub (ii)/(iii) occur in the same exact positions as their names on O. BM 5634. This is due to the fact that O. Schaden 1 records an additional mark between 𓆏 and 𓆑 , which is 𓆐 , and if we follow the ordered sequence of the hieratic ostrakon it represents a workman called Amennakht. As we have seen in chapter 3 and 4, mark 𓆐 was used in the 20th Dynasty for the workman Khaemnun (i). According to Davies, this man was the son of a workman called Neferhotep (xv). Davies' reconstruction is based on the fact that a Khaemnun was involved in a dispute that took place around year 21 of Ramesses III, and that he was a son of Neferhotep (xv).³⁸ Since Khaemnun (i), husband of Naunakhte (i), was also active around this time, Davies equated him with this son of Neferhotep (xv). There is nevertheless no irrefutable evidence for such a relation, and we may propose an alternative theory that stipulates the existence of Khaemnun son of Neferhotep as a different individual from his contemporary namesake Khaemnun (i) husband of Naunakhte (i). Information about the father of Khaemnun (i) is recorded in P. Turin Cat. 1891, which dates to the reign of Ramesses IV and mentions a '[Khaem]nun, son of Amennakht'. As established by Collier,³⁹ this Khaemnun cannot be Davies' Khaemnun (iii).⁴⁰ He must be Khaemnun (i),⁴¹ the workman represented by mark 𓆐 . Therefore the Amennakht recorded in O. BM 5634 and represented by mark 𓆐 on O. Schaden 1 is most probably the father of Khaemnun (i). O. Schaden 1 thus demonstrates that Amennakht, like so many other necropolis workmen, transferred his identity mark to his son.




From the 11th mark of O. Schaden 1 onward we lose the direct correspondence with O. BM 5634 because the supposed mark of Aapehty (i)/(ii) is not recorded. Yet, marks 13 to 15,



³⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 250.

³⁹ Collier, 'The right side', 10.

⁴⁰ Davies, *Who's who*, 251 and n. 615.

⁴¹ As determined earlier, see chapter 3, 173 and n. 36.

𐎓, 𐎔, and 𐎕, are in perfect accord with names 14 to 16, Anuy (ii), Wennefer (ii) and Buqentuef (i). The following mark , perhaps an allomorph of , is then of course related to name 17, *Maaninakhtuf* (i). The identification of the mark of the draughtsman Maaninakhtuf (i) is corroborated by a vessel from the Valley of the Kings with almost the same mark.⁴² The vessel was used to mix blue paint in, which is something one would expect a draughtsman to do. The mark of Maaninakhtuf (i) is also reminiscent of that of his later namesake, Maaninakhtuf (iii), whose mark likewise included a sickle .


The last legible mark in the upper section of O. Schaden 1 is mark , which we have encountered in the 20th Dynasty where it referred to Iyerniutef (iii). There is a possibility to connect the mark on O. Schaden 1 with an earlier namesake of his, Iyerniutef (ii). This workman is recorded as a member of the right side of the crew in O. BM 5634, but O. Fitzwilliam E.GA.6119.1943 lists him on the left side. Interestingly, Iyerniutef (ii) is placed in the penultimate position in the latter document. Although it is not clear how many marks followed after  on O. Schaden 1, only one other mark is visible, suggesting a similar position for Iyerniutef (ii).⁴⁴

Excursus IV. The family of Anuy (ii)

In the previous chapter it had been demonstrated that in the 20th Dynasty mark 𐎓 referred to Minkhau (i). This man was the son of a man named Hori, enumerated by Davies as Hori (iii).⁴⁵ Since mark 𐎓 was used for Huynefer (xi) before Minkhau (i), Collier made the very plausible suggestion that Hori (iii), father of Minkhau (i), should be equated with Hori (ii), son of Huynefer (xi). This would mean that Minkhau (i) took on the identity mark of his grandfather.⁴⁶ Now the parentage of Huynefer (xi) is unknown, but with the attribution of mark 𐎓 to Anuy (ii) we may venture another suggestion. Anuy (ii) is known to have had a son, Mose (viii). Davies had proposed to associate this Mose with Khnummose (i),⁴⁷ but we have seen that the ostraca with marks do not provide concrete indications for such an equivalency. Instead, Mose (viii) may be a contraction of another name. The name Mose (viii) may have been used for Thutmose (i), a man about whom we know very little.⁴⁸ He is perhaps mentioned in O. DeM 118, attributed to the reign of Ramesses II. It is clear that Thutmose (i) had a son, Huynefer (v), who must have been active towards the second half of the 19th Dynasty and perhaps the beginning of the 20th Dynasty. If it is indeed possible to identify Mose (viii) with Thutmose (i), Huynefer (v) could be the same man as Huynefer (xi), who had then inherited his mark 𐎓 from his grandfather Anuy (ii).

⁴² Aston, *Pottery recovered*, 70, pl. 63.

⁴³ See chapter 3, 173.

⁴⁴ No family relations between Iyerniutef (ii) and Iyerniutef (iii) are known to the author, but it cannot be excluded that the latter was a grandson of the former, as the parentage of Iyerniutef (iii) is not known. Coincidentally both men are recorded to have been sculptors, see Davies, *Who's who*, 184-185. A wooden mallet, kindly brought to our attention by Rikst Ponjee, is incised with mark  and may have been used by the sculptors Iyerniutef (ii) or Iyerniutef (iii), see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=119388&partId=1&searchText=5409&page=1.

⁴⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 26 and n. 324.

⁴⁶ Collier, 'Integrating Hieratic and Marks Data', [9].

⁴⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 272.

⁴⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 18.

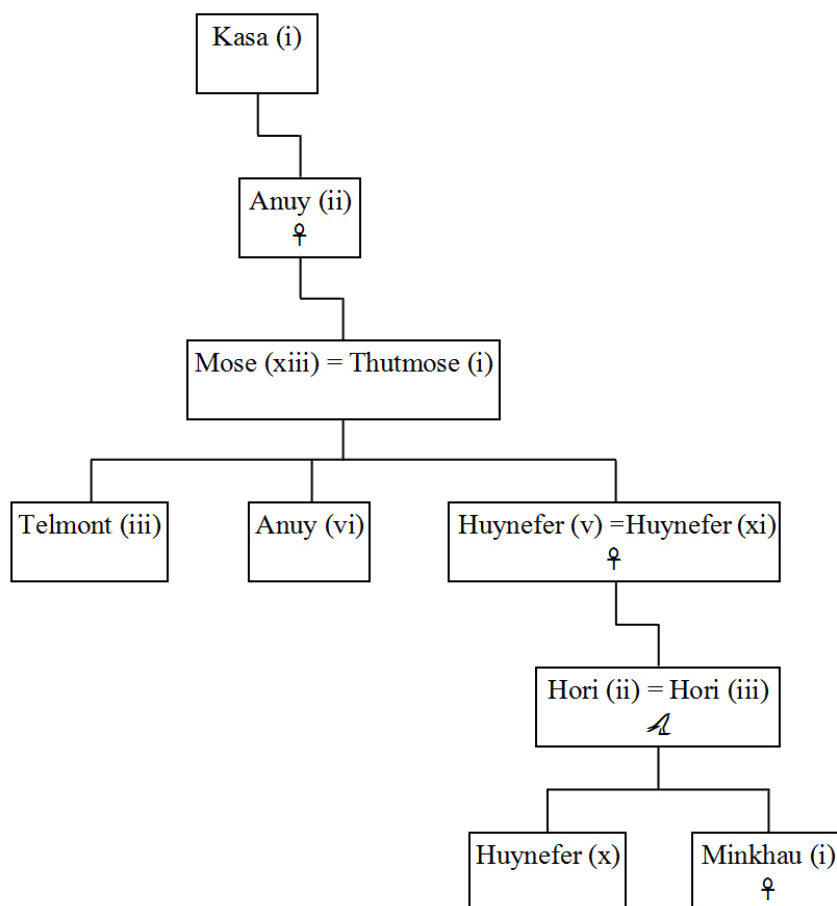


CHART 4. THE FAMILY OF ANUY (ii)

5.2.2.2 Ostraca related to O. Schaden 16 and O. Schaden 1

The ostraca with marks discussed so far in this section evidently record workmen who lived under the reign of Ramesses II. Four of these ostraca, O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 16, O. Schaden 74 and O. Schaden 96, were discovered in the area of the huts settlement near the tomb of Amenmesses. Besides their style, several other ostraca with marks from the site can be dated to this period on the basis of the repertory and/or the sequence of marks they display. That is also true for some ostraca that were found elsewhere. One of these ostraca is ONL 6312 with a sequence comparable to that of O. Schaden 1 (𐀀, 𐀁, 𐀂, 𐀃, and 𐀄) on the obverse. Fragmentary ostrakon O. Schaden 145 records the same sequence as that of O. Schaden 1. The first legible mark is 𐀄, probably that of Amennakht, followed by marks 𐀁, 𐀂, 𐀃, and 𐀅. The marks on the reverse of O. Schaden 75 appear to have been listed according to their relative position in the same ordered sequence: 𐀄, 𐀁 and 𐀅. Other ostraca with marks are almost certainly related to O. Schaden 1, despite the fact that they are inscribed with marks that appear in a different sequence. It does not automatically follow that such documents date to the exact same period, and there are indications that some may be of a slightly later date.

O. Turin S. 6863

For example, O. Turin S. 6863 is inscribed with four marks of which 𐀀, 𐀃 and 𐀁 belong to workmen of the left side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses II. A fourth mark that we have not encountered on the ostraca discussed so far is 𐀆. We are well familiar with this mark, as it was used for Kasa (v)/(vi) and his son Penanuquet (iii) in the 20th Dynasty. It is possible that the same mark 𐀆 was used by an earlier namesake of his, such as Kasa (i) or Kasa (vii). We will encounter this mark further down on ostraca dated to the second half of

the 19th Dynasty, and we should therefore keep in mind that O. Turin S. 6863 could be of a later date as well.

ONL 6394 and O. WHTM 765

These two ostraca are datable to the reign of Ramesses II. Both documents are inscribed with the marks of workmen of the left side, and both record marks \equiv and \uparrow in adjacent positions. O. WHTM 765 demands us to reconsider sign(s) \boxplus , which we have treated so far as a single mark. The ostrakon is inscribed with marks that appear in an order reminiscent of the ordered sequence of O. Schaden 1: \boxplus , \equiv , \uparrow , \boxplus and \uparrow . In the sequence of O. Schaden 1 these marks represent slots 8, 4, 7 and 13. Mark \boxplus is not found in the sequence of that ostrakon, but if we divert our gaze to the sequence of O. Schaden 16, we see that mark \uparrow is preceded by marks \boxplus , \boxtimes and \boxplus . We had proposed that mark \boxplus was an allomorph of \boxplus , belonging to Nebenmaat (ii). However, this person was a workman of the right side of the crew. We should therefore ask ourselves if it is a coincidence that on O. Schaden 16 marks \boxtimes and \boxplus are situated in subsequent positions. Could both marks somehow have been united on O. WHTM 765, forming mark \boxplus ?

Alternatively, mark \boxplus may need to be interpreted as two separate marks \boxplus and \uparrow , and mark \boxtimes as marks \uparrow and \boxtimes . Indeed, marks \boxplus and \uparrow are attested in isolation on O. Schaden 1. Likewise, O. Schaden 96 displays marks \boxtimes , \equiv and \boxplus that are situated in slots 3, 4 and 10 in O. Schaden 16, as well as mark \boxtimes , perhaps for one part of mark \boxtimes , in slot 14. Similarly, fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6395 is inscribed with a sequence of marks of which two marks are still discernable: \boxplus and \boxtimes . This sequence is reminiscent of that of O. Schaden 16 where we encounter \boxplus and \boxtimes . Should both ostraca be read as $\boxplus - \uparrow - \boxtimes$? If the answer to this question is positive, that would make the correspondence between the sequence of O. Schaden 16 and the name list of O. BM 5634 less strong. Furthermore, we would then seem to lose the suggested identification of the mark of Nebenmaat (ii). Unfortunately we do not possess enough data to resolve the issue, but there does seem to be some sort of a connection between the three marks \boxplus , \uparrow and \boxtimes . Perhaps these individuals were family members.

ONL 6445 and O. Schaden 13

The sequence of ONL 6445 is less problematic. It records a number of marks in an order that is related to their position in the sequence of O. Schaden 1 but includes a mark we have not yet discussed: \boxplus , \boxplus , \boxplus , \boxtimes and \boxplus . The new mark is \boxplus , which is also inscribed on O. Schaden 13. Several sections of the obverse of O. Schaden 13 were erased by the scribe, but some of the remaining marks appear in a sequence that is similar to that of O. Schaden 16: mark \boxplus is followed by mark \boxplus , in turn followed by mark \boxplus , which is written over \boxplus . The latter mark follows after \boxplus in O. Schaden 16. Left of mark \boxplus O. Schaden 13 displays a damaged sign that is not necessarily a workman's mark. At the left end of the ostrakon we find mark \boxplus . On the reverse we observe more marks belonging to workmen of the left side of the crew: \boxtimes for Siwadjet (ii), \boxplus probably for Maaninakhtuf (i), mark \boxtimes , and mark \boxplus , perhaps an allomorph of mark \boxplus for Nebenmaat (ii).

ONL 6530, ONL 6292 and O. Schaden 44

Two other ostraca are evidently akin to O. Schaden 16, but seem to display an allomorph form of mark \boxplus . The first one of these two documents is ONL 6530. We clearly recognise marks \uparrow , \boxplus , \boxplus , \boxtimes and \boxplus , all of which are listed according to their relative position in the lists of both O. Schaden 1 and O. Schaden 16. Mark \uparrow , situated in the second slot on O. Schaden 16, is preceded by a mark, which can only be mark \boxplus according to the sequence of the latter ostrakon. The mark on ONL 6530, unfortunately damaged at the top, does indeed resemble that mark but lacks the lower part that forms the legs of the worshipping man.

We probably encounter the same mark in its entirety on ONL 6292. It is inscribed with two groups of marks. The first group is not truly arranged in a column but can well be read as such, and we recognise marks 2, 3, 4, and 9 of the sequence of O. Schaden 16: 𐀀, 𐀁, 𐀂 and 𐀃. The second group too betrays the structure of the same sequence and lists marks 7, 8 and 16: 𐀄, 𐀅 and 𐀆. One mark, 𐀇, is situated at the top of this little column, and it is tempting to interpret it as an alternative mark used instead of mark 𐀈. Mark 𐀇 resembles the damaged sign on ONL 6530, and it may be a hieroglyphic sign *p*. It would thus seem that in contrast to mark 𐀈, which refers to the element *dwr* in the name of Pendua (i), mark 𐀇 represents the consonant *p* of the name *Pendua* (i). Perhaps the variant form was a result of intentional replacement or an unintentional mix-up of two similar signs.

Like the previous ostraca, O. Schaden 44 records workmen of the left side. It is inscribed with 𐀉 and 𐀊 on the reverse, while the obverse contains a sequence that is comparable to that of O. Schaden 1: 𐀋, 𐀌, 𐀍, 𐀎, 𐀏, 𐀐, 𐀑 and 𐀒. We find that here the supposed mark of workman Huy is positioned between 𐀌 and 𐀍.

O. Schaden 44 and O. Schaden 15: the mark of Neferrenpet (ii)

O. Schaden 15 too seems to be inscribed with marks of workmen that belonged to the left side of the crew, such as 𐀓, the mark of Buqentuf (i), mark 𐀔 perhaps of Harnefer (i)/(ii), mark 𐀕 of Amennakht, and unidentified marks such as 𐀖⁴⁹ and 𐀗. It also displays mark 𐀘. This mark may be an abbreviated variant of the fuller form of mark 𐀙, which is most probably related to (the family of) a workman called Neferrenpet. Indeed, a workman named Neferrenpet is attested on the left side of the crew in the later part of the reign of Ramesses II.⁵⁰ During the second half of the 19th Dynasty, three men of this name were active: Davies' Neferrenpet (ii), (iii) and (iv). It is impossible to determine with which of these individuals we are dealing, but there are reasons to give a slight preference to Neferrenpet (ii). Neferrenpet (ii) was a sculptor, and it appears that in the ordered sequences from the reign of Ramesses II some specialists such as sculptors and draughtsmen gravitated towards the bottom of the list.⁵¹ For example, Iyerniutef (ii) in position 18 of the right side on O. BM 5634, was a sculptor. The man one slot down is called Nakhtamun, who may be the sculptor Nakhtamun (iii). Similarly, the Ipyu listed in position 18 of the right side in the list of O. DeM 706 could be the sculptor Ipyu (i).⁵² Based on Neferrenpet's position on the same ostrakon in slot 19 of the left side, it is plausible that he is to be identified as sculptor Neferrenpet (ii).⁵³

The mark of this Neferrenpet is also attested on ONL 6338, which is clearly related to the ostraca from the workmen's huts near KV 10. Moreover, this document too seems to record mostly workmen of the left side. We recognise marks 𐀚, 𐀛, 𐀜, 𐀝, 𐀞, 𐀟, 𐀠 and 𐀡. Not yet discussed is mark 𐀢, which is not elsewhere attested in the 19th Dynasty, and we may propose it is an elaborate allomorph of mark 𐀣. We cannot prove this, but we do expect mark 𐀣 on ONL 6338 if we consider the other marks that feature on the ostrakon. The marks all occur in the second half of the ordered sequence of O. Schaden 16 and O. Schaden 1. Mark 𐀠 is situated in slot 16 on O. Schaden 1 and apart from marks 𐀛 and 𐀜, the other marks of ONL 6338 are situated in position 12, 13 (if 𐀝 ≈ 𐀞), 14 (if 𐀚 ≈ 𐀛), 17 and 19, while mark 𐀣 is found in position 16.

⁴⁹ This is probably an allomorph of 𐀖 in O. Schaden 16, as it was in the 20th Dynasty.

⁵⁰ O. DeM 706.

⁵¹ O. Ashmolean HO 57 suggests that the same phenomenon occurred in the later part of the 19th Dynasty as remarked by Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 19.

⁵² Although it is also possible that the man is in fact the draughtsman Ipyu (vi).

⁵³ His name could have been recorded in slot 20 of the left side on O. BM 5634, see Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* VIII, 3.

ONL 6541

Marks 𐀀 and 𐀁, recorded in subsequent positions on ONL 6338, are found next to each other on ONL 6541. The latter ostracon displays several marks of workmen of the left side in the later part of the reign of Ramesses II and it must date to this period. Although its sequence of marks is not attested elsewhere, we recognise marks 𐀁 (perhaps twice ?), 𐀂, 𐀃, 𐀄, 𐀅 and 𐀆. The sign in the lower row may be the hieratic form for 𐀇, referring to a scribe. We have not yet come across mark 𐀈 in 19th Dynasty ostraca discussed so far, although we know this mark to have been used for Aanakhtu (i) = (iii) = (iv).⁵⁴ This man was active during the second half of the 19th Dynasty, but so was Davies' Aanakhtu (ii),⁵⁵ who may be a different man. An unidentified Aanakhtu is recorded in the later part of the reign of Ramesses II on O. DeM 706, but this man belonged not to the left but to the right side of the crew. We can therefore not establish with any certainty to whom mark 𐀈 referred on ONL 6541. This workman does appear to be related to the left side of the crew, and his mark is also attested on O. Schaden 11. This ostracon is hardly legible, but in the traces of ink we do distinguish marks 𐀉, 𐀊, 𐀋, 𐀌, 𐀍, 𐀎, and 𐀏.

ONL 6488

Marks 𐀁 and 𐀈 occur in subsequent positions as well in a column of marks inscribed on ONL 6488. The ink on this ostracon is unfortunately rather effaced and not all marks are legible, but once again we find ourselves looking at a document recording workmen of the left side. It is not clear if the marks are arranged in an ordered list, but we can demonstrate that the sequence is remotely akin to that of a number of ostraca from the huts near KV 10 (TABLE 93). Mark 𐀎, otherwise unattested, presumably is an allomorph of 𐀏, the well attested mark of Siwadjet (ii), member of the left side. We had already encountered mark 𐀐 on O. Turin S. 6863, while mark 𐀑 is attested on documents with workmen of the right side.

	ONL 6488	O. Schaden 16	O. Schaden 1	O. Schaden 44
𐀁	1	-	-	3
𐀂	2	2	[2]	-
𐀃 ?	3	11	-	-
𐀄	4	-	-	-
𐀅	5	8	9	8
𐀆	6	17	14	-
𐀇	8	3	3	2
𐀈	9	6	7	6
𐀉	10	-	-	-
𐀊	11	≈14	-	-
𐀋	12	7	8	7
𐀌	13	-	-	-
𐀍	14	5	6	5
𐀎	15	10	-	-
𐀏	16	-	-	-
𐀐	17	≈13	-	-
𐀑	18	18	-	-
𐀒	19	-	12	-
𐀓	21	-	-	-

TABLE 93. ONL 6488 COMPARED TO O. SCHADEN 16, 1 AND 44.

⁵⁴ See chapter 4, p. 292.

⁵⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 39-40.

ONL 6313, ONL 6447 and ONL 6526

Related to ONL 6488 is ONL 6313, also inscribed with mark \sqcup , as well as 𐀀 and 𐀁 . A fourth mark is 𐀂 . The marks on ONL 6447 also associate it with ONL 6488, although we can only tentatively identify three marks: 𐀃 , 𐀄 and 𐀅 , likely to be an allomorph of 𐀆 . Perhaps written by the same hand as ONL 6488 is another ostrakon with columns of marks, ONL 6526. It contains a list of at least 19 workmen's marks and could well be an ordered list. That is suggested by ONL 6280, discussed next, which displays partly the same sequence of marks. The order of ONL 6526 is to some extent reminiscent of that of O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 16 and associated ostraca, but the list contains some marks we have not seen previously:

	ONL 6526	O. Schaden 16
𐀇	1	2
𐀈	2	-
𐀉	3	3
𐀊	4	4
𐀋	5	-
𐀌	6	7
𐀍	7	-
𐀎	8	8
𐀏?	9	-
𐀐	10	19
𐀑	11	13
𐀒	12	5
𐀓	13	-
𐀔	14?	[13 in O. Schaden 1]
𐀕	15?	-
𐀖?	16?	-
𐀗	17?	14
𐀘	18?	-
?	19?	-

TABLE 94. ONL 6526 COMPARED TO O. SCHADEN 16












Two marks we meet here for the first time in the 19th Dynasty. The first mark is 𐀍 , which resembles the hieratic sign of 𐀎 , with phonetic value *šd*. As we have seen previously the same mark was used in the 20th Dynasty for a man called Pashedu, and that seems plausible for the 19th Dynasty allomorph as well.⁵⁶ Another mark that we recognise from our discussion of 20th Dynasty marks is 𐀏 . Although we cannot verify it, it seems very likely that this mark refers to the Paherypedjet recorded on the left side of the crew on O. BM 5634 and O. DeM 706.⁵⁷ Both marks are not recorded on O. Schaden 16 and associated ostraca, but this may be

⁵⁶ Additional evidence comes to us in the form of ceramic vessel fragments inscribed with marks from the tomb of Amenemwia (i) (TT 356), one of which displays mark 𐀍 with Gardiner sign D46 as phonetic complement *d* underneath it, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1928* II, 113, fig. 63, nr. 039; also Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVII, nr. 102. The combination *šd* + *d* is also attested on name stone ONL 1383, with sign 𐀏 in front of it. As far as we are aware, no individual is known from Deir el-Medina with a name that contains these two elements. ONL 1383 may therefore contain two workmen's marks, perhaps for a Pashedu and for Nefersenut (i), although the relationship between the two is unclear. Nefersenut (i) does not appear to have had a relative by the name of Pashedu, see Davies, *Who's who*, chart 28.











⁵⁷ It is not clear with which Paherypedjet we are dealing exactly, see Davies, *Who's who*, 9. The fact that he is positioned near the top of the list of ONL 6526 might suggest he was a man of some standing, which would weigh in favour of an identification with Paherypedjet (ii), brother of the foreman of the left side Qaha (i).

a coincidence because as discussed below, the mark of Paherypedjet is probably attested twice at the site of the 19th Dynasty workmen's huts.


ONL 6280





An ostrakon associated with ONL 6526 is ONL 6280, inscribed with two short columns, which should be read from left to right according to the sequence of ONL 6526. When we do so, we come to an order of marks that approaches the first part of the sequence of ONL 6526: , , , , , , , and . The last five marks belong to workmen associated with the left side of the crew. Mark  occurs with workmen of the left side of the crew in the lower section of O. Schaden 1,⁵⁸ but mark  is attested for Iyerniutef (ii), who belonged to the right side. Interestingly, ONL 6280 records another familiar mark, , which was used to refer to the foreman of the right during the 20th Dynasty. It not clear if the mark has the same function on this 19th Dynasty ostrakon. In fact, it is the only instance of this mark on an ostrakon that can be securely dated to the 19th Dynasty. The same mark is once attested on a fragment of pottery discovered in front of the tomb of Siptah,⁵⁹ but like many other marks on ceramic from this area, it could date to the 20th Dynasty as well.

O. Schaden 22 and O. Schaden 93: the mark of Paherypedjet

An ostrakon related to ONL 6526 and ONL 6280 is O. Schaden 22. Like ONL 6526 and ONL 6280 it contains a mark that refers to a Paherypedjet. We are quite certain that the mark belongs to this man (or a successor of his) because on O. Schaden 22 a more elaborate allomorph of the mark, , is featured, which we can practically read: it is the hieroglyph  with phonetic value *hry* written above the bow  with phonetic value *pd.t*. Like ONL 6526, O. Schaden 22 displays mark  and like ONL 6280 it contains mark .⁶⁰ The mark of Paherypedjet is probably also found on O. Schaden 93. The marks of this piece appear to have been erased deliberately and are hardly legible. Still, marks , , and , presumably for workmen of the left side, can be distinguished. Other traces of ink might have been marks  and .

5.2.2.3 ONL 6536 and related ostraca: mid-19th Dynasty delivery accounts?

The elaborate variant of the mark of Paherypedjet, , is attested on an ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings, O. Cairo JE 96352. Only a part of the left half of this document is preserved, which must have contained at least two columns of marks with hieratic numerals inscribed next to it:



[...]	560		492
[...]	340	 ⁶¹	470
[...]	500		275
			270

We recognise all marks from 19th Dynasty sources discussed so far, suggesting the ostrakon dates to the time of Ramesses II or slightly later. A very similar type of account is visible on the reverse of a small ostrakon fragment from Deir el-Medina, ONL 6479:

⁵⁸ This does not necessary mean that this workmen also belonged to the left side of the crew. For a discussion of this piece see below, 5.3.2.2.

⁵⁹ Fragment 602, see Aston, *Pottery recovered*, 72, pls. 72 and 82.

⁶⁰ Other traces of ink on O. Schaden 22 are unclear.

⁶¹ The mark is slightly damaged and the preserved traces might resemble mark , but in the light of the marks on the other ostraca of this group mark  seems more probable.

[...]
 100
 A
 100
 ✕
 100

It is probably no coincidence that on this ostrakon marks A and ✕ are listed in the same sequence of O. Cairo JE 96352, as the arrangement with high numerals is similar as well. Another document in this style is the obverse of ONL 6518, which is very fragmentary but also inscribed with mark ✕:

[...]
 [10 (?)]
 600
 ✕
 [...]

A far bigger and better preserved ostrakon of similar content is ONL 6536. It resembles the previous three ostraca because it too is an account in which workmen's marks are connected with high figures and because it contains marks A and ✕. Moreover, it is very probable that ONL 6536, ONL 6518 and O. Cairo JE 96352 were written by the same scribe, because the shape of the hieratic numerals is absolutely congruent. The style is so characteristic that we recognise in it the hand of a hieratic scribe who wrote hieratic accounts such as O. DeM 333 and O. DeM 713+. ⁶² These accounts record deliveries, mainly of firewood and fish, which are made to the crew in year 35 and 37 of Ramesses II. It is possible that ONL 6536 and the previous three ostraca record similar information. We can decipher ONL 6536 to some extent:

Obverse

10: $\overline{\text{A}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$: 500; A: 500
 10: $\overline{\text{A}}$: 610; $\overline{\text{A}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$: 506; ✕: 500 (+ x?) [$\overline{\text{X}}$?]
 [10:] $\overline{\text{A}}$: 1050; $\overline{\text{A}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$: 400; A: 520; [... ✕ ?]
 [10:] ∞ and ✕: 893; A : 494; [$\overline{\text{I}}$...]
 10: ∞ and ✕: 1180; A: 960; $\overline{\text{A}}$: 1000 (+ x?)
 10: $\overline{\text{A}}$: 600; $\overline{\text{A}}$ and $\overline{\text{I}}$: 300; $\overline{\text{L}}$: 980 [...]

Reverse

10: $\overline{\text{A}}$: 600; [unclear signs]; 660; [$\overline{\text{L}}$ (?) ...]
 10: $\overline{\text{A}}$: 642 [...]

The interpretation of this ostrakon is difficult. Every line of the account begins with the hieratic numeral 10. In the hieratic delivery texts made by the same scribe, each entry starts with a day date. Perhaps ONL 6536 is an account of deliveries, all of which were made on a day 10. Indeed, many of the deliveries recorded from year 3 of Seti I took place on day 10, 20 or 30, ⁶³ but such a schedule is not known from the reign of Ramesses II. We are not even certain if the amounts mentioned in ONL 6536 concern deliveries in the first place. The

⁶² Particularly the shape of the hieratic hundreds is very similar. For O. DeM 713 see Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* VIII, 112-115; for O. DeM 333 see the image accessible via <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=6672>.

