

**HIERATIC OSTRACA OF THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD
IN THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO:
DOCUMENTATION, CLASSIFICATION AND COMMENTARY**

by

ABDEL RAHMAN SALAH HAFEZ ABDEL SAMIE

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
For the Degree of MPhil in Egyptology

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity

School of Historical Studies

The Birmingham University

October 2009

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

We have dealt in this dissertation with 31 ostraca from the Valley of the Kings with various texts. They all attribute to Th. Davis and Carter/ Carnarvon's excavations. They can classify into administrative, literary, Funny-signs and few jar labels. From this spectrum of contents, we may understand that the Valley of the Kings was not merely such sacred and inaccessible area surrounded by walls as used to be described by some scholars. Coordinated minor institutions may have probably based therein, being administered by a large headquarter settled somewhere in western Thebes. These small administrative stations were in charge of preparing works to be executed into some group of tombs in the vicinity. That can explain the reason why we find some artefacts of a certain king somewhere else other than the area where his tomb is located. An example of this phenomenon is the east foot-hill of KV 47 (King Siptah) where we have found a considerable number of artefacts for several kings whose tombs were in the nearby area of this king. The corpus of this research has revealed that workmen might have probably exploited the Valley of the Kings as a place where they could temporarily settle down. This hypothesis may be corroborated by the recent excavations which have discovered a wide-spread of huts throughout the main valley along with its lateral ones. The increase of workmen's number which took place sometime during the ruling years of Ramses IV would have probably constricted the authority to build these huts as a sort of temporary inhabiting extension to the neighbouring settlement of Deir el Medina.

Dedication

I dedicate this entire work to my late mother whose soul has been always my inspiration and to my wife who is the source of my force.....

Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful to the great help of Dr. M. Bommas who has granted me the opportunity to pursue this project through an academic place. I am very appreciated to his scientific guidance which demonstrates that he has saved no effort to direct me all along the course of this work. I am also indebted to the crucial scientific advices of Dr. T. Leahy to polish and enhance the final outcome. I would like also to thank Mrs. Patsy Gasparetti, the English native editor who has kindly revised my English.

Table of contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Introduction | i |
| Edition of Texts | 1 |
| Dating | 115 |
| Interpretation | 126 |
| Classification | 143 |
| Funny Signs Perspective | 154 |
| Conclusions | 160 |
| Abbreviations | 164 |
| Bibliography | 166 |
| List of proper names | 192 |
| Deities, Kings, Royal epithets & Princes | |
| Ranking titles | 194 |
| Personal names | 195 |
| Documents quoted | 199 |

List of illustrations

Abbreviated word “fig” comprises transcription and facsimile of the same ostrakon

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Illustrative map showing the findspots of ostraca in the Valley of the Kings | 131 |
| Illustrative map with records taken from the inventory registers of MMA | 133 |
| Illustrative map with huts discovered so far in the Valley of the Kings | 134 |
| KVO 1 | Pl. I, fig. 1a, b |
| KVO 2 | Pl. II, fig. 2a, b |
| KVO 3 | Pl. III, fig. 3 |
| KVO 4 | Pl. IV, fig. 4a, b |
| KVO 5 | Pl. V, fig. 5a, b |
| KVO 6 | Pl. VI, fig. 6 |
| KVO 7 | Pl. VII, fig. 7a, b |
| KVO 8 | Pl. VIII, fig. 8a, b |
| KVO 9 | Pl. IX, fig. 9 |
| KVO 10 | Pl. X, fig. 10 |
| KVO 11 | Pl. XI, fig. 11 |
| KVO 12 | Pl. XII, fig. 12 |
| KVO 13 | Pl. XIII, fig. 13 |

| | |
|--------|-----------------------|
| KVO 14 | Pl. XIV, fig. 14a, b |
| KVO 15 | Pl. XV, fig. 15a, b |
| KVO 16 | Pl. XVI, fig. 16 |
| KVO 17 | Pl. XVII, fig. 17 |
| KVO 18 | Pl. XVIII, fig. 18 |
| KVO 19 | Pl. XIX, fig. 19 |
| KVO 20 | Pl. XX, fig. 20 |
| KVO 21 | Pl. XXI, fig. 21 |
| KVO 22 | Pl. XXII, fig. 22 |
| KVO 23 | Pl. XXIII, fig. 23 |
| KVO 24 | Pl. XXIV, fig. 24 |
| KVO 25 | Pl. XXV, fig. 25 |
| KVO 26 | Pl. XXVI, fig. 26 |
| KVO 27 | Pl. XXVII, fig. 27 |
| KVO 28 | Pl. XXVIII, fig. 28 |
| KVO 29 | Pl. XXIX, fig. 29a, b |
| KVO 30 | Pl. XXX, fig. 30a, b |
| KVO 31 | Pl. XXXI, fig. 31 |

Introduction

As assistant curator in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, I have been charged to conduct several documentation processes on the unpublished material held by the museum. Prof. Dr. Mamdouh el-Damaty (the former General Director) had assigned me of the task of compiling an inventory registration of the uncatalogued hieratic ostraca spread throughout all departments of the Egyptian Museum. During the course of my search, it was rapidly revealed that there are great numbers of ostraca spread throughout different departments' storage magazines along with those held in the basement storage area. They are quite diverse in terms of their scripts: hieroglyphic, hieratic, Demotic, Coptic, Greek and Aramaic ostraca. The bulk of these ostraca is stored in very poor conditions and most have never been systematically registered. Of all these unregistered ostraca, the hieratic ones predominate in terms of quantity. I estimate that there are considerably more than 1000 hieratic ostraca left out of a proper scientific treatment, excluding the high number of the same type in the basement. That has prompted me to put this issue on the table for taking serious action.

At the beginning of the last century, G. Daressy had published a major group of hieratic ostraca from the Valley of the Kings,¹ followed by J. Černý, who published another group, the majority of which is also from the Valley of the Kings.² Since 1935, no-one has ever conducted a systematic study over the massive piles of hieratic ostraca left totally abandoned in the museum's storage magazines.

One of the chief reasons to conduct this study is that the ink of a great number of the ostraca has been dramatically effaced. This is a result of the elevated amount of humidity trapped in the Egyptian Museum. Dust mixed with moisture fills in the pores on the surface of a large number of ostraca and causes a dramatic disappearance of ink. The recovery of surviving texts is one of the primary aims of this study. If tangible action towards the salvage and conservation of this material is not expeditiously undertaken, there is a great risk in the nearest future of losing such important data that could well materially contribute to the existing knowledge of the Ramesside Period. The salvage process requires high interest and collaboration from all the concerned parties to

¹Daressy 1901, *passim*.

²Černý 1935, *passim*.

document, at a highly scientific level, this material and bring it to the light in order that the ostraca can be systematically documented and returned to public display in the Egyptian Museum. Egyptian and international visitors alike would then be afforded the opportunity of seeing completely unknown material that has been long excluded from public viewing. Therefore, it is not only in the interests of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities to bring this unknown material to light but there also is likewise a broader, international need for documenting these objects, their data is in a state of great precariousness.

This study is considered a part of a more extensive documentation process on the entire corpus of hieratic ostraca held in Cairo Museum. Of this large ware, we have selected 31 ostraca which may vary from each others in terms of contents. KVO 2, KVO 3, KVO 4, and KVO 11 can be classified as delivery accounts to certain items in the Valley of the Kings. Whereas KVO 1, KVO 7 and KVO 8 are lists of workmen absent or present on certain days, KVO 10, KVO 16 and KVO 28 are notes as preparation for coming works. Some literary religious texts are also represented in ostraca KVO 12, KVO 13 and KVO 15. The scribal exercises were also a common outcome in the Valley of the Kings. That has been demonstrated by KVO 14 which comprises some numbers written in vertical lines. On chief of all these various contents, there has come KVO 29 to demonstrate that there might have been some affiliated intuitions in the Valley of the Kings to fulfil the daily needs of such community of workmen.

Our selection to such disparate textual types was carried out to give a picture of sustained and diverse activity of the workcrew within the Valley of the Kings extending beyond their basic work duties. The stela draft and other archaeological finds, discussed in the dissertation and found recently in the site, contribute effectively to this point of view.

The catalogue part of this study (edition of texts) occupies the major part of this dissertation in terms of size. Each ostrakon has been exposed with picture, facsimile and transcription; a detailed commentary accompanied with some philological aspects on the terminology used by scribes was integrated as well. Then, there comes the elaboration on the data extracted from the texts to constitute the formulation of chapters. In the major part of this process, our endeavour was mostly concentrated to place each ostrakon within its dating framework (Dating Chapter). An attempt of drawing

interconnecting conjunctions has been produced in form of prosopographical study to date some undated ostraca. As far as the archaeological context is concerned, the “Interpretation Chapter” has come to recontextualize Davis’ excavations. My target was to systemize the misconceptions associated with his records and to attempt identifying the location of some ostraca with unknown provenance. Therefore, it would have helped us get approach of a somewhat convincing date.

Our choice to include a set of Funny-signs ostraca (non-standard ostraca) was to bring this still uninvestigated topic to light. In view of their enigmatic signs, we have hinted that they might have probably been a new script used by some class of the workmen community. KVO 21 has given us some clues to decipher some of the signs frequently used in other Funny-signs texts. More investigative studies may yield fruitful results on this topic.

For convenience, we have set up some catalogue conventions to facilitate the reading. They are as follows:

- KVO is the abbreviation of Kings Valley Ostrakon.
- O. Ashm is the abbreviation of O. Ashmolean Museum as it has occurred frequently
- [] indicates some lost parts which have been restored by us
- [...] means missing group of hieroglyphs
- In the transcription part, impossible reading is referred to with ; in the transliteration part by (?)
- The asterisk (*) in the literary ostraca has been employed to play a role of punctuating sentences or phrases.

KVO 1 (Pl. I; fig. 1a,b)
O. Cairo JE 72461 (SR 1476)
A list of absentee workmen?

Transliteration (*recto a*):

- (1) SAd [...]
- (2) Nxt-sw^a Hā[...]
- (3) Qn-Hr-xpS.f^b (?) [...]
- (4) bAkW^c pA [...]
- (5) (Hs)i-sw-nb.f^d
- (6) [...] (?) prt sw 7 [...]

Translation (*recto a*)

- (1) dig [...]
- (2) Nxt-sw (and) Hā[...]
- (3) Qn-Hr-xpS.f (?) [...]
- (4) the work of [...]
- (5) (Hs)i-sw-nb.f [...]
- (6) [...] (?) the Growing season, day 7 [...]

Transliteration (*recto b*)

- (1) [...] Axt sw 4[...]
- (2) [...] (?) Hsb.t-rnp.t 6 q(?) [...]
- (3) . [...] n aA n is.t^e HĀy^f[...]

(4) n ma aA is.t

Translation (*recto b*)

- (1) [...] the inundation season [...]
- (2) [...] regnal year 6 [...]
- (3) [...] of the chief of the gang “*HAY*” [...]
- (4) [...] together with the chief of the gang [...]

Transliteration (verso a)

- (1) Hry *H*a –m-nwn^g [...]
- (2) [...] (?) Abd 3 prt sw 8 PA-imi-r-iHw^h [...]
- (3) [...] [*H*wy] sA *H*wy-nfr^j wsf
- (4) [...] [*H*r-m-wiAⁱ] Hr (?) [...]

Translation (verso a)

- (1) The superior *H*a –m-nwn [...]
- (2) [...] (?) the third month of the Growing season, the 8th day, “PA-mr-iHw”
- (3) [...] [*H*wy] son of “*H*wy-nfr” is absent [...]
- (4) [...] [*H*r-m-wiA] will on (?) [...]

Transliteration (verso b)

- (1) (?)
- (2) [...] \$nm-m-sw^k [...]
- (3) [...] Abd (?) prt sw 12[...]

Translation (verso b)

- (1) (?)
- (2) [...] \$nm-m-sw [...]
- (3) [...] month (?) of the Growing season, day 12 [...]

Commentary

- Dimension: a, 5.5 x 4 cm and b, 4 x 3.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavations undertaken by Th. Davis).
- Cft. Černý's MSS (106- 12f), transcription only.
- Dating: according to the Special Register (Cairo Museum sectional inventory data), it can date to the end of XIXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostrakon is in a good condition with some chipped off parts. Most probably, both parts (a, b) constituted a larger ostrakon. The ostrakon is written in a black ink which is legible throughout the entire ostrakon. In some parts of KVO 1, a", the writing is slightly fading but it can still be drawn up without a significant effort. It has some mottled black rounded stains in its upper and lower part. With regard to part "b *recto*", the ink is in a better condition in respect with that of "*recto a side*". However, it is dappled with more remarkable black points, spread sparsely, which are a result of bad storage habits. That can render the reading process slightly hard as these black dots may shape-shift with some hieratic signs and then be misread. The *verso* "a" is in a slight worse condition as its writing is distinctly fading and some lines have completely effaced (ex. line 4). As for *verso* "b", the second line is hardly legible either because of the damage or because of the disappearance of the ink. The two parts (a, b) are dappled with these black dots.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed (*recto and verso*) with black ink. With regard to the "*recto a*", it is inscribed in 6 lines; however the *verso* is composed of only 3 lines. These two pieces had been reassembled together because it was thought that they constituted one larger single ostrakon. The edges of the two parts (a, b) are notably chipped off. However, the left side border of "*recto a*" is more flaked off than the other one. As a result, there are some signs which are hardly reconstructable, especially in lines (3, 6). The same can be applied to "*recto b*" lines (2, 3) as it sounds that some signs got completely obscure or

totally erased with the flaking process. With regard to the “*verso a*”, there are 4 inscribed lines with black ink too. The first two lines are significantly stressed and clear in their inking. In contrast to the first two lines, the last two lines are obviously vanishing, especially on line “4”. However, “*verso b*” is still relatively in a better condition in spite of the damage of the third line. Moreover, line “1” is entirely erased and there still remains merely an unreadable black dot.