⁶³ O. DeM 1-12; 14-18; 22-24; 28.

numerals are comparable to the quantities of wood recorded in the hieratic documentation, but how do we explain the presence of the workmen's marks? Let us turn to hieratic ostrakon O. DeM 713+ for a moment. This document lists the days of the month on which particular goods are said to have arrived through (*m-dr.t*) a particular person. The individuals mentioned are the scribe Meryre,⁶⁴ the scribe Amenemope,⁶⁵ Paherypedjet,⁶⁶ Pashedu, Bakenwerel,⁶⁷ Ahautiu, Amenemone,⁶⁸ Baki who is perhaps the same man as the Baki son of Amenemone also mentioned in the document,⁶⁹ Khaemtore,⁷⁰ and a man whose name is damaged and has been reconstructed as Djehutyemheb by Kitchen.⁷¹ These men are generally thought to have been agents of the *smd.t* personnel. Indeed, the scribes Meryre and Amenemope mentioned in this text are clearly associated with the administration of deliveries,⁷² and the majority of the other names are not included in O. BM 5634, the hieratic name list of year 40. Still, the status of these men is not unambiguous, because a Paherypedjet and a Khaemtore are present in the list of O. BM 5634. Moreover, a workman Pashedu, probably Pashedu (xv), is recorded among workmen on documents that predate O. BM 5634.⁷³ One of these ostraca also records an Amenemone.⁷⁴ Additionally, we should question the occupations of the scribes Meryre and Amenemope. Their profession was described by Davies as that of '*smd.t* scribe', "whose primary responsibility was to co-ordinate the supply of grain and other commodities to the workmen via the external services."⁷⁵ This seems correct, but the social standing of these men within the community of necropolis workmen at the time of Ramesses II is obscure. We do not know whether they lived and worked with the other inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, and whether they were considered to be members of the gang.⁷⁶ In fact, most of the '*smd.t* scribes' identified by Davies are not related to the families of workmen. This author pointed out that there are no houses, tombs, or graffiti that are securely connected with any of the '*smd.t* scribes'.⁷⁷ Of course it is extremely difficult to identify these scribes, not in the last place because the title '*smd.t* scribe', or *sš n pꜣ hr n bnr* is only attested in two documents.⁷⁸ The scarcity of the title suggests it was not an official position. It seems rather that within the community of necropolis workmen there lived 'scribes' who were assigned, perhaps among other tasks, to document deliveries during a specific period. In order to distinguish these scribes from the scribe of the tomb, they may have occasionally been called '*smd.t* scribes' in the administration of the necropolis. In actuality, we may cast some doubt on the significance of the title 'scribe' applied for the Meryre and Amenemope in the account of O. DeM 713+. We know almost nothing about these men or their training as scribes. It is therefore worth considering the possibility that the '*smd.t* scribes' identified as Amenemope (xvi) and Meryre (iii) by Davies are synonymous with the workmen Amenemope (iii) = (ix)⁷⁹ and his son

⁶⁴ Meryre (iii) according to Davies, *Who's who*, 125.

⁶⁵ Amenemope (xvi) according to Davies, *Who's who*, 125.

⁶⁶ A member of the *smd.t* personnel according to Davies, *Who's who*, 9-10.

⁶⁷ Identified as the 'superintendent of supplies' Bakenwerel (ii) by Davies, *Who's who*, 219 and 220, n. 215.

⁶⁸ Identified as the guardian Amenemone (iv) by Davies, *Who's who*, 208.

⁶⁹ Baki (iii), a member of the *smd.t* personnel according to Davies, *Who's who*, 12.

⁷⁰ A member of the *smd.t* personnel to be distinguished from the contemporaneous Khaemtore (i) according to Davies, *Who's who*, 238 and n. 466.

⁷¹ *KRI* VII, 179, 9; this man is not discussed in Davies, *Who's who*.

⁷² Davies, *Who's who*, 125.

⁷³ O. CG 25627, O. DeM 852 and O. Turin N. 57082.

⁷⁴ O. Turin N. 57082.

⁷⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 123.

⁷⁶ See above, chapter 3, 3.3.11.

⁷⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 141-142. Note however that during the 20th Dynasty '*smd.t* scribe' Paser may have had a personal identity mark, suggesting he was a full member of the crew, see chapter 4, 4.2.12.

⁷⁸ O. Michaelides 66; P. Turin Cat. 1945+; cf. Ventura, *Living in a City*, 65; 68.

⁷⁹ Davies, *Who's who*, 152; Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 130-131.

Meryre (v), attested in name lists dated to the reign of Amenmesses⁸⁰ and later 19th Dynasty kings.⁸¹ The father of Amenemope (iii) = (ix) was Pay (ii),⁸² who was a draughtsman. In all probability this man must have had some knowledge of script and he could have instructed his son and perhaps his grandson in some basic writing skills.

The point of the discussion about the individuals in O. DeM 731+ is to determine the meaning of ostrakon ONL 6536. The men mentioned in the hieratic account are obviously associated with the external service personnel, but at the same time there are several contemporaneous individuals of the same name who are securely situated within the community of workmen. We cannot rule out the possibility that some of these persons simultaneously, or at an earlier or later point, held a position among the crew of workmen. Consequently they may have had a workman's mark. Very tentatively we may thus propose that the individuals recorded on ostraca O. Cairo JE 96352, ONL 6518, ONL 6479 and ONL 6536 are workmen who delivered wood to the crew, perhaps in the capacity of *smd.t* agents, if only temporarily.⁸³ Admittedly this seems farfetched, but some of the individuals on the ostraca with marks may also be mentioned in O. DeM 713+. The Paherypedjet and Pashedu recorded in this document could be referred to by mark Ξ on O. Cairo JE 96352 and by ∞ on ONL 6536. Mark 𐀓 on ONL 6536 may represent the scribe of the tomb, as it did in the 20th Dynasty, but in analogy with O. DeM 713+ it refers perhaps to 'scribes' Meryre (iii (= v?)) or Amenemope (xvi (= iii = ix?)). All other marks are attested for workmen of the right and the left side of the crew at the time of Ramesses II, and even for a foreman.⁸⁴ Two marks on ONL 6536 are quite frequent and appear often in pairs: 𐀑 and 𐀒 . We know that the former mark belonged to a workman of the left side of the crew, Nakhtmin (iv), whose mark was also used by his grandson Nakhtmin (vi). In the 20th Dynasty, mark 𐀑 was used for the son of this Nakhtmin (vi), Nebnakht (viii), and therefore it is very likely the resembling mark 𐀑 on ONL 6536 represents his homonymous grandfather, Nebnakht (vi), son of Nakhtmin (iv).

5.2.2.4 Ostraca from the huts near the tomb of Amenmesses (KV 10) with a small number of marks

Several more, smaller ostraca can be attributed to the middle of the 19th Dynasty because of similarities with the corpus of ostraca from the workmen's huts near KV 10. Moreover, a few ostraca from this area inscribed with a very small number of marks or just a single mark probably date to this period as well. Without any archaeological context they would be difficult to accurately date, but many of these marks are attested on larger pieces that we have discussed above and that are certainly datable to the 19th Dynasty. Moreover, their findspot among other 19th Dynasty ostraca as well as their style suggests they belong to the same body of ostraca dating to the reign of Ramesses II or his immediate successor:

O. Schaden 6:	𐀑
O. Schaden 35:	𐀒
O. Schaden 121:	𐀑
O. Schaden 133:	𐀓
O. Schaden 135:	an allomorph of 𐀓 ?
O. Schaden 162:	𐀑 ; 𐀒 ; 𐀓 ; 𐀔 ; 𐀕

⁸⁰ E.g. O. Cairo Carnarvon 343; O. DeM 277.

⁸¹ E.g. O. Ashmolean HO 57.

⁸² Davies, *Who's who*, 150.

⁸³ Katherin Gabler, based on her forthcoming study on the *smd.t* personnel, agrees that this is a plausible theory, personal communication, 2015.

⁸⁴ Mark 𐀑 probably for Qaha (i).

Less certain are three other ostraca from the same area that probably date to the 19th Dynasty, but feature marks that are not attested on other documents or objects from the same period. Marks \equiv and \dagger on O. Schaden 61 do not contradict a 19th Dynasty date, the former attested as the mark for Haremwia and the latter probably belonging to a member of the right side.⁸⁵ However, the fragmentary piece also clearly depicts sign \mathcal{K} , which is not attested elsewhere as a workman's mark. We may propose it is part of a damaged hieroglyphic inscription. O. Schaden 152 is a similar case. The ostrakon is almost certainly a product of the 19th Dynasty because of the occurrence of $\bar{\text{L}}$ ⁸⁶ and \mathcal{A} . Yet, it also contains mark L , known from the 18th Dynasty, but not found elsewhere in a 19th Dynasty context. Ostrakon O. Schaden 161 is probably datable to 19th Dynasty but its interpretation is hindered because not all marks are well preserved. We will discuss it with a group of other ostraca below.⁸⁷

5.2.2.5 Other ostraca attributable to the middle of the 19th Dynasty

There are other, smaller and often fragmentary ostraca, mostly from the village and its vicinity, that are attributable to the same period because the groups of marks are related to the ostraca from the huts settlement near the tomb of Amenmesses. These ostraca do not provide new information and are briefly discussed in Appendix I.⁸⁸

5.2.2.6 O. Hawass, O. Cairo JE 96335 and O. Cairo JE 96336 and related ostraca

More ostraca with marks can be related to the list of O. BM 5634, and although the order of marks on these pieces is not exactly that of the ordered sequence it is often similar to it.

O. Hawass, O. Cairo JE 96335 and O. Cairo JE 96336

One significant piece is O. Hawass, which was discovered in the Valley of the Kings probably in the area of the workmen's huts between KV 7 (Ramesses II) and KV 8 (Merenptah). It displays two lines of marks, some of which we have encountered on O. Schaden 1 and O. Schaden 16, where they belonged to the left side of the crew. However, many of the other marks on O. Hawass seem to belong to workmen of the right side of the crew, and therefore it appears that the document is not a list of all workmen of one particular side. It is clear however, that three marks in the upper row, $\overline{\text{L}}$ – $\bar{\text{L}}$ – \mathcal{A} , are recorded in a meaningful order. That is suggested by the fact that they appear as such on O. Cairo JE 96335 and probably also O. Cilli 336,⁸⁹ and in almost the same sequence on O. Cairo JE 96336. At the beginning of this chapter we had identified the workmen referred to by these marks as Amenemwia (i), Iniherkhau (ii) and Neferabet (i).⁹⁰ When we turn to the reverse of O. BM 5634, we find exactly these three workmen in positions 2, 3 and 4 of the list of workmen of the right side. If the upper line of marks on O. Hawass is read from left to right, then the identity marks of these three individuals are listed in those three exact positions as well. One damaged mark precedes it, which could be mark \mathcal{K} . That is also suggested by ONL 6543, an ostrakon fragment which contains three marks in a comparable sequence: \mathcal{K} – $\overline{\text{L}}$ – \mathcal{A} – [...]. The list of O. BM 5634 records a Huynefer, perhaps Huynefer (iii), for this slot. We have seen however that mark \mathcal{K} was used for the workman Buqentuef (i), who does not appear to have had any men called Huynefer in his family. Moreover, Buqentuef and his descendants such as the later deputies Amennakht (x) and Hay (vii) were mostly associated with the left side of the

⁸⁵ See above, p. 404, O. Schaden 16.

⁸⁶ For a member of the right side, as we will see below, 5.2.2.6.

⁸⁷ See below, p. 421.

⁸⁸ See Appendix I, § 1.

⁸⁹ This ostrakon may however date to a later period, see below, p. 439.

⁹⁰ See above, 5.2.1.

crew. Thus the first four marks on O. Hawass agree only to a limited degree with the list on the reverse of O. BM 5634.

We come to the same conclusion when we examine the fifth mark from the left in the upper row of O. Hawass. This is mark Υ , which we have seen on O. Schaden 16 and which might be related to Harnefer (i)/(ii) according to a comparison with the obverse of O. BM 5634. The list of workmen of the right side inscribed on the reverse of the same piece mentions Paser (v) for this slot, a man who cannot be tied to the family of Harnefer (i)/(ii). Once again, we seem to have lost the connection between the list of men on O. Hawass and the ordered list on the reverse of O. BM 5634, and a comparison of the two documents does not lead to any new secure identifications but only to tentative suggestions. For example, right of mark Υ on O. Hawass we find two signs that seem to constitute a single mark: AA . This mark is reminiscent of mark A for Qaha (i). According to the list of the right side on O. BM 5634 mark AA would be linked to a workman named Pakharu. Since Qaha (i) had a son called Kharu (i),⁹¹ it is tempting to equate both names and to connect the mark with his person. However, Sennedjem (i) is known to have had a son called Pakharu (xii), who must have been active in the reign of Ramesses II,⁹² and another Pakharu (ix) may have been active in the first half of the 19th Dynasty.⁹³ A connection between AA and Kharu (i) is therefore far from certain.

Depending on how the lines of O. Hawass are read, the 8th or 14th mark of the document is K . To some extent this mark is similar to mark K belonging to Nebenmaat (ii), who is recorded in the 12th position on O. BM 5634. It is, however, impossible to verify this equation. Likewise it is difficult to identify the other marks on O. Hawass, but we can make some suggestions regarding marks H and P . Data from the 20th Dynasty has made it abundantly evident that H was employed as the identity mark of the necropolis scribe. O. BM 5634 was written in year 40 of Ramesses II, when scribe Qenherkhopshef (i) had assumed this status, so the sign on O. Hawass could well refer to him. As for mark P we can exploit our knowledge of marks of the 20th Dynasty once more. During this period the sign was used for Pahemnetjer (ii), the grandson of Pahemnetjer (i) who was active in the second half of the 19th Dynasty.⁹⁴ Mark P may therefore well refer to the latter man.

	O. Hawass		O. BM 5634
1	[K]	1	Huynefer (iii) ?
2	T	2	Amenemwia (i)
3	I	3	Iniherkhau (i)
4	A	4	Neferabet (i)
5	Υ		
6	AA	6	Pakharu = Kharu (i)?
7	...		
8	K	12	Nebenmaat (ii)
9	H		
10	P		
11	P	19	Pahemnetjer (i)
12	H		
13	I		
14	H	-	Scribe Qenherkhopshef (i) ?

TABLE 95. O. HAWASS COMPARED TO O. BM 5634

⁹¹ Although not necessary as a workman; Davies, *Who's who*, 13.

⁹² Davies, *Who's who*, 44-45.

⁹³ Davies, *Who's who*, 206.

⁹⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 95.

We have already briefly mentioned O. Cairo JE 96336 but it is worth returning to it. The sequence of marks recorded on this document is clearly not the same as that of ordered lists such as O. BM 5634 and O. DeM 706, but a comparison of names and marks does offer a few plausible identifications:

























	O. Cairo JE 96336		O. BM 5634
1		2	Amenemwia (i)
2		5	Paser (v)
3		3	Iniherkhau (i)
4		4	Neferabet (i)
5			
6		8	Nefersennut (i)
7		7	Seba (iii)?
8			
9	[O ?]	10	Khonsu (i)/(ii)

TABLE 96. O. HAWASS COMPARED TO O. BM 5634

Among the first four marks are those of Amenemwia (i), Iniherkhau (i) and Neferabet (i), all of whom are situated in the top four slots of the ordered list of O. BM 5634. The second mark of O. Cairo JE 96336 is , unmistakably the hieratic sign for , Gardiner A2. Marks that depict human figures are relatively rare. Among the corpus of 20th Dynasty identity marks we have seen  (probably for Paser (iii)),  for Qaydjeret (i) and  (probably for Akhpet (iii)). Apart from , we know mark  from the 19th Dynasty material. Each of these marks possesses a direct relation to the name of its owner. This is problematic for  because Gardiner A2 is not used as an ideogram or a sign with a phonetic value. Going through the list of workmen of the right side recorded on O. BM 5634, there is a single name that might be remotely connected with mark . It is the workman Paser (v), listed in the fifth position, whose name is written with Gardiner sign A21  for *sr*. A relation between his name and mark  is nothing more than an unsubstantiated guess, since the most characteristic feature of sign A21, the tall staff, is omitted in mark , but otherwise the two signs are quite similar in hieratic script.⁹⁵ The fact that Paser (v) is situated in a rather high slot in the ordered list of O. BM 5634 is also in agreement with his position on O. Cairo JE 96336.

The marks in position 6 and 8,  and , cannot be linked to any of the names on O. BM 5634. However, for marks 6  and 7  we may cautiously suggest that they refer to workmen numbers 8 *Nefersennut* (i) and 7 *Seba*.⁹⁶ Another hesitant guess would connect the damaged, circular mark O at the left end of O. Cairo JE 96336, otherwise seemingly unattested, with the workman *Khonsu* (i)/(ii) listed in position 10 on O. BM 5634 in analogy with the circular sign used in the 20th Dynasty duty rosters as an abbreviation for the *smd.t* agent *Bakenkhonsu*.⁹⁷

O. Hawass and O. Cairo JE 96636 are thus relatively well dated. Together with other dated 19th Dynasty ostraca inscribed with many different marks such as O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 16 and ONL 6526, they can be consulted to determine an approximate date for other pieces inscribed with the same marks. In fact, there are numerous other ostraca inscribed like O. Hawass with what appear to be marks of workmen of both the right and the left side of the crew. We shall here discuss a number of them in this section, while those ostraca that do not offer new information are briefly treated in Appendix I.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Compare Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 3, nr. 35 to 2, nr. 11; as intermediate shape, compare 1, nr. 1.

⁹⁶ Perhaps Seba (iii), see Davies, *Who's who*, 11.

⁹⁷ See chapter 3, 3.2.2.4.

⁹⁸ Appendix I, § 2.

ONL 6411

ONL 6411 must date to the 19th Dynasty because of the occurrence of mark 𓏏 . It displays well known marks for members of the right and the left side (𓏏 , 𓏑 , 𓏒 , 𓏓 and 𓏔). Mark 𓏕 is found on ostraca such as ONL 6526. But ONL 6411 also contains 𓏖 and 𓏗 . The latter mark was used for Merysekhmet (iii) in the 20th Dynasty, but he cannot have been recorded on this 19th Dynasty piece. Instead it must refer to an earlier Merysekhmet, either Merysekhmet (i) or (ii). The distinction between these two men is grounded on literary ostrakon O. DeM 1106⁹⁹ in which a Merysekhmet is called the master (*hr.y*) of a Nefersenut. Janssen¹⁰⁰ and Davies¹⁰¹ argued that, because Nefersenut (i) is known to have been active in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II, his master Merysekhmet must have lived in the first half and should thus be differentiated from the Merysekhmet who is attested in the reigns of Amenmesses and Seti II, Davies' Merysekhmet (ii). However, neither Nefersenut nor Merysekhmet is securely attested before year 40 of Ramesses II. For all we know, Merysekhmet could have accepted Nefersenut as his apprentice in year 39, and therefore there is no necessity for distinguishing two Merysekhmets during the 19th Dynasty. Mark 𓏗 could thus represent Merysekhmet (i) = (ii), the great grandfather of Merysekhmet (iii) with the same mark. The reading of the second mark, 𓏖 , is not completely certain, and it could perhaps also be mark 𓏘 we saw earlier on O. Cairo JE 96636. Alternatively, the mark on that ostrakon could be 𓏙 , which we encountered already on ONL 6313.¹⁰²

ONL 6587 and ONL 6525

Like ONL 6467, ONL 6587 is poorly preserved. The ostrakon is difficult to interpret and contains strange signs and depictions of a kind that are not found elsewhere. The disorganised nature is to some extent similar to that of ONL 6488. Some of the few securely identified marks of ONL 6587 are present on ONL 6488: 𓏚 , 𓏛 and 𓏜 . The bird-shaped sign 𓏝 could perhaps be a mark. Indeed, a falcon-shaped bird is probably inscribed on O. Berlin P 14350, also inscribed with mark 𓏜 and definitely datable to the reign of Ramesses II on account of the hieratic text with which it is inscribed. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that on ONL 6587 the bird refers to an actual bird. Perhaps also inscribed on this ostrakon are some marks that we know from pieces such as O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 16, O. Hawass and ONL 6526: 𓏞 , 𓏟 , 𓏠 , 𓏡 , 𓏢 and 𓏣 . Mark 𓏤 is perhaps a poorly executed specimen of 𓏥 . There are several more signs that could perhaps be workmen's marks. One of them resembles 𓏦 , the mark of Menna (i). We have encountered this individual already in the 20th Dynasty, but he may have been active as early as the reign of Siptah.¹⁰³ If his mark is indeed present on ONL 6587, it should date to a later period than the group of ostraca from the workmen's huts near KV 10 and associated documents. The author of ONL 6587 may have also composed ONL 6525, which is equally disorganised and also contains odd marks and signs. The only securely identified marks are 𓏧 and 𓏩 , both attested in the 19th Dynasty. ONL 6560 is equally

⁹⁹ Georges Posener, *Catalogue des Ostraca Hiératiques Littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. Tome I. Nos 1001 à 1108. DFIFAO 1 (Cairo 1938), pls. 54-54a.

¹⁰⁰ Jac. J. Janssen, 'Two Personalities', in: Demarée and Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings*, 116.

¹⁰¹ Davies, *Who's who*, 161.

¹⁰² The reverse of this ostrakon also displays an *udjat*-eye. Although this sign is attested as a workman's mark in the Ramesside period, the specimen on ONL 6411 does not appear to have been used in this sense because it is much larger than the other marks. Ostraca with drawings of *udjat*-eyes are not uncommon, compare e.g. O. DeM 3344, see Annie Gasse, *Catalogue des Ostraca Figurés de Deir el-Médineh*. Fascicule 5. Nos 3100-3372. DFIFAO 23 (Cairo 1986), pl. XXXVI; O. BM 5627; O. Berlin P 23972, see Emma Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptische Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden 1956), 169, pl. XLIV.

¹⁰³ Davies, *Who's who*, 164.

enigmatic, inscribed with eyebrow raising lines, shapes and perhaps signs. A date in the 19th Dynasty may be considered on account of a shape that resembles λ .

O. Schaden 161

Similarly problematic is O. Schaden 161. It is inscribed with Γ , which we may assume is an allomorph of Υ , and with 𐀓 . Both marks appear on O. Hawass. Left of mark Γ , 𐀔 is inscribed, which could be a single mark, but is not securely attested anywhere else. Alternatively it could be mark 𐀕 with an unclear mark, sign or depiction above it. Marks 𐀕 , Υ and 𐀓 are also situated in adjacent positions on O. Hawass. The other marks on O. Schaden 161 are difficult to discern. One could be mark 𐀖 , the other resembles 𐀗 . While the former mark is definitely attested in the 19th Dynasty, the latter is not securely found in a 19th Dynasty context. Perhaps the traces of this mark are better interpreted as a hieratic variant of mark 𐀘 for the scribe of the necropolis, which, as it happens, is also attested on O. Hawass. In this light we may contemplate if the traces of the mark left of it are not 𐀖 , but mark 𐀙 . This reading of O. Schaden 161 would perfectly match the sequence attested in the second line of O. Hawass.

5.2.2.7 Ostraca with the mark of Sennedjem (i)

Sennedjem (i), famous for his marvellous tomb (TT 1), can be counted among the workmen who were active in the early 19th Dynasty. As famous as Sennedjem may be, his name is not often mentioned in the hieratic Deir el-Medina administrative records. His earliest testimony may be on O. BM 50728, attributed to year 2 of the reign Seti I by Helck.¹⁰⁴ The scarcity of attestations of his person seem to be due to the nature of the early 19th Dynasty official necropolis administration, which as it appears has left us relatively few hieratic ostraca. In this context it is perhaps appropriate to mention O. Berlin P 14261,¹⁰⁵ a hieratic ostrakon generally attributed to year 3 of Seti I, inscribed on the reverse by an isolated mark 𐀚 . If the attributed date is correct, the mark refers in all probability to Baki (i) who at the time was the chief workman of the left side.

There are a number of pieces that date to about the same time as O. Berlin P 14261 because they are inscribed with the mark of Sennedjem, 𐀛 , but three of these are ostraca inscribed with a single mark exclusively (ONL 6418, ONL 6270, ONL 6391) and do not feature any other workmen's marks.¹⁰⁶ ONL 6492 may originally have been a bigger document, but the fragment only displays Sennedjem's mark in connection with the hieratic numeral '6'. Fortunately ONL 6471 is better preserved and inscribed with other workmen's marks. We can probably date this piece to the reign of Ramesses II, because of the sequence $\text{𐀜} - \text{𐀝} - \text{𐀞}$ that is also attested on O. Hawass. In analogy with the latter piece we may identify these marks on ONL 6471 as Amenemwia (i), Iniherkhau (i) and Neferabet (i), although we are not absolutely certain if all four men ever worked simultaneously alongside each other in the crew of workmen. It would seem that at least Neferabet (i) was active during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁰⁷ Alternatively, mark 𐀜 could here refer to the father of Amenemwia (i), Amek (i), with whom Sennedjem is attested in two documentary texts.¹⁰⁸ Besides at least two illegible marks, the ostrakon also records mark 𐀟 and mark 𐀠 .





¹⁰⁴ Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 39.

¹⁰⁵ Also known as O. DeM 13.











¹⁰⁶ ONL 6418, of unknown provenance, is a large rounded piece of limestone of about 15 cm high. It is inscribed in red ink, and displays an allomorph of 𐀛 where the *nfr* sign is inverted. Its classification as an ostrakon is perhaps not entirely accurate, because the appearance of the piece conforms to the descriptions of stones that were incorporated in the upper structures of the tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1) and tombs DM 1181 and DM 1182, see Bruyère, *La tombe No. 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el Médineh*, 5. It may thus have been used in the same way as so-called name stones. See below, 5.3.2.4.

¹⁰⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 158.


¹⁰⁸ O. Ashmolean HO 89; O. BM 50728.

Another mark is only partly discernable but appears to represent the legs and right arm of a human figure. We may tentatively identify it as mark , which is attested together with , , and  on O. Cairo JE 96336. We had proposed to connect it with the workman Paser (v) and indeed, Sennedjem is recorded together with a Paser in an account from the early 19th Dynasty.¹⁰⁹




5.2.2.8 Ostraca with the mark of Khabekhnet (i)

We have discussed some of the pottery fragments incised with marks that we have attributed to Khabekhnet (i), son of Sennedjem (i).¹¹⁰ Khabekhnet appears to have joined the workforce after year 40 because he is not mentioned on the hieratic name list of O. BM 5634, but he is present on the name list of O. DeM 706. Ostraca with his mark are therefore tentatively dated to the middle of the 19th Dynasty, keeping in mind of course that it could have been transferred to a successor of his. ONL 6393 is solely inscribed with mark . On ONL 6347 Khabekhnet is probably recorded together with the marks of Neferabet (i) and Buqentuef (i), as well as mark . ONL 6281 features Khabekhnet's mark, probably together with other workmen of the right side. All preserved marks appear on O. Hawass as well, and as in that document, marks  and  are situated in adjacent positions. The mark of Khabekhnet is found furthermore on ONL 6279, which includes mark  for Iyerniutef (ii) and , a mark in the shape of a bird for an unknown workman. For unclear reasons, Khabekhnet's mark is added twice to ONL 6419. Like ONL 6279, this piece also records  for Iyerniutef (ii) and like ONL 6347 it is inscribed with what is probably . The other two marks are  and . We will return to the former mark below.¹¹¹ The other mark is probably that of Nebenmaat, with whom Khabekhnet is attested on hieratic ostraca.¹¹²

5.2.2.9 Ostraca with the mark of Anuy (i)

A number of ostraca are inscribed with , the mark that we have identified as that of Anuy (i).

O. Ashmolean HO 1120

The document appears to be a name list, which is headed by the marks of the foreman, scribe and deputy. Such a classification seems justified because we find mark  for the deputy of the left side Anuy (i) in the third position of a column of marks, and mark  assumedly for the scribe of the tomb in the second position. In analogy with 20th Dynasty name lists – either with marks or written in hieratic – it thus seems at a first glance that O. Ashmolean HO 1120 is an ordered name list of the entire left side of the crew. The mark at the top of the first column is damaged and barely identifiable. The traces of ink do allow for a reading of mark . This would conform to our expectations, because we have tentatively assigned this mark to the foreman of the left side of the crew, Qaha (i). Qaha (i) and his son Anuy (i) operated as respectively the foreman and deputy of the left side during the second half of the reign of Ramesses II.¹¹³

However, closer examination of O. Ashmolean HO 1120 contradicts our initial interpretation of the document. It is problematic to assert that the ostrakon records an ordered list of the complete left side, because the list apparently contains marks for workmen we know from either the right or the left side, as well as a number of yet unidentified marks:

¹⁰⁹ O. BM 50728.

¹¹⁰ See above, 5.2.1.

¹¹¹ See below, 5.2.3.3.

¹¹² E.g. O. Ashmolean HO 199.

¹¹³ Davies, *Who's who*, 15.

𐎓	Right side on O. Cairo JE 96336: position 1
𐎓 ?	?
𐎓𐎓	Left side on O. Schaden 16: position 2 Right side on O. Hawass ?
𐎓	Right side on O. Cairo JE 96336: position 2
𐎓	Left side on O. Schaden 16: position 3
𐎓	Right side on O. Cairo JE 96336: position 4
𐎓	Left side on O. Schaden 16: position 4
𐎓	Left side on O. Schaden 16: position 6
𐎓	?
𐎓 ?	?
𐎓	Left side on O. Schaden 16: position 13 Also on O. Hawass ?
𐎓	Left side on O. Schaden 16: position 18 Also right side (?) on O. Cairo JE 96336: position 8
𐎓	Left side on O. Schaden 1: position 12 Also on O. Hawass ?

TABLE 97. MARKS ON O. ASHMOLEAN HO 1120

Because of the weathered state of the ostrakon and because, some sections seem to have been erased by the scribe, several marks are very difficult to discern. Relying on pieces such as O. Cairo JE 96335, O. Hawass, O. Schaden 1 and O. Schaden 16 that we have also situated in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II, we do recognise marks 𐎓, 𐎓 and 𐎓 as those of workmen of the right side.

On the other hand, marks 𐎓, 𐎓, 𐎓, 𐎓, 𐎓, and 𐎓 would be members of the left side. With the mark of Anuy (i) and perhaps that of Qaha (i), the majority of individuals recorded on O. Ashmolean HO 1120 are associated with the left side. Moreover, the marks of the left side are listed in accord with their relative position on O. Schaden 16, where they fill positions 3, 4, 6, 13, 18, and 12 on O. Schaden 1. If double mark 𐎓𐎓¹¹⁴ is related to mark 𐎓 in position 2 on O. Schaden 16, the correspondence to the ordered sequence of the middle of the reign of Ramesses II is strengthened even further. Analysing the marks of supposedly the right side, we find that they too are to some extent recorded on O. Ashmolean HO 1120 according to their position in the ordered list of O. Cairo JE 96336: slots 1, 2, and 4.

It can thus be demonstrated that O. Ashmolean HO 1120 was created with the ordered sequence of the middle of the reign of Ramesses II in mind. Frustratingly we cannot compare this list well to any hieratic lists other than O. BM 5634 and O. DeM 706. While O. Ashmolean HO 1120 contains a similar order of workmen, it does not correspond well enough to reveal the identity of some of the unidentified workmen's marks, such as 𐎓, 𐎓 and 𐎓 (?).