- Palaeography: the ostracon can be dated to the latter half of the XIXth dynasty.

a. “Nxt-sw”¹ written  is the “servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of the Truth”.² As a matter of fact, it is thought that there are two monuments testifying the existence of this member of the crew of the left side. However, this ostracon can be considered as a testimony for the occurrence of his name for the third time. The first attestation for his name is dated to year 1 of Amenmesse, however his span of time could have started off during the reign of king Merenptah; the final attestation to his name is dated to year 5 of king Siptah.³ The name after “Nxt-sw” starts off with *Ha* which can be hardly reconstructed as there were many workmen whose names have *Ha* as prefix.

b. Qn-Hr-xpS.f could be identified with a workman who appeared mostly in a number of ostraca dated to the end of the XIXth dynasty (O. Cairo CG 25521, O. Cairo CG 25783, O. DeM 290).

c. “bAkW” is a very common word which is characteristic of the Deir El-Medina and Valley of the Kings’ terminology. It appeared on a very wide range of ostraca (O. Cairo CG 25237, O. DeM 10097, 25264....etc) with meaning work, project, toil, or output.⁴ In this context, it would best appropriate to translate it as “project”, or “work” as a result of the initial word “SAd” which means “dig”. Unfortunately, the missing part of the ostracon has resulted in obscuring the proper name which is preceded by “pA”.

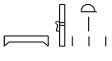
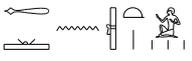
¹ RPN II, 211.

² Tosi/ Roccati 1972, N. 50041 (= cat. 1454), 75.

³ Davies 1999, 243 (chart 35).

⁴ Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990 I, 146.

^d *Hsi-sw-nb.f* could be restored in this manner. The occurrence of his name might be assigned to the reign of Amenmesse onwards.⁵

^e *aA n is.t* is the counter part of the hieroglyphic title  (*Hry is.t*) which means “foreman”.  (*aA n is.t*) was very peculiar of the administrative terminology and always in singular form. The genitival “n” is seldom omitted. The corrupt O. Toronto B 7, 5 has redundantly .

^f For *Hwy*⁷ could be the foreman whose tenure to the office lasted from year 3 of Merenptah to year 19 of Ramses III. From the records of this title, it was revealed that this title was rather hereditary one which was transferred from a father to his son. In other words, a son of a foreman should have automatically inherited the tenure of his father’s office, of course with the death of the latter. Moreover, there could be more than foreman contemporary. The appointment of a foreman was not carried out by the vizier but rather by the local administration.⁸

^g For *Ha-m-nwn*, we know that there were at least four individuals bearing the same name; but according to the title “*Hry*” which comes before we can identify him as the chief of the policemen who was first attested on O. DeM 290, 5.⁹ Judging from the names appeared with him on the same ostrakon, we hypothesize that the ostrakon in question was probably written in the second half of the XIXth dynasty.

^h As for “*PA-imi-r-ihw*”¹⁰, he can be identified with a workman of the same name who appeared towards the close of the XIXth dynasty.¹¹

ⁱ With regard to “*Hwy-nfr*”, he can be tentatively identified with the sculptor who appeared at the first half of the XIXth dynasty as there were many privates who held the same name.¹² However, the name mentioned on this ostrakon is the son of this *Hwy-nfr*, who might be the workman “*Hwy*”. Therefore, we would hint that the dating of this

⁵ Davies 1999, 229.

⁶ Černy 2004, 121.

⁷ RPN III, 232.

⁸ Černy 2004, 122-132.

⁹ Ibid, 268.

¹⁰ RPN II, 100.

¹¹ Davies 1999, 185; KRI III, 659-660; stela Louvre N. 662 (PM I: II 772) ; his name also has been mentioned on O. DeM 295(I [3]-4) by the sculptor Iyernutef to an unnamed draftsman for the decoration of some item for (PA)-mr-ihw.

¹² Davies 1999, 18.

KVO 2 (Pl. II; fig. 2a, b)
O. Cairo JE 72462 (SR 1477)
A delivery account

Transliteration

- (1) [(?) nHH^a] mn.t 1 it XAr 5
- (2) [it m] it^b XAr 6XAr 11 n bd.t
- (3) [(?)XAr aA^c 12] mnDm^e XAr 3
- (4) [nqr.w] XAr [3] tmA XAr 6 Sa.t tmA^c
- (5) [(tmA)mw XAr an^f] (?) tiw.ty a 2
- (6) [Hm.t dbn 2 n] aD hnw 3
- (7) [sDr XAr 1 nH]H hnw 2 wHm^g hnw 2
- (8) [...] 20
- (9) [...] Ax.(w)t^h

Translation

- (1) [(?) Oil], 1 mn.t jar, 5 khar of grain
- (2) [Barely] 6 khar of, emmer 11 khar of
- (3) [(?)12 great khar of], basketry 3 khar
- (4) [Sieves] [3] khar, 6 khar of mat, fine mat
- (5) [Mended (mat)] (?) khar (and) two pairs of sandals,
- (6) [Copper or bronze 2 dbn], fresh fat 3 hnw
- (7) [Sleeping-mat 1 khar of, oil], 2 hnw from new 2 hnw,
- (8) [...] 20
- (9) [...] goods

Commentary

- Dimension: 13 x 9.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (Davis' excavations).
- Cft. Černý MSS (106-12), transcription only.
- Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostrakon could ascribe to XIX-XXth dynasty. Condition: in more than one third of the *recto*, from top to bottom, the ink is effaced completely. What remains of the inscription is the left side of the *recto* whose ink is obviously well preserved. The overall state is quite precarious as the ink might totally disappear in the near future.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed in black ink on two sides. The *recto* has 9 lines with missing top. As a result of that, the upper parts of some of vertical signs like “𓂏” and “𓂐”, signs have been partly cut off. The ends of line 1, 2 are effaced; beginnings of lines 1-9 are effaced as well. The end of line 9 is completely lost. There is some correction done by the scribe in line 2. This is why we are relying here basically on Černý MSS “c106-12” to restore all the missing parts of the ostrakon. As regards the *verso*, there is some scribbling with marks written by coal. These signs are dubbed recently “Funny-sings”; they marks are drawn as follows: . However what have remained are only the first three signs; the last one has totally effaced.
- Palaeography: it can fall chronologically within the XIXth dynasty.

^a “nHH” is one of the most important items of the workmen’s daily diet; usually it was written  and sometimes .¹⁷ It is identified to be “sesame oil” and is one of items whose occurrence in documents was not so frequent in the Valley of the Kings’ documents with respect to those of Deir el-Medina. It has been mentioned in a very limited number of citations; ex. in O. Cairo JE 72453 published by Helck¹⁸, O. Cairo

¹⁷ Janssen 1975, 330.

¹⁸ Helck 2002, 142-143, 144-145 (translation); description and transcription in Černý MSS, 106.4.

Carnarvon 421 published by Kitchen¹⁹. On the other hand, in Deir el-Medina its citations in documents are in numerous quantities. For example, it can be found in O. Turin N. 57366²⁰, O. DeM 773²¹, O. DeM 10102²², 10044²³, 10082²⁴, O. DeM 929²⁵, 930²⁶, 935.²⁷ Sometimes the quantity of the “nHH oil” could be indicated by the “mn.t jar” like our case in KVO 2.

^b In ostraca and papyri, when real barely is meant, and not barely as a unit of value, the word is written it-m-it (barely as barely).²⁸ The unit used for measuring is the khar.

^c “XAr aA” may probably mean a dozen of khar as the number followed is “12”. If “aA” was commonly understood as a “dozen” in meaning, why the scribe did have to cite number 12 then? In fact, there is no any parallel for this phrase and our suggestion here is just based on a pure logic.

^d The word “mnDm” means basketry and usually it is associated with word “nqr”. The latter could probably signify the lid of the former.²⁹ In fact, in this ostrakon, we notice that the number is the same “3” being associated with the both words. That may strengthen Helck’s suggestion when he supposed that there is always association in functioning between them.

^e For “Sma.t tmA”, is a common object in every Egyptian household this is why it is frequently mentioned in texts.³⁰ The word “tmA” was associated with word “Sma” as just an adjective to qualify the mat as fine.³¹ The “t” added as a final sign is odd and there is no any explanation for its existence. It could be just a handwriting mistake committed by the scribe. This could be a plausible suggestion as we can see that there is a

¹⁹ KRI VII, 253 (transcription); Černý MSS, 14.37.

²⁰ López 1978-1984 III, 22 (description), pl. 113-113a (facsimile, transcription); López 1978-1984 IV, pl. 204 (photograph); Helck 2002, 455 (translation) ; Janssen 1992, 107-122 and pl. 2 (transcription, translation, commentary); McDowell 1999, 221-222 no. 171 (translation).

²¹ Grandet 2000, 53-54 (transliteration and commentary), 178 (photo and facsimile); Černý MSS, 17.116, f^o 17.

²² Grandet 2006, 105 (transliteration and commentary), 301 (photo and facsimile).

²³ Ibid, 49 (transliteration and commentary), 239 (photo and facsimile).

²⁴ Ibid, 83-84 (transliteration and commentary), 271-274 (photo and facsimile).

²⁵ Grandet 2003, 104 (transliteration and commentary), 365 (photo and facsimile).

²⁶ Ibid, 105 (transliteration and commentary), 367 (photo and facsimile).

²⁷ Ibid, 109 (transliteration and commentary), 372 (photo and facsimile).

²⁸ Janssen 1975, 119.

²⁹ Helck 1965, 917.

³⁰ Janssen 1975, 154.

³¹ Examples for that is in O. DeM 772 published in Grandet 2000, 53 (transliteration and commentary).

correction in line 2 which means that the scribe could have probably been haste in writing down this document.

^f “an” is the adjective which used to qualify the type of the mat. It appeared with many determinatives among which there is also .³² Janssen in “Commodity Prices” has translated this word as either “ornamented” (because of the eye determinative) or “mended”. He rather proposes the meaning “mended” which may probably best fit the “mat”.

^g “wHm” (Wb 1, 340-343.15; 351.11) means “from new” or “again”. It has been used in this context to convey that the quantity of oil has been doubled as first they mentioned “hnw 2” and after that “wHm hnw 2” citing the same quantity twice. Or it could probably be just a double confirmation to the same quantity.

^h “Ax.(w)t” could be translated as “goods”.³³

³² Janssen 1975, 155.

³³ Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990 I, 9.

KVO 3 (Pl. III; fig. 3)

O. Cairo JE 72463 (SR 1478)

A delivery account + A letter

Transliteration

- (1) [...] (?) s [...]
- (2) [...] rdy.t^a r s (?) [...]
- (3) [...] Smw sw 15(?) [...]
- (4) d [...] n xbs^b
- (5) rdi.t n (?) r pA ra -bAk,^c
- (6) xbs [...] iw.i Hr^d Dd n.f iw.k
- (7) m^e xAa.w m ix nA xbsw [...] iw.f
- (8) m Dd n.i msb^f m xbs
- (9) [...]

Translation

- (1) [...] (?) [...]
- (2) [...] what was given to (?) [...]
- (3) [...] the inundation season, day 15 (?) [...]
- (4) (?) [...] lamps
- (5) What was given by (?) to the work.
- (6) was lamps [...], (and) I said to him, you
- (7) abandoned them (and) what (about) the lamps? He
- (8) said to me that (he) turned toward the lamps
- (9) [...]

Commentary

- Dimension: 9 x 9 cm
 - Material: limestone
 - Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavations undertaken by Th. Davis).
 - Cft. Černý's MSS (106-13f), transcription only.
 - Dating: According to the Special Register, it can date to the end of XIXth dynasty.
 - Condition: it is broken into four pieces, and has nine lines written in black ink. The writing is legible enough across the ostrakon, in spite of the fractures. This can imply that the scribe, who handed down this ostrakon, may have been experienced enough.
 - Description: the ostrakon is inscribed only on one side and is consisted of nine lines divided into two groups; one upper group has four lines, the other one holds 5 longer line in size. There is a notable space between the upper and the lower group. That can be accounted, as explained later on, for the existence of two different accounts. The ostrakon is slightly pointed in its upper part and smashed on the both sides in such a way that those left and right inscriptions are now missing. As a result of that, we can barely extract few hieratic signs out of them. These missing parts on the both sides can continue down to line 3. However, line four is missing some signs only on its left side.
 - Palaeography: it can date to the second half of the XIXth dynasty.
- (a) “rdy.t + n + giver A, noun or pronoun + r or n + receiver B” is typical administrative expression which occurred commonly in working sites during the Ramesside period. This expression is widely translated as “what was given by A to B or what A gave to B”.³⁴ It can also manifest as rdy.t n.f m NN which means “given to him from NN” as it is on O. Aberdeen 1317, published by Allam.³⁵ Moreover, here “rdy.t” can be identified as a passive participle which is best

³⁴ O Glasgow D. 1925. 89 (I, 2 and II, 1), published in McDowell 1993, 30 (translation and discussion), pl. XXXI- XXXIa (facsimile and transcription). Other occurrences can be found on O Glasgow D. 1925. 78 (*verso*, 3).