ONL 6487

Like O. Ashmolean HO 1120, ONL 6487 includes the mark of Anuy (i) (perhaps twice?) and that of the scribe. ONL 6487 is also similar to that ostrakon in that it displays marks for members of the right and the left side. Marks 𐎓 (most likely an allomorph of 𐎓 as in the 18th Dynasty), 𐎓, and perhaps 𐎓 are recorded on O. Cairo JE 96366, probably for workmen of the right side, although mark 𐎓 is also found on O. Schaden 16 as a member of the left side. That document also includes another mark we encounter on ONL 6487: 𐎓. The identification of mark 𐎓 on this document is uncertain. Theban Graffito 729 speaks in favour

¹¹⁴ For a tentative explanation of this double mark see below, p. 429-430.

of such a reading, because it clearly includes mark 𐀀 and that of Anuy (i).¹¹⁵ As in ONL 6487 we encounter in this graffito mark 𐀁 , the particular variant of 𐀂 . A fourth mark 𐀃 is that of Iniherkhau (i). Two hieratic inscriptions accompany the marks but it is unclear if they are contemporaneous. The mention of the “captain of the gang Nakhemmut” probably refers to either Nakhemmut (i) or Nakhemmut (vi), foremen who lived in the 20th Dynasty. The “scribe Neferhotep”, however, may have been the ‘*smd.t* scribe’ Neferhotep (vi), active around the middle of the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6535

Anuy (i) is probably recorded among other workmen of the left side on weathered ostrakon ONL 6535. One damaged mark is probably 𐀄 . Together with mark 𐀅 it is also found in the list of workmen of the left side on ONL 6526. At the bottom of ONL 6535 mark 𐀆 reappears, which we had already seen on ONL 6527 between marks of other members of the left side.

O. ARTP 99/44, O. Ashmolean HO 1103, ONL 6412, ONL 6526 and ONL 6533

On O. ARTP 99/44 mark 𐀇 is likewise situated among workmen of the left side. Marks 𐀈 , 𐀉 and 𐀊 are attested for members of the left side on O. Schaden 16, while marks 𐀋 and 𐀌 are found with workmen of the left side on ONL 6541, ONL 6526 and ONL 6488. The sequence of O. ARTP 99/44 does not reoccur elsewhere, but O. Ashmolean HO 1103 is perhaps related to it. This piece also lists workmen in columns and records 𐀋 and 𐀇 in subsequent positions. Because of the occurrence of the mark of Anuy (i) the ostrakon should date to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. Indeed all other marks of O. Ashmolean HO 1103 fit into this timeframe, with marks 𐀍 , 𐀎 , 𐀏 and perhaps 𐀐 attested on O. Hawass and O. Cairo JE 96636, and 𐀋 and 𐀉 on ONL 6526 and associated pieces. A similar document is ONL 6412, inscribed in black ink with four marks, and with the mark of Anuy (i) scratched into the stone. Four out of the five marks could well belong to workmen of the left side. Anuy (i) was associated with that side, and marks 𐀑 and 𐀒 are listed for that side on documents such as O. Schaden 16. Mark 𐀓 occurs together with 𐀑 in the list of workmen of the left side inscribed on ONL 6526. However, mark 𐀔 , perhaps an allomorph of 𐀕 , possibly belonged to the right side according to our interpretation of O. Hawass. The mark of Anuy (i) is attested together with 𐀖 on ONL 6533. The latter mark is also recorded on O. Hawass, there perhaps for a workman of the right side. On the other hand, 𐀖 could be an allomorph of 𐀗 for Anuy (i)’s father Qaha (i).








ONL 6522 and O. UC 31989

A further attestation of the mark of Anuy (i) is on fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6522. It is there recorded together with mark 𐀘 and mark 𐀙 . The former mark is only sporadically encountered in 19th Dynasty ostraca with marks, but we have met with this workman already on O. Schaden 1 and ONL 6280. The latter mark may perhaps be an allomorph of mark 𐀚 , which we tentatively discerned on O. Ashmolean HO 1120. If this equivalency is correct, we may propose to cautiously ascribe mark $\text{𐀚} = \text{𐀙}$, readable as *ipt*, to the workman Amenemope (ix).¹¹⁶ Unfortunately not much is known about the lifespan of this man, but he must have been active during the second half of the 19th Dynasty perhaps as early as the time of Amenmesses.¹¹⁷ Some support for this identification is the fact that in the 20th Dynasty mark 𐀚 was used for Amenemope (x), a grandson of Amenemope (ix).








¹¹⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, 59 and pl. 78.








¹¹⁶ This man is the same individual as Davies’ Amenemope (iii), cf. Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 130-131.

¹¹⁷ Davies, *Who’s who*, 212.




Another instance of this mark is found on ONL 6657, perhaps datable to the 19th Dynasty as well. Mark  occurs also on O. UC 31989, an ostracon of uncertain date. It is inscribed with a set of marks which are attested throughout the Ramesside Period and it could date to the 20th Dynasty. However, we may also consider a 19th Dynasty date, because marks , , , ,  and  are found on ostraca from the time of Ramesses II recording workmen of the right and the left side of the crew.

ONL 6431 and ONL 6459




ONL 6431 is also inscribed with mark , but the date of this ostracon is hard to determine because of its fragmentary state. Two of its marks are only partly preserved. They are perhaps  and , but that is far from certain. Another mark somewhat resembles , which suggests a date in the 19th Dynasty. Yet, mark  is also present on ONL 6431 and is nowhere else attested in the 19th Dynasty. We may propose to interpret this as the first occurrence of the mark and date the ostracon to the end of the 19th Dynasty. Alternatively, the mark we had tentatively identified as  could be a different mark or sign, and ONL 6431 may date to the 20th Dynasty on account of mark .

Marks  and  are also found on ONL 6459, which should probably date to about the same period as ONL 6487. It is similarly difficult to read as the ink is very much faded. We can just make out mark  for the brother of Anuy (i), Iniherkhau (i), and mark , which is also attested on ONL 6411. Perhaps another mark is , but the ink is not well enough preserved for a secure identification. Anuy (i)'s mark is additionally inscribed on an ostracon which, like ONL 6459, is hard to understand. This piece is O. Schaden 152, where Anuy is probably attested again with mark  of his brother Iniherkhau (i). A third mark , however, is not elsewhere attested in the 19th Dynasty.

Theban Graffito 1984

To conclude, the mark of Anuy (i) is found in Theban Graffito 1984, where it seems to be accompanied by marks  and . It is not entirely certain if the latter sign is actually an identity mark, because the only other secure attestation is on O. Schaden 13, and perhaps also on enigmatic ostracon ONL 6414. Still, like the graffito this ostracon dates to the middle of the 19th Dynasty. Mark  is likewise attested on 19th Dynasty ostraca with marks of members of the left side of the crew, such as ONL 6256 and ONL 6451. Theban Graffito 1984 also contains the name of a man named Hay, and a “scribe Wennefer <in> the Place of Truth”. On account of the occurrence of the mark of Anuy (i), the graffito may be dated to the middle of the 19th Dynasty, which identifies this scribe Wennefer as Wennefer (vii) who is mentioned in several other graffiti.¹¹⁸

5.2.2.10 Ostraca with the mark of Qaha (i)

It has been pointed out that there are reasons to believe Qaha (i) was represented by mark , and the slightest bit of supporting evidence is found in O. Ashmolean HO 1120. There are other ostraca from the 19th Dynasty on which mark  is inscribed, of which we have already discussed O. Cairo JE 96352, ONL 6536 and ONL 6479. Nothing suggests that mark  represents a chief workman in these documents. On the contrary, if these ostraca are accounts of deliveries as we have tentatively proposed, one would not expect a foreman to have taken part in such activities. Therefore the mark is there conceivably also a reference to someone else than Qaha (i). Unfortunately none of the other ostraca offer complete clarification.

¹¹⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 99.

O. Cairo JE 46859

This limestone chip inscribed with marks fits our hypothesis but cannot verify it. The ostrakon is inscribed with a short column of four marks. The uppermost mark is A , followed by marks Q , D and R . We do not know if the mark of Qaha is the first mark of the column because the upper part is not preserved, but considering the blank space to the left and underneath the column this may be so. If Qaha (i), foreman of the left side during much of the first half of the reign of Ramesses II,¹¹⁹ is referred to in this document, it would not be too farfetched to interpret mark Q as that of his colleague on the right side, foreman Nebnefer (i). Along the same line of reasoning mark R for Amenemwia (i) could represent the deputy of the right side during the reign of Ramesses II. The deputy Amenemwia is not specifically identified by Davies, but it would make sense to equate Amenemwia (i) with this individual because he was a high-ranking workman of the right side according to name lists from the reign of Ramesses II.¹²⁰ All of these identifications are plausible, but not only are we unable to prove them, this analysis does not explain mark D . In the context of two foremen and a deputy of the right side one would expect the fourth mark to be that of the deputy of the left side. However, during the period of foremen Nebnefer and Qaha the deputy of the left was Anuy (i), whom we have connected with mark A . In fact, we have encountered mark D on O. Cairo JE 96336 where it is probably recorded as a workman of the right side of the crew.

O. Cairo JE 96327

The meaning of O. Cairo JE 46859 remains difficult to grasp,¹²¹ even despite the existence of a somewhat similar ostrakon. This document is O. Cairo JE 96327, which is not inscribed with the presumed mark of Qaha but does include Q , D and R . The only other mark that is preserved on this ostrakon is H , which may have been used for a foreman, to wit Hay (iv). However, Hay (iv), active as a foreman in the reign of Amenmesses up to and including the reign of Ramesses III,¹²² could not have held that position during the time Nebnefer (i) was in office. It may therefore refer to another man named Hay, but it is even possible that O. Cairo JE 96327 does not date to the 19th Dynasty at all, as all four marks are attested for members of the left side during the reign of Ramesses III on ostraca such as O. ARTP 99/27 and associated pieces.

O. ARTP 00/607 and ONL 6351

We are similarly unsure about the date of two so-called name stones and some of the pottery fragments with mark A . The exact findspot of one of these pieces, O. ARTP 00/607, is not known but it could have been discovered in the area of the workmen's huts between KV 37 and KV 47 (Siptah) or in the area of the path between the tomb of Amenmesses and Ramesses III. The exact findspot of ONL 6351 inscribed only with A is unknown. Pottery fragments KV 580, 591 and 592 incised with the same mark were found near the tomb of Siptah.¹²³ None of these provenances point toward a date in the reign of Ramesses II. Therefore we need to keep in mind the possibility that Qaha (i)'s mark was transferred to or borrowed by a different individual of the second half of the 19th Dynasty.

¹¹⁹ Davies, *Who's who*, 14.

¹²⁰ Cf. Černý, *Community*, 135.

¹²¹ The ostrakon may even date to the 20th Dynasty, as its provenance in the settlement of workmen's huts near the tomb of Ramesses X would suggest.

¹²² Davies, *Who's who*, 20-21.

¹²³ Aston, *Pottery recovered*, 71-72 and pls. 69-71; 81-82.

ONL 6226, ONL 6319 and O. Cairo JE 72500

ONL 6226 is inscribed with marks that we can confidently date to the 19th Dynasty. Marks † and ✱ are found in adjacent positions, just as on O. Cairo JE 96336, which might also record mark ⊕. Supposedly these marks represent workmen of the right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses II. Marks †, ✱ and ∩ on ONL 6226 could stand for members of the left side while mark ℳ refers probably to the scribe of the tomb. If mark ✱ refers to the foreman Qaha (i) on this document, we may compare the ostracon to hieratic text O. Cairo CG 25573, dated to the middle of the reign of the Ramesses II. It records a Seba, a Nefersenut, the foreman Qaha (i), and the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i), individuals that could correspond to ✱, †, ✱ and ℳ. It also mentions a Ramose son of Reweben, who could be connected with mark Ⓜ on ONL 6226. A mark we encounter for the first time here is the combination of ○ and ⊖. We can ‘read’ it as the name Rehotep,¹²⁴ and indeed we know a draughtsman who belonged to the right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses II, (P)rehotep (i).¹²⁵ Yet again, none of this can be proven, and ONL 6226 could also date to the second half of the 19th Dynasty, where ○ ⊖ may have been used for workman (P)rehotep (iii).¹²⁶ Indeed, hieratic ostraca such as O. Cairo CG 25523, O. Cairo CG 25526 and O. Cairo CG 25779 date to the reign of Amenmesses and Siptah¹²⁷ and record an Iyerniutef, Rehotep and Reweben as well. Attributing ONL 6226 to the second half of the 19th Dynasty would mean that we lose the connection between mark ✱ and Qaha (i). A similar ostracon, ONL 6319, may well be related to the hieratic ostraca from the second half of the 19th Dynasty, because apart from marks ✱ and ⊖, it is inscribed with ∩, ⊖ (clearly an allomorph of ○ ⊖) and Ⓜ. Another allomorph of mark ○ ⊖ may be ⊖, attested on O. Cairo JE 72500. This odd piece is inscribed with four lines of marks, mostly repetitions of mark ∩ that we have identified as the mark of Neferabet (i). The meaning of the multitudes of this mark is utterly unclear, as are two incompletely preserved signs.

ONL 6325 and ONL 6452

A more plausible attestation of Qaha (i) on an ostracon inscribed with marks is ONL 6325. Five marks can be discerned of which ∩, † and † could well refer to members of the left side, the side of Qaha (i), in accordance with O. Schaden 1. Mark ⊖ on the other could be Nebenmaat (ii) of the right side. Similarly, ONL 6452 may refer to Qaha (i) by means of mark ✱ and date to the time of Ramesses II. Mark † could then refer to the sculptor Neferrenpet (ii) known from the time of Ramesses II. We also know marks ℳ and † to have been used for individuals who lived in this period, and Ⓜ possibly refers to Ramose son of Reweben. ONL 6452 is inscribed with at least two more marks but they are no longer legible.

ONL 6624

This ostracon is difficult to date because of its fragmentary nature. It may be inscribed with marks ✱ and ✱ for Qaha (i) and perhaps his deputy Anuy (i), but they are not completely preserved. Clearly recognisable are the marks ✱ and ✱ of other member of the left side of the crew, to wit Buqentuef (i) and Siwadjet (ii). A fifth mark may be ⊖.

¹²⁴ This mark is also attested incised on a ceramic fragment from the Grand Puits. From the same location comes a potmark that probably displays a more elaborate form of the same mark, ⊖, which supports the attribution of the mark to Rehotep, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVI, nr. 40 and pl. XVII, nr. 104. The same mark is also inscribed on ONL 6573 and perhaps ONL 6571.

¹²⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 151.

¹²⁶ Davies, *Who's who*, 167-168.

¹²⁷ O. Cairo CG 25523: Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 70-72; O. Cairo CG 25526: Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 66-67; O. Cairo CG 25779: *KRI IV*, 211-216.

5.2.2.11 O. OIM 25356: a hieratic name list with identity marks

Valuable insights into the meaning and use of identity marks during the 19th Dynasty are offered by unpublished ostrakon O. OIM 25356, but as so often this document is as interesting as it is puzzling. It is inscribed with hieratic names as well as with workmen's marks and can be categorised as a name list:

Obverse

Scribe Pentaweret

Wawa son of // // // //

⤴

Anuy

⤵

Kasa

⊏

Scribe Anupemheb

// // // //

⊏

Paherypedjet (?)

Reverse

Huy

⤴

Amenemope

Siwadjet

⤵

Qaha

Neferhotep

Khau ⤵

Aanakhtu

—

The ostrakon is datable to the middle of the 19th Dynasty because of the occurrence of the duo formed by scribes Pentaweret (ii) and Anupemheb (i). They appear together on documents attributed to the reign of Ramesses II and Merenptah¹²⁸ and may still have been active in the reign of Seti II.¹²⁹ Two of the attestations of this pair of scribes¹³⁰ also record the chief workman of the right side, Neferhotep (ii), and he may be recorded on the reverse of O. OIM 25356 as well. The following name Khau is most likely an abbreviated form of Iniherkhau (i),¹³¹ his counterpart as foreman of the left side. Both men were in office from year 40 of Ramesses II to at least the reign of Merenptah. Perusing 19th Dynasty hieratic name lists of the entire workforce, we find that no Amenemope, Kasa, Wawa, Qaha or Aanakhtu is recorded in year 40 of Ramesses II.¹³² An Amenemope and an Aanakhtu are recorded in the list dated between years 40 and 63.¹³³

The names are more or less written in two columns, and those on the reverse are even separated by a line. It would appear that the reverse is a continuation of the obverse, and that each column is headed by one of the scribes. As pointed out by Davies, Pentaweret (ii) and Anupemheb (i) were 'smd.t scribes' tasked with the administration of deliveries to the community. Anupemheb seems to have been concerned with the right side of the workforce, and Pentaweret with the left side.¹³⁴ This is an important detail, because the workmen in our text are probably listed according to the particular side they belonged to. The right column of both the obverse and the reverse would then represent the left side, and indeed Anuy, Huy, Amenemope and Siwadjet are recorded as workmen of the left in hieratic ostrakon O. DeM 706. The left column, supposedly for the right side, is somewhat more difficult to interpret. Paherypedjet – if that is indeed how this name is to be read – and Aanakhtu are indeed

¹²⁸ O. Cairo CG 25582; O. DeM 179; O. Strasbourg H 110; P. Ashmolean 1960.1283.

¹²⁹ Davies, *Who's who*, 91.

¹³⁰ O. DeM 179; P. Ashmolean 1960.1283.

¹³¹ Cf. Davies, *Who's who*, 20.

¹³² O. BM 5634.

¹³³ O. DeM 706.

¹³⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 91.

workmen of the right side according to O. DeM 706. If our Neferhotep is the Neferhotep (ii), he is the man who directed the right side. We are not sure about the identity of our Qaha. If the name Khau refers to Iniherkhau (i), this foreman is listed in the wrong column.

Below and adjacent to some of the hieratic names we recognise the identity marks of workmen from the 19th Dynasty. Others are situated next to a blank space where a hieratic name may once have been inscribed, as some sections of the text have been erased. Some of the identity marks appear to correspond to the name written in hieratic they accompany. Evident examples are Kasa and mark \sqcup , and Siwadjet and mark 𐀓 . Depending on the date of the ostrakon, the latter could be Siwadjet (ii) whom we have connected with mark 𐀓 . Regardless of the exact identity of the Kasa on this ostrakon, we know that mark \sqcup was used by workman Kasa (v)/(vi) during the 20th Dynasty. The Kasa on O. OIM 25356 could be one of his ancestors, Kasa (iv) or perhaps Kasa (ix), and then mark and name would correspond well. However, a correspondence between the other marks and hieratic names is less certain, or even non-existent. The bird-shaped mark 𐀓 cannot represent Iniherkhau, who was referred to by mark 𐀓 . In fact, we know very little about mark 𐀓 because bird-shaped marks appear to be rare in the 19th Dynasty.¹³⁵ Similarly, mark 𐀓 below the name of Aanakhtu is odd, as we have tied this mark to the person of Paherypedjet and we do not know of anyone in his family who was named Aanakhtu. Marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 on the reverse may have been written adjacent to a name, but these are no longer legible. Mark 𐀓 is found after the name of a man named Anuy. If this hieratic entry refers to Anuy (i) or Anuy (ii), the mark relates to another workman because we know these two individuals to have been represented by marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 respectively. Moreover, mark 𐀓 was the mark of a man named Amennakht around the middle of the reign of Ramesses II.

The possibility exists nevertheless that mark 𐀓 and the name Anuy are connected, but it requires us to reconsider the prosopography of Amennakht (x). In reconstructing the family tree of Buqentuef (i), Davies distinguished four different sons of his: Qen (iii), Khaemope (ii), Nakhy (iv) and Amennakht (x).¹³⁶ Yet, Collier has rightly remarked that Nakhy (iv) and Amennakht (x) could well be one and the same person, the former name being an abbreviated form of the latter.¹³⁷ If we accept this equivalency, the consequence would be that Anuy (v), suggested to be a son of Nakhy (iv) on the basis of hieratic ostrakon O. CG 25796,¹³⁸ was a son of Amennakht (x) (CHART 5). We had established earlier that an Amennakht who was a member of the left side of the gang under Ramesses II was referred to by mark 𐀓 . If we equate Amennakht (x) with this very same Amennakht, we may assume that the Anuy on O. OIM 25356 is Anuy (v) and that he had inherited his mark from his father. This makes perfect sense, but there is one complication. We have also proposed that Khaemnun (i), the workman who demonstrably was represented by mark 𐀓 in the 20th Dynasty, was a son of the Amennakht who was a workman of the left side during the reign of Ramesses II. If we identify this Amennakht as Amennakht (x), his son Anuy (v) and Khaemnun (iii) would have been brothers who both used mark 𐀓 as their own. There is no way of telling if this would have been possible. As far as we have been able to determine so far it seems that only one son took over the mark of his father, leaving his brothers to take on their own mark. But this does of course not exclude the possibility that at one time two brothers made use of the same identity mark, despite conceivable ambiguity in administration and in daily life. As a matter of fact, we may explain the occurrence of double marks 𐀓𐀓 in O. Ashmolean HO 1120 in exactly this way: they could represent two brothers. Alternatively we could think of a scenario

¹³⁵ Another 19th Dynasty workmen's mark in the shape of a bird is found on ONL 6279, but looks very different from the mark on O. OIM 25356. See also O. Berlin P 14350 for a mark that is probably a falcon.

¹³⁶ Davies, *Who's who*, 64, 66.

¹³⁷ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 7, 131, *passim*.

¹³⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 15, n. 176; 67, n. 65; accepted by Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 131.

wherein Anuy (v) initially inherited mark \Leftarrow from his father, but passed away a childless man, to be succeeded by his brother Khaemnun (i). The latter could then have assumed his brother's identity mark. Although this is nothing more than conjecture, we can pinpoint Anuy (v) only to the period of the reign of Seti II and Siptah,¹³⁹ after which we possess no secured attestations of this man. He could thus, theoretically, have died as a young man. Additionally it is known that Khaemnun (i) served like his possible brother Anuy (v) on the left side of the crew¹⁴⁰ before year 23 when he transferred to the right side.¹⁴¹

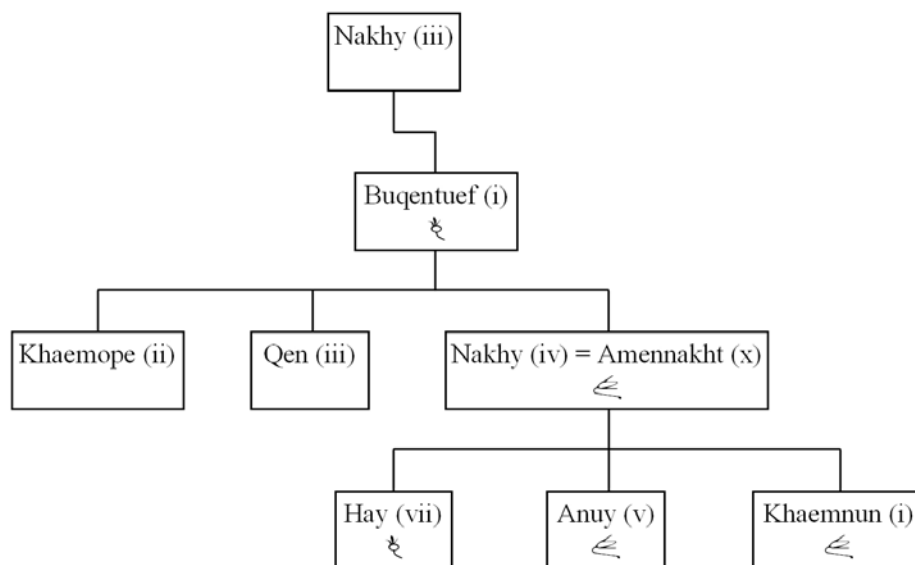


CHART 5. THE FAMILY OF NAKHY (iii)

If we entertain for the moment the hypothesis that O. OIM 25356 is inscribed with both the name and the mark of Anuy (v), he would be situated in the correct column because he was a member of the left side of the crew.¹⁴² But not every mark on O. OIM 25356 fits the arrangement in two sides. Mark Δ is here situated in the column of the left side, while the mark is attested for Neferabet (i) who was a member of the right side in the reign of Ramesses II. The mark of Paherypedjet features in the left column of the reverse, the column of the right side. Yet he is known to have been a member of the left side in the time of Ramesses II. Nakhtmin (iv), represented by mark 𓂏 in the column of the right side is recorded as a workman of the left side in O. BM 5634 and O. DeM 706. It can however not be excluded that he was transferred to the right side of the crew at some point, and indeed it is to this side that his son Nebnakht (vi)¹⁴³ and his grandson Nakhtmin (vi)¹⁴⁴ belonged.

Evidently O. OIM 25356 still holds some secrets, and it is not easy to suggest a date for the document. While it was obviously written during the middle of the 19th Dynasty, some of the names and marks are attested in the reign of Ramesses II while others occur in later periods. Considering the occurrence of scribes Pentaweret (ii) and Anupemheb (i) as well as perhaps Anuy (v), a date in the reign of Merenptah or even the reigns of Amenmesses or Seti II should be considered.

Theban Graffito 3009 is possibly datable to approximately the same time as O. OIM 25356. It consists of the name of an Anuy, and underneath it mark 𓂏 is added. Even lower

¹³⁹ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 131.



¹⁴⁰ E.g. O. Turin N. 57432.

¹⁴¹ O. Ashmolean HO 810; O. Turin N. 57026.






































¹⁴² Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 131.

¹⁴³ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 139.

¹⁴⁴ See chapter 3, p. 172.

down mark  for Paherypedjet is carved, although its classification as a mark is uncertain. Below this sign the hieroglyph *t* is written in between two short horizontal strokes. Together this group may be ‘read’ as a crude spelling of *pd.t*, probably still a reference to the workman Paherypedjet. This arrangement of names and marks is remarkably similar to the list of O. OIM 25356, where the mark of Kasa is also situated below the name and perhaps the mark of Anuy (v), while Paherypedjet is listed just opposite of these names in the adjacent column. It is therefore plausible that the graffito records the same individuals, although we can also propose a different explanation. The name of Anuy may perhaps be that of Anuy (ii), the workman known from the middle of the 19th Dynasty, whose father Kasa (i) could then have been represented by mark .

5.2.2.12 Overview of tentatively identified workmen’s marks

Aapehty (i)/(ii)	
Amenemope (ix)	 and 
Amenemwia (i)	
Amenmose	
Anuy (i)	
Anuy (ii)	
Anuy (v)	
Baki (i)	
Buqentuef (i)	
Haremwia (i)	
Harnefer (i)/(ii)	
Hehnakht (ii)	
Iniherkhau (ii)	
Iyerniutef (ii)	
Khabekhnet (i)	
Khonsu (i)/(ii)	
Maaninakhtuf (i)	 and 
Meryre (v)	
Merysekhmet (i) = (ii)	
Nakhtmin (vi)	
Nakhy (iv) = Amennakht (x)	
Nebenmaat (ii)	 and  ?
Nebimentet (i)	
Nebnakht (vi)	
Nebnefer (i)	
Neferabet (i)	
Neferrenpet (ii)	 and 
Nefersennut (i)	
Pahemnetjer (i)	
Paherypedjet (ii)	 and 
Pakharu = Kharu (i)?	
Paser (v)	
Pendua (i)	and ?
Pennub (ii)/(iii)	
(P)rehotep (i) or (iii)	
Qaha (i)	
Ramose son of Reweben	

Seba (iii)	𐀓
Senedjem (i)	𐀓𐀓
Siwadjet (ii)	𐀓𐀓
Wadjmose (i)	𐀓
Wennefer (ii)	𐀓
A Huy	𐀓
A Kasa, perhaps (i) or (iv) or (ix)	𐀓 ?
A Pashedu	𐀓
Scribe of the Tomb	𐀓 ?

5.2.3 Ostraca with marks from the second half of the 19th Dynasty

With O. OIM 25356 we had already entered the period of the later 19th Dynasty, but there are more documents that we can attribute to this timeframe. To begin with, there is O. Ashmolean HO 810.

5.2.3.1 O. Ashmolean HO 810

This limestone ostrakon is inscribed with a hieratic name list on one side¹⁴⁵ and with columns of workmen's marks on the other. This description sounds promising, but we will see that it is very difficult to determine to what extent the names and the marks are related. For one, this is due to the fragmentary state of the ostrakon. Both sides are very weathered and therefore the hieratic text is not perfectly understood. The text appears to consist of at least two day dates, each followed by a list of workmen of the left side. After Collier's translation¹⁴⁶ we read the following:

[Day 14 (?)]
Hay
Ipu
Nakhtmin
Burekh[tuinef]

Day 15
Khaemnun
Hesysunebef
[...]

The list was tentatively dated by Collier to the middle of the reign of Siptah. The reverse, inscribed with identity marks, may record an account that is similar to that of the obverse. On the reverse the marks are arranged in columns too, and if we suppose that each column represents a particular day, that would explain why marks 𐀓 and 𐀓 are each inscribed in two different columns. Despite the poor state of preservation of the ostrakon we can make out the following marks:

𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	...
𐀓	𐀓	...
𐀓	𐀓	...
𐀓

¹⁴⁵ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 88-89; unnumbered plate with photo at the end of the book.

¹⁴⁶ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 88.

✱
...	...	𐀓
...	𐀓	𐀓

Supposing for the moment that obverse and reverse were created around the same time, O. Ashmolean HO 810 constitutes the first ostrakon with marks we can securely situate in the later 19th Dynasty. As such, it provides a much appreciated glimpse into the repertory of marks of this period. Unfortunately, we are not able to securely identify the workmen who are recorded by the marks, because O. Ashmolean HO 810 is not an ordered name list of the entire crew. The marks could have been arranged according to their position within the ordered sequence, but we are unable to verify such an assumption. Moreover, the names on the obverse do not appear to follow such a pattern.

Perhaps the only name on the obverse that we can securely relate to a mark on the reverse is Khaemnun (i) in line 6 and mark \Leftarrow in the first column. In the hieratic account Khaemnun (i) is followed by the name of Hesysunebef (i) and we may explore the possibility of a relation between this man and the mark following \Leftarrow , mark \boxminus . Such an examination is met with a lot of adversity. We know Hesysunebef, son of Neferhotep (ii) quite well, but the use and identification of mark \boxminus is problematic. It is only tentatively attested in the 19th Dynasty on an ostrakon we shall discuss further down.¹⁴⁷ We do recognise the mark from ostraca of the 20th Dynasty, and we had provisionally connected it with a workman of the left side called Khnumnakht.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately we know nothing about the family ties of this man. On 20th Dynasty ostrakon O. ARTP 99/27 mark \boxminus is clearly used as an allomorph of mark Υ . This mark is used in the 19th Dynasty as well, but we have only a speculative, uncorroborated identification for this mark: either Harnefer (i) or Harnefer (ii). There are no known connections between a Hesysunebef to a Khnumnakht or a Harnefer. And such a connection does not need to have existed at all, because there is no way of determining whether the hieratic column with the names of Khaemnun and Hesysunebef is at all related to the column with marks \Leftarrow and \boxminus .

Abstruse is the connection between the name of Hay and mark $\lambda\lambda$ on the reverse. Collier preferred to identify the name of Hay not with Hay (iv), but with one out of three plausible workmen: Hay (v) = (iii), Hay (vii) or Hay (x).¹⁴⁹ In the previous chapter we had established that during the reign of Ramesses IV mark $\lambda\lambda$ may have been used for Hay (v) = (iii), so an identification with this man is possible.¹⁵⁰

Despite these uncertainties it is still likely that the marks on the reverse of O. Ashmolean HO 810 represent workmen of the left side who were active during the reign of Siptah. The marks in the rightmost column may in fact correspond partially to name list O. Ashmolean HO 57, composed in the first half of the reign of Siptah. In the list of members of the left side of the crew this document records in positions 18, 19 and 21 the workmen Nebnefer (vi), Anuy (v) and Khaemnun (i). The latter two individuals could have been represented by mark \Leftarrow , and it would be convenient to connect mark Υ with a man called Nebnefer. We noted in the previous chapter that this mark was used in the 20th Dynasty by Bakenwerel (vii),¹⁵¹ who may have had a father called Nebnefer. In the light of O. Ashmolean HO 810 and the hieratic list of O. Ashmolean HO 57 there is now some basis to propose that this man was Nebnefer (vi), a member of the left side during the second part of the 19th Dynasty whose offspring is not identified. One position higher in the list of O. Ashmolean

¹⁴⁷ ONL 6585, see below, p. 441.

¹⁴⁸ See chapter 4, 295.

¹⁴⁹ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 88, 132.

¹⁵⁰ See chapter 4, 4.2.8.

¹⁵¹ See chapter 4, p. 293-294.

HO 57 we encounter a Khaemseba. Davies and Collier were not positive about the identification of this man,¹⁵² but there is a possibility he was Khaemseba (i), son of Qenhirkhopshef (ii) and Tanehsy (i). The latter was possibly a daughter of Qaha (i), the foreman who may well have been represented by mark A . With this detail in mind, we may speculate that, if there truly is a connection between the ordered list of O. Ashmolean HO 57 and the list of workmen's marks on O. Ashmolean HO 810, mark AA situated just above mark A refers to Khaemseba (i). His mark may then have been inspired by that of his illustrious grandfather. None of this can, however, be proven, and as proposed above, mark AA may at some point have referred to a Pakharu who is not necessarily related to the bloodline of Qaha (i).

Mark A situated at the bottom of the middle column on O. Ashmolean HO 810 is also found on O. Ashmolean HO 1120, as well as on other ostraca that may date to the 19th Dynasty. Let us begin with ONL 6227, which displays three marks: A , M and K . A possible allomorph of K , mark K is recorded on O. Ashmolean HO 810, suggesting ONL 6227 dates to the later part of the 19th Dynasty. ONL 6441 is likewise inscribed with at least three marks: A , B and C . The former mark is also found on O. Ashmolean HO 1120, so ONL 6411 should date somewhere between the second half of the reign of Ramesses II and the reign of Siptah. ONL 6215 could date to the same period. We discern marks D , E , A and F , two of which are recorded on O. Ashmolean HO 1120, and two on O. Ashmolean HO 810. On the other hand, all marks are attested in the 20th Dynasty as well, so the attribution is uncertain.

5.2.3.2 ONL 6690

Like O. Ashmolean HO 810, unpublished ostrakon ONL 6690 is inscribed with a hieratic text and with identity marks. The obverse contains two columns of hieratic names, some of which are lost or erased. The combination of names, two of which occur with filiation or a title, allow the name list to be dated to the period of year 5 – 8 of the reign of Siptah:¹⁵³

[...]	Kasa (v)/(ix), son of Aap[ehty]
Burekhtuinef (i)/(ii)/(iii)	<u>Huynefer</u> (ix) ¹⁵⁴
[...].ef	
Reweben (iv) ·	<u>scribe Pashedu</u> (vi) ·
[erased]	
[erased]	
[erased] ·	
Ipuy ·	
Khamu (i) ·	








The reverse of the document displays four marks: G , H , I and J . Left of these marks the hieroglyphs of a bird and a reed leaf are written. The latter sign is not securely attested in the Ramesside period as a mark,¹⁵⁵ and the signs must therefore constitute a written word. The bird resembles G (Gardiner sign G39), but in combination with the sign I for *i* the bird should probably be G (Gardiner sign G29) forming the name *bzy*, attested elsewhere in more elaborate spellings as G . If we assume that the obverse and the reverse of this ostrakon were created around the same time, then this Bay is in all probability Bay (ii), scribe

¹⁵² Davies, *Who's who*, 190-191; Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 136-137.

¹⁵³ The names occur in groups G, G+ and C of Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*.

¹⁵⁴ Underlining here represents actual underlining, and not the use of red ink.

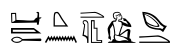






¹⁵⁵ Admittedly a reed leaf is once attested on a 19th Dynasty ostrakon, ONL 6374, but this could be an allomorph of mark H , see Appendix I, § 2. The fact that the sign is not known from other Ramesside ostraca, graffiti or objects inscribed with marks suggests it is a hieroglyphic sign on ONL 6690.

of the tomb.¹⁵⁶ Mark , used for Baki (i) and Haremwia (i) during the reign of Ramesses II, could here refer to Haremwia (ii), the grandson of the latter who is attested during the second part of the 19th Dynasty.¹⁵⁷ Mark  should then refer to Nebnakht (vi), who was active around the same time as well.¹⁵⁸ Since our document seems to be situated in the reign of Siptah, mark  could refer to Buqentuef (i) but probably not to his son, the deputy of the left side Amennakht (x),¹⁵⁹ whom we have connected with mark . The fourth mark, , is not attested on any other ostraca of the 19th Dynasty and we cannot establish with any certainty to whom it belongs. It is plausible however that  referred to the workman Pamerihu (i) , whose name literally means ‘overseer of cattle’. Like Nebnakht and Haremwia, Pamerihu was a workman of the right side of the crew in the reign of Siptah.¹⁶⁰

5.2.3.3 The marks on the pavement of the Hathor Temple and related ostraca

The pavement of the Ramesside temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina demonstrates another use of workmen’s marks during the 19th Dynasty. Several of the limestone slabs that form the floor of the court of this sanctuary have brief inscriptions cut into them. These graffiti consist of the names and the marks of workmen. Judging from the amount of archaeological material datable to the reign of Ramesses II, Bruyère surmised that it was under this king that much of the Ramesside construction work on the temple had taken place. In his opinion the graffiti were left by individuals who lived under his reign. Bruyère saw the marks as signatures of the workmen who had built the temple, incised to function as ex-votos.¹⁶¹ Haring suggested a date for the marks in the late 19th Dynasty.¹⁶²

The graffiti were reproduced by Bruyère in his text and in a plate (FIG. 18), but unpublished photographs¹⁶³ of the actual slabs caution us not to take his copies at face value. It appears that they are not all accurate as the reading direction one copied inscription is incorrect, and one inscription has been omitted. With the limitations of Bruyère’s plates in mind, we note the following inscriptions:

	‘servant in the Place of Truth Qen, true of voice’
	‘Nakhtmin’
	‘Neferhotep’ ¹⁶⁴
	‘Paneb <true of> voice’
	unclear; perhaps workmen’s marks?
	unclear; perhaps workmen’s marks?
	unclear; perhaps workmen’s marks?

¹⁵⁶ Davies, *Who’s who*, 98.

¹⁵⁷ E.g. O. Ashmolean HO 37 and O. Ashmolean HO 57; see Davies, *Who’s who*, 12.

¹⁵⁸ Davies, *Who’s who*, 240-241.

¹⁵⁹ Davies, *Who’s who*, 36. Both men are listed as members of the left side on O. Ashmolean HO 57.

¹⁶⁰ Davies, *Who’s who*, 187.

¹⁶¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1935-1940 I*, 20; 83.

¹⁶² Haring, ‘Workmen’s Marks on Ostraca’, 156.

¹⁶³ Kindly provided by Dr. Petra Andrassy. One of her photos is reproduced on the cover of Haring and Kaper (eds.), *Pictograms or Pseudo Script?*.

¹⁶⁴ These signs are also attested as workman’s mark $\pm\frac{1}{2}$ in the 20th Dynasty, and we shall see that the same mark existed in the second half of the 19th Dynasty as well.

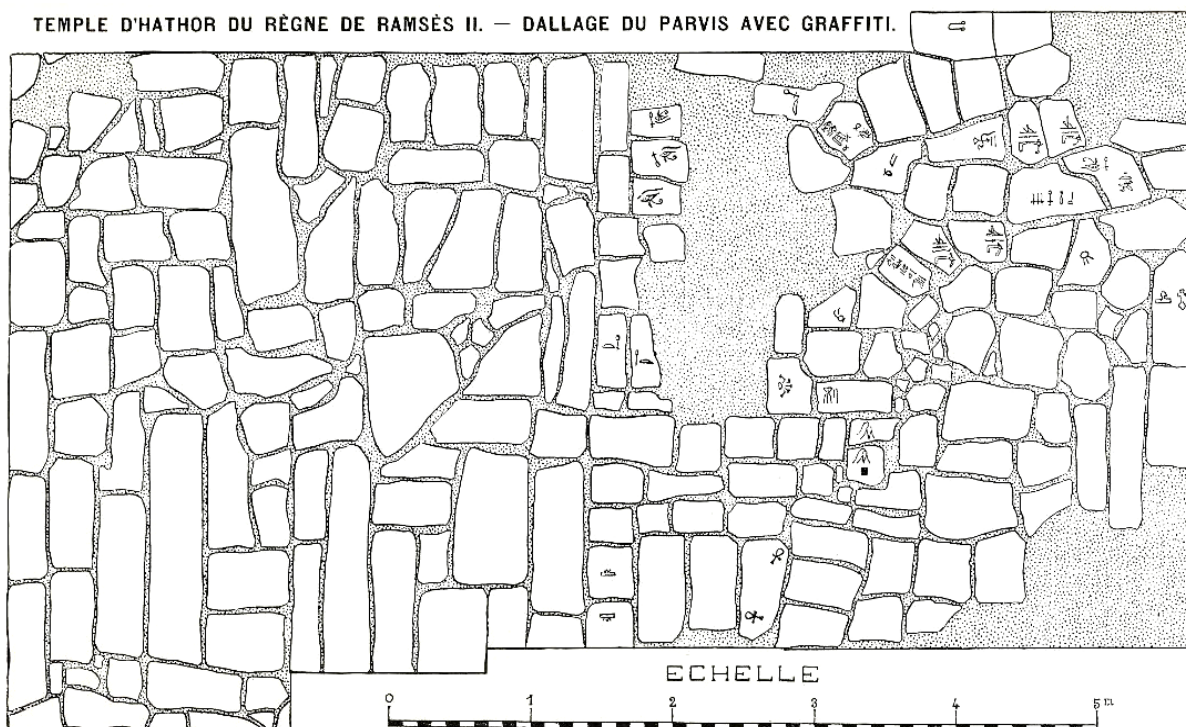


FIGURE 18. THE GRAFFITI ON THE PAVEMENT OF THE HATHOR TEMPLE OF DEIR EL-MEDINA

The reading of the last three inscriptions is problematic, and one wonders whether they were correctly copied by Bruyère. Indeed, a photograph of one instance of the inscription rendered by Bruyère as $\delta\kappa\lambda$ allows for a reading as $\delta\kappa\lambda$. Both marks are attested on the reverse of ONL 6690, dated to the reign of Siptah. This supports the idea that sign δ is indeed an identity mark on this ostrakon and on the pavement of the Hathor temple.

The other inscriptions record the names of members of the crew of necropolis workmen. The names of Nakhtmin and Neferhotep are attested throughout the 19th and 20th Dynasties, but that of Paneb is less common. He is most probably the well-known Paneb (i) who lived under the reign of Ramesses II and was promoted to the position of foreman of the right side under Seti II.¹⁶⁵ The name Qen is not very common at Deir el-Medina either, and this could be Qen (ii), the man who would later become a sculptor and who lived during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁶⁶ However, as pointed out above, a man named Qen (iii) is attested in the second half of the 19th Dynasty.¹⁶⁷ Such a date agrees better with the marks that are inscribed on the pavement:

ⲟ	ⲛ	ⲙ
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ
ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ

¹⁶⁵ Otherwise this is one of the less frequently attested family members of Paneb, Davies' Paneb (ii) or Paneb (iii).

¹⁶⁶ The obscure Qen (i) probably must have been active under Seti I and the early reign of Ramesses II, but is not securely attested with the title *sdm-ꜥꜥ*. Similarly, we do not know much about Qen (iii), but he must have been a contemporary of Qen (ii) and could also be the man who carved his name on the pavement of the Hathor temple. Qen (ii) is described by Davies, *Who's who*, 176 as a wealthy and pious individual.

¹⁶⁷ See above, 5.2.2.11.

We recognise the majority of these marks, and we have encountered marks ⤵^{\dagger} , 𐀓 and 𐀔 on O. Ashmolean HO 810. We come across mark 𐀕 for the first time in the 19th Dynasty, although we know that it represented a workman of the left side during the first half of the 20th Dynasty. Even though we cannot verify it, it would make sense to interpret Bruyère's rendition of inscription 𐀕 as marks 𐀕 and 𐀕 , in analogy with 𐀕 and 𐀕 . Marks 𐀕^{\dagger} and 𐀕 , otherwise unattested, may be more elaborate allomorphs of marks 𐀕 and 𐀕 . The longer forms are interesting, because they may hold some phonetic value that could be connected with the name of the owners of the marks. Still it is not at all clear with which individuals we should connect them. We have seen that during the reign of Ramesses IV mark 𐀕 was probably used for a workman named Hay of the left side,¹⁶⁸ yet the addition of mark 𐀕^{\dagger} is not helpful in determining which Hay this was exactly, or by whom the mark may have been used in the 19th Dynasty. We do know who was represented by mark 𐀕 . During the reign of Ramesses II it probably belonged to Amennakht (x) = Nakhy (iv), and after him it was used by his son Khaemnun (i) and perhaps also Anuy (v). These identifications do not explain the additional sign \square . We may therefore propose that signs 𐀕^{\dagger} and \square are marks by themselves representing other individuals, although the latter is not elsewhere attested as a workmen's mark.

A parallel for this interpretation would be one particular slab that is inscribed with two marks: 𐀕 and 𐀕^{\dagger} . The former is of course the mark of Pahemnetjer, probably Pahemnetjer (i). The latter mark we know as the elaborate allomorph of the mark of Neferher (vi) who lived during the 20th Dynasty. The juxtaposition of the two marks on the pavement of the Hathor temple is probably meaningful, and mark 𐀕^{\dagger} probably represents the father of Pahemnetjer (i), Neferher (iv).¹⁶⁹

The marks on the pavement of the Hathor temple thus seem to date to the period between the end of the reign of Ramesses II and the reigns of Seti II and Siptah. Mark 𐀕 carved into the pavement may there refer to Iniherkhau (ii), the man who was to become the deputy and subsequently the foreman of the left side but who is already attested as a workman under Siptah and perhaps as early as the reign of Seti II.¹⁷⁰ Many other marks from the temple represent workmen who are recorded in hieratic ostrakon O. Cairo CG 25779, generally attributed to year 1 of Amenmesses.¹⁷¹ This account mentions Paneb (i) and a man named Qen, both attested in the graffiti, as well as Siwadjet (iv),¹⁷² Pahemnetjer (i),¹⁷³ and Nakhy (iv)¹⁷⁴ = Amennakht (x). We have identified the marks of these men as 𐀕 , 𐀕 and 𐀕 ,¹⁷⁵ all of which are carved in the pavement of the temple. The ostrakon also records Nebnefer (vi),¹⁷⁶ whom we had tentatively connected with mark ⤵^{\dagger} , which is found among the graffiti as well. We may similarly propose that the workmen Mose (viii)¹⁷⁷ and Reweben (iv)¹⁷⁸ of O. Cairo CG 25779 are represented in the temple by marks 𐀕 and 𐀕 .

In summary, there are three ostraca and a group of graffiti that constitute anchor points for dating identity marks from the second half of the 19th Dynasty. Still, these footholds are small and not very stable if we consider the number of marks in each source and the accuracy of our tentative dates:

¹⁶⁸ See above, chapter 4, 4.2.8.

¹⁶⁹ Neferher (vi) may well have been the grandson of Neferher (iv), see chapter 6, 6.5.4.2.

¹⁷⁰ Attestations listed by Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 137.

¹⁷¹ E.g. *KRI IV*, 211-216; Davies, *Who's who, passim*.

¹⁷² Davies, *Who's who*, 263, n. 759.

¹⁷³ Davies, *Who's who*, 95, n. 181.








¹⁷⁴ Davies, *Who's who*, 66, n. 53.

¹⁷⁵ See chapter 3, 228; chapter 4, 293.

¹⁷⁶ Davies, *Who's who*, 235, n. 424.

¹⁷⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 273.

¹⁷⁸ Davies, *Who's who*, 181, n. 52.

Only few marks, such as , , and , can really be categorised as typical for the 19th Dynasty. This demonstrates the difficulty of dating 19th Dynasty ostraca with marks, and we should keep in mind that some of the ostraca which we have associated with ostraca from the second half of the reign of Ramesses II in previous sections could perhaps be of a slightly later date. The date of such pieces has mostly been based on similarity with the sequence of marks of ostraca O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 16, and O. Cairo JE 96336, or the occurrence of marks such as , , , and . Indeed, these marks are far less frequent or not at all attested in the later 19th Dynasty, suggesting our tentative dates are correct. But to assign other ostraca to the second half of the 19th Dynasty, as we shall attempt below, will be a somewhat precarious and complicated task. A major obstacle in this process is the absence of an ordered list of marks for this period. Ostraca of this type were extremely helpful for dating records with marks from the period of Ramesses II, but frustratingly we lack such lists for the second half of the 19th Dynasty. This is ironic, because ordered name lists from this period do exist in the realm of hieratic administration. Two of these lists, O. Ashmolean HO 57 and P. Greg, have been effectively employed to date groups of hieratic administrative texts from the time of Seti II and Siptah.¹⁷⁹ Without a similar list composed with marks we are not able to do the same. In fact, as we shall see there is but a relatively small number of ostraca with marks that we can attribute to the second half of the 19th Dynasty. This is perhaps due to our ignorance of the marks of the period caused by the lack of accurately dated and well preserved ostraca.

On the other hand, the paucity of ostraca with marks during the final reigns of the 19th Dynasty may be a reflection of actual administrative practices. A point in case is the corpus of ostraca from the area of workmen's huts near the tomb of Siptah (KV 47). During the first decade of this century the Ägyptologisches Seminar of Basel University reportedly discovered 161 hieratic documentary ostraca of which the majority dated to the end of the reign of Siptah.¹⁸⁰ The absolute number of administrative texts from this findspot is unknown but considering that numerous administrative ostraca in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo excavated by Davies demonstrably originate from the same location,¹⁸¹ the number must have been considerable. The excavations of the Basel mission also yielded some ostraca inscribed with marks,¹⁸² but in far smaller numbers. Moreover, not all of these ostraca date to the reign of Siptah. We have already discussed some of these pieces that date to the 18th Dynasty¹⁸³ and the 20th Dynasty,¹⁸⁴ and above we had associated O. Cilli 336 with ostraca from the time of Ramesses II.¹⁸⁵ This last piece is thus a document of the 19th Dynasty and in the light of its provenance we may reconsider its date. We will also take into account O. Cilli 156, attributed to the early 20th Dynasty. These two pieces, as well as a small group of very fragmentary ostraca (O. Cilli 23a, 106a, 201, 271, and 291), could perhaps date to the reign of Siptah. Before examining these ostraca in more detail, it is wise to pause for a moment in order to compare the number of ostraca with marks, probably seven, to the number of hieratic documents from the same provenance, said to be 115. The figure of 115 ostraca includes texts of a literary genre as well, but even if we estimate that about half of this total, let us say 55 ostraca, is of a documentary nature, the percentage of ostraca with marks is still no more than c. 11%. It would thus seem that at this particular site relatively few ostraca with marks were

¹⁷⁹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 99-130; Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*.

¹⁸⁰ Debora Cilli, 'A New Corpus of Hieratic Ostraca from the Valley of Kings (KV47)' in: Toivari-Viitala, Vartiainen and Uvanto (eds.), *Deir el-Medina Studies*, 8-9; see also Cilli, 'Delivery Ostraca', 95 and n. 3.

¹⁸¹ Cilli, 'Delivery Ostraca', *passim*.

¹⁸² Cilli, 'Delivery Ostraca', 95, n. 3.

¹⁸³ O. Cilli 278.







¹⁸⁴ O. Cilli 84; O. Cilli 111; O. Cilli 156; O. Cilli 335.

¹⁸⁵ See above, 5.2.2.6.










composed. Maybe this is true for other late 19th Dynasty sites as well. This would explain the small number of ostraca with marks attributable to the period.

Some of the ostraca with marks from the huts settlement near KV 47 have not yet been discussed, but unfortunately they are of limited significance for our purposes because of their incomplete nature. All things considered, this group of ostraca is not particularly elucidating. They are briefly discussed in Appendix I.¹⁸⁶ As it appears that few marks are typical for the late 19th Dynasty, we may cautiously consider the absence of marks from the middle of the 19th Dynasty as an indication of a later date as well. But we will in our further endeavours also encounter some new marks, as on O. Schaden 214.





O. Schaden 214

Examining the marks from the pavement of the Hathor temple we had noticed that quite a number of the attested individuals occur also on O. Cairo CG 25779, an ostrakon from the reign of Amenmesses. Another individual recorded in this document is Patjauemdiamun, and his mark is perhaps recorded on two ostraca that could well date to the 19th Dynasty. The first one is O. Schaden 214, which on account of its provenance is expected to date to the middle of the 19th Dynasty. It is inscribed with five marks, one of which is formed like a sail , and we may propose it represents Patjauemdiamun because the mark resembles  (Gardiner sign P5) with phonetic value *tꜣw*. O. Schaden 214 is also inscribed with three other marks we know from the 19th Dynasty, ,  and perhaps . A fifth mark resembles , a hieratic *p* over an *n*. This mark is not attested elsewhere on ostraca or objects from the 19th Dynasty. It refers perhaps to a workman whose name includes the element *pn*, like Pendua (v), recorded on O. Cairo CG 25779 as well.¹⁸⁷

O. Brock 33

A related ostrakon is O. Brock 33, also inscribed with marks  and . It shares only one mark with the repertory attested on the temple floor, mark . A date in the second half of the 19th Dynasty is therefore not secured, but certainly plausible. It contains marks ,  and , which we know from the 19th Dynasty. A mark at the bottom of the right column could be  or . The former mark is not securely attested in the 19th Dynasty. We had connected  with Paser (v), attested in the reign of Ramesses II. It is not clear if the Paser who is attested in the second half of the 19th Dynasty¹⁸⁸ is the same man, but it is possible that reference to him or a namesake is made on O. Brock 33.

O. Cairo JE 46861

Relying on the graffiti from the Hathor temple we may be able to date O. Cairo JE 46861 to the second half of the 19th Dynasty. It is inscribed with at least two marks. The ostrakon is attributable to the 19th Dynasty on the basis of its lay-out.¹⁸⁹ Next to mark  it displays mark , also attested on the limestone slabs of the court of the Hathor temple. By association, we may tentatively date O. Cairo JE 46861 to the same period. The fact that this piece records , the particular variant of  that is also found on 19th Dynasty ostrakon ONL 6487 and Theban Graffito 729, might weigh in favour of our date.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix I, § 3.

¹⁸⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 65, n. 40.

¹⁸⁸ E.g. O. BM 50728; O. BM. 65930.

¹⁸⁹ See below, p. 461; p. 477.

An ostrakon from the Grand Puits

An ostrakon from the Grand Puits near the village of Deir el-Medina,¹⁹⁰ inscribed with six identifiable workmen's marks, is also related to the set of marks from the pavement of the Hathor temple because it features marks λ and $\tilde{\lambda}$. The ostrakon has three marks in common with O. Ashmolean HO 810: λ , $\tilde{\lambda}$ and perhaps \square , which could be an allomorph of \square . The other marks, \square and $\hat{\square}$, are well attested in the 19th Dynasty, so the ostrakon dates most likely to the later part of this period.

ONL 6585

ONL 6585 is probably attributable to the same period. It is a very interesting ostrakon because it is inscribed with a very large number of marks, but all marks are written in red ink, which has nearly faded away. We can only tentatively discern 20 different marks. The document must date to the 19th Dynasty because of the occurrence of mark $\tilde{\lambda}$, not securely attested in a 20th Dynasty context. Almost all of the marks on ONL 6585 are attested on ostraca from the middle of the 19th Dynasty. Still, the suspicion that the document is situated in the later 19th Dynasty can be substantiated through the occurrence of mark $\pm\ddagger$, also found on the pavement of the Hathor temple and not attested in the time of Ramesses II, and because of mark $\overline{\square}$, attested for the first time on O. Brock 33. Also featured on ONL 6585 is \square , known from O. Ashmolean HO 810. Mark \equiv is here encountered for the first time in the 19th Dynasty. We had already briefly discussed this mark in the previous chapter, where we established that it must have been used by Penamun (V) during the 20th Dynasty.¹⁹¹ This man may well have taken over the mark from his father who was called *Wennefer* (iii). If our proposed date for ONL 6585 is correct we could be dealing with this very man, who was active as a workman of the right side in second half of the reign of Siptah.¹⁹² We can probably identify more of the marks. For example, mark $\tilde{\lambda}$ will here have been used of Iniherkhau (ii),¹⁹³ and mark λ is here probably already attested for the Meryre (v)¹⁹⁴ known from the 20th Dynasty material.

5.2.3.4 Ostraca tentatively attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty

Up to this point we have had concrete indications to date ostraca with marks to the second half of 19th Dynasty. But there is a group of ostraca which *we would expect* to date in that period despite a lack of hard evidence.

ONL 1314

A good example is ONL 1314. This ostrakon is inscribed with about 17 different identity marks that are difficult to pinpoint because they are attested both in the 19th Dynasty and in the 20th Dynasty. We cannot rely on ordered name lists because like ONL 6585, the marks on ONL 1314 have not been arranged in an ordered sequence. A date in the reign of Ramesses II would be plausible if it was not for the occurrence of mark \square , which we have connected with two individuals who were active during a later period, Amenemope (ix) and his grandson Amenemope (x). Indeed this mark is not securely attested in or before the reign of Ramesses II. We have encountered mark \equiv in the 19th Dynasty as well as in the second part of the 20th Dynasty. Again, a date in this latter period would be plausible, but in that scenario one would expect some marks that are typical for that specific period such as $\overline{\square}$ or λ . In contrast, the marks on ONL 1314 are typical for early 20th Dynasty records of members on the right and left side. Many of these marks are, however, also found in the middle and the second half of

¹⁹⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII, nr. 12.

¹⁹¹ See chapter 4, 4.2.8.

¹⁹² Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 145.

¹⁹³ Active in the reign of Siptah, see Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 137.

¹⁹⁴ Active in the reign of Siptah, see Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 138.

the 19th Dynasty, so an approximate date between the late 19th Dynasty and the first half of the reign of Ramesses III seems most accurate. This date is corroborated by the other side of the ostrakon, which is inscribed with a poorly preserved hieratic text.¹⁹⁵ It appears to record an accusation by Huynefer of someone who passed the “walls” around Deir el-Medina, as well as a quarrel with a Nebsemen, perhaps the father of the scribe who wrote the text. Additionally the ostrakon mentions *ḥtri* deliveries, and the absence of a Khamy. Much of the text is probably unrelated to the side of the ostrakon inscribed with marks. However, the *ḥtri* deliveries alluded to in the text could well be the subject of the other side. There, workmen’s marks are connected with depictions of commodities, mostly amphorae, and series of dots, and it is conceivable that it represents the distribution of the *ḥtri*.¹⁹⁶ A connection between obverse and reverse is also plausible because the text was dated to the late 19th Dynasty on the basis of the mentioned individuals, Nebsemen, Huynefer, Khamy and perhaps Nakhy.¹⁹⁷ Indeed these names are attested in the later 19th Dynasty. However, a Nebsemen (ii) is attested in the reign of Ramesses II,¹⁹⁸ as is the workman Huynefer (iii).¹⁹⁹ Nakhy is probably an abbreviated form of Amennakht, and he is probably identifiable with Nakhy (iv) = Amennakht (x), the man who was already active in year 40 of Ramesses II.²⁰⁰ On the other hand, the mention of Khamy does point towards a date in the second half of the 19th Dynasty. This man must be Khamy (i), attested as a workman of the left side in the reigns of Seti II, Amenmesses and Siptah, and no Khamy is known from earlier times.²⁰¹ Another argument for a date in the late 19th Dynasty is the fact that Nebsemen (i), in all probability a later workman than Nebsemen (ii), is attested together with Nakhy (iv) = Amennakht (x) and Khamy (i) in O. Varille 26, attributed to the reign of Amenmesses.²⁰² Moreover, all three men are attested in ostraca belonging to Collier’s Group C, dating to the reign of Siptah.²⁰³ The hieratic text of ONL 1314 is therefore best situated in his reign as well, which coincides with our suspicion of the date of the same document.

O. Cairo JE 72462

Meagre support for the date of ONL 1314 is offered by O. Cairo JE 72462. Like ONL 1314, this ostrakon is a piece of limestone. One side contains an account of commodities including oil, grain, basketry, copper items, fat and sandals. The text was very broadly dated to the period of the middle of the 19th Dynasty and later times.²⁰⁴ The reverse of the ostrakon is poorly preserved, but like ONL 1314 it seems to have been inscribed with depictions of amphorae and identity marks. Still discernable is 𐎃 and perhaps 𐎃𐎃 . The latter mark probably referred to Wennefer (iii) on ONL 6585, dated to the second half of the 19th Dynasty. If O. Cairo JE 72462 dates to the 19th Dynasty, as proposed here, we may have yet another attestation of this man.

¹⁹⁵ Transcribed by Černý as O. IFAO 288, see NB 103.118.

¹⁹⁶ For a discussion see below, p. 461-462.

¹⁹⁷ *Deir el-Medina Database*.

¹⁹⁸ Davies, *Who’s who*, 62.

¹⁹⁹ E.g. O. BM 5436 and O. DeM 706.

²⁰⁰ E.g. O. BM 5436.