³⁵ Allam 1973, 17 no. 1 (translation and commentary).

translated in English as “given” and “n” is that particle which introduces agents. The passive participle was not often used in written texts and is very restricted in number of verbs; for instance iri “do”, rdi “give”, ini “fetch”, and gmi “find” are the most common ones.³⁶

From the Morphological point of view, when it took place in a text there was no particular distinction in gender neither number.³⁷ In some cases, it could be introduced by a prothetic “yod” which disappears after an article. However, in respect to the active participle, the “yod” occurs less often. In other cases, there could be a prothetic “r” with other verbs.

Some passive participles have termination  which was entitled to be replaced by  in some occurrences.³⁸ The passive participle was employed in statements, like ³⁹ rdy.t n nA sSw nty DdH.tw t n wnm 3, which means “what was given to the scribes who are imprisoned, three loaves for eating”.⁴⁰

(b) As what regards xbs meaning “lamp”, it is written “    ” in (Wb 3, 230.3). It occurs in some letters written on some ostraca, like O. Toronto A11 (vs. line 11)⁴¹, and O. BM 65933 (O. Nash 11)⁴² “line [A. vs. 8]”. Such word has occurred in a considerable number (around 88 ostraca holding various accounts).⁴³ On the basis of these sources, it suggests that some of the entries made in a larger tomb (e.g lamp) account may have come from notes taken on smaller ostraca which were then integrated into the large account.⁴⁴ In our case, this ostrakon might have been then that draft of a larger account which may probably have been transferred onto a larger one.

³⁶ Neveu 1998, 142.

³⁷ Černý & Israelit Groll 1984, 463-464.

³⁸ Ibid, 474.

³⁹ P. Leyde 1350, v°, col III, 11-12 (=KRI II, 810, 1-2).

⁴⁰ Neveu 1998, 144.

⁴¹ E. Wente 1990, 46 f; KRI III, 43-44; KRI translation III, 30. It is a letter from “Iny-Hr.t-xAw” to a vizier called Khay during the Ramesside Period, Ramses II.

⁴² Ibid, 50. It is a letter to a vizier called Hay.

⁴³ <http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>.

⁴⁴ Donker van Heel & Haring 2003, 44.

(c) “pA ra-bAkW” could mean (project, work at king’s tomb, workers, work).⁴⁵ Gardiner translated it as “project”.⁴⁶ Černý translated it in Salt 124 as “work at pharaoh’s tomb”.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Gardiner translated it as “work” with an additional “w” along with a papyrus roll before the standing leaning man, holding the stick by his two hands ().⁴⁸ It is difficult favouring one of these translations to the other as all of them can fit in the content.

On the other hand, we can not exclude completely the possibility of reading it as a name of a workman of the workcrew called PA- ra. He is probably one of the draughtsmen called in full name PA-ra-Htpw. He is known for his petitioning against the superior and the scribe Qenherkhipshef whose mistreatment to some workers, among which this PA-ra-Htpw was mentioned, was very common.⁴⁹ This workman appeared in the latter half of the XIXth dynasty; unfortunately his entire lifetime span can not be determined. Under this assumption, we may be sure to double-confirm that this ostrakon can be dated safely to the end of the XIXth dynasty. We know that the extreme limits for Qn-Hr-xpS.f’s tenure of the office of scribe don’t exceed 46 years; it means down to year 6 of Seti II. This ostrakon might have been written by this Qn-Hr-xpS.f himself to demonstrate PA-ra-Htp’s incapability of doing properly his duties. But, why Qn-Hr-xpS.f did not mention his name then? That can be accounted for the missing parts of this ostrakon on which there might have been written his name somewhere. In fact, from the palaeographical point of view, the handwriting of this ostrakon assimilates to some group of ostraca written by this scribe, like O. Cairo CG 25249, 25224, 25539 and 25540 which are ascribed safely to this scribe.

(d) The construction iw + noun or pronoun+ Hr + infinitive is a circumstantial one, composed of the “present 1” (noun + Hr + infinitive). In “present 1” sentences, there should be subject followed by an adverbial predicate (a true adverb, prepositional

⁴⁵ Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990 II, 47.

⁴⁶ Gardiner 1932, IX, L11.

⁴⁷ Černý 1929, 249.

⁴⁸ Gardiner 1932, II, 2,7.

⁴⁹ O. DeM 303 published in Černý 2004, 337 (translation and commentary).

phrase, Hr + infinitive, m + infinitive “verbs of motion only” or pseudo-participle form.⁵⁰ The fact that there is iw renders the whole clause “iw.i Dd n.f” to be rather translated in concomitance (the major part of present 1) with the preceding sentence.⁵¹ Since the sentence preceded was probably “what was given by the high official to “PA-ra”, we may be inclined to translate this clause in past tense too. So the clause is best translated as “I said to him”.

(e) The second present tense construction is composed of “iw.k m xAa” which should be also translated in past tense. Since the “xAa” is a verb of motion in its nature, it has been terminated by the two legs determinative “𐀀”. What may be enigmatic is that even the following verb Dd is preceded, according to the transcription, by m. This can be probably explained as just an error committed by the scribe as Dd has never been identified as verb of motion.

(f) “msb” is very rare verb and has been always a question to debate (Wb 2, 143.11-12-13, 14-16). “msb” written  could be a noun with unknown meaning. However, there are diverse derivatives transliterated slightly different; an example for that is msbb  which is rendered as verb and means “turn toward” [Wb 2, 143.12-13; vgl. FCD 117 and P. H 500 (pl.18) 10]. If translated so, it will justify the existence of the two legs as determinative “𐀀” as the meaning conveys motion. However, I would like to bring the attention to the , the oxrhynechus fish which is mounting two legs determinative “𐀀”.⁵² In fact, this word msb never appeared with these two determinatives before, rendering this hint somewhat problematic.⁵³

⁵⁰ Neveu 1998, 68.

⁵¹ Ibid, 162.

⁵² Möller 1927 II, 23.

⁵³ Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990 I, 241.

KVO 4 (Pl. IV; fig. 4a, b)

O. Cairo JE 72464 (SR 1479)

A delivery account?

Transliteration (*recto*)

- (1) ir^a tA wa ri.t^b n ist 300 [...]
- (2) ir tA ri.t 30[...]
- (3) ir [PA 10 Abd] XAr 60[...]

Translation (*recto*)

- (1) As for the side and the other side of the gang, (it is) 300 [...]
- (2) As for the side number “2”, (they are) 30 [...]
- (3) As for [the 10 (?) month], (they are) 60 khar [...]

Transliteration (*verso*)

- (1) Abd 4 prt sw15Ḥwy^c mH [14]
- (2) Ra-mry^d mH 14 [Abd 4]

Translation (*verso*)

- (1) Month 4 of the Growing season, day 15 “Ḥwy”, [the fourteenth (?)]
- (2) “Ra-mry”, the fourteenth (day) [month 4]

Commentary

- Dimension: 12.5 x 14 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavations undertaken by Th. Davis).
- Cft. Černý's MSS "(106-13), (transcription only).
- Dating: According to the Special Register, it can date to XIX- XXth dynasty.
- Condition: it is broken into two pieces. The ink of the *recto* is obviously disappearing especially in line 2, exactly on its very left side. Line 3 however, has completely effaced except the initial word "ir", it is slightly more visible in respect with the rest of the line. . With regard to the *verso*, line 1 is entirely effacing; however line 2 is slightly more preserved. It seems that the account was larger but the ostrakon had been chipped off, causing an obvious fragmentation to the whole content.
- Description: the *recto* is inscribed with black ink and is consisted of three lines. It sounds that the scribe wanted to stress on the initial word "ir" with writing it in a magnified size in comparison to the rest of the content. The writing is clear to read in most of its part. However, the effacing parts are so hard to reconstruct. Unfortunately, this has been caused by inappropriate storing habits in Cairo Museum as most of these ostraca are exposed to both dust and humidity. Therefore, we have relied basically on Černý's MSS (106-13) to restore these missing parts of writing. The ostrakon was chipped off on its left side which caused to disappear some parts of the writing. As for the *verso*, it is written in two lines with minor size font and presumably by the same scribe.
- Palaeography: no enough elements to give further details.

^{a.} The construction *ir* + noun (or equivalent) / independent form (verbal or not) is used as a theme marker or introducing a topic / rheum = commentary. The whole construction is best translated in English "as for".⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Neveu 1998, 173.

^b The word “ri.t” can be found in (Wb2, 400, 4-13). According to Wb, This word means a part of something and is mostly associated with the definite article “tA”. In some cases, it can come with “wa” and means “the one and the other one of something”. In the ostracon in question, there is indirect genitival construction with word “is.t” by the use of the genitive particle “n”. As for tA ri.t, it has been translated as “side, bank” in Gaballah, Mose and Caminos , Tale.⁵⁵ Valbelle, however translated it as “team” in Poids.⁵⁶

^c For “Hwy”, it is too hard to identify him precisely as there were many workmen bearing this name.

^d In fact, there were many individuals who bore this name but we may probably assign him to a certain “Ra-mry” who could be identified with the scribe, the son of the workman and magician Imn-ms. He lived about the middle of the reign of Ramses II and appeared in connexion with various supplies along with the scribe “Imn-m-ipt” in two ostraca dated to “year 35”.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Caminos 1977, 36, pl 8.4; Gaballah 1977, pl LXI.

⁵⁶ Valbelle 1977a, no. 5265.

⁵⁷ Černý 2004, 210-211.

KVO 5 (Pl. V; fig. 5a, b)

O. Cairo JE 72466 (SR 1481)

A list of workmen's names

Transliteration (*recto*)

| | |
|---|---|
| [...] | [...] (1) |
| [...] | [Wn-nfr ^a] (?) [Pn-imn] (2) |
| [Imn-m-i(pt)] ^b | <i>H</i> a-m-[(ipt)] ^c (3) |
| [Nxt-imn] ^d | n <i>£</i> nmw-nxt ^e (4) |
| [<i>Imn-xaw</i> ^f sA <i>H</i> Ay] | PA-ra-[Htp] ^g (5) |
| [Mn-n] ^h A ^h | Sbk-[ms] ⁱ (6) |
| Nb-[imn.t] ^j | [PA-nxt-aA] ^k (7) |
| [<i>£</i> nm –ms] ^k | <i>H</i> [wy-nfr] ^l (8) |
| (dmd) ⁿ s [15] | P[A-htp] ^m (9) |

Translation (*recto*)

| | |
|---|--|
| [...] | [...] (1) |
| [...] | [Wn-nfr] ^a (?) [Pn-imn] (2) |
| [Imn-m-i(pt)] | <i>H</i> a-m-[(ipt)] (3) |
| [Nxt-imn] | n <i>£</i> nmw-nxt (4) |
| [<i>Imn-xaw</i> ^f sA <i>H</i> Ay] | PA-ra-[Htp] (5) |
| [Mn-n]A | Sbk-[ms] (6) |
| Nb-[imnt] | [PA-nxt-aA] (7) |
| [<i>£</i> nm –ms] | <i>H</i> [wy-nfr] (8) |
| (total) men [15] | P[A-htp] (9) |

Transliteration (*verso*)

- (1) [ms]
(2) [PA-imi-r-iH.w]^o
(3) [(?) gA]
(4) [ii(?)]

Translation (*verso*)

- (1) [ms]
(2) [PA-imi-r-iH.w]
(3) [(?) gA]
(4) [ii(?)]

Commentary

- Dimension: 11.5 x 9 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: according to the Special Register of Cairo Museum, the ostrakon was found in the Valley of the Kings, excavations of Davis.
- Cft. Černý MSS (106-15f), transcription only.
- Dating: the ostrakon is attributed to the XIX-XXth dynasty as for the Special Register.
- Condition: for the *recto*, the ostrakon is in very bad conditions and most of the ink has remarkably effaced. However, the general state of the material is enough well-preserved. There are two upright fractures, not so profound, which run across the ostrakon from top to bottom. On the left side towards the bottom, an almost rounded piece has chipped off. This chipping piece could be applied to

the upper part, towards the edge, of the same side. The ink of the middle area is totally effaced with respect to that of the two outer edges. For the *verso*, the beginning of writing is completely effaced. Moreover, the rest of it could be roughly drawn up.

- Description: the ostracon is inscribed in black ink. The *recto* can be divided into two columns. The right one, column I, has 9 lines; the left one, column II, has only 8 and the first line is totally effaced. This division was probably meant by the scribe to convey that the workers were distributed onto two sides. The scribe seems to have been experienced in the art of writing as most of the inscription is fairly written. The ink of the bottom is slightly effaced with respect to that of the top. Through even the scanty amount of signs left on the bottom, it sounds that the handwriting has probably been drawn by the same scribe. There are some handwriting errors committed by the scribe in column I. 5, and column II 3. 7. The *verso* is consisted only of 4 lines, and the beginning of it is completely lost.
- Palaeography: the ink is dramatically effaced so we can not set out determined palaeographical framework for dating.

^{a.} “Wn-nfr” is identified here as the son of “Pn-lmn” despite the fact that word “SA” is not preserved yet. “Pn-lmn” is that workman whose lifetime span probably extended from year 3 of Amenmesse’s reign to year 15 of Ramses III’s. He was probably identified to be the son of “*H*a-m-wAs.t”.⁵⁸ The both names occurred in some documents; for example O. Ashm 57.⁵⁹ Another occurrence for the same association of the two names can be found in O. Cairo CG 25556 and dated to year 5 of Seti II.⁶⁰ In these mentioned examples, “Wn-nfr” was not described as the son of “Pn-lmn”. However, the only vivid occurrence which attributes “Wn-nfr” explicitly as the son of “Pn-lmn” is P. Berlin 10496; this papyrus represents a quarrel between “Wn-nfr” with “lmn-m-ip.t” as the former threw the mummy of the mistress of the latter out of the tomb. In this papyrus which is dated to year 21 of Ramses III, the parentage citation of the two names

⁵⁸ Davies 1999, 5.6 (chart 2).

⁵⁹ This ostracon is dated to early-mid years of king Siptah by Collier 2004, 14-18, 154 (description, commentary, photograph).

⁶⁰ Collier 2004, 41-42, 156 (description, commentary).

is direct enough (vso. 7).⁶¹ At the end, this matter was settled by an oath. Then we learn from Davies that “Pn-Imn” was evidently still alive until year 21 of Ramses III not to year 15. We might be able to go even further to state that this workman has appeared in year 24 of king Ramses III in a legal dispute concerning the ownership of a tomb.⁶²

^b “Imn-m-i(pt)” is incomplete name but we can restore it in this manner. Having stated above the span of time to this ostrakon, we can probably identify him as the workman whose lifetime span extended from the end of the XIXth Dynasty down to sometime of the reigning years of king Ramses IV. This hypothesis is based on the occurrences of his name along with “Wn-nfr” son of “Pn-Imn”. For example, his name appeared in O. Ashm 655 from the second half of Ramses III.⁶³ In addition, in O. DeM 236 which bears list of names and from year 1 of Ramses IV; “Imn-m-i(pt)” (vso. I 4) is mentioned amongst a group of workmen along with “Wn-nfr” “rto. I, 2” who might have probably been “Wn-nfr son of Pn-Imn”.⁶⁴

^c “Ḥa-m-ip.t” might be the workman of the right side of the workforce whose name appeared in an undated ostrakon (O. Gardiner 57).⁶⁵ Kitchen attributes it however to the XXth dynasty (the reign of Ramses III). Davies places this ostrakon to the end of the XIXth dynasty.⁶⁶ I would rather agree with Kitchen’s attribution as a result of the dating layout of the ostrakon in question just drawn up above.

^d “Nxt-Imn” might be identified with the workman of the same name who was married to the daughter of the “Ma-xA-ib”. The latter was the daughter of “PA-Sdw”, the soldier of the gang. It is known that “PA-Sdw” started off his career during the reign of Seti I.⁶⁷ Furthermore, “Nxt-Imn” might be the same person who was represented in TT 267 at Deir el-Medna. This tomb belongs to the official “ḤAy” who was the “idn.w” down to the year 31 of Ramses III’s reign and contemporary to “Nxt-Imn”.⁶⁸ In fact, that would

⁶¹ Lüdeckens 1994, vol. 4, 67, no. 92 (description; transcription and transliteration of recto 1 and verso 14).

⁶² Davies 1999, 5-6.

⁶³ McDowell 1995, 32 (photograph, commentary).

⁶⁴ Helck 2002, 367 (translation in outline of content).

⁶⁵ KRI VII, 314 (transcription) rto. II:6.

⁶⁶ Davies 1999, 249.

⁶⁷ Černý 2004, 248.

⁶⁸ Valbelle 1975, 19 and 29.

be rather plausible as the latter was mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1880 (rto IV 9); it is safely dated to year 29 of Ramses III.⁶⁹

^{e.} “Ḳnmw-(nxt)” can probably be identified with the workman who appeared on a workmen list in an ostrakon dated either to Ramses III or to Ramses V.⁷⁰ However, he never appeared with the individual “Wn-nfr” except in this ostrakon.

^{f.} “Imn-xaw son of ḲAy” could be probably identified with the workman of that name who is mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25804 (a list of names with quantities of wood and unspecified commodity (plaster?).⁷¹ This ostrakon is dated by Kitchen to year 6 of Ramses IV. As a matter of fact, “Imn-xaw” was never attributed as a son of “ḲAy”, the foreman whose time span extended from year 3 of Merenptah to year 19 of Ramses III.⁷² That makes the attribution very problematic as it is stated above that the post of “Foreman” was rather hereditary in the history of Deir el-Medina. Therefore, the son of a “foreman” was expected to be installed in his father’s post.⁷³ Accordingly, we may be entitled to confirm the parentage of the foreman “ḲAy” to a son who occupied a post of workman. However, this is the first time we ever encounter such odd association. We can not rule out completely the possibility of encountering another “ḲAy” not the foreman.

^{g.} “PA-ra-Htpw” could be identified with that workman who appeared in O. DeM 556 in the XXth dynasty; this ostrakon is dated by Kitchen to Ramses III.⁷⁴ In addition, he is mentioned in an ostrakon “O. DeM 580” which holds a deposition account made by this workman against the Water-carrier “Knr”. He also appeared in O. Michaelides 5 which dates to year 26 of Ramses III. Therefore, this ostrakon helps us confirm that this workman was active in the last reigning years of king Ramses III. What is little enigmatic is that this is the first time he ever appears in other documents with some workmen like “Wn-nfr” son Pn-Imn”, “Imn-xaw son ḲAy”.

⁶⁹ Ventura 1986, 90, 101, 121-123, 139 and 140 (transliteration and translation of recto I 1-6; recto II 6, 8-12, 15-16, 19-20; recto III 4-5, 7-15.

⁷⁰ Helck 2002, 408-409 (translation).

⁷¹ KRI VI, 147-148 (transcriptions of present and earlier text).

⁷² Černý 2004, 125 (chart).

⁷³ Ibid, 126.

⁷⁴ KRI V, 592 (transcription).

^h. “Mn-nA” could be that workman who appeared together with “PA-ra-Htpw” in an ostrakon (O. DeM 10046) which bears a workmen list. This ostrakon dates to Ramses III’s reign.⁷⁵

ⁱ. “Sbk-ms” could probably be that workman who appeared on a workmen list ostrakon (O. DeM 831) dated to Ramses III’s reign.⁷⁶ According to the personal names, Grandet suggests that “Sbk-ms” is the workman whose time span can be confined between year 31 of Ramses III and year 6 of Ramses IV. Thus we would be more inclined here to place the ostrakon in question somewhere within these years.

^j. “Nb-imn.t(.t)” is such rare name which appeared in very limited number of ostraca and received very little consideration from scholars. Most of his name’s occurrences can date to the XIXth dynasty. For example, O. BM EA 5634⁷⁷, O. DeM 60⁷⁸, O. DeM 286⁷⁹ and O. IFAO 371⁸⁰ have been placed by several scholars within the XIXth dynasty (specifically Ramses II’s reign). That would render the ostrakon in question very problematic in terms of the dating layout we have set out at the beginning. However, in O. Louvre 13156 being dated to the XIXth (Ramses II), where there are mentioned the children names of “Nb-imn.t(.t)”, there was mentioned another “Nb-imn.t(.t)” (line 1).⁸¹ He was probably just a little child at the time of this ostrakon. Then he could be another “Nb-imn.t(.t)” the son of a father with the same name. Accordingly, we can learn that “Nb-imn.t(.t)” is such individual who lived down into probably Ramses IV’s reign.

^k. “PA-nxt-aA” could probably be that individual who appeared in P. Turin Cat. 54021 (rto I 9). This Papyrus is dated to year 10 of Ramses IX.⁸² This individual appeared probably at the end of Ramses III and lived further down into Ramses XI. This can be

⁷⁵Grandet 2006 51, 237 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).

⁷⁶Grandet 2003, 1, 11, 197-199 (photographs, facsimile, description, transcription, transliteration, translation, commentary).

⁷⁷Grandet, 2002, 167, 315-317, no. 113 (photographs, description, translation, commentary, bibliography).

⁷⁸ Helck 1965, vol. V (845) (translation); KRI III, 563 (transcription).

⁷⁹ Černý 1939, 12, pl. 12 (description, transcription).

⁸⁰ Černý MSS, 103.20 (description, transcription).

⁸¹ KRI III, 547-48.

⁸² KRI VI, 633-636 (transcription of recto and verso II 1-5); Helck 2002., 498, 499 and 501 (translation of recto I-III, IV 1-10, and verso II 1-4).

demonstrated by his appearance in (P. Turin. Cat. 1898 + P. Turin Cat. 1926 + P. Turin Cat. 1937 + P. Turin Cat. 2094).⁸³

^l “Enmw –ms” could be identified with that workman who appeared in O. Cairo CG 25553 (lines 2 and 4). This ostrakon is dated to year 12 of Ramses III.⁸⁴

^m “Hwy-nfr” could be identified with that individual who appeared in O. Michaelides 2 and P. Berlin 10496 mentioned above.

ⁿ For “PA-ra-Htpw”, I am wondering whether we can identify him with that individual of line 5 in the ostrakon in question or not. In line 9 there is an added “w” which may have been just a marker to differentiate between the two names. Therefore, we would be more inclined to think that there were two different persons.

^o “(dmD) s 15” is such number which reminds us of that one of the right gang in year 64 of Ramses II’s reign.⁸⁵ The same number has been attested in O. DeM 621 (completed by O. IFAO 1080), recto; the first two places on the list were allocated to the foreman and the scribe. We are wondering whether this organisation can be applied to the ostrakon in question or not. If yes, the first two effaced names were destined for these two individuals. However, there remains a misleading point; the number attested does not correspond to the exact number of workmen written on this ostrakon. We are wondering if this can be considered as a handwriting error committed by the scribe. Or the one of the first two lines was dedicated to a workman.

^p For “PA-imi-r-ih.w”, despite the damage, he could be restored in this manner. He is the workman who appeared in KVO 1 and whose lifetime span could be confined between years 1 of Siptah to the middle of the XXth dynasty.

⁸³ Beckerath 1994, 29-33 (transcription and translation of verso docketts a and c; commentary).

⁸⁴ Allam 1973, 57-58, no. 28 (translation, commentary).

⁸⁵ Černý 2004, 105.

KVO 6 (Pl. VI; fig. 6)
O. Cairo JE 72467 (SR 1482)

A letter to a vizier

Transliteration

- (1) [<HqA> anx (.w) w)DA(.w) s(nb.w)]
- (2) [nb nrw^a aA hnhn^b] dr^c xn^d
- (3) [dit tSi^e n^{sic}.f n mrwt.f^f <Wsr-xprw-Ra-mr-imn> anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w)]
- (4) [[sA Ra]<sti-mr-n-ptH> anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w)]
- (5) [pA bAkw n nb.f TAY-xw^g anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w) Hr wnm.i-nsw]^h
- (6) [imi-r niwtⁱ Tati Hr^w^j hAb pw rdi rX PAy.i]
- (7) [nb ky (Hr) swDA^k ib n PAy.i nb r-nty^l tA st]
- (8) [n aA^m anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w) pAy.(i) nb anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w) dbH (?) tiⁿ]
- (9) [nsw ??r ikr]

Translation

- (1) To [the ruler], “L. P. H”, to....
- (2) [The Lord of Terror the great of jubilation], the separator of rebel,
- (3) [(the Lord) causing him (the rebel) to flee and to love (the) [Wsr-xprw-Ra-mr-imn] “L. P. H”],
- (4) [son of the god “Ra”, [Seti (II) Merenptah] “L. P. H”],
- (5) [the humble servant of his “Lord”, the Fan-bearer “L. P. H” on the right hand of the king, the Governor of Thebes],
- (6) [the vizier “Hr^w”. It is to send and to give my “Lord” to know (that)],
- (7) [another (thing) is going to make sound the heart of my “Lord” with respect to the tomb of (the)]
- (8) [pharaoh “L. P. H”, my Lord “L. P. H”, (it) is in need of]
- (9) a royal (?) (?) to be excellent.

Commentary

- Dimension: 13 x 19.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavations undertaken by Th. Davis 1905-06).
- Cft. Černý MSS 106-15 (only transcription and little information about the year of excavations of Th. Davis 1905-06)
- Dating: since the name of king Seti II is mentioned on this ostrakon, we can safely date it to the Late XIXth Dynasty (1214-1204 B.C).⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the exact year of this event is not recorded.
- Condition: the ostrakon is large slab; however the right and the upper sides are partially chipped off and so are the edges. The writing is fully effaced and only on the upper-left side there are some of damaged signs. However, it was easily to be restored by scholars in the past. Daressy had mentioned that it was found in Biban el-Molouk in the excavations conducted by Th. Davis and it was a small fragment marked with X 2. ⁸⁷ The ink is completely gone except little traces spread in some parts over the ostrakon; the right side has still some traces of writings as well as line 2 on the upper left side.
- Description: the ostrakon seems to have been written in black ink as for the residues left from the original writing. It is inscribed only on one side and has been written in 8 lines; almost complete and nothing missing except in some parts (line 1 upper left-side). There is under the line 8 some writing which represents the signature of who wrote this letter. By virtue of Daressy and Černý's endeavour, we could be working now on their transcription and attempting to add further information about the philological constructions of some phrases. From the residues of writing, we can infer how fair the handwriting was and the ease, the scholar had found to decipher it.

⁸⁶ Baines & Malek 1980, 37.