²⁰¹ Davies, *Who’s who*, 256; Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 137; O. Turin N. 57082, which records a workman named Khamy, is probably best situated in the late 19th Dynasty, cf. Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 124-125 and see Davies, *Who’s who*, 257.

²⁰² *KRI VII*, 236-237; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 105.

²⁰³ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, *passim*.

²⁰⁴ Abdel Samie, *Hieratic Documents*, 8.

ONL 6497

One of the marks that feature on ONL 1314 is 𐀓 . It is unclear if this is an allomorph of 𐀔 , which is also inscribed on ONL 1314. Mark 𐀓 is not often attested, which may be taken as an argument for the assumption that it is a rare allomorph of 𐀔 . It may occur as a mark on an ostrakon from the 20th Dynasty, O. DeM 556, where it is situated below a hieratic text, but its meaning on this piece is difficult to explain. On ONL 6497, however, the sign does evidently feature in the context of workmen's marks. Unfortunately only a small portion of this ostrakon is preserved. The only other mark that is discernable is 𐀕 , also present on ONL 1314. On account of this similarity we may propose that like ONL 1314, ONL 6497 dates to the end of the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6221

Perhaps associated with ONL 1314 is fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6221, although it may be of a slightly earlier date. The lay-out of ONL 6221 certainly is different from that of ONL 1314, but like this piece ONL 6221 records workmen's marks with depictions of objects and vessels and series of dots. Three marks that are securely identifiable are 𐀖 , 𐀗 and 𐀘 or 𐀙 . A fourth mark could be 𐀚 . Additionally, a damaged mark on the left edge of the ostrakon is possibly mark 𐀛 . The occurrence of 𐀖 confirms a date in the 19th Dynasty. Mark 𐀛 could then have been used for Amenemope (ix), which would suggest ONL 6221 was composed during the second half of this dynasty.

ONL 6582 and ONL 432

Ostrakon ONL 6582 is probably related to ONL 1314 as well. Like the previous ostraca, it is inscribed with red ink and depicts vessels that are juxtaposed with identity marks and series of dots. ONL 6582 is, however, incomplete and only marks 𐀜 and 𐀝 are preserved. Both marks are attested in the 20th Dynasty. Mark 𐀜 may here represent Neferher (vi) or perhaps his seemingly unrelated earlier namesake Neferher (iv), while we had identified 𐀝 as workman Qenymin (i)/(iii) on the basis of O. ARTP 99/27 and O. DeM 831.²⁰⁵ Neferher (vi) and Qenymin (i)/(iii) are not securely attested before the reign of Ramesses III. Still, we cannot rule out the possibility that on the basis of similarity with ONL 1314, ONL 6582 dates to the very end of the 19th Dynasty. A date between the end of the 19th Dynasty and the early 20th Dynasty may also be considered for ONL 432. This small limestone chip, inscribed with a mark on the obverse and one on the reverse, is not more than 5 cm long and 2 cm wide but appears to be complete since one mark is written over the broken edge of the piece. One side displays mark 𐀔 and the other mark 𐀝 . This arrangement is undoubtedly meaningful: it records two brothers or a father and a son. As we saw in the previous chapter, mark 𐀔 was used in the 20th Dynasty for Apatjau (i), a brother of Qenymin (i)/(iii). However, if we situate the ostrakon in the end of the 19th Dynasty, mark 𐀔 would refer to Siwadjet (iii), father of Qenymin (i)/(iii) referred to by mark 𐀝 .

ONL 6524

Due to the possibility that mark 𐀝 for Qenymin (i)/(iii) occurs towards the end of the 19th Dynasty, ONL 6524 poses a dilemma. It is inscribed like several other 19th Dynasty ostraca with charcoal and displays 𐀞 , 𐀟 , 𐀠 , 𐀝 and a damaged mark that could be 𐀡 . These five marks are well known from 20th Dynasty ostraca, but none of them are typical for this period, while we have observed that most of these marks occur on ostraca attributable to the late 19th Dynasty as well. Mark 𐀡 is not common in the 19th Dynasty but does feature on ONL 6526

²⁰⁵ See chapter 4, 4.2.8.

and ONL 6527. Without any further context ONL 6524 can only be dated to the period of the late 19th and early 20th Dynasty.

ONL 6472

Mark $\overline{\text{T}}$ of Qenymin (i)/(iii) is attested furthermore on ONL 6472, a puzzling ostrakon that challenges our dating methods. Faint marks inscribed with charcoal that are distinguishable are: t , A , Z , L , S , M , $\overline{\text{T}}$, C , R , $\overline{\text{T}}$, U , O and A . With two exceptions, all marks on this piece are found on O. Cairo JE 72491 and O. ARTP 99/27, lists of marks of workmen of the left side dating to the reign of Ramesses IV. Although many of the marks are also attested in the second half of the 19th Dynasty, mark $\overline{\text{T}}$ is not securely attested in the 19th Dynasty. We assume this mark belonged to Paneferemdjedu (i), a man who is not known to have been active before the reign of Ramesses III.²⁰⁶ Oddly enough, the ostrakon is also inscribed with A , the mark of Anuy (i), which does not occur on ostraca, graffiti or objects from the 20th Dynasty. Anuy (i) can no longer have been active in the reign of Ramesses III, as he is not recorded after the reign of Ramesses II.²⁰⁷ No offspring of this man is identified either, and the presence of mark A in a document that also includes mark $\overline{\text{T}}$ is inexplicable. Because the majority of the marks are firmly situated in the 20th Dynasty, we may hazard a guess that A is here not the mark of Anuy (i) but an otherwise unattested allomorph of A .²⁰⁸

ONL 6455

Marks $\overline{\text{T}}$ and A may or may not feature on ONL 6455. The marks on this ostrakon, inscribed with charcoal, are barely discernable, and the reading of A is utterly doubtful. It may also be mark A , perhaps an allomorph of mark A . Other marks could be F , L , Z , L , S and X . Because of the tentative identification of this last mark, not securely attested before the reign of Ramesses III, a date in the 20th Dynasty is slightly more probable than a date in the 19th Dynasty.

ONL 6404 and ONL 6367

The date of two smaller ostraca is also dubious. One is ONL 6404, inscribed with a row of marks of which only M , U and C are still legible. All three marks are attested in both the 19th and the 20th Dynasties. We have seen that the preferred lay-out of 20th Dynasty ostraca with marks is not an arrangement in rows of marks, which is more common for the 19th Dynasty.²⁰⁹ But we cannot base a date for ONL 6404 on such criteria, since ostraca with rows of marks are attested in the 20th Dynasty as well. The provenance of this piece, indicated by the excavators as “S 3” would suggest a date in the 20th Dynasty. As pointed out by Demarée and Weiss, “S 3” probably refers to the third room in house S.O. IV that once belonged to Prehotep (i).²¹⁰ At the same location a group of oracle texts was discovered that was dated to the beginning of the 20th Dynasty,²¹¹ as well as at least two other ostraca dating to the first half of the 20th Dynasty.²¹² A date for ONL 6404 in that period would therefore be expected, if it was not for ONL 6514. This 18th Dynasty ostrakon inscribed with marks was reportedly discovered in the same house and indicates that its context is disturbed. Since the marks M , U and C on ONL 6404 are also attested at the end of the 19th Dynasty, the date of this

²⁰⁶ Davies, *Who's who*, 108-109.

²⁰⁷ Davies, *Who's who*, 15.

²⁰⁸ For the similarity of mark A and mark A see chapter 6, 6.5.4.6.

²⁰⁹ See below, 5.3.3.2.










²¹⁰ *Deir el-Medina Database*; Lara Weiss, ‘Markings on oracle ostraca from Deir el-Medina – Conflicting Interpretations’ in: Haring and Kaper (eds.), *Pictograms or Pseudoscript?*, 221.

²¹¹ Černý, ‘Nouvelle série’, 21.

²¹² O. DeM 133 and O. DeM 204.

ostrakon is uncertain. Ostrakon fragment ONL 6367, which still preserves 𓆎 and 𓆏 is of an equally dubious date for the same reasons as ONL 6404.

5.2.3.5 Overview of tentatively identified workmen's marks

Haremwia (ii)	
Khaemseba (i)	
Mose (viii)	
Nebnefer (vi)	
Neferher (iv)	
Pamerihu (i)	
Patjauemdiamun	
Rewebeben (iv)	
Wennefer (iii)	

5.3 THE PURPOSE OF THE RECORDS WRITTEN WITH IDENTITY MARKS

What do 19th Dynasty ostraca inscribed with marks convey, what purpose did they serve, and by whom were they produced? In order to answer these questions, this section will examine ostraca inscribed with hieratic texts that also include identity marks. In addition, a number of different document types composed with marks will be distinguished. The following section contains an analysis of the lay-out of 19th Dynasty ostraca with marks which will allow us to make some observations about the purpose of the records.

5.3.1 Use of hieratic text on ostraca with marks

In the chronological discussion of 19th Dynasty ostraca with workmen's marks we had already noticed the existence of documents inscribed with hieratic in combination with marks. Here we shall examine some of them in more detail. We shall see that in most cases it is incredibly difficult to assess if there is a meaningful connection between the hieratic text and the inscribed marks. Fortunately this is not as difficult for O. Berlin P 14350, a list of workmen from the reign of Ramesses II,²¹³ which does not seem to have been arranged in an ordered sequence. Apart from this hieratic text, two workmen's marks were inscribed in the same colour of ink. Mark 𓆎 is situated between the middle and right column, mark 𓆏 above the right column. The marks are considerably larger than the hieratic signs, and are not clearly related to any of the names. We know that mark 𓆎 was used for Siwadjet (ii) in the reign of Ramesses II, but his name does not appear in the legible part of the ostrakon. Mark 𓆏 is one of the few instances of a bird-shaped mark in the 19th Dynasty. Although the mark is not completely preserved and the ink has faded a bit we can securely identify this bird as a falcon because of the neat handwriting of the scribe. It may have been used for a man named Hori, as in the 20th Dynasty, in which case Hori (i) would be a good candidate. Regardless of his identity, it seems likely that the marks are here somehow an addition to the hieratic name list, probably added by the scribe responsible for the hieratic text.

The hieratic name list on the obverse of O. Ashmolean HO 810, dated to the reign of Siptah, probably holds a relation to the columns of identity marks on the reverse. That is suggested by similarities in layout as well as the fact that both the hieratic text and the marks appear to refer to workmen of the left side of the crew. Unfortunately the exact meaning of this document is hard to grasp because of its poor state of preservation. According to Collier the names on the obverse may have followed a date. Nothing of the kind is preserved on the reverse, but the fact that two marks occur twice in different columns makes it plausible that

²¹³ Gutgesell, *Die Datierung I*, 99; *Deir el-Medina Database*.

the marks are arranged according to the same layout. This does not explain the connection between the obverse and reverse. The marks are evidently written in a trained hand, particularly indicated by the elaborate, well-balanced shape of mark \Leftarrow . It is therefore possible that obverse and reverse were created by the same author. We may propose a number of explanations for the relation between the marks and the name lists, but this is nothing more than mere guesswork. It could be that the scribe wrote his hieratic list of names and then – for some reason – continued the same record on the other side using marks. In another scenario, the scribe could have made a draft of his hieratic text on one side with marks, and wrote out a neat version in hieratic on the other. Alternatively, the marks may be a ‘transcription’ of the hieratic text to a list of marks, which could be understood by literate and illiterate individuals alike.

A relation between the hieratic name list on the obverse of ONL 6690 and the workmen’s marks on its reverse is very plausible too. The ductus of the marks, particularly \Leftarrow , betrays a hand well acquainted with hieratic. That is also suggested by the cursive hieroglyphs used to write the name of the scribe Bay (ii). The marks may have been added on the reverse as a later addition to the name list on the obverse.

The name list recorded on O. OIM 25356 has already been examined above. The marks are clearly incorporated into the hieratic text, which consists of nothing else but columns of names. We have observed that some of the marks correspond to the juxtaposed names written in hieratic, but we have not yet given it much thought why this was done. This is awfully difficult to explain, not in the first place because not every mark seems to correspond with a hieratic name. It should first be stated that there is again nothing that indicates that the marks were made by anyone else but the scribe of the hieratic text. The hieratic inscription of this scribe is not particularly elegant and the names seem to have been noted down with quick strokes. The same can be said of the identity marks. Secondly it is significant that based on the data available to us, O. OIM 25356, a document wherein a scribe added identity marks to corresponding hieratic names, is extremely exceptional. We must therefore not read too much into this text. The scribe could have added the marks to the proper names during a revision of the ostrakon. At that point he may have had to add a few individuals and did so by means of their identity marks. During this process he could have added the corresponding marks next to some of the names he had already written down. Otherwise we can here, as in our tentative suggestion about the previous ostrakon, again propose that the marks were added to the document in order to allow individuals not trained in hieratic script to understand the text. Alternatively our scribe added the marks next to their names to distinguish them from namesakes, instead of adding a filiation. If that would be true, it could be interpreted as an indication that the scribe himself was not sufficiently familiar with hieratic and preferred to employ marks instead of regular script.

The purpose of the entire document must probably be sought in the domain of deliveries. The text is not an ordered name list, but seems to record workmen according to the side of the crew they belonged to and in connection with the ‘*smd.t* scribe’ associated with it. The workmen may have assisted the scribes with the transportation of the supplies. In this respect, O. OIM 25356 is perhaps related to O. Cairo CG 25582. We have not yet discussed this hieratic ostrakon, which records an account of fish deliveries made by (*m-dr.t*) the same two ‘*smd.t* scribes’ Anupemheb and Pentaweret on different days in II *pr.t* and I *šm.w* of an unknown year. The document has been attributed to the reign of Merenptah,²¹⁴ which is plausible in view of the other attestations of these two scribes.²¹⁵ Our attention is directed to the reverse of the document, where in the right margin the sign \Leftarrow is added just before the

²¹⁴ KRI IV, 166-167; Helck, *Die datierten un datierbaren Ostraka*, 92.

²¹⁵ Davies, *Who’s who*, 91.

final hieratic line. In analogy with O. OIM 25356, which also dates to the middle of the 19th Dynasty and which also records the two ‘*smd.t* scribes’, this mark could refer to Anuy (v). On O. Cairo CG 25582, the mark is most probably related to these deliveries as well.²¹⁶ This strengthens the assumption that the names and marks of the workmen on O. OIM 25356 are recorded in relation to deliveries as well. Why the scribe chose to record this individual with an identity mark is again open to discussion. We may again put forward the suggestion that it was a minor addition to the text.

In the case of O. Berlin P 14261²¹⁷ it is certain that the deliveries of wood and pottery to the necropolis workmen are the topic of the hieratic text. The ostrakon, attributed to the reign of Seti I, is inscribed on the back with what is most likely mark \Rightarrow of the foreman Baki (i). It is impossible to determine whether the mark and the text were written by the same scribe, but that does not seem implausible. Like several sections on the obverse of the ostrakon, the mark appears to have been deliberately erased.²¹⁸ This would suggest the mark is connected with the text on the obverse, but it is not immediately clear what the purpose of this mark is. Again there is no way of ascertaining the mark’s exact function, but perhaps it is a reference to the author of the text, marked as a document belonging to his personal archive.

Although O. Cairo JE 72462 also records commodities, this hieratic text should be differently classified from O. Berlin P 14261. Whereas the former text is concerned with the delivery of goods to the entire community, O. Cairo JE 72462 could be an account of items in someone’s possession or an account of a payment or gift.²¹⁹ Among the commodities that are mentioned are oil and grain. This is significant, because the reverse of the same ostrakon displays besides one or two identity marks a depiction of a large amphora, suggesting obverse and reverse could be related. The presence of workmen’s marks could then represent the recipients in the distribution of these goods. Such an interpretation, however, is not certain. What is more, obverse and reverse do not necessarily date to the same period. There is a distinct possibility that the marks, which are written in charcoal, were inscribed by someone else than the scribe of the hieratic text, written in black ink. Alternatively, we may once more imagine a ‘transcription’ made of the written text onto the reverse with the help of workmen’s marks and drawings of commodities. Too little of the reverse has survived for a good understanding of the relation between the two sides of the ostrakon.

An ostrakon very similar to O. Cairo JE 72462 is ONL 342, because it is also inscribed with a list of commodities on one side and displays an interesting inscription on the other. The hieratic list is well enough preserved to read the following:

[...]	
<i>bd.t h3r 2 ip.t 2</i>	<i>sr[...]</i>
	<i>mḥ.w ḥnd.w</i>
<i>w3d 2</i>	<i>dsds</i>
<i>iwf ʿnh rwh3 / biḥ3 1</i>	<i>ʿš 10</i>
[...]	

²¹⁶ No photographs of the ostrakon are available. The facsimile does not clearly indicate whether the mark was inscribed by the scribe of the hieratic text, but it would at least seem plausible.

²¹⁷ Also known as O. DeM 13.

²¹⁸ Cf. <http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/fragment.php?id=242>.

²¹⁹ Compare hieratic ostraca O. BM 5630; O. Brunner; O. Cairo CG 25679; O. DeM 285; O. Prague H 22; O. Turin N. 57349.

Emmer: 2 <i>khar</i> and 2 <i>oipe</i>	[...] Twined wreaths ²²⁰ (?)
Vegetables ²²¹ 2	<i>ḏss</i> fish
Goat meat ...	ϣ fish 10

The meat mentioned in the first column appears to be goat meat. It is as such not often attested in the records of Deir el-Medina, and Janssen pointed out that from the 19th Dynasty onward the word ϣ*nh* referred mostly to small cattle rather than to a goat.²²² Some allusions to goat meat are nevertheless attested in documents from the Theban Necropolis.²²³ The reading of the word following ‘goat meat’ is unclear. Both types of fish mentioned in this text belong to as of yet unidentified species.²²⁴ The *ḏss* fish is attested in a variety of different spellings. In the first half of the 19th Dynasty it appears as *tss*, while the variants of *ḏss* are found during the second half of the 19th Dynasty and the reign of Ramesses III.²²⁵ The ϣ fish too occurs in several different spellings. This type of fish is not frequently attested in the records of the Theban necropolis, and Janssen pointed out that it only occurs among commodities that were gifted.²²⁶ Like O. Cairo JE 72462, ONL 342 could therefore be an account of gifts. Moreover, ONL 342 is inscribed on the reverse with what appear to be depictions of commodities, as on O. Cairo JE 72462. We recognise a very similar drawing of an amphora, here with four dots added in front of it. No workmen’s marks seem to feature on the reverse of ONL 342, but this side is not preserved in its entirety. Still this ostrakon is important because besides the depiction of an amphora we observe other drawings, perhaps depictions of commodities as well. One drawing is of a rectangular shape and the other depiction is \square . Apart from the amphora, dots and perhaps strokes are added next to it. It seems probable that the dots indicate the quantity of the objects they are juxtaposed with, and thus the subject matter of the reverse could well be related to the hieratic text on the obverse. Determining the exact relation between the two sides of the ostrakon is hampered by the fragmentary state of the document, but once again we may imagine that the depictions of commodities are either a draft or a translation of the hieratic text on the obverse. Whether both sides were inscribed by the same person is very difficult to assess in this case.

The nature of the hieratic text on the reverse of ONL 6518 is unclear. The ostrakon is nothing more than a small limestone chip that must have been part of a larger document. The marks on the obverse can be related to ostraca such as ONL 6536 and seem to record workmen involved in the delivery of commodities. The few hieratic signs that can be discerned on the reverse are not immediately recognisable as belonging to a similar text. Legible are the following signs:



Two ostraca from the workmen’s huts near KV 10 with marks are also inscribed in hieratic. We had already remarked that O. Schaden 96, a weight, bears the inscription “Year

²²⁰ Janssen, *Commodity prices*, 138-139.

²²¹ Janssen, *Commodity prices*, 359.

²²² Janssen, *Commodity prices*, 165. But see also Jac. J. Janssen, ‘Three Mysterious Ostraca’ in: Collier and Snape (eds.), *Ramesside Studies*, 248, A7.

²²³ E.g. in O. Ashmolean HO 259, a list of commodities which includes *iwf m ϣnh* “meat as goat” (this reference was kindly provided by Rob Demarée); compare a very similar list attributed to the 19th Dynasty, O. Michaelides 36, which mentions *hpš n ϣnh* “foreleg of goat” as well as *[s]ms n ϣnh*. For *sms*, see O. Ashmolean HO 156, 3, Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II, 240; translated as “Schlegel” meaning “round”, the hind part of pigs and beef by Helck, *Materialien* V, 842.

²²⁴ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 50-51.

²²⁵ Černý, ‘Deux noms de poisson’, 38-39; Janssen, *Village Varia*, 51, n. 99 and 100.

²²⁶ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 51.

38, III *pr.t.*, day 7. Weight of four spikes for the right side.” On another side of the weight at least four workmen’s marks are inscribed in the same black ink as the hieratic text. The purpose of these marks is unclear. One might expect the marks to represent the four workmen to whom the four spikes belonged, but as we have seen these marks refer to workmen of the left side. Apart from the marks, the weight displays smudges of black ink and other indefinable shapes. Four vertical strokes added above the marks correspond perhaps to the four spikes, but this still does not explain why the inscription mentions the right side, whereas the marks belong to members of the left side. It is therefore possible that the marks are not related to the inscription.

While the text on O. Schaden 96 is written in flawless hieratic, the inscription in O. Schaden 11 is very abbreviated to say the least. The marks on O. Schaden 11 will be examined in depth below, and here we shall first focus on the text. To some extent the hieratic can be read:



wḥm *h*<*ṣw*> 48[...] 11
 ••18 *ms.t.y* 49

Repeating 48 [...] 11
 ••; 18 sacks 49

The signs of the inscription are unmistakably hieratic, but it is composed with a minimum of signs. The numerals are clear, as is the word *wḥm* ‘repeating’. The sign \square *h* that follows after *wḥm* might be an abbreviation, but its meaning is uncertain. One is reminded of the abbreviation *h* for *hṣw* ‘expense’, which is attested on an ostracon from the reign of Ramesses II, there in relation to *sgnn* oil,²²⁷ but this translation does not elucidate the meaning of the inscription on O. Schaden 11. During the 19th Dynasty, the term *hṣw* occurs in the hieratic administrative texts of the Theban necropolis mostly in the context of wick accounts,²²⁸ but it is attested for wood and grain as well.²²⁹ The second line records a quantity of *ms.t.y*-sacks,²³⁰ written very summarily as well. As a consequence the relation to the marks on the same ostracon is not straightforwardly explained. Both the hieratic lines and the marks appear to have been written in the same ink, so it is very plausible that entire document was created by a single author. The abbreviated hieratic inscription is interesting because like the use of workmen’s marks it constitutes a non-standardised form of administration.

In that respect the hieratic inscription on O. Schaden 11 is not unique, and this may be a good moment to examine some ostraca which are not all inscribed with identity marks, but are still of interest to our investigation of the use of marks. A key ostracon of this kind is O. Schaden 17. This ostracon displays some odd scribbles in the right margin. They are lines that are not hieroglyphic or hieratic signs, but they are not recognisable as workmen’s marks

²²⁷ O. Cairo CG 25502. The sign *h* might have been used for the abbreviation of *hṣb* ‘to send’ on O. Clère 1, for a discussion see Weiss, ‘Markings on oracle ostraca’, 227. The word *hṣb* would, however, not be very appropriate in the context of our document.

²²⁸ Examples dating and attributed to the reign of Ramesses II: O. Cairo CG 25540; O. Cairo CG 25631; O. Cairo CG 25813; O. Cairo CG 256816; O. Cairo JE 72458.

²²⁹ Examples dating and attributed to the reign of Ramesses II: O. BM 50733+; O. Strasbourg H 110.

²³⁰ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 403-406. The reading of the word *ms.t.y* was kindly suggested by Rob Demarée. According to Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 458, n. 18, these sacks were used by the necropolis workmen during their construction work on the royal tomb.

either. Other aspects of the document are unusual as well. The hieratic lines are written in cells of a large table, which is not common in hieratic administration. But more importantly the hieratic inscription is once again very abbreviated. We can tentatively read it as follows:

	[...]	21 [...]
⋮	<i>šbd</i> 2 <i>pr.t</i>	7 • 8 (?) • 16 • 70 20 (+ x?) • [...] 20 7[00] 24 •
..	<i>šbd</i> 3 <i>pr.t</i>	5 • 5 • <sw> 8 • <sw> 21 • <sw> 26 • <sw> 27
⋮	<i>šbd</i> 4 <i>pr.t</i>	<sw> 3 <sw> 7 <sw> 8 (?) <sw> 14 <sw> 24 <sw> 23 8 <sw> 26
⋮	<i>šbd</i> 1 <i>šmw</i>	<sw> 15 <sw> 16 <sw> 17 (?) <sw> 24 <sw> 24 sw 10 (?)
⋮	<i>šbd</i> 2 <i>šmw</i>	sw 2 sw 4 sw 4 sw 7 sw 8 sw 13 sw 18
	<i>šbd</i> 3 <i>šmw</i>	

It is clear that the document lists dates, but what is being recorded exactly remains a matter of interpretation, because the text consists of nothing else than dates and numbers. Moreover, the table contains some inconsistencies. We can surmise that entries in the rows of III *pr.t*, IV *pr.t* and I *šmw* concern 9 day dates, not because of the use of the word *sw* ‘day’, which for some reason is omitted here, but because the numerals are of the horizontal kind used in hieratic writing for dates. That is confirmed by the row of II *šmw* where sign \bigcirc is suddenly used to convey the word *sw* ‘day’. In contrast, the numerals in the row of II *pr.t* are of the regular kind. It is unclear what is counted in this section of the document. Also peculiar is the fact that some days are repeated and not all days are written in the right order. Although O. Schaden 17 is written in hieratic, it records information in a non-standardised manner that is not easily understood. It is significant that the text does not display a convincing hieratic ductus, and the possibility exists that it was written by someone who was not fully trained in hieratic script.

The provenance of O. Schaden 17 suggests it dates to the middle of the 19th Dynasty. An attribution to this period would be in agreement with its similarity to related ostrakon O. Schaden 11. A third ostrakon, O. IFAO C 391 must date to the same time because it resembles O. Schaden 17 in many ways. The handwriting is very similar and it is conceivable that both texts were written by the same hand. Like O. Schaden 17 the text seems to have been written in a column of entries with some additional information in the right margin. We read the following:

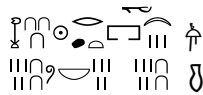
[...]	<i>šbd</i> 4 [...]
28	<i>šbd</i> 1 <i>pr.t</i> sw 4 \square 10 <i>šbd</i> 1 <i>pr.t</i> sw 5 \square 5 <i>šbd</i> 1 <i>pr.t</i> [sw] 6 \square 5

This account of day dates is comparable to that of O. Schaden 17, but in O. IFAO C 391 the dates are of subsequent days. The sign \bigcirc is consistently used for *sw* ‘day’, but the word *pr.t* is written with the sign \square only. This is clearly another instance of a document written with a minimum of hieratic signs. Moreover, additional non-hieratic signs feature in the text. After

each day sign appears 𐀀 followed by a hieratic numeral. We know this sign from ONL 342 where it seemed to represent a commodity, and it appears to have the same function on O. IFAO C 391. That would classify this ostrakon as an account of the daily delivery of one particular commodity.²³¹

Two other ostraca also display non-standard, or rather semi-hieratic texts, and their date in the middle of the 19th Dynasty is very probable. The first ostrakon is ONL 6517, which is perfectly legible. It is inscribed on two sides, the obverse dedicated to the right side of the crew, the reverse to the left side. This is indicated by the use of sign 𐀁, here doubtlessly an abbreviation for 𐀀𐀁𐀂 *wnmy*, as in numerous duty and delivery records composed with marks from the 20th Dynasty.²³² The other side is inscribed with sign 𐀃 which can best be explained as a reference to the left side of the crew, although we are not sure what the inspiration for this sign may have been. The sign does not appear to be related to sign 𐀄, which was used to refer to the left side in 20th Dynasty duty and delivery ostraca and is of mysterious origins as well.²³³ Perhaps sign 𐀃 should be seen as hieroglyphic sign 𐀃 *s*. It does not closely resemble this hieroglyph because both vertical ends of the sign are almost of equal length but if we ‘read’ it as such, it would be an abbreviation for the word *smhy* ‘left’. Apart from non-hieratic sign 𐀃, sign 𐀅 is either a depiction of an actual vessel or an abbreviation of the word *hnq.t*. Either way, it is probably a reference to a commodity, in the same way that sign 𐀆 can be interpreted as a shortened spelling of *h.t* ‘wood’ or a depiction of an actual twig on ONL 6517. Along the same lines, sign 𐀇 may here not possess the phonetic value *nb*, but could instead be a depiction of an actual basket or a dish. It is however unclear what the actual shape²³⁴ or the content of this vessel may have been. The inscription on this ostrakon reads:

obverse



h.t

wnmy zbd 3 pr.t sw 30 1000

[?] 25 5 [?] 125

Wood

Right side. III *pr.t* day 30: 1000

Jars: 25; 5, baskets: 125

reverse



²³¹ Ben Haring kindly pointed out that during the second half of the 19th Dynasty fairly regular deliveries of beer were sent from temples in Western Thebes in quantities of five *ds* jars, see Haring, *Divine Households*, 261-263. A connection between beer and sign 𐀀 is however not evident.

²³² See chapter 3, 3.2.2.3.

²³³ Ibidem; also chapter 6, 6.5.4.7.

²³⁴ For the different types of baskets known from the records of the Theban necropolis see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 133-145; 150-151; 160-163; for dishes: 407-408; 423-425; 426-428; 433-434.

5.3.2 Well distinguishable document types

5.3.2.1 Records of attendance

We have seen that in the 20th Dynasty a few documents were composed on ostraca in which workmen's marks were combined with the sign $\curvearrowright iw$ 'coming' to record attendance at the worksite.²³⁷ Hieratic records recording the attendance at the worksite of individual workmen are also known from the 19th Dynasty.²³⁸ It is in this light that we have to examine two 19th Dynasty ostraca composed with marks. The first document, O. WHTM 765, was discovered in the area of the workmen's hut at the *Station du Col* and is dateable to the reign of Ramesses II on account of the combination of workmen's marks with which it is inscribed. The marks are not listed according to a known ordered sequence but all belong to the left side of the crew. Below each mark the sign \curvearrowright is added and O. WHTM 765 thus records attendance of workmen of the left side, probably on a single day. Below the sign \curvearrowright a vertical stroke is inscribed, the meaning of which is not immediately clear. It might be the hieratic numeral 'one', perhaps indicating a portion of grain measured in *khar*. Such an interpretation is based on hieratic ostrakon O. Cairo CG 25627, attributed to the reign of Ramesses II as well.²³⁹ The reverse of this document lists the names of workmen in combination with an amount in *khar*, perhaps for grain, followed by the sign $\curvearrowright iw$ for attendance.