⁸⁷ Wente 1990, 36; KRI IV, 339 and KRI translation IV, 243; Darressy 1927, 174: the ostrakon was published (transcription- little commentary).

a. “nb nrw” or the “the king of Terror” is rather an epithet which refers to the king himself. the word “nrw” has usually two determinatives; one is the vulture head with either the standing leaning man, holding a stick ⁸⁸ or the forearm holding a stick  (KRI 5, 11, 129). In both cases, it was translated as “terror or awe”. The combination between “nb” and “nrw” [Wb 2, 278.8; LGG III, 664 ff] is merely a possessive construction which conveys ownership.⁸⁹ This combination has appeared on a range of documents as an epithet referring to the king.⁹⁰

b. “hnhn” means jubilation (Wb 2, 496.1). “aA hnhn” is a “nfr Hr” construction which means great of jubilation. The adjectival phrase expresses ownership and the adjectival quality is referred to the owner (the king).⁹¹

c. “dr” means dispel (Lesko IV, 138.3); in P. Leiden I, 348, 4R7, it is translated so. In this papyrus, it was translated rather as a verb. However, here it is used the infinitive form of the verb to refer to the doer of the action that is the king.

d.  “xn” means rebel (Wb 3, 288, 17-18: FCD 191). The “e” and “d” have probably been added to the stem form of this word as a result of some spoken language influences.⁹² In fact, the hieratic texts are rich of using such final letters and we have got many examples of that.⁹³

e. “tSi” means to flee in (Lesko IV, 98).⁹⁴ It is preceded by a causative verb “dit” which certainly renders the whole sentence as a causative structure (dit +sdm.f form, subjunctive).⁹⁵ The subject of the infinitive form “tSi” is preceded by an “n”; this preposition seems to be odd before the suffix.

f. “mrwt.f” means “to love” (Lesko I, 226).⁹⁶ We would rather consider this “sdm.f” as another subjunctive form which is governed by the same causative verb “dit”. The contrast in meaning between the two words “tSi” “mrwt” may probably highlight the

⁸⁸ Gardiner 1911, 1, 5, 5.

⁸⁹ Allen 2000, 63.

⁹⁰ Lapp 1997, pl. 2-9. This papyrus comes from Thebes and can date from Hatchepsut to Amenophis II and is written in cursive hieroglyph; Goyon 1972 II, 5; Verhoeven 2001, 308-318.

⁹¹ Allen 2000, 64.

⁹² Peust 1999, 137, §3.13.1 and §3.13.2.

⁹³ Grandet 2003, *passim*.

⁹⁴ The same word has been used with same meaning in, Peet 1930, Amherst (pl. 15) 4.2.

⁹⁵ Allen 2000, 254; Johnson 1986, tables in P. 82: this page stresses on the historical development of the Egyptian verbal System.

⁹⁶ Erichsen 1933, 1, 22, 10.

paramount power of the king. In other words, the vizier probably wanted to assert the power of the king by mentioning his capability of deserting a rebel and at the same time he probably wanted to hide the hatred which may arise from the rebel against the king by stating “love”: despite the fact that the king could desert a rebel, the rebel still loves the king as the ideal image of the king should be highly presented.

^g. “tAy-xw” it is attested in the Temple of Amun at Karnak, Hypostyle hall, north wall, in the Register which depicts the warfare against the Libyans.⁹⁷ It is a title which was held by high ranking personages around the Pharaoh; an example for that is the letter on preparations for the Opet Festival in O. Gradiner 362.⁹⁸ In this letter, the scribe Ramose greets his superior (master), the Royal Scribe and the Superintendent of Cattle, “Hati”. Furthermore, the same title has occurred in O. DeM 1248 + O. Bruxelles E. 6444 which concern the teachings of Amenmhat.⁹⁹

^h. “Hr wnm.i-nsw” means on the right hand of the kings (LÄ VI, 1162; vgl. Wb 5, 348.4 and 1, 322.6-7; vgl. Lesko, IV, 104). The same title has appeared in an ostrakon O. DeM 114.¹⁰⁰

ⁱ. (imi-r niwt) is another title which indicated to the governor of the City that is Thebes.¹⁰¹ It was mentioned in the tomb of the Vizier, Paser, no. 106.¹⁰² It is transcribed:  and can transliterate as follows: tAy-xw G7^{sic} anx (.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w) Hr wnm.i-nsw. This title has been originated in the New Kingdom and has not any previous backgrounds in the preceding periods.

^j. “Hrw” is the vizier who lived during the successive reigns of Seti II, Siptah, Setnakhte and Ramses III. His name has been mentioned on a very wide range of monuments among which there are also several ostraca.¹⁰³

^k. “swDA ib” is an expression often used as an infinitival phrase in letters; it is one of the idioms which are characteristic of letter typology.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ KRI I, 20-234, VII, 425; RITA I, 17-19; RITANC I, 23-24.

⁹⁸ Černý & Gardiner 1957, 29, pl. CVII; KRI III, 637, and KRI Translation III, 435 f.; Wente 1990, 119 f.

⁹⁹ Posener 1955, 61-72; Posener 1951-1972, 37-38 and pl. 62-62a; Dorn 2004, 38-55.

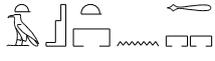
¹⁰⁰ Černý 1935a, pl. 1-1A; KRI III, 45-46 and KRI Translation III, 31 ff.; Allam 1973, 91-2, no. 59.

¹⁰¹ Al-Ayedi 2006, 74.

¹⁰² PM² I:1, 219-24; KRI I, 285 ff; KRI III, 1 ff.

¹⁰³ Pomorska 1987, 188-191. The scholar has collected all the citations on which the name of this vizier occurs.

^{l.} “r-nty” means “quote” (Lesko, Dictionary II, 50). It has been frequently mentioned in several letters; simply it means “with respect to”.¹⁰⁵

^{m.}  is an expression which refers to an area of some extent.¹⁰⁶ It is another topographical term which conveys undetermined area in the Theban necropolis during the reigning king as pr-aA in that epoch designated only the living king.¹⁰⁷ Černý gave also a reference to an unpublished ostrakon kept in the Metropolitan Museum on which there is this inscription  (14.6.27). This may imply that this term was used rather when the king was still alive. In some occurrences of the same term, it was mentioned that “st pr-aA” has five walls.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, this designation might mean the tomb of the pharaoh. This hint would be the most plausible one to rely on.

^{n.} “dbH” means “in need of” (Wb 5, 439.6-440.1).¹⁰⁹ The verb her could be classified as Pseudo-participle as the ending “ti” is added to the stem of the verb. Such kind of verbs describes an accomplished result of a previous action or the state of something/someone.¹¹⁰ The structure of this form is very often (subject + Pseudo-Participle). In the ostrakon in question, the subject could be logically defined as the “tomb” accordingly. The whole construction is rather descriptive in meaning. The scribe wanted to convey that “the tomb is need of something...”.

¹⁰⁴ Allen 2000, 387.

¹⁰⁵ Černý 1939, Bruxelles, 2R4, 17R6.

¹⁰⁶ Černý 2004, 70- 72.

¹⁰⁷ Černý 1929, 248, pl. XL.III (R° 7).

¹⁰⁸ RAD 49, 15; 52, 14.

¹⁰⁹ Brovarski 2001, 38, 108-110; Text fig. 4; pl. 75-80a; fig. 17, 21-23, text-fig. 4; vgl. Urk I 65.15-66.14.

¹¹⁰ Neveu 1998, 52-55.

KVO 7 (Pl. VII; fig. 7a, b)
O. Cairo JE 72468 (SR 1483)
A list of workmen present

Transliteration

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | <i>(recto a)</i> |
| (1) [iw KA] sA Ra-(ms) ^b | |
| (2) [iw] Hr-w-m-wiA | [iw] Hr-w-m-wiA ^a (1) |
| (3) iw PA-ym.w ^c | iw PA-Sdw ^c (2) |
| (4) iw Imn-m-ipt ^g | [iw] Nb-nxt.w ^d (3) |
| (5) [iw] [\$nmw-msw] ⁱ | iw aA-nxt.w ^f (4) |
| (6) [iw] [...] | Iw aA-phty ^h (5) |
| | iw KA-sA ^j (6) |
| | [...](7) |

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| | <i>(recto b)</i> |
| | iw[Nb-nfr ^k sA WAd-ms] (1) |
| | iw Raw-wbn ^l (2) |

Translation

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>(recto a)</i> |
| (1) [KA] sA Ra [has come] | |
| (2) Hr-m-wiA [has come] | M-wiA [has come] (1) |
| (3) PA-ymw has come | PA-Sdw has come (2) |
| (4) Imn-m-ipt has come | Nb-nxt.w [has come] (3) |
| (5) [\$nm-m]sw [has come] | aA-nxt-tw has come (4) |
| (6) [...] [has come] | aA-phty has come (5) |
| | KA-sA has come (6) |
| | [...](7) |

(recto b)

[Nb-nfr sA WAd-ms has come](1)

Raw-bn has come (2)

Transliteration

(verso a)

(1) iw (?)

(2) iw QA-H[A]ⁿ

iw Imn-(?) (1)

5

(3) iw *H*a-m-nwn^p

iw *H*wy^m sA *H*wy-nfr (2)

5 8

(4) iw Ma-k (y)-rmT-tw.f

5

5 8 (?)

(5) P[tH]-Sdw

iw Rw-tx^o (3)

(5) 8

(6) (?) *H*tpw

*H*si-sw-nb.f (4)

5

(7) [*H*A]mw

iw *H*wy^s sA *H*aw^q(5)

5 8

(8) [PA]-imy-r-iH.w

(?) sA Pn-nbw (6)

5

(9) [...]

(verso b)

9 219

16

4

Commentary

- Dimension: a, 6.5 x 12 cm, b, 3 x 6 cm
- Material : limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings in the excavations conducted by Davis.
- Cft. Černý MSS 106-16 and 106-16f.¹¹¹
- Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostrakon can date to the end of the XIXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostrakon is composed of four glued fragments; one of those does not join. It seems that there are other fragments missing; the most significant missing piece is that one at the bottom. The ink of the right part of “*recto a*” is in good condition in respect with that of the left one. The ink of “*recto b*” is in a good condition. The ink of the “*verso a, b*” significantly legible. However, almost in the middle of this side the writing is slightly effacing. The fractures between the fragments can cause somewhat hardship in reading.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed on two sides in black ink. The “*recto a*” is composed of two columns. Column “I” has 7 written lines; while column II has only 6 lines inscribed. The last line of column I is completely effaced. The writing of column I is more preserved than that of column II. For “*recto b*”, it has two inscribed lines. Line “1” is completely lost from the beginning; however the rest of the line is still preserved. With regard to the “*verso*”, it is composed of three columns. Column “I” has only 6 lines; while column “II” has the longest inscribed part “9 lines”. The third column “III” has only numbers which may correspond to some rations not specified. It might have been as long as column II but its upper part is completely lost with the breakage of the upper part of the ostrakon. However, the writing is running down until the same level of column II. For “*verso b*”, it might be consisted of two lines with higher numbers. It is hard to reconstruct the reference to which these numbers may imply.

¹¹¹ Collier 2004, 48-50, 157 (description, commentary).

- Palaeography: latter half of the XIXth dynasty.

The names taking place in this ostrakon are mentioned without any specification of a particular job. Therefore, we may be able to say that it is a list of workmen. What is distinct about this list being drawn in here is that the “*recto*” is composed of two columns which may signify that there might have been two gangs; the right and left ones.

^{a.} “*Hrw-m-wiA*” might be that workman who was mentioned on O. Ashm 57 which could date to year 2 of Siptah’s reign.¹¹² He was mentioned also on O. Cairo CG 25519 which can date to year 1 of king Siptah.¹¹³ In fact, most of his name’s citations are dated to the end of the XIXth dynasty (Amenmesse and Siptah).¹¹⁴ There remains an unexplained question: why the name of “*Hrw-m-wiA*” has appeared twice, one time on the right gang column I, 1 and the other one on the left one column II, 2? The answer would be that it could have been a mistake committed by the scribe; or the two names might have probably referred to two different persons.

^{b.} “[KA] sA Ra-(ms)” is that workman who lived in the second half of the XIXth dynasty.¹¹⁵ The name is missing the first part. He was mentioned with the abovementioned workman in O. Cairo CG 25523 which dates to year 2 of king Siptah.¹¹⁶ He was also mentioned on O. Cairo CG 25779 which dates to year 1 of Amenmesse.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, he was cited in O. DeM 912 which dates to year 1 or 2 of king Siptah.¹¹⁸

^{c.} “PA-Sdw” can be identified with that workman who appeared in O. Cairo CG 25517 which can date to year 6 of king Seti II.¹¹⁹ However Collier dates it to year 1 of king Siptah.¹²⁰ At any rate, this is the period to which this ostrakon can assign.

¹¹² Helck 2002 , 172-173 (translation).

¹¹³ Collier 2004, 35-36, 155 (description, commentary).

¹¹⁴ Look it up in O. Turin 57388 published in, López 1978-1984, vol. III, 29 (description), pl. 125-125a (facsimile and transcription of verso).

¹¹⁵ Davies 1999, 273-274.

¹¹⁶ Černý 1935b, 11-12 (description, transcription of erased text), 26* (transcription), pl. XVIII (facsimile); KRI IV, 329-330.

¹¹⁷ KRI IV, 211-216.

¹¹⁸ Grandet 2004, xvii, 4, 88-89, 340-343 (photographs, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).

¹¹⁹ Wimmer, 1995, vol. I, 48-50 (transcription of delta ; but see Wimmer 1995, vol. I, 22).

¹²⁰ Collier 2004, 25-27, 34-35, 155 (description, commentary).