O. Cilli 291 might be a similar list of workmen's marks combined with sign \curvearrowright but it is poorly preserved. In fact not a single workman's mark can be securely identified and a date for this document in the 19th Dynasty is solely based on its provenance in the area of the workmen's huts near KV 47 (Siptah). In contrast to O. WHTM 765, O. Cilli 291 is arranged in a column, a layout which indeed is suggestive of the second half of the 19th Dynasty. Although it is likely that O. Cilli 291 is another record in which workmen's marks are used to document attendance, it does not offer us many insights into this practice. In the following section we will see however that the combination of workmen's marks and sign $\curvearrowright iw$ '(has) come' occurs in another type of document.

5.3.2.2 Delivery journals arranged in tables

A key ostrakon in the following discussion of ostraca that may be labelled as journal ostraca is O. Schaden 1. It is an informative document to which we will have to return in our treatment of other types of ostraca. We already have examined O. Schaden 1 at several occasions, but up to this point our attention was mostly directed at the ordered sequence of workmen's marks in the upper register of this table. The fact that O. Schaden 1 contains a large table is significant in itself. We have encountered similar tables in the corpus of ostraca from the 20th Dynasty, but this layout appears here for the first time in the domain of ostraca composed with marks.²⁴⁰ The table of O. Schaden 1 consists of at least 16 columns and exactly two rows. Below the first 12 marks in the upper row a dot is added, presumably a check mark. Turning now to the lower register, we observe a combination of identity marks and other signs:

composed with hieratic numerals and simplified hieratic inscriptions as well as other signs that probably refer to commodities.

²³⁷ For this terminology see Janssen, *Village Varia*, 87-98.

²³⁸ E.g. O. Cairo CG 25627 and O. DeM 340.

²³⁹ *KRI* III, 572.

²⁴⁰ The table of O. Schaden 1 is to some extent reminiscent of the large table inscribed on hieratic ostrakon O. Schaden 17.

5. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 19TH DYNASTY

[...]															

The workmen's marks in the lower register belong to workmen identified as members of the left side of the crew: ♀ perhaps for Anuy (ii), ♂ for Wennefer (ii), ♂ for Hehnaht (ii), ♂ for Pennub (ii)/(iii), ♂ for a man named Huy and ♂ for an unidentified member of the left side. Also present is mark ♂, known from other ostraca from the middle of the 19th Dynasty, but as of yet unidentified. It is clear that mark ♂ was used for a workman named Weserhat during the 20th Dynasty and it is tempting to relate the 19th Dynasty mark to a man of the same name. Such identification does require some investigation, because no Weserhat is mentioned in O. BM 5634 and O. DeM 706, the hieratic lists of the entire crew to which O. Schaden 1 compares rather well. Moreover, the name Weserhat is not at all common in administrative records of the 19th Dynasty. The name is, however, known from other sources. Weserhat (i) was active during the very beginning of the 19th Dynasty²⁴¹ and was probably deceased or too old to be active at the time O. Schaden 1 was composed. Instead, we may suggest that, if mark ♂ does indeed refer to someone named Weserhat, he was Weserhat (viii) who is attested without a title as a son of Kel (i) and must have been active in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II.²⁴² Since he is not known as a workman, we may very carefully entertain the hypothesis that although he was not a full member of the crew he did live at the village and might on occasion have performed odd jobs. At some point he may even have joined the workmen in the construction of the royal tomb as suggested by his presence in lists of workmen such as ONL 6280 and O. Schaden 22.

Besides identity marks, one cell in the lower register of O. Schaden is inscribed with sign ♂. This is unlikely to be an identity mark because it is not attested as such on ostraca, graffiti or objects. One might be inclined to read it as an Egyptian word, because the sign occurs in the hieroglyphic script for the consonants *mi*. It could be an abbreviation for *m mi.t.t*, and expression that means 'idem' and that occurs in O. BM 5634.²⁴³ Yet, this expression would probably make little sense in the context of O. Schaden 1. If it were to be read as 'idem' it would repeat information recorded in the column right of it, which contains nothing else but two workmen's marks. We may instead take it as a representation of a jug carried in a net.²⁴⁴ This would be in agreement with some of the other depictions in the lower register: in the fourteenth column from the right an amphora is depicted in the shape of ♂ with above it three water ripples. Together these signs could be a reference to a jar filled with

²⁴¹ Davies, *Who's who*, 2.

²⁴² Davies, *Who's who*, 275. There is a possibility that he is the same man as the Hat recorded making deliveries to the crew in ostrakon O. Cairo CG 25661, attributed to the first half of the 19th Dynasty, but see Dorn, 'Ostraka', 46-49 and n. 85.

²⁴³ Janssen, 'Absence from work', 135.

²⁴⁴ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 529, W19.

water. A similar jar is depicted in the sixth column from the right but was deliberately erased. A third vessel is drawn in the 11th column from the right. Its exact shape is difficult to determine because of the lines inscribed just above it that may or may not be part of the same jar. If the lines form a single depiction one is inclined to interpret it as a large amphora suspended from two cords. But if the upper shape is interpreted as a separate group, it represents signs ⲗⲟⲗ above a jar of a shape that approaches sign ⲕ . In that case ⲗⲟⲗ could be an elaborate allomorph of mark ⲗ , well attested in the 19th Dynasty. More plausible however is an interpretation along the same lines as the depiction of the jar of water, where the signs above the jar indicate the contents of the vessel. When we take the signs to be hieroglyphs we read the group as nhḥ for nhḥ oil,²⁴⁵ and indeed the shape of the vessel below it resembles the type of jar in which such oil was kept.²⁴⁶ The identification of this jar gives us some confidence to interpret sign Ⲉ in the thirteenth column from the right as a commodity as well. We know this sign from ostraca ONL 342 and O. IFAO C 391 where we already got the impression that it designated a commodity, and O. Schaden 1 supports this interpretation. What this commodity could be is unclear and in analogy with the depictions of vessels sign Ⲉ is probably the container in which it came. Apart from depictions of commodities and workmen's marks we come across a different sign in the same column that contains the jar of nhḥ oil, which is also inscribed with sign ⲕ . In all other ostraca we have understood this to be an indication of presence – but not necessarily activity – at the worksite. The fact that it features here immediately next to a workman's mark would allow for the same interpretation on O. Schaden 1.

All in all it appears we comprehend the majority of the elements on O. Schaden 1. But what is the purpose of the document as a whole? The upper register of the ostrakon is an ordered list of workmen of the left side, perhaps – in analogy with O. Schaden 16 – excluding deputy and foreman. In contrast to the upper register, not every column of the lower register is inscribed with a workman's mark. Moreover, these marks do not feature in ordered lists, and some of them are not present in the upper register. Some columns in the lower register contain more than one mark. Therefore the lower register would appear to contain variable marks, whereas the upper register is governed solely by the ordered sequence. Some sort of relation thus exists between the commodities and workmen associated with them in the lower register on the one hand and the workmen listed in the sequence above on the other. The recorded commodities include water and oil. Whereas water is often recorded in the 19th Dynasty hieratic documentation among the commodities deliveries to the crew of workmen,²⁴⁷ nhḥ oil is in the middle of the 19th Dynasty only mentioned in private transactions. The subject of O. Schaden 1 is unlikely to be a private transaction because one side of the crew is listed in its entirety. The ostrakon must therefore be a document that records deliveries to one particular side of the crew. Indeed, in at least one text from the second half of the 20th Dynasty nhḥ oil is mentioned as an item brought to and distributed among the workforce.²⁴⁸ Moreover, it has been argued by Möller that nhḥ oil is a specification of a more general term sgnn for oil or

²⁴⁵ Usually written ⲗⲟⲗⲕ according to Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 330. This type of oil may be olive oil, see Rolf Krauss, 'Nḥ(h)-Öl = Olivenöl' *MDAIK* 55 (1999), 293-298, but the identification is not entirely certain, see Matthias Müller, 'Es werde Licht? Eine kurze Geschichte von Öl & Fett in Deir el-Medina in der 20. Dynastie' in: Haring, Kaper and Van Walsem (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 180-181.

²⁴⁶ Possibly the well attested *nm.t* jars, see David A. Aston, 'A Taste of Honey: *mnt*- and *mdqt*-Vessels in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty' in: Thomas Schneider and Kasia Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories. A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the occasion of his Retirement*. AOAT 347 (Münster 2007), 19-20 and fig. 3.3.

²⁴⁷ E.g. O. DeM 351.

²⁴⁸ P. Turin Cat. 1894.

unguent,²⁴⁹ and the latter commodity certainly is attested in delivery records from the 19th Dynasty.²⁵⁰

All these observations allow for two different interpretations of O. Schaden 1. The first option would be to see it as a record of events that occurred on a single day. The upper register could be a list of workmen present at the construction site, with a dot indicating attendance. The lower register would then attest of other activities that took place that day. For example, Pennub (ii)/(iii) designated by mark 𐎢𐎠 would have delivered – or perhaps rather assisted in the delivery of – a jar in a net (𐎠), while Anuy (ii) represented by 𐎠 was involved in the delivery of *nhh* oil, and Huy with mark 𐎠 supplied water (𐎠). That is all the more likely because of the presence of mark 𐎠 in the lower register, perhaps a reference to a man named Weserhat. As mentioned, we have the suspicion he was not a full member of the crew of workmen. However, this reading of the ostrakon does not explain the relation between the upper and the lower register. Moreover, if O. Schaden 1 records the events of a single day, that would seem to mean that only Wennefer (ii) with mark 𐎠 had come to the work site, since only his mark is connected with sign 𐎠 .

The alternative interpretation is somewhat controversial but would explain most of the marks. Instead of reading O. Schaden 1 as a record of a single day, we may propose that it is a journal text recording several subsequent days. One would expect such a document to contain numerals for day dates, which O. Schaden 1 lacks, but perhaps the days are here represented by the workmen's marks in the upper register. Since the workmen are listed in an ordered sequence, we may propose that the columns represent *wrš* duties of individual workmen of the left side. According to this tentative explanation the upper register contains the workmen who stood guard, meaning that each column embodies a different day. The lower register then records the deliveries received by the person on *wrš* duty and the individuals who were involved in that process. It would thus appear that some workmen were responsible for bringing the goods to the settlement. This interpretation allows us to make some sense of the column that records the attendance of Wennefer (ii): on the day of the *wrš* duty of Anuy (ii) (𐎠), *nhh* oil was delivered. This was done by Anuy (ii) himself, perhaps instead of Wennefer (ii) (𐎠), because the latter was present at the worksite and was therefore not able to occupy himself with any deliveries.

Although the second interpretation aids in understanding the document caution is required. First of all, the absence of day numbers, or a date line for that matter, is odd. Additionally, it assumes that workmen themselves were involved – in the physical sense – in the transference of goods. Although four other ostraca with marks seem to hint at such practices²⁵¹ the hieratic documentation does not clearly attest to this.²⁵² But more importantly, this reading of O. Schaden 1 presupposes the existence of a *wrš* duty roster in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II, which is not attested in hieratic records from this time.

The system of *wrš* duties in the community of Deir el-Medina, well attested during the 20th Dynasty and discussed at length in chapter 3, must have been implemented already during the second half of the 19th Dynasty but when exactly this practice was introduced is very difficult to determine.²⁵³ Perhaps the earliest attestation of workmen on *wrš* duty is in O.

²⁴⁹ Müller, 'Öl & Fett', 181.

²⁵⁰ E.g. O. Cairo CG 25502; Rob Demarée kindly informs us that among hieratic ostraca from the settlement of huts near KV 10 there are two accounts of oil deliveries.

²⁵¹ See above, O. Cairo JE 96352; ONL 6479; ONL 6518; ONL 6536.

²⁵² On the other hand this may be due to modern interpretation. For example, O. Ashmolean HO 195, an account of water deliveries (*rh* < .t > *n mw*) attributed to the reign of Rameses II (*KRI* VII, 197; Davies, *Who's who*, 10) contains a list of workmen, each seemingly bringing (*ini*) jars of water themselves instead of *smd.t* agents.

²⁵³ Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I, 67 mentions only the ostraca from the end of the 19th Dynasty.

BM 5635.²⁵⁴ This document dates to a year 4, and we can agree with Davies²⁵⁵ that this year fell in the reign of Merenptah, Seti II, or Amenmesses, based on the occurrence of Paneb as workman instead of foreman. All other names mentioned in the text are known from the middle of the 19th Dynasty, and it is impossible to propose a more precise date for the ostrakon.²⁵⁶ To complicate matters even further, we are not sure of the exact date of the supposed duty roster on O. Schaden 1. It is therefore not at all clear how far O. Schaden 1 and O. BM 5635 date apart. Whatever the precise date of O. BM 5635 is, it is clearly earlier than most other duty ostraca of the 19th Dynasty, which date mostly to the reign of Siptah.²⁵⁷ As such, it can be labelled an exceptional document, just as O. Schaden 1 is. As will be demonstrated below, ostraca like O. Schaden 1 are exceedingly rare. Hence we can state, if only with a large amount of restraint, that there is reason to believe that as early as the second half of the reign of Ramesses II and during the reigns of his immediate successors, duty rosters were recorded using identity marks and later using hieratic script.

In addition to O. Schaden 1, three other ostraca are composed in more or less the same format of the supposed duty roster. Like O. Schaden 1, they were deposited on the site of the workmen's huts near KV 10. The Valley of the Kings is perhaps not the first location where one would expect records of deliveries to have been deposited,²⁵⁸ but Ramesside delivery texts certainly have been discovered there. The current version of the *Deir el-Medina Database*²⁵⁹ lists 92 hieratic ostraca with a provenance in the Valley of the Kings that deal with deliveries, and in the previous chapter we have observed that to this number can be added several ostraca composed with marks. O. Schaden 1 and three similar ostraca might constitute additional records of this type. The three additional ostraca are O. Schaden 11, O. Schaden 13 and O. Schaden 15. The layout, palaeography and subject matter of these documents closely resemble that of O. Schaden 1 and it seems very likely that they were created by the very same author. Further evidence for this assumption is that fact that many sections on these ostraca were deliberately erased by the scribe of the document. Traces of erasure can also be detected on O. Schaden 1 in the upper and lower register. The first four marks in the upper register were clearly inscribed over traces of older marks, and signs or marks were also erased below marks ꜥ and ꜥ̄. In the second register of the column of mark ꜥ̄, traces of a depiction of an amphora are discernable, while sections of columns 8 – 11 were evidently wiped away by the scribe. The intentional erasure of signs suggests the ostrakon was reused.

The same suggestion of reuse is detected in O. Schaden 11. It is far less well preserved than O. Schaden 1 but the arrangement in columns is unmistakably similar. Apart from the semi-hieratic inscription on the obverse discussed above,²⁶⁰ we discern the following marks and signs:

²⁵⁴ Cf. Haring, 'Between Administrative Writing and Work Practice' (forthcoming), [4].

²⁵⁵ Davies, *Who's who*, 226 and n. 305.

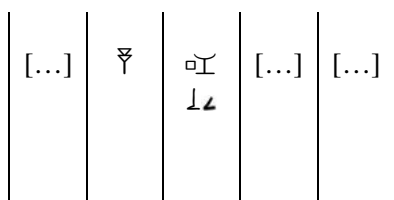
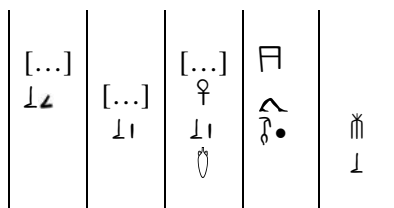
²⁵⁶ Assuming that the Heh in O. BM 5635 is Hehnakht (ii), the document would appear to be related to documents from the middle of the 19th Dynasty because he is recorded in the list of O. DeM 706 (second half reign Ramesses II) as well as in O. Fitzwilliam EGA 6119.1943 (late Ramesses II / Merenptah). On the other hand men such as Nebsemen, Penamun (iii) = (iv) and Qen are not attested until later in the 19th Dynasty.

²⁵⁷ Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 95-111.

²⁵⁸ E.g. Donker van Heel, 'Drafts', 1, where it is stated that delivery texts were mostly found in and around the village of Deir el-Medina.

²⁵⁹ Accessed on 24-3-2015.

²⁶⁰ See above, p. 449.

ObverseReverse

In the second column from the right on the reverse of the document a note about presence at the worksite is inscribed. Perhaps this column is to be understood as “*wrš* duty of workman [𐤔], who was present at the worksite, therefore substituted by workman [𐤔]”. A depiction of an amphora is added to the third column from the right, although it is not quite clear if an identity mark was added for the person who delivered it. It may be Anuy (ii), whose mark 𐤔 does feature in the same column. Indeed, traces of ink above his mark could represent the mark of the workman who performed the *wrš* duty on that day. But we encounter a number of other signs in this document. Between the amphora and the mark of Anuy (ii) signs 𐤔 can be read. They are also present in the column left of it, and we may assume that the signs 𐤔 and 𐤔 in other columns are variants of this group. We are immediately reminded of the duty and delivery ostraca composed with marks during the 20th Dynasty, which sometimes feature hieratic sign 𐤔 for <*w*> *d3.t* ‘deficit’, and it seems more than likely that the same reading is valid for O. Schaden 11. With the hieratic sign 𐤔 for *t*, the group 𐤔 is perfectly readable as such. If our understanding of these signs is correct, the ostrakon records the individual deficits of workmen. Very similar matters are documented in hieratic ostraca such as O. Ashmolean HO 116 and O. Ashmolean HO 87 from the reign of Ramesses II, which are accounts of the deficit of water.²⁶¹ One does of course wonder whether it is then still possible to interpret the workmen’s marks in the upper part of each column of O. Schaden 11 as men on *wrš* duty. Comparing O. Schaden 11 to O. Ashmolean HO 116 would make this seem unlikely. However, in O. Ashmolean HO 87 deficits are recorded for three different day numbers, days 14, 15 and 18, suggesting that our original interpretation of each column as a different day should at least be considered. Unfortunately our interpretation of O. Schaden 11 does not make the enigmatic hieratic inscription on the same piece any more clear, but the fact that it mentions *mst.y* sacks strengthens the idea that the ostrakon is concerned with the delivery of supplies.

Very similar to O. Schaden 11 is O. Schaden 15:

²⁶¹ Haring, ‘Document headings’, 141.

Obverse

[...] $\overline{\text{F}}$ [...]

 $\overline{\text{A}}$

 $\overline{\text{B}}$ [11]

 $\overline{\text{C}}$

Reverse

[...]	$\overline{\text{A}}$	$\overline{\text{B}}$	$\overline{\text{C}}$
	$\overline{\text{D}}$		
	$\overline{\text{E}}$		
	$\overline{\text{F}}$		

If our reading of the previous ostrakon is correct, we find in O. Schaden 15 another instance of the workman represented by mark $\overline{\text{F}}$ unable to perform his *wrš* duty as he was present at the worksite. The same information was probably inscribed in the third column from the right on the reverse, but these signs were erased by the scribe. No commodities are recorded in O. Schaden 15 and therefore we are not certain what sort of deficits are recorded.

O. Schaden 13 is evidently another document of the same type, but it is not well preserved. The obverse contains the following marks:

$\overline{\text{A}}$	[...]	[...]	[...]	$\overline{\text{B}}$	$\overline{\text{C}}$	$\overline{\text{D}}$	[...]
	///	///	///	$\overline{\text{E}}$	///	///	

10
 13
 25
 21

The ostrakon clearly underwent a lot of revision, because many of the column dividers have been erased, and smudges in the lower parts of the columns betray the presence of older signs and marks. A column of four hieratic numerals below the table is probably related to the deliveries the ostrakon once recorded, but their exact meaning is now obscure. The reverse of O. Schaden 13 may have once been inscribed according to the same design, but the column dividers have probably been erased. Remnants of the leftmost vertical line are still visible, and traces of ink below mark $\overline{\text{A}}$ are probably to be read as $\overline{\text{B}}$ for 'deficit'. Just below mark $\overline{\text{C}}$ another mark, perhaps $\overline{\text{D}}$ or $\overline{\text{E}}$, has been intentionally erased. The meaning of the three signs or perhaps rather shapes, above the columns is unknown.

We should here make mention of O. Schaden 44 as well. One side of this fragmentary ostrakon displays columns with workmen's marks in an order that closely resembles that of O. Schaden 1. In all probability these marks are listed here in an ordered sequence that either is earlier or later than that of O. Schaden 1:

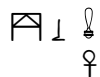
𐀀	𐀁	𐀂	𐀃	𐀄	𐀅	𐀆	𐀇	𐀈	𐀉
								[...]	
								[...]	
								[...]	

No additional signs or marks are visible below these marks, but in the column of 𐀇 some traces of ink are discernable. The other side of the ostrakon also suggests a link between O. Schaden 44 and the other four supposed journal texts composed with marks, as it displays the marks of two workmen of the left side, 𐀁 and 𐀃, as well as the depiction of an amphora and sign 𐀅.²⁶² O. Schaden 44 clearly demonstrates that the ostraca which we have here tentatively identified as journal texts composed with marks were reused, as evidenced by the traces of older column dividers.

Two very small ostraca fragments, O. Schaden 166 and ONL 6496 may be ostraca of the same type, as suggested by lines around the marks resembling a table. O. Schaden 166 is inscribed with 𐀉 and 𐀃 or 𐀁 and 𐀀, and would thus concern workmen of the left side as well. On ONL 6496 mark 𐀇 seems to be the rightmost mark. If our interpretation of this ostrakon as a journal text is correct that would mean that Siwadjet (ii) had moved up in the ordered list to occupy position 1.

5.3.2.3 Ostraca with workmen’s marks and depictions of objects and commodities



The ostraca from the previous category present identity marks in tables in combination with depictions of commodities and objects. Such depictions feature on other, often less elaborately inscribed ostraca as well that can be dated broadly to the 19th Dynasty. A date in this period is evident in some cases which feature marks that do not appear in the 20th Dynasty. The opposite is true as well: there is not a single ostrakon of this type that is inscribed with a mark that is attested in the 20th Dynasty exclusively. A more precise date within the 19th Dynasty cannot be offered in most cases because ostraca of this type generally feature only a small number of marks. One piece that probably dates in or close to the reign of Ramesses II is O. Schaden 162, because it contains particularly close parallels to signs inscribed on the ostraca examined above. These similarities are probably related to the fact that the ostrakon was discovered at the same site, and perhaps it was even created by the same author. The reverse of the ostrakon displays to the following signs and marks:













We now understand that these marks refer to workmen of the left side of the crew, and probably to a deficit of a commodity kept in a jar in a net. Going back to the reverse of O. Cairo JE 72462, we may be able to identify the sign 𐀁 for ‘deficit’ as well in the faint inscription in charcoal, possibly related to the depiction of a vessel perhaps for a delivery of water.






The sign for deficit is not present on ONL 6321 but this ostrakon is another clear example of the use of identity marks in combination with depictions of commodities to record deliveries. One side is inscribed with five identity marks of members of the left side next to









²⁶² We notice that on O. Schaden 1, mark 𐀁 was associated with the commodity represented by 𐀅 as well, but this could be a coincidence, more so since it is rather mark 𐀃 that is inscribed in the proximity of this object on O. Schaden 44.

the depiction of a large jar, . A similar jar is drawn on the other side in addition to hieratic numeral 780 and sign . The latter sign could be an indication of the destination of this order of jars, i.e. the right side of the crew, but it could also be an identity mark for another member of the left side, Nebimentet (i). If we are right in assuming that this ostrakon documents the delivery of 780 jars, it would not be hard to understand why five or six workmen were needed for this job.

Yet in many other instances it is not exactly clear what the purpose of the document is. A good example is ONL 6321, inscribed with the workman's mark  and signs ,  and  for commodities. The ostrakon is probably preserved in its entirety, and does not record a quantity for these goods. Are we to assume that ONL 6321 documents only one item of each commodity? Nor do we have information about the nature of these commodities and their destination. The ostrakon might document the involvement of one workmen in the delivery of the recorded items to the entire crew. But it is equally possible that the document is an order letter given to the workman at the beginning of his *wrš* duty, informing him of the goods he was to transfer to the community. Alternatively, the ostrakon might not have anything to do with deliveries and could document the commodities in the possession of the workman represented by . All three scenarios are plausible and there are no hieratic parallels that illuminate the matter.

That is rather unfortunate, because there are several more ostraca of this type, none of which we can interpret with certainty. Fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6225 for example displays nothing else but a drawing of an amphora  and mark . In some fortunate cases we are able to identify workman and commodity, as in ONL 6417 with mark  for Nakhtmin (iv) and twice a depicted jar  as a representation of an amphora with content, possibly water. On this ostrakon vertical strokes are added inside and next to the jars, probably to indicate their quantity. The same is done on O. Cairo JE 46861,²⁶³ while on ONL 6582 dots are added next to the depicted jars. ONL 850, an extremely small ostrakon measuring no more than c. 3 cm in width, is perhaps a similar document. One side is inscribed with what appears to be mark , while the other side displays a drawing of a jar and at least 11 strokes. Ostraca without marks that depict a jar with a set of strokes, such as ONL 6350, are probably records of a similar type.


The commodity represented by  features on several other, often fragmentary ostraca. On ONL 6648 it is seemingly inscribed in isolation on one side of a small limestone chip, while the other side displays three dots and a damaged sign. On ONL 6377 it is present together with hieratic numeral 'five' and what is probably workman's mark . The commodity is also connected with a workman's mark, , on ONL 6337 if we are correct in identifying sign  as an allomorph of .





On ONL 6413 five workmen's marks are inscribed, as are  and , and an object in the shape of . Perhaps this drawing represents a bundle of wood, or a brush. The same object appears to be depicted next to a jar shaped like  but without handles on ONL 6650, an ostrakon that may or may not have been inscribed with identity marks as well.²⁶⁴ The use of depictions of jars on ostraca ONL 342 and ONL 1314 has already been touched upon. In both ostraca dots and strokes are used to convey the quantity of the vessels. ONL 342 also depicts the commodity  and , in all probability some commodity or object as well. The same object is perhaps depicted in ONL 1314, although there upside down: . The sign next to mark  could be the hieratic numeral 20, but it is not clear whether it refers to the quantity of the vessel right of the mark, or to something else. This ambiguity is characteristic for the

²⁶³ Other unidentified objects or commodities are depicted on the reverse of this ostrakon.

²⁶⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 62, fig. 32.15.

entire ostrakon, as it is often unclear which mark is associated with which depiction. As to the purpose of ONL 1314 and ONL 342 we had already remarked that in the light of the hieratic accounts written on the same documents, the marks and objects could well represent an account of personal possessions in the case of ONL 342, and an account of the distribution of *ḥtri* deliveries in the case of ONL 1314.

The trapezoid shape  is also depicted on ONL 6313. Like the rectangular shape below it, vertical strokes are written inside its contours. In that respect both objects are similar to depictions of clothing on ostraca, and this may be a good moment to discuss such pieces. A few ostraca with depictions of items of clothing and other objects, often combined with series of dots or strokes, featured in the excavation reports of Bruyère.²⁶⁵ Janssen's suspicion that there might exist more ostraca of this type other than those made accessible through publications²⁶⁶ was correct. In the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology in Cairo similar, unpublished ostraca have been identified.²⁶⁷ Published ostraca with pictorial clothing lists were briefly discussed by Bruyère,²⁶⁸ and have since been the subject of a few minor studies. They were analysed by Vogelsang-Eastwood, who was able to identify loincloths, bag-tunics and sashes on these ostraca. The dots and strokes added to the depictions were thought to represent the quantity of a specific item.²⁶⁹ Janssen was more concerned with the significance of the dots and strokes, as well as with the purpose of these ostraca in general. He pointed out that some ostraca depict other objects besides clothing. In his opinion such ostraca belonged to a larger category of ostraca with representations of all sorts of objects.²⁷⁰ We can only agree with Janssen on the basis of our examination of ostraca with marks combined with the depiction of objects and commodities.

Coming back to ONL 6313, we may propose that  and the rectangular shape below it are cloths, with vertical strokes indicating their quantity.²⁷¹ The cloth in the shape of  is perhaps also depicted on ONL 6277 together with shawls and a tunic.²⁷² On ONL 6313 at least four workmen's marks are inscribed in a column right of these two items. Left of each mark strokes are inscribed as well. The ostrakon is incomplete and therefore it is difficult to determine whether the total number of strokes next to the marks corresponds to the total number of strokes added to the cloths, but it is conceivable that the ostrakon records the distribution of two different types of cloths among a group of workmen. The hypothesis that the signs on the obverse are representations of cloths is supported by the inscription on the reverse, which displays the depiction of three pairs of sandals, items belonging to the realm of clothing as well. ONL 6277 resembles O. UC 33252, which also features depictions of items of clothing. Three cloths in the shape of  appear to be shawls, right of which two pairs of sandals are depicted. An indefinable shape at the lower part of the ostrakon is perhaps another cloth. Underneath the sandals mark  is depicted, perhaps for the owner of the depicted items.

²⁶⁵ Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1922-1923)*. FIFAO 1.1 (Cairo 1924), fig. 17; Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, fig. 32; Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII. Note that Bruyère, *Rapport 1922-1923*, fig. 17.b = Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, fig. 32.5; Bruyère, *Rapport 1922-1923*, fig. 17.c = Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, fig. 32.4.

²⁶⁶ Jac. J. Janssen, 'Pictorial clothing lists on Deir el-Medīna ostraca' *GM* 131 (1992), 55-56.

²⁶⁷ To the same category of ostraca belong ONL 6211, ONL 6231, ONL 6234, ONL 6286, ONL 6645, ONL 6652, ONL 6653, ONL 6664, ONL 6665, ONL 6673, ONL 6677 and ONL 6681. O. UC 31992 is not kept in the IFAO but depicts items of clothing as well as pieces of furniture and two human figures, see <http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk>.

²⁶⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport 1922-1923*, 69; Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, 61-63.

²⁶⁹ Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 'Deciphering a pictorial clothing list' *GM* 128 (1992), 105 and *passim*.

²⁷⁰ Janssen, 'Pictorial clothing lists', 56-57.

²⁷¹ Perhaps comparable as well is ONL 6667, inscribed with 19 squares with four dots inside of each shape.

²⁷² Depicted (upside down) in Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, 62, fig. 32.2.