- d. “Nb-nxt.w” could be that workman who is mentioned on O. Cairo Carnarvon 343 which can date to the reign of Amenmesse.¹²¹ He can also be found in O. Varille 22 which can date to either Seti II or Siptah.¹²²
- e. For “PA-ym.w”, he can be identified with that workman who appeared in O. Cairo CG 25781 which can date to Siptah’s reign.¹²³
- f. “ǎA-nxt.w” can be identified with that workman who appeared in (Černý graffiti, p. 26, pl. 71) as the father of the scribe “Wn-nfr”. He moved between the right and left sides of the gang.¹²⁴
- g. “Imn-m-ipt” can be that workman who is mentioned on the O. Ashm 57 which has a list of names and dated to the year 2 of Siptah’s reign.
- h. “ǎA-phty” can be the workman who appeared in O. Ashm 232 which dates to late Seti II-early Siptah.¹²⁵
- i. “[Šnmw-msw]” could be that workman who appeared in O. Cairo CG 25797 which can date after year 5 of Siptah’s reign.¹²⁶
- j. For “KA-sA”, by the second half of the XIXth dynasty, there appeared two workmen who bore the same name. One of them is the son of “Ra-ms” (look it up in “b”) and the second might have been the son of “PA-nb”.¹²⁷ However, there appeared another workman with the same name who is together with “KA son of Ra-ms” participated in crimes committed by the foreman.¹²⁸ There have might have been many workmen with the same name, working together by the end of the XIXth dynasty and the beginning of the XXth dynasty.
- k. “Nb-nfr son of WAd-ms” is one of grandsons of the foreman “Nb-nfr”. We know that “WAd-ms” career can be firmly attributed to the first half of Ramses II’s reign. By his marriage to one of the daughters of the foreman whose name is mentioned above, he got

¹²¹ KRI VII , 244 (transcription).

¹²² Černý MSS, 43.34 (description and transcription).

¹²³ Helck 2002, 194 (translation).

¹²⁴ Collier 2004, 1-13, 130, 146.

¹²⁵ Helck, 2002, 113 (outline of content).

¹²⁶ Collier 2004, 58, 61-64, 157 (description, commentary).

¹²⁷ Bierbrier 1982, 129.

¹²⁸ Černý 1929, P. Salt 124, rto. 2:10.

his affiliation to this family.¹²⁹ “Nb-nfr” however could be that workman who appeared by the end of the XIXth dynasty.

^l “Ra-wbn” can be that workman who appeared in O. Cairo CG 25513 which dates to Siptah-Tausert.¹³⁰ Another occurrence of the same name can be found in O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14126 which can date to the end of the XIXth dynasty.¹³¹

^m “Hwy son of Hwy-nfr” can be identified with the workman who appeared in O. Černý 7 which is dated to the reign of Amenmesse.¹³²

ⁿ “QA-HA” could probably be that workman who lived during the latter half of the XIXth dynasty.¹³³ His first appearance was in year 3 of Amenmesse.¹³⁴ He pursued his lifetime as a workman down to year 11 of king Ramses III.¹³⁵

^o “Rw-ix” can be that workman who appeared towards the end of the XIXth dynasty. His name was always mentioned as a member of the left-side gang.¹³⁶ He happened to be punished severely, being beaten, as a result of a drunken behaviour.¹³⁷ His name did not come up until year 13 of Ramses III.¹³⁸

^p “Ha-m-nwn” can be identified with the workman who appeared by the closing years of the XIXth dynasty.¹³⁹

^q “Haw” is the owner of TT 214 in which there was depicted some of family members. Amongst those represented, there was also “Hwy”. We know that the father lived in the latter half of Ramses II’s reign. However the son might have probably lived by the closing years of XIXth dynasty.

¹²⁹ Davies 1999, 217-218.

¹³⁰ KRI IV 433 (transcription).

¹³¹ McDowell 1999, 62-63 no. 33 (translation).

¹³² KRI VII, 243 (transcription).

¹³³ Davies 1999, 20.

¹³⁴ O. Cairo CG 25780, 8.

¹³⁵ O. Geneva MAH 12550, rto 3-4.

¹³⁶ Davies 1999, 245.

¹³⁷ O. Gardiner 37, rto. x⁺ 1, x⁺2.

¹³⁸ O. IFAO 1285, 2.

¹³⁹ Davies 1999, 251.

KVO 8 (Pl. VIII; fig. 8a, b)

O. Cairo 72469 (SR 1484)

A list of workmen absent

Transliteration (*recto*)

- 1- [...] (?) mw^a n pAy.f Snn.t^b
- 2- [...] Ax.t nfr.yt^c r Abd 2 Ax.t sw 18 iw.f mr^d
- 3- [...] [Q]n^e Mry-ra^f wsf Abd 2 Ax.t [...]
- 4- [...] [Abd (?)] Ax.t sw22 Qn Mry-r a [...]
- 5- [...] #Amw^g Qn Mry-ra [...] [...]
- 6- [Hrw] m-WiA^h Nb-imnⁱ wsf [...]
- 7- [...] wsf.w Abd 1Ax.t [...]
- 8- [PA]-Sdw^j sA Hh(-nxw) Nb-smn [...]
- 9- [...] sA Hh Nb-smn Nb-nxt[w]

Translation (*recto*)

- 1- [...] (?) who is present and absent for his illness [...]
- 2- [...] (of) the inundation season until the second month of akhet, he was ill on day 18.
- 3- [...] [Q]n and Mry- ra were absent the second month of akhet [...]
- 4- [...] [month (?)] of akhet, day 22, Qn and Mry-ra [...]
- 5- [...] #Amw and On and Mry-ra [...]

- 6- [*Hrw*] m-wiA and Nb-imn are absent [...]
- 7- [...] absentees, the first month of akhet [...]
- 8- [PA]Sdw son of @H-nxw, and Nb-smn [...]
- 9- [...] son of @H, Nb-smn and Nb-nXt[w]

Transliteration (verso)

- (1) [...] [N_{xw}]-m-mwt^k Ipwy^l NA-[xy]^m sA Bw-qn (?) [...]
- (2) [...] [NA]-xy sA Bw-qn-tw.f I[pwy] (?) [...]
- (3) [...] (?) sw 28 NA-xy [sA Bw-qn tw-[...] H_{wy}ⁿ sA H_a](w) [...]
- (4) [...] [tw.f] N_{xw}-m-mwt Pn-dwAww^o Ip (wy) [...]
- (5) [...] H_{Ay}^p wsf Abd 3 Axt sw 3 aA n is.t [...]
- (6) [...] [SA]-wADyt^q Pn-dwAww Ipwy sS qd.w nfr^r [...]
- (7) [...] [SA] [wAD]yt H_{wy} sA H_{aw} Ipwy wsf [...]
- (8) [ws]f aA n is.t [...]
- (9) (?) [...]

Translation (verso)

- (1) [...] [N_{xw}]-m-mwt, Ipwy, and NA-[xy] son of Bw-qn (?) [...]
- (2) [...] [NA]-xy son of Bw-qn-tw.f, and I[pwy] (?) [...]
- (3) [...] (?) on day 28 NA-xy [son of Bw-qn tw-(.f), and H_{wy} son of H_a](w)[...]
- (4) [...] [tw.f] N_{xw}-m-mwt, Pn-dwAww, and Ip (wy)[...]
- (5) [...] H_{Ay} is absent, the Third month of the inundation season, on day 3, the chief of the gang [...]
- (6) [...] WADyt, Pn-dwAww Ipwy, the draftsman, and (H_{tp})-nfr[...]
- (7) [...] [WAD]yt H_{wy} son of H_{aw} Ipwy absent[...]
- (8) [...] [absent], the chief of the gang [...]
- (9) (?) [...]

Commentary

- Dimension: 12 x 11 cm
 - Material: limestone
 - Provenance: according to the Special Register of Cairo Museum, Valley of the Kings (Davis' excavations).
 - Cft. MSS Černy 106.19.
 - Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostrakon can date to XIX-XXth dynasty.
 - Condition: the ink of two sides is well preserved. There are some fractures which may render the reading in some points somehow difficult. The writing of the *recto* is more preserved in respect with that of the *verso*.
 - Description: this ostrakon is broken into three fragments. It is obvious that the writing is incomplete from top and bottom; the right side has also some lost parts. The *recto* has 9 inscribed lines as well as the *verso*. Although the ostrakon had been reassembled of three fragments which may cause some difficulty in reading some words in the middle, the black ink is still in good state. The *recto*'s writing is slightly more preserved than the *verso*'s. In general, what helps distinctly ensure precise decipherment is the repetition of certain words like wsf "deedless", (Wb1, 357.14), along with some proper names.
 - Palaeography: it can date to the second half of the XIXth dynasty.
- (a) Since mw does not fit in to the whole context of the text, we suppose as a more appropriate reading wḥ "who is present" and nḥ "who is absent. They have been cited deliberately by the scribe to classify the content of this document. As for this ostrakon could be classified as "journal work calendar" recording absence of artisans, then both wḥ and nḥ would fit best

in this content. If so, there remains one enigmatic sign “n” which does make no sense.

- (b) For Snn (Wb4, 515. 3-9), the first sign is the cord, read as Snn.t.¹⁴⁰ it fits best here in this context as the whole list concerns “journal work, list of absent personnel”. However, the possessive pronoun pAy.f is masculine and Snn.t is feminine. Therefore, we may regard that, as it was merely a mistake committed by the scribe. There is another possibility to read the same sign which could be “sn”. If so, that will make no sense in the context we are handling here.
- (c) “nfr.yt-r” means “end” in (Wb2, 262.13-16; FCD 132), is defined as compound preposition.¹⁴¹ McDowell has translated it as “first” in meaning when it refers to a longer span of time.¹⁴² I think that it should be also translated as “first” in meaning here in this context. Then, the whole meaning would be “from the first of Akhet until month 2 of the same season”.
- (d) iw.f mr is typical administrative terminology. It has occurred in a considerable range of ostraca. For instance, in O. Ashm 37 (obv.7)¹⁴³, O. Cairo CG 51514 (rev 20, 22)¹⁴⁴, O. DeM 209 (obv. 14, rev. 17).¹⁴⁵ The construction iw.f mr is circumstantial clause which expresses an action in progress. Usually iw refers to an independent clause and has no value of time. In late Egyptian and Coptic, it is rather used as the mark of a clause of time or circumstance.¹⁴⁶ So here in this ostrakon, we should translate the whole clause as “he was ill” which has the value of past continuous tense (imperfect). iw.f mr = iw + suffix + old perfective (stative or old perfective).

¹⁴⁰ Möller 1927, 47.

¹⁴¹ Collier & Quirke 2004, pUC 32126, and the teaching of Kheti on O. DeM 1013 (rto.10).

¹⁴² McDowell 1993, O. Glasgow D. 1925. 71 vso. 2, Pl. IXa. Here in this Ostrakon, the reference of nfr.t is associated with rnp.t.

¹⁴³ Collier 2004, 78-79, 154 (description, commentary, photograph).

¹⁴⁴ Helck 2002, 140, 166-167 (outline of part of content).

¹⁴⁵ KRI IV, 217-219.

¹⁴⁶ Bakir 1983, 41, §124.

- (e) On¹⁴⁷, he was probably the son of “Bw-qn-tw.f” who held the same title sDm-aS m st-mAat “servant in the Place of Truth” and lived down to the first year of Ramses V.¹⁴⁸
- (f) For “Mry-ra” or “Ra-mry”¹⁴⁹, he could be identified with the “workman” of O. DeM 357 which could be dated to Ramses VI.¹⁵⁰ In this ostrakon, he probably could be the “workman” quoted in O. DeM 357 whose time span extended down to Ramses VI’s reign.
- (g) “#Am(w)”¹⁵¹, “workman”, appeared in around 57 documents (for example O. Ashm 37, P. DeM 32. His time span, according to written sources, could be traced through from the reigns of Amenmesse, Seti II, and end of Siptah’s reigns. A certain “HAm” has appeared in year in year 26 or 36 of Ramses II’s reign.¹⁵² Many scholars have thought that there was only one “HAm” who appeared from that year of Ramses II and lived down somewhere within the reigning years of king Siptah.¹⁵³ It is very puzzling to make a decisive distinction for this name but we would like to mention the attestations of his name in O. Turin N. 57082 together with HwY, Son of HwY-nfr ; [...], Son of [...]WADyt, KAsA, HAm, Hr-m-wiA, and PA-Sdw. It is noteworthy stating that both Hr.mwiA and HAmw appeared together in several ostraca.
- (h) [...]m-wiA¹⁵⁴, we propose to read this name as Hr-m-wiA a quarry workman, listed in P. Salt 124 (London, British Museum, BM 10055) among sixteen other workmen who were quarrying the king’s tomb in Valley of the Kings.

¹⁴⁷ RPN I, 334.

¹⁴⁸ Davies 1999, 221, §65; for topographical designations, see Adrom 2008, 12-14.

¹⁴⁹ RPN II, 160.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 353 footnote 5.

¹⁵¹ RPN I, 262.

¹⁵² López 1978-194, 42, pl. 49/49a.

¹⁵³ Demarée 1983, 104; KRI III, 530.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 247.

He could be assigned to the late XIXth dynasty, most probably the reign of Amenmesse.¹⁵⁵

- (i) Interesting enough is Nb-smn's name which appeared on the same list of P. Salt 124. For Nb-imn¹⁵⁶, he held the title "the child of the tomb".¹⁵⁷ This title refers rather to the small job or occasional jobs assigned to those people who held it. It is known that he witnessed with a door-keeper to an oath when a donkey was being handed over (O.DeM 133; it dates to the first half of XXth dynasty) and he testified later on this.
- (j) This name could be restored as "PA-Sdw". In this ostrakon, he is assigned to be the son of the workman "Hh-nxw" who lived down the end of the XIXth dynasty.
- (k) Nxw-m-mwt could probably be identified with the workman who was born, according to Bierbrier's calculation, in year 25th of Ramses II's reign.¹⁵⁸ He escalated in his working career until he occupied the post of foreman between years 11 and 15 of Ramses III's reign; by that time he was very elderly man.¹⁵⁹ However, until the time of the ostrakon in question, he could have probably still been an ordinary workman. On the other hand, his name's citation at the beginning of the *verso*'s side throws some doubt on his current position during the time of this ostrakon. The fact that his name is not followed by any affiliation makes us very sceptic in assigning any specific position here other than a normal workman.
- (l) The setting framework of this ostrakon might direct us to attribute this ostrakon to the end of the XIXth dynasty. However, "lpwy" was identified

¹⁵⁵ Davies 1999, 12.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 186.

¹⁵⁷ Bogoslovsky 1981, 5-21.

¹⁵⁸ Bierbrier 1982, 201.

¹⁵⁹ Davies 1999, 47.

by “Davies” to have lived mostly during Ramses III’s reign.¹⁶⁰ The same author does not rule out completely the probability of ascribing him to a certain “Ipwy” who might have ended his career at the end of the XIXth dynasty. In conclusion, we would be rather inclined here to hypothesise that there might have been two or more “Ipwys” who lived probably at the same as it could understand from the other “Ipwy” who was entitled to be “sS qd.w”. This title means the “draftsman, painter, and drawer”.¹⁶¹

- (m) “NA-xy sA Bw-qn-tw.f” could be safely identified with the workman who appeared in a very wide range of documents (O. DeM 900, O. Černy 7, O. Cairo CG 25873, and P. Berlin P 14448) during Amenmesse’s reign.¹⁶²
- (n) The name of this workman has occurred once in one of the ostarca of our corpus (KVO 7). His father’s name “Haw” has occurred in a variety of monuments of Dier el-Medina like TT 214. In this tomb, there was a depiction for his son “Hwy” as well.¹⁶³ What can be ascertained about the both figures is that the two were just ordinary workmen. The son “Hwy” could have basically lived in the second half of the XIXth dynasty.
- (o) It is hard to identify “Pn-dwAww” with more clear certainty as there were many of the workforce, as usual, bearing the same name. However, we might be able to confine our endeavour to a certain workman with the same name who occurred in O. Gardiner 87, 7-8. He has also been mentioned on a number of other ostraca dated safely to Amenmesse’s reign.¹⁶⁴
- (p) Fortunately, this name is followed by a ranking title “aA n is.t” (the foreman of the gang). According the chronological charter of Davies, his span of time as “a foreman”, could be confined between year 1 of Amenmesse and year

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 152.

¹⁶¹ Bogoslovsky 1980, 89-116; Wb, 5, 10.17.

¹⁶² Davies 1999, 64, 66.67.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 193.

¹⁶⁴ O. Ciaro CG 25779, vso. 6 (year 1); O. Cairo CG 25780, 8, O. Cairo CG 25782 and -83, rto. 7, and rto. 8 (all year 3); O. Cairo 25784, 14-15 (year 4).

22 of Ramses III.¹⁶⁵ The name of this foreman has been always associated to the left side of the gang.¹⁶⁶ Surprisingly, his name is not mentioned on atop the list, despite the fact that he is the foremost man as for his title.

- (q) This name could be restored as “SA-wAdyt”, the workman who was mentioned on a number of ostraca dated to Amenmesse¹⁶⁷, Seti II¹⁶⁸ and Siptah.¹⁶⁹
- (r) This name could be restored as “Nfr-Htp”, the workman who was the brother of “NA-xy” and the son of “Bw-qn-tw.f”.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Davies 1999, 279.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 264.

¹⁶⁷ O. Cairo CG 25779, vso. 8, (year 1).

¹⁶⁸ O. Cairo CG 25512, vso. 1 (year 6).

¹⁶⁹ O. Cairo CG 25516, vso. 26 (year 1).

¹⁷⁰ Davies 1999, 221.

KVO 9 (Pl. IX; fig. 9)
O. Cairo JE 72470 (SR 1485)
A day-to-day journal?

Transliteration

- (1) hzb.t –rnp.t 2 [...]
- (2) pAy.f^a sA Min¹⁷¹[...]
- (3) @wy^b sA Hw(y)-(nfr) [...]
- (4) Ra-Htp^c [...]

Translation

- (1) Year 2 [...]
- (2) His son Min [...]
- (3) @wy son of @w(y)-(nfr) [...]
- (4) Ra-Htp [...]

¹⁷¹ Möller, Paläographie, 49.

Commentary

- Dimension: 5.5 x 3.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (from the excavations undertaken by Davis).
- Dating: according to the Special Register, it can assign to the end the XIXth dynasty.
- Condition: in general, the ostrakon is in very good condition, despite that fact the left side entirely chipped off. The ink is still vivid and the signs can be transcribed without any difficulty. There is somewhat of damage in the top of the ostrakon towards the left side which resulted in getting part of the date missing. The ink of the second line is slightly fading and still remains illegible.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed in black ink and is composed of four lines. The inscriptions have happened to exist only on one side; the other one remains blank however. The fracture which goes along the left side has caused of obscuring, to certain extent, a possible understanding to the content of the text.
- Palaeography: no clear elements to set it out.

Morphological changes in the possessive pronouns:

^{a-} We know that all the demonstratives disappeared from the spoken language except the A series by the end of the Middle Kingdom; however they are still used in writing. With the domination of the spoken language, the A series started to develop another set of Demonstratives which took the upper hand in both the spoken and the written one. They are pAy (masculine singular), tAy (feminine singular), and nAy (neutral); they are the evolved form of the definite articles pA, tA, nA. “pAy.f, tAy or nAy + suffix +noun possessed” is the new morphological form which occurs in the possessive construction. These new forms occasionally appear in Middle Egyptian texts from the Second Intermediate Period and later.¹⁷² pAy, tAy, and nAy should agree in number and gender with the noun possessed and the suffix should agree in number and gender with possessor.¹⁷³

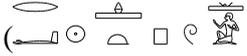
For the personal name whose prefix is “Min”, it is too hard to identify this name with any of the workmen of the Valley of the Kings as there were many whose names’

¹⁷² Allen 2002, 54.

¹⁷³ Neveu 1998, 10-11.

prefixes start off with “Min”. Due to this ambiguity, we would not be able to provide more assertive clarifications to define this name.

^b With regard to “Hwy”, we might be able to identify him with the workman whose father is called “Hwy-nfr”.¹⁷⁴ The latter’s father is Nxt.mnw¹⁷⁵ mentioned on O. Brussels E. 6311, who was also active by the end of the XIXth dynasty.¹⁷⁶ Collier hints that the first occurrences could be references to the chief workman and scribe, high ranking position in the hierarchal sphere of the community of workmen.¹⁷⁷ “Hwy” was probably active in the period before Amenmesse as well as his father Hwy-nfr according to the classification of Collier (Group A).¹⁷⁸

^c For Ra-Htp, he has appeared in a number of ostraca dated to the end of the XIXth dynasty; between year 1 and 2 of Siptah’s reign.¹⁷⁹ He was associated with “Hwy sA Hwy-nfr” in all these documents. In fact, Ra-Htp can be probably be also identified with (PA)-ra-Htp.¹⁸⁰ This name has various writings; it could be written () or ).¹⁸¹ In the ostrakon in question, his name starts off with the 

determinative without the phonetic signs . Furthermore, he could be the same personnel of KVO 3 whose name might have been probably abbreviated to be . All these variants may probably refer to the same name.

For the dating setting of this ostrakon, we might be inclined to attribute it to the end of the XIXth dynasty.

¹⁷⁴ RPN I, 233.

¹⁷⁵ This ostrakon is published in Bierbrier 1982, 204, n. 8.

¹⁷⁶ Davies 1999, 214.

¹⁷⁷ Collier, 2004, xiv.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 90-91.

¹⁷⁹ O. Cairo CG 25521, vso. 2, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17; O. DeM 611 (I 4); and O. Cairo CG 25519, vso. 4, 6, 9.

¹⁸⁰ Davies 1999, 44.

¹⁸¹ McDowell 1993, O. Glasgow D. 1925. 66 rt.2-3, 6, pl. Ia.

KVO 10 (Pl. X; fig. 10)

O. Cairo JE Cairo 72471 (SR 1486)

A note of a name?

Transliteration

(1) (?)

(2) <nswt Hmt>

Translation

(1) (?)

(2) <royal wife>

Commentary

- Dimension: 5.5x6 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: the ostracon was found in the excavations conducted by Th. Davis in Valley of the Kings.
- Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostracon can date to the end of the XIXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostracon is in a fair condition as well as its ink.
- Description: the ostracon has only one side inscribed in black ink. The inscribed side has two lines; one was almost missed out with the chipping of the stone, leaving some traces for some illegible signs. The second line is still well preserved and legible.
- Palaeography: the ostracon can be placed at the end of the XIXth dynasty.

The name written in the cartouche could be interpreted as a name or an adjective which follows to qualify it. Therefore the translation would be “royal wife” or “king’s wife”.

However, looking over the name written, it can infer that there could be some writing mistakes committed by the scribe. The word “nswt” was written in the cartouche not outside as it used to stand. The name of the king referred to is somewhat enigmatic. From the word “Hm.t”, we can understand that the reference may indicate rather to “queen regnant” than to a “king”. If we look at the history of the queens who ruled effectively Egypt in the Ramesside Period and held some epithets, we can say that “Tausert” is the most plausible one. One of her names is <SA.t-Ra> EP. (Hnwt)-tAmri>.¹⁸² Perhaps the one who wrote this ostracon may have intended to write this epithet but probably miswrote it down, mixing “Hm.t” with “Hnw.t”.

¹⁸² Beckerath 1999, 162-163.

KVO 11 (Pl. XI; fig. 11)

O. Cairo JE 72474 (SR 1489)

A delivery account of firewood

Transliteration “a”

(1) sS KAr^a n tA (?) [...]

(2) xt r^b (tA) ri.t^c

Translation “a”

(1) The scribe KAr of the (?) [...]

(2) Firewood, a piece of (?) [...]

Transliteration “b”

(1) [...] iw imi-r mr^d 121 [...]

(2) [...] (?) 104 [...]

Translation “b”

(1) [...] woven tissues 121 [...]

(2) [...] (?) 104 [...]

Commentary

- Dimension: a, 3.5x 6 cm, b, 4x 3 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavations undertaken by Th. Davis).
- Dating: according to the Special Register (Cairo Museum inventory data), it can date to the end of XXth dynasty.
- Condition: part “a” is broken into two pieces however they are glued together. All over the ostrakon, there are some black points spread in an unequal intensity. The bigger piece is slightly dappled with these points; however the other piece has got more. Part “b” is only one smaller slab which has more intensive black points in respect with part “a”. As we have referred to before, these black points have emerged as a result of some chemical reactions of the nature of the stone with the outer atmosphere. Consequently, these black dots may get shape-shifted with the signs themselves and cause somewhat hardship when reading. The state of the ink is still good and readable in spite of these black stains.
- Description: the whole ostrakon is inscribed only on one side and the other is completely blank. Part “a” is consisted of two incomplete lines; part “b” is almost the same. It seems that this account was a part of a larger one which has been dismantled with the scattering process of this ostrakon. What is distinct about the handwritings of the two parts is that they sound that they have been written by one scribe.
- Palaeography: it is hard to define.

Probable dating clues

^a. We might probably identify him with a certain guardian called KAr who is safely dated to end of the XXth dynasty.¹⁸³ This guardian happened to appear in P. Turin Cat.

¹⁸³ Häggman 2002, 110, Černý 2004, 159.

2071/224 + 1960, vs 1, 11-1,12.¹⁸⁴ In this papyrus, he was called to present himself in front of the king (dit iw.f m-BAH pr-*aA*), possibly in order to receive part of the crew's wages. However, there remains a controversial point which may render this assumption somehow illogical; here in our ostrakon he has the title sŠ not  sAw.¹⁸⁵ It has been long believed that this workman was associated with the door guard not with the gang of workmen. Generally, the persons who held this title were in charge of receiving salaries in grain at the same time of the other personnel; in the accounts of payment they invariably follow the foremen, scribes, and ordinary workmen.¹⁸⁶ With regard to the guardian of the tomb who had the same name, his name constituents were mostly written  and not with throwing-stick which in many cases terminates the foreign names.¹⁸⁷ The question which may assert itself at this point is: is the guardian KAr the same person occurring in the ostrakon in question as a scribe with the determinative ? Furthermore, was there more than one KAr? The answer would be yes; we know that among the subordinates of the chiefs of the Medjay (policemen) there was mentioned almost a similar name terminated as follows: . Were they the same person? What we know about KArIA (a mDay) is that he was never associated with being the guardian of the tomb neither with being the scribe position. In other words, he never bore the title scribe in his lifetime. In addition to this policeman, there was also an ordinary workman of the quarry whose name was terminated with .¹⁸⁸ However, bearing the scribe title would imply more elevate position than being only a quarryman. Therefore, we might be able to rule out this assumption too. There remains at the end one convincing assumption: this scribe mentioned in the ostrakon in question, is another person who has nothing to do with these two other persons. Seeking further in the accounts of Deir el-Medina, we have encountered the same name, without affiliation, in some accounts belonging to Deir el-Medina (O.DeM 45¹⁸⁹, vso. 14, O.DeM 46¹⁹⁰, vso.

¹⁸⁴ KRI VI, 643.

¹⁸⁵ P. BM EA 10375, rto.4, P. Geneva D 407, note on rto. 1, the both are dated within Ramses XI's reign.

¹⁸⁶ Černý 2004, 149.

¹⁸⁷ Ward 1994, 61-85.

¹⁸⁸ Černý 2004, 254. He is mentioned on stela Turin Cat. 1636 and is the owner of the tomb n° 330.

¹⁸⁹ McDowell 1999, 207 no. 156 (translation of obverse 14-17).

¹⁹⁰ Helck 2002, 372-374 (outline of content).