FIGURE 19. ONL 6263, AFTER BRUYÈRE, *RAPPORT 1934-1935 II*, 62, FIG. 32.7

On ONL 6277 we observe left of the sandals signs ☉ and ☽. It is not quite obvious what these drawings represent, but perhaps they are loaves of bread. That is suggested by ONL 6285,²⁷³ which displays depictions of a head rest, two pairs of sandals, as well as what appear to be loaves of bread. One loaf is round and the other is somewhat T-shaped. Both loaves have markings in the middle. A comparable combination of clothing and loaves of bread is attested on ONL 6263 (FIG. 19), which depicts two items of clothing, a jar, two rounded loaves, a T-shaped bread, and triangular-shaped loaves that look like sign Δ . The latter type of bread could be Δ $\overline{\text{t}}$ hd ‘white bread’, well attested at Deir el-Medina.²⁷⁴ The drawing of ☉ could represent a type of round loaf decorated with circles and dots in the centre formed by piercing and cutting the dough, which has been found in tombs at Deir el-Medina.²⁷⁵ Specimens of bread in the shape of ☽ have been discovered as well,²⁷⁶ and a T-shaped loaf was part of the funerary equipment of the burial of Kha.²⁷⁷ It thus seems that the ostraca with depictions of items of clothing are different from the numerous hieratic laundry lists that are known from Deir el-Medina. These hieratic texts record the items of clothing that a household would send with a laundryman to be cleaned. Related documents are plain lists enumerating different types of garments, analysed by Janssen.²⁷⁸ Such lists are only occasionally given the heading ‘list of garments’. Most frequently attested are kilts, loincloths, shawls, underpants, sleeves and tunics. Unlike the ostraca that depict garments as well as identity marks, the hieratic laundry lists – logically – do not mention sandals or loaves of bread.²⁷⁹ The ostraca with depictions of garments are more akin to hieratic documents such as O. DeM 242, O. Brunner, O. Turin N. 57261 and O. DeM 131. These ostraca record items such as textile, bread and sandals that were sent, paid, or to be paid to someone. There appear to be no pictorial lists of garments exclusively that are also inscribed with workmen’s marks.

There are several more ostraca with small depictions of different types of loaves of bread,²⁸⁰ sometimes in combination with series of dots or strokes,²⁸¹ or together with

²⁷³ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII.

²⁷⁴ Jac. J. Janssen, ‘The daily bread. A contribution to the study of the ancient Egyptian diet’ *BES* 13 (1997), 25-26; 36.

²⁷⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, fig. 52, lower row; for specimens from the tomb of Kha (TT 1) see Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Egyptian Civilization. Daily Life* (Turin 1988), fig. 61.

²⁷⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 II*, fig. 52, left, middle row.


²⁷⁷ Schiaparelli, *La tomba*, 151, fig. 135, centre.




²⁷⁸ Jac. J. Janssen and Rosalind M. Janssen, ‘The Laundrymen of the Theban Necropolis’ *AO* 70.1 (2002), 8-9.




















²⁷⁹ One exception perhaps is O. DeM 551, which also makes mention of items such as incense, leather, flowers, bread and paint which were delivered to the village by a laundryman, see Janssen and Janssen, ‘The Laundrymen’, 10. Importantly, however, this text does not concern the washing of garments.

²⁸⁰ ONL 6493.

²⁸¹ ONL 6672.

depictions of vessels.²⁸² A neatly organised roster inscribed with ink on O. DeM 3348 + O. IFAO C 294²⁸³ contains depictions of amphorae as well, and the document has every appearance of an administrative document. A very detailed ostrakon is ONL 6663, which depicts a variety of items among which are a pair of sandals, a bundle of some sort, the object shaped as , and perhaps loaves of bread.²⁸⁴ None of these ostraca contain any workmen's marks. This could mean that the depicted items belonged to the owner of the ostrakon himself, or that the items were yet to be distributed among workmen.

Workmen's marks are inscribed on ONL 6221, a document which is divided into at least five different compartments. Each compartment contains at least one workman's mark as well as a depiction of an amphora with a series of dots within its contours. The upper right section contains besides an amphora the sign , with below it a circle and the hieratic numeral 'ten'. The last two signs can be read as *sw* 10 'day 10', but in that case one does wonder why no date is added to the other compartments. Perhaps the circle is instead a depiction of a loaf of bread with a numeral to record its quantity. The depiction of  in the compartment below it, which is not accompanied by a numeral, would then represent a different type of bread. Two sections also display , probably some sort of object, the nature of which escapes us. As to the meaning of the ostrakon as a whole, we may best interpret this ostrakon as a record of the distribution of goods among different workmen.

An interpretation of O. Cairo JE 96334 is more complicated. In its current fragmentary state it contains but one mark, , belonging to a workman whom we have not been able to identify. The convex side of the ostrakon is inscribed with rows of dots and rows of strokes that are not evidently connected with workmen's marks or objects. On the concave side we encounter a plethora of objects and commodities represented by small drawings. Some of them are easily identified, such as a large amphora  with the hieratic numeral 'five' within its contours probably indicating its quantity. There are several circular and lenticular shapes, , , , and , which probably represent different types of bread. Other shapes are less well defined or have not been identified yet. Two triangular shapes  are perhaps representations of dates as in the 20th Dynasty delivery texts composed with marks. On the right end of the ostrakon a larger triangle is possibly an undergarment, while a depiction right of it could be a wooden chest. What  and  refer to is not evident, but in the context of the rest of the document it seems likely that they are different sorts of bread, or perhaps items of furniture. Alternatively,  is perhaps a depiction of a piece of meat with ribs. Hieratic numerals ('1'; '3'; '10'; '11') are written to the right of some of the objects and commodities. Remarkably, the scribe made a mistake in the writing of , which he rendered as , and we might take this as an indication of the scribe's lack of proficiency in hieratic script. In the right upper corner O. Cairo JE 96334 displays sign, , a chisel or drill. At least six but probably more vertical strokes were inscribed to the right of it. Below the chisel we see , with seven vertical strokes below it. Whether it is to be read as *nb* 'each' is not clear, as it does not seem likely that each workman received seven chisels. The sign may therefore be a reference to actual baskets. In favour of this interpretation is ONL 6318, inscribed with mark  and , as well as two drawings of  and a shape that is tentatively identifiable as a jar in the shape of . If that interpretation is correct  is best taken as a depiction of a basket or bowl.²⁸⁵

²⁸² O. IFAO C 7567; O. IFAO Inv. 6228 (= Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 62, fig. 32.16); perhaps also ONL 6245; ONL 6265; ONL 6252 (= Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 62, fig. 32.17).

²⁸³ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935* II, 62, fig. 32.12-13; Gasse, *Ostraca Figurés*, 46, pl. XXXVI.

²⁸⁴ A comparable ostrakon is ONL 6647.

²⁸⁵ Compare also ONL 6517 and ONL 335, see above, 5.3.1.

O. Cairo JE 96334 thus deals with a great variety of different objects, including food, liquids, basketry, tools, and perhaps clothing. Since only a single workman's mark is written on this piece one might think the document to be an inventory of items in the possession of one individual. Yet, the ostrakon includes at least six chisels. These tools were state property and were distributed to the workmen by the administration.²⁸⁶ Their presence on this ostrakon would therefore seem to indicate that it is concerned with a distribution of objects and commodities, although the recipients have not (yet?) been added.

Chisels have also been drawn on other ostraca with workmen's marks, and therefore they deserve a bit more of our attention. Hieratic necropolis documents refer to two types of tools that may be described as 'chisels'. According to Janssen there is the *ḥz* 'spike' used for "splitting stone", and there is the *mdz.t*, a smaller "mortising chisel".²⁸⁷ Unfortunately it is not quite clear to which tool \perp refers exactly. We may propose to identify it as the *mdz.t*, which, as opposed to the *ḥz*, had a wooden handle that could correspond to the upper element in the depiction of \perp .²⁸⁸ The drawing of a chisel appears on ONL 6338 together with nine workmen's marks, referring to workmen who were active during the reign of Ramesses II. Mark 𓆎 is probably used for Neferrenpet (ii) who is known to have been a sculptor,²⁸⁹ and he would therefore have used a chisel on a daily basis. The other identity marks, however, could well refer to regular workmen, and indeed Wennefer (ii) with 𓆏 and Buqentuef (i) with 𓆐 are not attested as sculptors. ONL 6338 nevertheless suggests that these men were given a chisel, and even though these workmen may not have been specialists it is well conceivable that they were involved in the process of excavating the royal tomb. On two other ostraca, ONL 6366 and ONL 6271, a single identity mark is juxtaposed with \perp . ONL 6271 displays mark 𓆑 , an allomorph of 𓆒 , here perhaps for Amenemwia (i), who was a regular workman. The mark on ONL 6366, if it is indeed correctly classified as such, is 𓆓 , perhaps an allomorph of 𓆔 . We cannot ascertain the date of these ostraca, but since the only securely dated ostraca with \perp are from the 19th Dynasty, a date in this period is plausible. There is a possibility that fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6411, inscribed with at least five marks, also contains a sign for a chisel but of a different shape. Rather than \perp with the handle up, this sign could depict a chisel with the handle down. The identification of the drawing as a chisel is nevertheless tentative because it is not completely preserved, and might also be an identity mark such as 𓆕 . Ostraca ONL 6411 and ONL 6338 are probably similar to hieratic records of the issue of copper tools,²⁹⁰ but ONL 6366 and ONL 6271, each with a single mark, are different. They could constitute brief notes about the issue of a chisel to a single workman, or perhaps these small ostraca are the countermarks submitted by workmen in exchange for a chisel according to a theory of Grandet and Dorn.²⁹¹ The findspots of both pieces in the Kom Sud and the Grand Puits respectively does not shed much light on the matter. The only objection one may raise to the latter idea is that one would expect to have more of such pieces since great numbers of workmen would need countermarks if they had existed.²⁹²

A final category of ostraca with marks we encounter are pieces with depictions of fish.

²⁸⁶ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 312.

²⁸⁷ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 312-313.

²⁸⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 318.

²⁸⁹ Davies, *Who's who*, 183.

²⁹⁰ Examples from the 19th Dynasty are O. Cairo CG 25828 (attributed to the first half of the 19th Dynasty); O. Cairo CG 25509 (attributed to reign of Seti II); O. Cairo CG 25811 (attributed to the end of the 19th Dynasty). A 19th Dynasty hieratic ostrakon documenting the issue of chisels to a group of workmen was reportedly also discovered in the area of the workmen's huts near KV 10, see www.kv-10.com, summary of excavation season 2004.

²⁹¹ Grandet, *Ostraca hiératiques* VIII, 4; Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 142-143.

²⁹² See also chapter 4, 4.3.3.4.

ONL 6533 is inscribed with two marks, AA and A , below which a small fish is drawn. The ostrakon is incompletely preserved and traces of ink suggest that a third mark may have been inscribed on the right half of the ostrakon where the hind part of a fish is still visible. The fish is very schematically drawn and it is not possible to define the species. It does not appear to have been the scribe's intent to depict a particular type of fish, but rather he wanted to convey that specific workmen had a connection to some sort of fish in general. What this connection is, is difficult to determine. If the ostrakon was a record of deliveries we would expect the quantities of fish to have been specified. The same problem arises when we categorise the ostrakon as an account of a distribution of goods among the workmen. Still our ostrakon is very likely to be either an account of deliveries or of distribution. We can only suggest that the quantities of fish were to be specified at a later stage.

Three other ostraca also display a depiction of a fish but are inscribed with a single workman's mark. Two of these pieces were published in drawing by Bruyère.²⁹³ The most elaborate of the two displays a sketch of a fish that can be identified as *Synodontis* (schall), wh^c in Egyptian. It appears to have been referred to as s^3r on weights.²⁹⁴ Just below it mark A for Anuy (i) is depicted, and the vertical lines in front of it may be read as ||s , probably an abbreviation for s^3r , in the exact same fashion as on a weight inscribed with a hieratic inscription from Deir el-Medina.²⁹⁵ In the upper right corner sign \angle is inscribed, which is not an identity mark because it is nowhere attested as such. The same mark features also on the other ostrakon in Bruyère's publication, in combination with the depiction of a similar s^3r fish and mark A . It is also added to ONL 6545, with a depiction of possibly the same type of fish as well as mark A . It is quite unclear what the meaning of this sign is, but we do get the impression that the previous three ostraca are weights. They are all limestone chunks, probably of considerable size. Weights with hieratic and sometimes hieroglyphic inscriptions that also depict the type of fish the weight was used for are well known from Deir el-Medina.²⁹⁶ Personalised weights inscribed with proper names are also found in large numbers.²⁹⁷ Examples of weights with both a name as well as a depiction of a fish are also known.²⁹⁸ Therefore, on the three pieces discussed above the depicted fish can only specify the type of fish against which the piece was weighed, while the identity mark indicates the owner of the weight. This interpretation does not immediately answer the question as to what the meaning of sign \angle is. One is tempted to take the sign as a measure of the weight of the piece, normally expressed in *dbn*, but it is impossible to read the sign as the hieratic sign for = . It does resemble the hieratic sign A , which designates half an oipe, but this unit is used for the measure of volume. The sign remains therefore problematic, and a comparison with weights inscribed with hieratic is not elucidating.

5.3.2.4 Name stones

A total of fourteen complete ostraca are inscribed with a single identity mark. Some can be attributed to the 19th Dynasty on account of their provenance, while others feature a mark that it not attested in other periods. Like ostraca from other periods with a single mark, the pieces are best interpreted as so-called name stones.²⁹⁹ The marks on these pieces were inscribed in different ways, using red ink, black ink, or charcoal. Name stones with marks were recovered

²⁹³ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII, bottom right.

²⁹⁴ Janssen, *Village Varia*, 49 and n. 90; Černý, 'Deux noms de poisson', 35-37.

²⁹⁵ Černý, 'Deux noms de poisson', 35-36 and fig. 1.

²⁹⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1931-1932*, 90, fig. 60; Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935 III*, 220, fig. 108.

²⁹⁷ Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, *passim*.

²⁹⁸ E.g. Weight DeM 5229 with the depiction of a fish below the hieratic name of Paser, see Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, pl. 31-31a.

²⁹⁹ We have explored the purpose of such objects in chapter 4, 4.3.3.4.

at the site of workmen's huts in the Valley of the Kings. Four name stones with marks were discovered at the settlement of the workmen's huts near KV 10 and one at the settlement at the *Station du Col*.

O. Schaden 6	♀
O. Schaden 35	☞
O. Schaden 121	♀
O. Schaden 133	☰
O. WHTM 808	☰ ☱

O. Schaden 6 and O. Schaden 121 are both inscribed with the same mark. It would seem that the workmen's huts near KV 10 were used over a longer period of time so it is possible that one piece was used by Anuy (ii), active in the reign of Ramesses II, and the other by one of his successors.

The other nine ostraca must have been discovered in the village and its vicinity. Like their exact provenance, their date is not always very clear. In five instances the piece was found somewhere in or near Deir el-Medina. The other four ostraca were recovered from the Grand Puits, which does not tell us much about their purpose. ONL 6270 and ONL 6418 are stones of considerable size, and may well have functioned in the same way as hieratic name stones.³⁰⁰

ONL 6270	⌘†
ONL 6351	⌘
ONL 6391	⌘†
ONL 6393	⌘‡
ONL 6418	⌘†
ONL 6559	⌘⌘
ONL 6571	☉
ONL 6573	○☉
ONL 6642	☰

We had already discussed some of the 19th Dynasty name stones above, and it was pointed out that ONL 6418 may have been used as a stone in the construction of the tomb of Sennedjem. ONL 6573 is incompletely preserved, and signs ○☉ may refer there to workman (P)rehotep (i) or (iii). Perhaps an allomorph of this mark is ☉, attested on ONL 6571, although that is far from certain. The date of another name stone, ONL 6642 is not entirely clear. Mark ☰ occurs in the 18th and 20th Dynasty as well, but the particular specimen on ONL 6642 is very reminiscent of the specimens of the same mark on O. Hawass and name stone O. Schaden 133.

There are numerous other ostraca inscribed with only one identity mark, which are difficult to date without proper context. One example is ONL 1383, the meaning of which is not very evident. The ostrakon is inscribed with sign † followed by the hieratic group ☞. Together the signs make little sense, and no name Nefershedu is attested elsewhere. We are therefore not even sure about the date of ONL 1383, although mark † does occur in the 19th Dynasty.³⁰¹ Two more fragmentary ostraca should be considered as possible name stones. O. Cilli 23a is perhaps a name stone with an elaborate form of mark ☉, while ONL 6387 could be inscribed with mark ⌘⌘.

³⁰⁰ Ibidem.

³⁰¹ See also above, p. 412, n. 56.

5.3.3 Analysis of lay-out

The 19th Dynasty ostraca inscribed with workmen's marks can be classified on the basis of their lay-out. The majority of the distinguished categories are attested both in the Valley of the Kings as well as at the village of Deir el-Medina. Like the ostraca from the 20th Dynasty we see that a very strict differentiation of the lay-out does not result in an overview of documents with a different function. The lay-out of ostraca with workmen's marks is very fluid and in many cases the scribe did not follow a standardised template. Even a division into ostraca with columns of marks and rows of marks is not necessarily meaningful, and we shall see that 19th Dynasty ordered name lists composed with marks occur in columns as well as in rows. A case in point is ONL 6479. The reverse of this piece is the only 19th Dynasty document that lists marks one above the other, each with a hieratic numeral underneath. In an earlier discussion of this piece we have seen that it is related to three other ostraca of a different lay-out. The marks on ONL 6479 are arranged in a column, but it appears to belong to a group of ostraca that record rows of marks in combination with hieratic numerals.³⁰² Hence it should be remembered that the following overview is nothing more than an examination of the different ways in which marks are arranged on ostraca during the 19th Dynasty, and in many instances it will not be representative of different types of documents. An analysis of the different forms of lay-out is still deemed useful for dating purposes, as it will be demonstrated that some compositions are typical for the 19th Dynasty.

5.3.3.1 Ostraca with columns of marks

Strictly speaking 19th Dynasty ostraca with workmen's marks arranged in columns of marks can be divided into 10 different classes:

- Ostraca with columns of marks without additional signs (16)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with vertical strokes to the left (2)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with vertical strokes to the left and underneath (1)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with vertical strokes to the right (1)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with vertical strokes and hieratic signs for 'presence' to the right (1)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with vertical strokes to the left and depictions of objects (1)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with dots to the left (1)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with dots to the right and left (2)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with dots above and to the right (1)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with dots inside, underneath and above (1)
- Ostraca with columns of marks with hieratic numerals underneath (1)

The small number of ostraca that constitute each class indicates that they are probably artificial and do not reflect authentic differences in document types. We shall therefore divide the ostraca in broader categories.

Ostraca with columns of marks without additional signs

Sixteen ostraca are inscribed with marks that are arranged – more or less – in columns. They were discovered at the village as well as in the Valley of the Kings. Three ostraca, ONL 6528, ONL 6292 and ONL 6674, display a sequence of marks that approaches that of O. Schaden 16 and can be said to have been composed in an ordered sequence. The same could be true for ONL 6280, which partially conforms to the sequence of ONL 6526. Two of these four ostraca

³⁰² See below, p. 472.

are completely preserved, and as their total number of marks does not approach 20 it is safe to state that they do not document an entire side of the crew. Therefore they cannot have functioned as master name-lists in the same way O. BM 5634 and O. DeM 706 might have.³⁰³ Perhaps they are records of the workmen who were present at the worksite at a particular day. Alternatively they may not be related to official administration at all, although their adherence to the ordered sequence would suggest this.

The other ostraca with columns of workmen's marks do not feature a known ordered sequence, and their purpose is difficult to ascertain. In fact, the marks on O. Cairo JE 96327 and ONL 6218 are hardly arranged in neat columns, while the marks inscribed on O. Schaden 105 are very unclear. We have already had a look at some of the other ostraca in this category. On the basis of the hieratic inscription on the obverse of O. Ashmolean HO 810, we proposed that the rows of marks on the reverse could represent groups of workmen associated with different day-dates. The ostrakon may perhaps have recorded absence at work. O. OIM 25356 is inscribed with marks of members of the right and left side of the crew and seems to be related to deliveries to the crew. The remaining ostraca are difficult to interpret. O. Brock 33 could be a list of workmen belonging to the right side of the crew, while O. ARTP 99/44 seems to record members of the left side exclusively. ONL 6347 and ONL 6419 include workmen of both sides. ONL 6433, ONL 6274 and ONL 6325 are rather fragmentary pieces.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with vertical strokes

No more than four ostraca, one from the settlement of huts near KV 10, two from the village of Deir el-Medina and one of unknown provenance, combine columns of marks with vertical strokes. In each case the number of strokes connected with a particular mark does not exceed three. The marks on O. Schaden 74 are arranged according to their relative position within the ordered list, and one or two strokes are added to them. As such the ostrakon could be an administrative document recording the distribution of grain among a group of workmen, the strokes representing *oipe*,³⁰⁴ or an account of water supplies wherein each stroke stands for an amphora of water.³⁰⁵ O. Ashmolean HO 1103 may also follow an ordered sequence because the order of marks is similar to that of O. ARTP 99/44. The former ostrakon displays three columns of marks, which are separated from each other by column dividers. Each mark appears to be connected with one, perhaps two or three strokes and therefore we may interpret it in the same ways as O. Schaden 74.

The marks on ONL 6535 are very unclear but each individual is connected with one or three strokes. The ostrakon could be of the same type as O. Schaden 74 as well. O. Cairo JE 46859 is perhaps a similar document. The identity marks are possibly those of the foremen and deputies of the crew. This is perhaps also reflected in the fact that the number of strokes associated with a single mark is higher: two or three, as opposed to one or two in O. Schaden 74. There is no evidently meaningful difference between the placement of strokes underneath or to the left of a mark on this document.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with vertical strokes and hieratic signs for 'presence'

Although poorly preserved, O. Cilli 291 seems to be a record of attendance at the worksite in which workmen's marks are combined with sign \sphericalangle *iw* for 'attendance'. Hieratic records of this type are well attested. Our interpretation of O. Cilli 291 finds some support in the fact that it was discovered in the Valley of the Kings near tomb KV 47.

³⁰³ Donker van Heel, 'Drafts', 18-21.

³⁰⁴ Compare e.g. 19th Dynasty hieratic ostrakon O. IFAO 1086 (see Černý NB 110.54), a list of workmen and their portions of grain, each receiving either one or two *oipe*.

³⁰⁵ Compare e.g. 19th Dynasty hieratic ostrakon O. Ashmolean HO 195, a list of workmen each 'bringing' one, two or three water jars.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with vertical strokes and depictions of objects

Only one example of this category of ostraca is known: ONL 6313, discovered in the Grand Puits near the village of Deir el-Medina. The four workmen's marks in this document are not listed in accordance with any known ordered sequence. As discussed above, the ostrakon might be a record of the distribution of cloths among workmen.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with dots

We count five ostraca of this type, all discovered in the village of Deir el-Medina. Two clear examples are ONL 6488 and ONL 6526. The former ostrakon makes a rather disorganised impression at first sight. We have seen, however, that the sequence of marks inscribed on this piece is related to the ordered list. That is also true for ONL 6526. Another common factor is the large number of marks, and it is well possible that the documents record one complete side of the crew. We can only guess as to the meaning of the dots, written in the same colour of ink as the marks. They are added to the greater majority of the marks and could therefore be check marks, possibly recording attendance at the worksite.

The marks on ONL 6522 are therefore probably of a different nature. They are not arranged in an ordered sequence, and the dots are unlikely to be check marks because more than one is added to at least one mark. The fragmentary state of the ostrakon prevents us from fully comprehending it. Ostraca ONL 6505 and ONL 6500 are only barely better preserved. These marks do not appear in an ordered sequence and are connected with one, two or three dots and their meaning is obscure. The ostraca could be records of the distribution of goods but for all we know the dots count something else than commodities. The ostraca do not have a much organised appearance, yet it is theoretically possible that the documents note the number of days a group of workmen had worked.

Ostraca with columns of marks and with hieratic numerals underneath

Only the reverse of ONL 6479 falls into this category and as pointed out earlier this document, probably a record of deliveries, is closely related to delivery texts.

5.3.3.2 Ostraca with rows of marks

An arrangement of marks in rows is more frequent in the 19th Dynasty than arrangements in columns. This stands in analogy with hieratic accounts of grain rations and records of absence of the same period, which are more often written in continuous lines than in columns.³⁰⁶

A close analysis distinguishes the following categories:

- Ostraca with rows of marks without additional signs (34)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with hieratic numerals to the left (5)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with hieratic numerals and dots to the left (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with vertical strokes to the right (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with vertical strokes to the left (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with vertical strokes underneath (6)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with vertical strokes underneath and to the right (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with vertical and horizontal strokes above and underneath (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with vertical strokes and hieratic signs for 'presence' (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with dots underneath (2)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with dots to the left (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with dots above (3)

³⁰⁶ Haring, 'Document headings', 136; 145.

- Ostraca with rows of marks with dots above and underneath, to the right and left (2)
- Ostraca with rows of marks with dots and vertical strokes above (1)
- Ostraca with rows of marks in a table (7)

Once more it is apparent that the lay-out of ostraca with marks is rather flexible, and the position of strokes, dots and numerals added to the workmen's marks differs from ostrakon to ostrakon. A classification in broader categories is therefore justified.

Ostraca with rows of marks without additional signs

We can tentatively place 34 ostraca in this category. The majority of these pieces were found at the village of Deir el-Medina, but at least eight documents came from the Valley of the Kings. A few ostraca are arranged in an ordered sequence that is attested on other pieces. A clear example is O. Schaden 145, inscribed with marks of members of the left side of the crew. The ostrakon is however incompletely preserved, and it is possible that it once displayed a table with marks along the lines of several other ostraca from the settlement of huts near KV 10, which we have interpreted as journal texts. Three rather fragmentary ostraca, O. Cilli 336, ONL 6476 and ONL 6543, record a sequence of marks that is associated with the right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses II. The purpose of these small pieces is unclear but must probably lie in the administrative domain. Ostraca ONL 6215, ONL 6324, ONL 6445 and perhaps ONL 871 and ONL 6395 also list marks in an order comparable to sequences that are attested elsewhere and which are suggestive of an ordered sequence. The latter two ostraca are very fragmentary, but the first piece is preserved in its entirety. It is inscribed with the marks of only a small portion of what is probably the left side of the crew, and the function of the document is not immediately evident. The use of an ordered sequence does allude to an administrative use, and the ostrakon may be a list of workmen who were present or absent.

As far as we can tell, there does not appear to be a difference between ostraca with an ordered list of marks arranged in columns and ostraca with rows of marks in an ordered sequence. Nor can such a distinction be made for ostraca with marks, in columns or in rows, which do not adhere to an ordered sequence. There are numerous examples of these documents. Some record only the marks of members of one particular side. ONL 6467, O. IFAO C 7641, ONL 6412 and O. Schaden 75 all probably record workmen of the left side, while ONL 6476 and ONL 6479 most likely contain marks of members of the right side exclusively. We can therefore probably label these pieces as administrative documents, despite their fragmentary nature and the fact that the marks are not arranged in an ordered sequence. We had seen above that the four marks on O. Schaden 96 are those of workmen of the left, but their connection with the hieratic inscription that identifies the piece as a weight of spikes for the right side is utterly unclear.

Other ostraca in this category, such as ONL 6374 and O. Turin S. 6863 do not seem to make the distinction between the two sides of the crew. The remaining ostraca,³⁰⁷ mostly from the village of Deir el-Medina, are small incomplete documents that are difficult to interpret. Three additional ostraca might need to be classified differently. One of them is ONL 6459, with marks that are only faintly visible. Not all signs are discernable and therefore the meaning of the ostrakon escapes us. The fact that some marks recur in different lines suggests that each line records a different event, perhaps deliveries made on a specific day. O. Schaden 135 is also problematic. It appears to be inscribed with repetitions of one and the same mark, Ψ , and is therefore perhaps better interpreted as a name stone. But doubt is cast

³⁰⁷ ONL 950; ONL 6279; ONL 6306; ONL 6367 (with a sequence comparable to ONL 6404); ONL 6404 (with a sequence comparable to ONL 6367); ONL 6431; ONL 6447; ONL 6471; O. Schaden 152; O. Schaden 153; O. Turin S. 9654.

upon this suggestion when we compare O. Schaden 135 to O. Cairo JE 72500. The latter ostrakon contains at least four lines with repetitions of mark Δ , but also features other marks as well as one unidentified sign or mark. The meaning of the ostrakon is highly enigmatic and might need to be sought outside of the administrative domain.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with hieratic numerals

It is not completely clear if the marks on damaged ostrakon O. Cairo JE 96352 are arranged in rows or in columns, but there is no doubt that the right half of the ostrakon that is now lost contained more marks. We shall list this piece here, together with the reverse of ONL 6479 with marks arranged in a column, as they are clearly related to the other ostraca in this category. These other documents are ONL 6536 and ONL 6518. All four documents, above examined in detail,³⁰⁸ appear to be records of men involved in the delivery of goods, probably wood. These men are designated by identity marks that occur on other ostraca among the identity marks of workmen of the crew. The precise status of the men is unclear, but they were apparently also employed in the transport of commodities.

ONL 6491+ may be explained in the same way. It contains at least three lines which records events in which five workmen of the left side of the crew were involved, referred to by marks Υ , 𐀓 , 𐀔 , 𐀕 and 𐀖 . Four of these marks occur twice, suggesting that each line documents a different event. Each mark is connected with a hieratic numeral, either '10' or '12', suggesting ONL 6491+ is a record of the delivery of one particular commodity over the course of three different points in time, perhaps three days.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with hieratic numerals and dots

ONL 6492 is the only ostrakon that belongs to this category. It is very fragmentary and therefore its meaning is uncertain. Left of mark 𐀗 hieratic numeral six is inscribed, below which two dots were added in the same ink. The placement of the two dots below the numeral may have been necessary because the scribe appears to have reached the left edge of the ostrakon. It is therefore possible that we should read the two dots as *oipe* and the hieratic numeral 'six' as an amount of *khar*. The ostrakon could then be an account of grain rations, but this is nothing more than a tentative reading.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with vertical strokes

Nine ostraca of this description can be recognised. We have already referred to one of them, O. Schaden 16, on many different occasions because of the ordered sequence with which it is inscribed. Indeed, this piece probably documents the entire left side during the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. Underneath each mark two or three vertical strokes were added, but like many other ostraca from the settlement of huts near KV 10, the scribe purposely erased sections of the document. Some of the erased strokes are still visible and it is often difficult to ascertain if a stroke was erased or whether the ink has simply faded away. We can therefore not determine if the semi-hieratic numeral inscribed on the lower half of the ostrakon records the total of the strokes added to individual workmen, but this does seem likely. We may confidently label the numeral as semi-hieratic, because it consists of the sign for the numeral '20', right of which six vertical strokes are added. Together the inscription is likely to be read as '26', but in a proper hieratic text the numeral '6' would have been written with a single sign placed right of the numeral '20'.³⁰⁹ The meaning of the 12 or more dots on the left end of the ostrakon is unclear. We have no clear indication of the purpose of O. Schaden 16, but

³⁰⁸ See above, 5.2.2.3.

³⁰⁹ This may be another indication that O. Schaden 16 was produced by the same 'scribe' who was to a limited extent acquainted with hieratic script and may have created the majority of the ostraca with marks from the settlement near KV 10.

since it is an ordered list of workmen it is likely that the ostrakon was created as part of the collective tomb administration. The number of strokes, two or three per mark, can be interpreted as hieratic numerals. What is being counted is uncertain, but the amounts are similar to those recorded in 19th Dynasty accounts of grain rations and water deliveries.³¹⁰

ONL 6406 could be a document of the same type. Its marks are difficult to discern but their sequence is comparable to that of O. Schaden 1. The exact number of strokes added to each mark cannot be ascertained either. Similarly difficult to read but probably of the same type is O. Schaden 93, which may document members of the left side exclusively, each connected with one, two or three strokes.

Another much discussed ostrakon in this category is O. Hawass. As we have seen, it appears to adhere in part to the ordered sequence of the right side of the crew during the reign of Ramesses II but could well have been inscribed with marks of members of the left side as well. To almost every mark two vertical strokes are added, while there are two marks with only one stroke. Remarkably, marks Δ and 𐀓 were not connected with strokes. This ostrakon may therefore be of a different nature than O. Schaden 16. Alternatively, these two individuals may for some reason have been exempted from the task of transporting commodities, or did not receive any. Associated with O. Hawass is O. Cairo JE 96336, which may well document the ordered sequence of the right side during the same period. As in O. Hawass, a stroke was added to only a few of the workmen's marks. It is absent for the first three workmen. Since O. Cairo JE 96336 probably displays an ordered list, the first three marks represent the most senior workmen of the right side. Considering our tentative interpretation of 19th Dynasty ostraca with lists of marks connected with a small number of dots or strokes, the explanation of these documents as accounts of water deliveries along the lines of hieratic ostrakon O. Ashmolean HO 195 is perhaps the most plausible. It is conceivable that the older workmen of the crew were influential enough to be excluded from such menial tasks. O. Hawass, in which no stroke was added to the mark of Neferabet (i), situated in the fourth position in the list of O. BM 5634, and to the mark of the scribe of the crew, could be interpreted in the very same way. The only unsolved problem with this suggestion is that it does not explain why these men, not involved in any deliveries, were recorded in these documents in the first place.

Ostraca O. Schaden 161 and ONL 6487 are both inscribed with marks of members of both the right and left side of the crew, and do not display any trace of an ordered sequence. One, two or three strokes are added to each mark, which may count commodities or something completely different. Their provenance, the settlement near KV 10 and Deir el-Medina respectively, does not elucidate their meaning. Even more mysterious is fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6624, which is only cautiously attributed to the 19th Dynasty. It is different from the other ostraca inscribed with marks and strokes, because the strokes seem to be added left of the mark rather than underneath it. Moreover, the number of strokes is far larger. Because of the fragmentary state of the piece it is unclear how many strokes were added to each mark, but it is estimated to exceed five. Such figures are reminiscent of bundles of vegetables distributed among the workmen in the 19th Dynasty,³¹¹ but this may be a mere coincidence.

Different is also ONL 6527, inscribed with four workmen's marks, left of which feature four vertical strokes. While it could well be that the four strokes are related to the marks, perhaps counting the total of workmen, the meaning of the document escapes us.

³¹⁰ Cf. some of the ostraca inscribed with marks and dots discussed above, p. 470.

³¹¹ Compare e.g. O. Varille 16, attributed to the reign of Ramesses II.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with vertical and horizontal strokes

ONL 6281 is inscribed with at least two rows of marks. Like most of the ostraca in the previous category, one or two vertical strokes were added below each mark. One mark however constitutes an exception. Below mark \AA , perhaps referring to foreman Qaha (i), one vertical stroke was added with left of it three short superimposed horizontal strokes. It is the only 19th Dynasty ostrakon with workmen's marks in which this notation occurs, and its meaning is not immediately clear because it is not known from hieratic script. The notation is, however, similar to the combinations of vertical strokes, horizontal strokes and dots in the margin of the semi-hieratic inscription on O. Schaden 17. We may propose that it was the scribe's way of writing '1 *khar*, 3 *oipe*', using horizontal strokes instead of dots. This reading suggests the vertical strokes added below the other marks represent quantities measured in *khar* as well, which would mean ONL 6281 is most likely an account of the distribution of grain rations. On the other hand there is the possibility that the notation with horizontal strokes represents a numeral higher than two. That would not be unexpected if mark \AA is here indeed used for foreman Qaha (i). How the numeral should then be read exactly is unclear.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with vertical strokes and with hieratic signs for 'presence'

Not more than one ostrakon, O. WHTM 765, can be placed in this category. It lists workmen according to their relative position in the ordered sequence of the left side during the reign of Ramesses II. As pointed out above,³¹² this document is comparable to hieratic ostrakon O. Cairo CG 25627 from that very same period, and may record individual attendance at the worksite as well as grain rations.

Ostraca with rows of marks and with dots

Of the eight ostraca in this category, seven were discovered in the village of Deir el-Medina. One fragmentary ostrakon, O. Cairo JE 96335, was discovered in the Valley of the Kings. It is inscribed with the marks of workmen of the right side in a sequence that seems to be ordered. Unfortunately it is unclear if the document once recorded the complete right side or not. Likewise we cannot ascertain if the dots added to the marks, one or two per mark, function here in the same way as the vertical strokes added to marks in the ostraca discussed above. There is, however, nothing that indicates that the dots should be interpreted differently. This ostrakon too could therefore record deliveries or the distribution of goods, but any other interpretation may be possible as well. ONL 6451, probably inscribed with marks of members of the left side exclusively, may be interpreted in the same way as O. Cairo JE 96335 although it is not certain if dots are added below the marks or not.

On fragmentary ostraca ONL 6226 (with a sequence comparable to that of O. Cairo JE 96336) and ONL 6394 (probably comparable to the sequence of O. Schaden 16) only a single dot is added to each mark. Here another interpretation is possible. These dots could be check marks, and if the complete ostraca once included all marks of a single side they may have recorded the presence of workmen at the worksite. ONL 6585 and ONL 6541 may be explained in the same way. Although we do not recognise the sequence of marks from other ostraca, both documents record a large number of workmen, possibly an entire side or even the entire crew. The majority, if not all of the workmen's marks are marked with a single dot that could be a check mark indicating presence at the worksite.

Other ostraca with rows of marks and dots are less clear. The date and function of ONL 6607 for example is uncertain. It could date to the 19th Dynasty and represent foremen Nebnefer and Iniherkhau.³¹³ It seems likely that the ostrakon is completely preserved. This

³¹² See above, 5.3.2.1.

³¹³ Nevertheless a date in the 20th Dynasty is equally plausible, and the two marks are found in subsequent positions in the ordered list of workmen of the left side recorded on O. BM 5642.

would mean that the document records nothing else but the marks of two foremen. In this case the dots can hardly be check marks. Perhaps the dots are not meaningful at all on this ostrakon. The dots on ONL 6497 may be check marks but this cannot be verified due to the fragmentary nature of the ostrakon.

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

In a single instance, ONL 6319, dots may have been connected with some marks, and strokes to others. We cannot be sure if there is a difference between what is counted by strokes and what is tallied with dots, but perhaps there is none because the quantities are comparable: one mark is accompanied by four dots, the other marks by three, four or five strokes. The meaning of the ostrakon remains unclear.

Ostraca with rows of marks in a table

Ostraca of this type are O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 11, O. Schaden 13, O. Schaden 15, O. Schaden 44, and O. Schaden 166, all discovered at the settlement near KV 10 and probably created by a single individual. Our examination of these pieces indicates that they may represent a roster of individual *wrš* duties combined with a record of commodities received on specific days, as well as the attendance of individual workmen at the worksite and deficits of particular commodities. Small fragment ONL 6496 may be the only instance of this type that was produced at Deir el-Medina. A vertical line left of mark 𓆎 could be a remainder of a larger table, but that is mere speculation.


5.3.3.3 Ostraca with marks not in rows or columns

The documents in this section are ostraca inscribed with identity marks which unlike the previous ostraca are not arranged in rows or in columns. They are, as a rule, not inscribed according to a known ordered sequence. Three out of these thirteen ostraca were discovered in the Valley of the Kings while the other pieces come from the village of Deir el-Medina. The function of these thirteen ostraca is not quite clear. The majority of ostraca are inscribed with marks of members of both the left and the right side of the crew. The arrangement of marks not in rows or columns makes a rather disorganised impression and suggests that these ostraca are ad-hoc notations. An administrative purpose can neither be demonstrated nor excluded.



In the case of ostraca O. Cairo JE 96573, ONL 6227, ONL 6452, ONL 6472, ONL 6598, O. Schaden 137 and an ostrakon from the Grand Puits³¹⁴ we may propose that these documents are quick notes, possibly needed for the collective tomb administration, made on the spot. The use of charcoal for three of these pieces is in support of this suggestion. But we can only guess as to the reason why these men are recorded.

Four other ostraca are more elusive because they are very fragmentary. The nature and date of ONL 6473, ONL 6777 and ONL 6199 is insecure because these pieces only display a small number of marks. ONL 6192 is of a slightly different design. The obverse of the piece seems to display two columns created by vertical and horizontal lines, in which vertical strokes are added. The right column is inscribed with two of such strokes. Above the columns mark 𓆎 is repeated three times, in addition to another damaged sign or mark. In the current fragmentary state of the ostrakon the meaning of all this is unclear. The reverse displays another horizontal line, perhaps a remainder of a similar table. Its relation to the group of marks above it, not arranged in columns or rows, is not clear. ONL 6657, perhaps a 19th Dynasty ostrakon as well, displays only a single mark adjacent to four columns of dots, separated by column dividers. The reverse displays similar columns with strokes. The

³¹⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII, nr. 12.

document is clearly an account of some sort, perhaps a private account of a distribution or transaction of items in which the workman represented by mark  was involved.

The marks on ONL 6525 are very faintly inscribed and seem to feature among signs or depictions of unclear meaning. The attribution of O. Schaden 61 to the 19th Dynasty is based solely on its provenance, but the meaning of the signs with which it is inscribed is incomprehensible. Some signs are attested as workmen's marks in the 19th Dynasty, but what is recorded on this piece remains very enigmatic.


In this context we should also make mention of ONL 6690. It is not counted among the previous thirteen ostraca because the marks on this piece are accompanied by one or two dots. We had already discussed ONL 6690 above because the obverse of this piece contains an important hieratic name list. Interestingly, five of these names written in hieratic are accompanied by a single black dot as well. The meaning of these dots is not clear. They may be check marks. One would like to explain the dots added to the marks on the reverse in the same way, but mark  has two dots. Perhaps the second dot is added for the mark immediately next to it, mark , which is not accompanied by any dots. If we are correct in suggesting that the dots added to the hieratic list of names have the same function as the dots accompanying the marks on the reverse, we may see the marks as a continuation of the hieratic list. Why marks were used for the reverse is unclear, but the reverse may have been inscribed by a second scribe.

5.3.3.4 Ostraca with marks and depictions of objects and commodities

Strictly speaking we have already examined ostraca inscribed with marks as well as with depictions of objects and commodities. ONL 6313 probably displays cloths, and the presumed 19th Dynasty journal ostraca contain several pictorial references to commodities. Besides these documents there are all sorts of ostraca that depict items, some of which have been identified in our discussions above.

Ostraca with marks and depictions of objects and commodities

The documents in this category are concerned with a wide variety of topics. In most cases a set of items is associated with one or more individuals, but it is often impossible to determine what this relationship entailed exactly.

In the case of the O. Schaden 44 obverse, the marks and items are probably related to the deliveries recorded in the journal text on the reverse of same piece. The occurrence of sign  for 'deficit' in combination with depictions of commodities and workmen's marks on O. Schaden 162 and O. Cairo JE 72462 suggests that these documents too record deliveries.

We may offer the same explanation for ostraca ONL 6225, ONL 6321, ONL 6337, and ONL 6422, each inscribed with a single mark and one or more depicted commodities, but it remains odd that no quantities for these goods are recorded. Possibly these small ostraca may have been brief notes used as *aides mémoires*. ONL 6413 display signs for three different commodities as well as at least five different workmen's marks. Again no quantities are recorded for the commodities, and we cannot ascertain if the workmen were involved in the transport of these goods or not.

ONL 6338 probably records the issue of chisels to eight different workmen. A chisel is also depicted on ONL 6271 and ONL 6366, on each ostrakon connected with a single workman's mark. These two pieces could perhaps be countermarks, but the need for such pieces is debatable.³¹⁵ Instead these ostraca could be interpreted as brief notes about the issue of a chisel to a specific individual.

³¹⁵ See chapter 4, 4.3.3.4.

O. UC 33252 is a pictorial list of items of clothing and two pairs of sandals connected with a single workman's mark. The document is perhaps an inventory of items in the possession of the workman referred to by the mark. Alternatively it records items that were made by, to be made by, paid to, or owed by the owner of the mark.

Ostrakon ONL 6545 and two ostraca from the Grand Puits³¹⁶ are mostly likely personalised weights used for measuring quantities of a particular type of fish. Fish are also depicted on ONL 6533, accompanied by workmen's marks. Because of the absence of any quantities the nature of this ostrakon is unclear, but in all likelihood it is an account of the delivery or the distribution of fish. Numerals could have been added at a later stage.

The inscription on O. Cilli 271 is not quite clear. It features a basket \cup as well as what is probably a round loaf of bread \odot , and perhaps traces of workmen's marks as well.

Ostraca with depictions of objects and/or commodities and with marks and vertical strokes

Ostraca of this type are best explained as accounts of distribution of goods or records of deliveries, depending on how many marks are inscribed on the ostrakon. This is often difficult to determine as the ostraca are not completely preserved. O. Cairo JE 46861 is a large ostrakon, inscribed with at least three identity marks accompanied by depictions of large amphorae and series of strokes. The signs on the reverse possibly depict commodities. The large number of strokes per mark, ranging from eight to at least 11, and the small number of workmen's marks suggest that O. Cairo JE 46861 records the delivery of a commodity kept in large amphorae, perhaps water, delivered by three workmen.

The meaning of ONL 6318 and ONL 6417 is even more difficult to assess. The former depicts baskets and a jar as well as two identity marks, the latter displays two different jars with strokes added within the contours and a single workman's mark. It is possible that these items were owned, paid, delivered, produced or owed by the workmen involved.

ONL 6411, inscribed with at least five marks and a sign that could be a depiction of a chisel accompanied by three strokes is possibly a note about the issue of copper tools to a group of workmen.

The meaning of ONL 6532 is unclear because the identification of the signs other than the workmen's marks is very uncertain. It seems to be inscribed with two identity marks, one perhaps accompanied by the depiction of a bowl, the other perhaps with a depiction of a loaf of bread. Series of vertical strokes may indicate quantities. Ostrakon O. UC 31989, of uncertain date, also falls into this category and could be an account of the distribution of an unidentified commodity.

Ostraca with depictions of objects and/or commodities and with marks and hieratic numerals

One ostrakon of this type, O. Cairo JE 96334, was discovered in the Valley of the Kings. We have discussed this document in quite some detail.³¹⁷ It is inscribed with a single identity mark and depictions of a variety of commodities and objects, including different types of bread, jars, baskets, chisels, and perhaps dates. One object is very tentatively identified as a wooden chest. The quantities of some of the items are recorded with vertical strokes and hieratic numerals. The document probably lists items that were to be distributed among the workmen by the administration of the tomb. The actual distribution is not recorded here as the items are not connected with workmen. The ostrakon may therefore be a preparatory note that could be consulted by the scribe who was to draw up the document of the actual distribution, or by the person who would distribute the items among the workmen. The function of the workman's mark \times on this ostrakon is not clear as it is not evidently connected with any of the items.

³¹⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1948-1951*, pl. XVIII, bottom right.

³¹⁷ See above, 5.3.2.3.

The other two ostraca come from the village of Deir el-Medina. ONL 6312 is in all probability a note about the involvement of five members of the left side in the deliveries of 780 jars destined for the left side of the crew at some occasion. ONL 6377 is a small ostrakon fragment of uncertain date. It appears to connect a single workman's mark with five units of the commodity represented by \square , but the purpose of the record is uncertain.

Ostraca with depictions of objects and/or commodities and with marks and numerals and dots
On fragmentary ostrakon ONL 6582, found in Deir el-Medina, at least two identity marks are accompanied by depictions of jars and series of dots. In all probability these dots function in the same way as the vertical strokes on ostraca that display marks with depictions of commodities: they indicate quantity. But as with these ostraca, we are not sure what ONL 6582 means exactly. It could be a record of deliveries, an account of the distribution of goods, or an account of a private transaction.

Ostraca with depictions of objects and/or commodities and with marks and hieratic numerals in cells

A single ostrakon is inscribed with depictions of commodities, marks, dots, and hieratic numerals situated in different compartments. This piece is ONL 6221, discovered in Deir el-Medina. As discussed above, each compartment records a number of items that were probably distributed to a single workman, either as payment by the collective tomb administration or as part of a private transaction.

5.3.3.5 Ostraca inscribed with a single mark

Fourteen ostraca inscribed with a single mark³¹⁸ are most likely pieces that were used as name stones, the function of which we have pondered on in previous chapters.

5.3.4 Scribes and scribal competence

In this chapter we have proposed a date in the 19th Dynasty for 160 different ostraca inscribed with workmen's marks. There may certainly exist more ostraca of this kind that were created in the 19th Dynasty among the ostraca and ostraca fragments that are of an undefined Ramesside date. Moreover, additional unpublished ostraca with marks from the 19th Dynasty may surface or may continue to be discovered in the Valley of the Kings or Deir el-Medina. Nevertheless, the figure of 160 ostraca is extremely small considering a timespan of more than a hundred years. For our current intentions it would be interesting to determine the ratio of hieratic documentary texts from the 19th Dynasty to ostraca with marks from the same period. But this is a complicated question because the exact total of these ostraca – published and unpublished – is not known. As a case study one may take the controlled excavations carried out in a small section in front of the tomb of Amenmesses under the direction of Otto Schaden. Against the 17 19th Dynasty ostraca with workmen's marks stand 82 hieratic ostraca, all seemingly of a 19th Dynasty date as well.³¹⁹ At this particular site the ostraca with marks thus seem to constitute about 20% of all documentary ostraca, indicating that hieratic was far more often employed than workmen's marks.

³¹⁸ ONL 6270; ONL 6351; ONL 6391; ONL 6393; ONL 6418; ONL 6559; ONL 6571; ONL 6573; ONL 6642; O. Schaden 6; O. Schaden 35; O. Schaden 121; O. Schaden 133; O. WHTM 808.

³¹⁹ Information about the hieratic documents from these excavations was kindly provided by Rob Demarée. Although many of the hieratic ostraca are very fragmentary, the documents can be subdivided into different categories: an ostrakon that only mentions "Amun-Re", an ostrakon that contains the measures of a room, a weight, two letters, 12 name stones, 21 administrative accounts, 34 jar docketts, and 10 ostraca of an unclear nature.

The available evidence suggests furthermore that ostraca with marks are not evenly spread over the timeline of the 19th Dynasty. There are seemingly less ostraca that are securely attributable to the late 19th Dynasty, while there appears to be a peak of ostraca with marks in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. This may be due to local Deir el-Medina scribal practices of the 19th Dynasty and the increasing number of literati. Haring has pointed out that the fact that we possess more documentary texts from the second half than from the first half of the 19th Dynasty is mainly due to an increase in the number of texts concerned with private matters and judicial affairs, while the output of records of the collective administration must have remained more or less stable.³²⁰ This development was explained as the result of a growing number of literati in the community of necropolis workmen accompanied by a trend towards the transformation of oral practice to written conventions.³²¹ The use of workmen's marks to create documentary records may fit into this picture. Around the time of the early to the middle of the 19th Dynasty, when the number of scribes was relatively low and scribal practice was mostly concerned with collective administration, there may have been a need for individuals without formal scribal training to assist necropolis scribes in the documentation of matters such as deliveries and the distribution of goods, by employing workmen's marks in combination with dots, strokes and sometimes numerals. Additionally, the desire to record private matters such as transactions or inventories may have emerged around the same time, and the marking system allowed untrained 'scribes' to produce such documents. In contrast, towards the end of the 19th Dynasty such things may have been increasingly more often entrusted to professional scribes who appear to have extended their repertoire during this period. The necessity for the use of identity marks to create ostraca would then have been reduced. If this reconstruction is accurate, scribal practices of the late 19th Dynasty were quite different from those of the first half of the 20th Dynasty when the rise in hieratic documentary texts is paralleled by the great body of ostraca with marks.

The small influence of script and the limitations of scribal practices during the 19th Dynasty are reflected in the corpus of ostraca with marks. The use of hieroglyphic or hieratic signs and sign groups is not frequent in ostraca from the 19th Dynasty. The number of instances of hieratic numerals on 19th Dynasty ostraca with marks is relatively low. Out of a corpus of 160 ostraca with marks there are no more than 14, perhaps 15 documents that feature hieratic numerals.³²² Notably, two of these ostraca, O. Schaden 16 and O. Cairo JE 96334 contain semi-hieratic numerals, probably from the hand of a scribe without formal training. Hieratic signs for *wḏ3.t* 'deficit' are attested in only five ostraca,³²³ hieratic sign *iw* 'attendance' is likewise found in no more than five instances,³²⁴ and perhaps in one document with marks \hat{h} is used for *wnmy* 'right side'.³²⁵ In addition we have seen that authors of ostraca with marks preferred to create pictorial lists of commodities and objects, rather than to create signs for them as in the first half of the 20th Dynasty, or to use hieratic writing to record

³²⁰ Haring, 'From Oral Practice to Written Record', 254-255.

³²¹ Haring, 'Document headings', 181; Haring, 'Scribes and Scribal Activity', 110-111.

³²² Excluding ostraca with vertical strokes, some of which could theoretically represent hieratic numerals one to four. The ostraca are O. Cairo JE 96334, O. Cairo JE 96352, ONL 1314, ONL 6221, ONL 6312, ONL 6377, ONL 6479, ONL 6491+, ONL 6492, ONL 6518, ONL 6536, ONL 6582, O. Schaden 13, O. Schaden 16 and perhaps O. Cilli 201.

³²³ O. Cairo JE 72462, O. Schaden 11, O. Schaden 13, O. Schaden 15 and O. Schaden 162.

³²⁴ O. Cilli 291, O. Schaden 1, O. Schaden 11, O. Schaden 15 and O. WHTM 765.

³²⁵ ONL 6321.

specific commodities.³²⁶ O. Schaden 1 is the only record in which hieroglyphs are used to refer to words *mw* ‘water’ and *nḥḥ* ‘*nḥḥ*-oil’.

We observe moreover that the hand of a hieratic scribe is rare in our material. We know of six ostraca where the author of a hieratic text also used workmen’s marks.³²⁷ It is not clear if the author of the inscription on weight O. Schaden 96 is the same man who noted down the four workmen’s marks on the same piece, as the inscriptions are not clearly related. While it is possible that the written inscription on O. Schaden 11 was made by the same hand that added the workmen’s marks, this hieratic text is not exactly exemplary of a well-trained hieratic scribe.

Before returning to the scribe of O. Schaden 11 and O. Schaden 96, we should discuss ostraca with marks wherein we may recognise the hand of a professional scribe despite the absence of hieratic inscriptions. It has already been explained in the previous chapter³²⁸ that it is an extremely precarious task to demonstrate if a scribe was well acquainted with hieratic script judging only from the hand in which he drew identity marks on an ostrakon, and there is in this work no space for the extensive palaeographic analysis that this inquiry necessitates. Instead we shall only provide some suggestions that later research may be able to verify or refute. Hence it is with due reservations that we propose, on account of the elongated tails of the elegantly written hieratic numerals for hundreds in ostraca O. Cairo JE 96352, ONL 6518, ONL 6536 and perhaps also ONL 6479, that these documents may have been made by the professional scribe who also wrote hieratic delivery texts O. DeM 333 and O. DeM 713+ that display very similar numerals and date to the same period. In favour of the identification of this hand as that of a professional scribe speaks the fact that the reverse of ONL 6518 contains a hieratic inscription. On account of the hieroglyphic ductus of marks and signs, a professional scribe may also be considered for ostraca O. Ashmolean HO 1103, O. Hawass, ONL 6274, ONL 6306, ONL 6321, ONL 6324, ONL 6347, ONL 6445 and ONL 6528. A more hieratic ductus is observed in the marks on O. Cairo JE 96336 and ONL 6313.

The number of ostraca with marks that may have been written by a professional scribe is thus rather low. Together with ostraca inscribed with hieratic as well as marks, we come to a tentative total of about 17 to 19 ostraca in the corpus of 160 ostraca with marks. These figures would suggest that the greater majority of 19th Dynasty ostraca with marks were created by individuals who were not formally instructed in hieratic writing. This does not necessarily mean that the authors of such documents were completely illiterate. On the contrary, there are reasons to assume that several ostraca with marks from the settlement near KV 10 were composed by a man with some knowledge of hieratic and hieroglyphic script. The assumed journal ostraca from this site were all created according to the same format, using the same type of ancillary hieratic signs, seemingly dealing with the left side of the crew exclusively and considering the style and shapes of the marks probably created by one and the same scribe. One of these ostraca, O. Schaden 11, is also inscribed with a short and very abbreviated hieratic inscription. The concise nature of this text is barely comprehensible because it is far from explicit and does not contain any standard phraseology. In that respect it is very similar to O. Schaden 17, the large ostrakon inscribed with very summarily written day dates. In this text too we lack any context as the topic of the record is not explicated. Three other similarly abbreviated hieratic ostraca³²⁹ are of an equally unorthodox character because

³²⁶ Compare the contrast between the pictorial lists from the 19th Dynasty to the 20th Dynasty list of ONL 1371, which blends workmen’s marks and words written in hieratic. Even the scribe of the highly pictorial 20th Dynasty ostrakon O. Brooklyn 16118+ added hieratic captions to several of his drawings.

³²⁷ O. Ashmolean HO 810; O. Berlin P 14261; O. Berlin P 14350; O. Cairo CG 25582; O. OIM 25356; ONL 6690.

³²⁸ See chapter 4, 4.4.4.

³²⁹ O. IFAO C 391, ONL 6517 and ONL 335.

the author used the wrong hieratic numerals for one of his dates and employed sign \square to refer to a commodity. These records can hardly have been the work of a professional scribe, but they may well have come from the same hand that wrote the hieratic inscriptions on O. Schaden 11 and O. Schaden 17, and therefore also the journal ostraca composed with marks. If one accepts this hypothesis, we get the impression that a member of the workforce of the middle of the 19th Dynasty was involved in the collective administration of the tomb despite the fact that he was not a professional scribe. He was nevertheless able to produce very simple hieratic inscriptions, although he does not seem to have been familiar with standard phraseology. His documents are mainly concerned with deliveries to the workforce, and we may therefore assume he was one of the so-called ‘*smd.t* scribes’. The ostraca made by this man therefore parallel the 20th Dynasty duty and delivery texts composed with marks, which we assume were made by a ‘*smd.t* scribe’ as well.

There may well have been more workmen like this individual who, without extensive knowledge of hieratic or hieroglyphic script, picked up a pen to jot down series of workmen’s marks, either to create records that may have served some purpose for the collective tomb administration, or for private bookkeeping. Unfortunately it remains extremely difficult to identify such cases, but it is along these lines that we have to consider the majority of ostraca with workmen’s marks.

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

Ostraca with marks datable to the 19th Dynasty occur perhaps as early as the reign of Seti I. Several ostraca are clearly datable to the middle of the 19th Dynasty. Some documents can be dated to the reign of Siptah, and others most probably date to the very end of the 19th Dynasty or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty. There are however indications that ostraca with workmen’s marks are less common towards the end of the 19th Dynasty. Ostraca with marks from the later 19th Dynasty may have simply not survived, but we suspect that the rise in the number of trained scribes could have reduced the need for records with marks during this period.

Although there are only few hieratic ostraca that are also inscribed with identity marks they offer some insight into the type of documents in which marks are used. We do not encounter identity marks in legal texts, personal letters, or in religious contexts such as oracular decisions. Instead they appear in records of predominantly mundane matters that pertain to activities at the worksite and the supply and distribution of commodities and objects, such as name lists, accounts of deliveries, a list of privately owned items or items to be distributed among the crew of workmen, and a weight of spikes.

This view coincides with the different types of documents that were created using identity marks. Even though the meaning and purpose of many of the 19th Dynasty ostraca is unclear, often due to their fragmentary state, we do get a sense of what these documents convey in general. In the corpus of the 19th Dynasty we discern private administrative records or rather objects such as name stones, weights for fish, and lists of objects and commodities that may be inventories or accounts of payment or distribution. On the other hand we encounter ostraca that were created as part of the collective tomb administration, such as journal records recording *wrš* duties, deliveries and attendance at the work site. Other documents of this category concern the issue of chisels to a group of workmen, the delivery of items such as wood, oil and probably water, name lists that may record attendance at the worksite or actual work activity, and the distribution of grain rations or water. The administrative nature of ostraca with workmen’s marks is in some cases noticeable through sequences of marks that are inscribed in an ordered sequence. Moreover, many ostraca seem to record workmen of one particular side of the workforce exclusively.

5. OSTRACA WITH MARKS OF THE 19TH DYNASTY

The ostraca with marks from the 19th Dynasty probably constitute only a small fraction of the administration of that time. Some ostraca, particularly those inscribed with charcoal rather than with ink, are best explained as quick ad-hoc notes made as *aides-mémoires*. They may have been created at times when the necropolis scribes were absent. The marks and signs inscribed on two ostraca that also contain a hieratic text are tentatively explained as drafts, or perhaps as transcriptions of the text that would be understandable to illiterate workmen. Several other ostraca with marks were probably created by workmen who were not trained in hieratic writing and may represent private accounts.

A group of ostraca inscribed with marks from the Valley of the Kings demonstrates that a turnus for *wrš* duties dates back as far as the middle of the 19th Dynasty, thus predating the earliest indications for this practice in hieratic texts from the second half of the 19th Dynasty. The documents provide a glimpse into the organisation of the delivery of commodities such as water and oil. There is the distinct possibility that the workmen themselves rather than an external service personnel were involved in the transport of these commodities.