14) which are dated between year 1 and 2 of Ramses IV. This may render the dating framework of this ostrakon quite difficult.

Philological commentary

^{b.} “ri.t” means one side of the gang.¹⁹¹ The initial writing constituents of this word, in the ostrakon of question, are lost. However, the mention of firewood may help us reconstruct the whole context. Therefore, we might be able to infer the following word as “ri.t” which means one side of the gang. This word has occurred in a number of documents (O. Berlin P 10634, 5; O. Qurna 643/1, 3; O. Berlin P 12294). On this ground, we can say that what comes before is a preposition “r” which means “to”.

^{c.} imi-r-mr (Wb 2, 96.15;FCD 111; Fischer, Titles, no. 199) is Ptolemaic title which was used in P. New York MMA 35.9.21, 1 with meaning “weavers or weaving”; the word was written without the determinative ⲟ.¹⁹² However, in this ostrakon, this determinative is lacking here which renders the word problematic in meaning. I would rather inclined to infer a meaning “weaved items” which can fit in here as there is a quantified amount specified by numbers right after that word.

¹⁹¹ Wb 2, 400.4-13; Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990, vol. II, 54; KoptHWb 160, 390.

¹⁹² Smith 2006, 217-232. Quack 2004, 327-332. Goyon 1999, 17-47, col. 1-17.

KVO 12 (Pl. XII; fig. 12)

O. Cairo JE 72476 (SR 1491)

A literary content (a procession?)

Transliteration

- (1) nṚr.w xft^a Htp.f (?)nb^b[...]
- (2) Imn i^c wiA^d m Htp*rw^e Sr [...]
- (3) [...] *p nxt-ti^f nb.w
- (4) [...] arrw^g (?) * ti [...]
- (5) [...] Ra sA* Sps nb [...]
- (6) [...] (?) Ḥrw st^h ir.ti* Hr (?) .k [...]
- (7) [...] ii

Translation

- (1) The gods before his offerings and all (?) [...]
- (2) Amun, who is in the bark of Ra, (may come) in peace* Ra, the son [...]
- (3) [...] the strongest one of the Lords [...]
- (4) [...] the leonine of gatekeepers* (?) [...]
- (5) [...] Ra, the son* of the splendid, the lord of [...]
- (6) [...] Ḥrw, (where he) settles in the throne and the eye of the heaven* Your face
(?) [...]
- (7) [...] (?)

Commentary

- Dimension: 9.5 x 7.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Davis excavations in the Valley of the Kings.
- Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostrakon can date to the XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostrakon is broken into two pieces. It seems that there is one piece missing; however the two pieces are still separated and not glued. For the upper one, towards the left, there is a little damage which caused to efface the ending of the first line. For the lower one, a big part of the stone was chipped off, causing a complete fragmentation to the whole line. The overall state of the ink is good and enough legible.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed only on one side and is consisted of 7 lines written in black ink. The end of line 1 is totally effaced. In line 4, there is that fracture which caused some signs to be hardly legible. In line 5 and 6, the ink is slightly effacing. The ostrakon is marked with red circles. This dappling process can be considered as punctuation which is characteristic of those ostraca classified as literary. There is some red smudge right under the end of the first line. The whole inscription is written fairly and it can read through without much effort.
- Palaeography: it is difficult to define its palaeographical framework.

We would like here to focus on the terminology employed as an attempt to get more insight into the real nature of this literary account.

^a “xft” is a preposition which means “before”.¹⁹³ It was used mostly in the spatial sense with meaning “something is opposed to another” or “something is before another”. This

¹⁹³ Wb 3, 274.3-4,15-16,21; EAG § 766; GEG § 169; CGG 103.

can explain the nisbe form of the same word “xfti” which means “opponent”.¹⁹⁴ It has been used with that meaning in several documents.¹⁹⁵

b. “nb” is an adjective equivalent which means “any” in negative sentences or “all” in affirmative ones.¹⁹⁶

c. “i” is a problematic expression. Immediately after it, there is the throwing stick which renders the whole expression more difficult. It could never be used here as a vocative form as there is no the seated man with finger in mouth as determinative. Therefore, the translation made here is highly doubtful and does not rely on solid basis.

d. “wIA” has long been identified as the bark of “Ra” which is used during the ceremonial processions.¹⁹⁷ An image of a miniature bark was always represented in the sanctuary of the temple. It was such transporting means, the priests used to transfer gods among different temples. On top of each bark, there would remain a shrine in which the celebrated god had to rest. On public holidays, the ancient Egyptian by the New Kingdom started to use some interventions called “oracles”.¹⁹⁸ By oracles, the ancient Egyptian could be in direct contact during the course of the procession.

e. “rw” could be, in some cases, associated with the god “Ra” himself.¹⁹⁹ However, it has been long translated in documents as merely “lion”.²⁰⁰

f. “nxt.i” could mean the giant in Wb 2. 318.7. However, this word used to be written



which is totally different. On the other hand, we may not exclude completely



which means “to be strong”. The scribe most probably has taken the leaning standing man holding a stick to substitute the three phonetic letters “nxt”. Then, the meaning of the whole phrase might be “the strongest one of the Lords”.

g. “arrw” can be translated as “leonine gatekeepers” (Wb 1, 211.7). It used to be written

in this manner “”. In our case, it is written down with slight difference.

The two have been written right after the lion determinative. After them, there

¹⁹⁴ Allen 2000, 86.

¹⁹⁵ Parkinson 2002, 305-306; Burkard 2003, 195-197; Barns 1956, 1-10, pl. I-VI.

¹⁹⁶ Neveu 1998, 16.

¹⁹⁷ Piankoff 1968, pl. 9, 10.

¹⁹⁸ Allen 2000, 57.

¹⁹⁹ The lion god is associated to Ra: P. BM 9900, 5 (P. Nebseni = Book of the Dead, Ch. 62), from Memphis, date: Thutmosis IV, written in cursive hieroglyphs.

²⁰⁰ Lapp 1997, pl. 36-37.

might have been the seated god as determinative. Unfortunately it can not be read as the writing at this part is completely illegible.

h. “st” can mean “to settle” (Wb 4, 1-6.20).²⁰¹

i. “ir.t” can be translated as the “the eye of a god; (eye) of the heaven, metaphor for the sun and the moon”.²⁰² It was mentioned with such meaning in (P. BM EA 10477 (pNu), Tb 017).²⁰³

²⁰¹ Davies 1902, 12-13, pl. XIII; these tombs can date to the VIth dynasty; Grdseloff1947, 12.

²⁰² Wb 1, 107.7.

²⁰³ Lapp 1997, pl. 2-9; this papyrus can date from Hatchepsut to Amenophis II.

KVO 13 (Pl. XIII; fig. 13)

O. Cairo JE 72477 (SR1492)

A literary content (piece of the Book of Caverns?)

Transliteration (a)

- (1) [...] Ai* iw Ra (?) [...]
- (2) [...] pAy^a n Xrd.w* imnt.t
- (3) [...] nb ir.t* Dd.sn^b n.k[...]
- (4) [...] (?) * (?) [...]

Translation “a”

- 1- (?)* Ra
- 2- [...] that of children* West
- 3- [...] the lord of the cavern* They may say to you [...]
- 4- [...] (?)* [...]

Transliteration (b)

- (1) (?) Xnm. n^c.k[...]
- (2) ti (?) [...]

Translation “b”

- 1- (?) unite with yourself [...]
- 2- (?) [...]

Commentary

- Dimension: a, 6x 4.5 cm, b, 2.5x 1.5 cm.
- Material: limestone.
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (Excavation undertaken by Th. Davis).
- Dating: according to the Special Register (Cairo Museum inventory data), it can date to the end of XIXth dynasty.
- Condition: the two pieces are notably chipped off in many parts in a way that it is hard to get an explicit understanding to the content. The ink of piece “a” is obviously effacing, however part “b” is slightly in a better condition. The ink of the latter is still clearer and can be better transcribed but the lost parts don’t help get a complete understanding to its content either. The nature of the stone of the two pieces is very near so that a certain scholar (probably Černý) could designate them under one inventory number, thinking that they could constitute one larger ostrakon. On piece “b”, there are some light red smudges on its edges (the right side and the bottom). This can be accounted for some chemical reactions between the outer atmosphere and the material of the ostrakon or while the punctuating process, the scribe smudged this part unintentionally.
- Description: part “a” is consisted of four incomplete lines, however part “b” has only two. The ostrakon (a, b) is inscribed only on one side. With regard to part “a”, the ink of the first line is incomplete towards the right side and slightly fading in respect to the second one. It is marked with red points which render the whole content rather as literary. Line “4” is completely fragmented with some residues of a vanishing sign followed by “𐤀”. Concerning part “b”, it is not dappled with red points; however there is some red smudges spread on the right and the bottom edges. On the right side, it seems that there is no any missing part of writing; conversely on the left one, it is dramatically incomplete.

Palaeography: it can not be set out.

same word in the tomb of Ramses VI (KV 2) as  sIAwi.²⁰⁷ Moreover, the combination of the two words nb sIA has never been encountered before. It may probably refer to the sun god Ra who overtakes the depictions in the first and the second sections. For the text of this ostrakon, I remain unable to correlate it with any of the known literary texts.

²⁰⁷ Piankoff 1947, 32, 3 facsimile, 46.

KVO 14 (Pl. XIV; fig. 14a, b)

O. Cairo JE 72480 (SR 1495)

A scribal exercise or an account

Transliteration (*recto*)

| | | |
|-------|------|-----|
| 8000 | 700 | 30 |
| 9000 | 800 | 40 |
| 10000 | 900 | 50 |
| 20000 | 1000 | 60 |
| 30000 | 2000 | 70 |
| 40000 | 5000 | 80 |
| (?) | 6000 | 90 |
| | 7000 | 100 |
| | | 100 |
| | | 200 |
| | | 300 |

Translation (*recto*)

| | | |
|-------|------|-----|
| 8000 | 700 | 30 |
| 9000 | 800 | 40 |
| 10000 | 900 | 50 |
| 20000 | 1000 | 60 |
| 30000 | 2000 | 70 |
| 40000 | 5000 | 80 |
| (?) | 6000 | 90 |
| | 7000 | 100 |
| | | 100 |
| | | 200 |
| | | 300 |

Transliteration (verso)

| | | |
|---|--------|-------|
| 50000 | 𐎎 | 60000 |
| 60000 | 100000 | 70000 |
| 70000 | 200000 | 80000 |
| 80000 | 300000 | 90000 |
| 90000 | 40000 | (?) |
|  | 50000 | |

Translation (verso)

| | | |
|---|--------|-------|
| 50000 | 𐎎 | 60000 |
| 60000 | 100000 | 70000 |
| 70000 | 200000 | 80000 |
| 80000 | 300000 | 90000 |
| 90000 | 40000 | (?) |
|  | 50000 | |

Commentary

- Dimension: 10.5 x 7.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: It is attributed to the Valley of the Kings, Davis' excavations.
- Dating: it ascribes to the XIX-XXth dynasty, according to the Special Register data.
- Condition: its top and bottom are chipped off. The ink is still visible in most of its part (*recto* and *verso*). However, on the "*recto*" the ink of the middle column is slightly effacing. As overall state, the *verso*'s ink is more preserved in respect with that of the *recto*.
- Description: the ostrakon has two sides inscribed with black ink. There are three written columns on two sides. The spaces between the columns are well determined and in some points they get as the handwriting was not adjusted vertically on the line dedicated to each column. The line spacing not adjusted either in the "*recto*"; however in the *verso* it is better done.
- Palaeography: the palaeographical setting can not be outlined.

Some consideration:

We have captured until now 4 ostraca on which there is some scribal exercises.²⁰⁸ Just to give an example, O. Cairo CG 25331 was identified to contain exclusively numerals only; it was found in the Valley of the Kings but the date can not be defined.²⁰⁹ In addition, O. BM EA 65599 + O. BM EA 65600 reverse has been written in 4 columns, starting with more minor numerals; 1, 2 and so forth; we can not assign this ostrakon to a specific provenance as it was purchased by N. de Garies Davies in 1923-1924 and then was gifted to the British Museum by W. R. Dawson.²¹⁰ Furthermore, O. Cairo JE

²⁰⁸ <http://www.wepwawet.nl/dmd/scripts>.

²⁰⁹ Daressy 1901, 84.

²¹⁰ Demarée 2002, 39, pls 163-164.

72473a, b (unpublished) has the same setting of numerals of the ostracon in question. It was also found in the Valley of the Kings.

Bommas and McDowell alike think that an institutionalized place like “a.t sbAy.t” could have existed in Deir el-Medina where scribes could reproduce, on ostraca, very high standard copies of literary compositions.²¹¹ We wonder whether the Valley of the Kings was such highly secret place in which they required only capable artisans to build and paint royal tombs or it might have been also such a stage on which even minor scribes could play part in. In other words, the Valley of the Kings could have been such a place where the beginners of the scribal class could receive some teaching lessons on the hands of those experienced ones. Then, there might have existed some schools throughout the Valley and its lateral small valleys to give such practical lessons to young scribes. That implies that the concentration of some institutions, like school, did not only exist in Deir el-Medina and within temples as usually thought but it might have been found within Valley of the Kings itself.

At the beginning of column 2 (*recto*) there is such sun-disk with sun rays. This sign has been previously encountered in KVO21 classified as Funny-signs ostracon. At the end of line 3 *verso*, there is also an enigmatic sign that I remain unable to interpret. I would rather identify it as a funny-sign as well. Then, we may understand that even the funny-signs could have been integrated into standard-written language, either hieratic or hieroglyphic. In the excavations conducted by Bruyère in 1928, he has discovered a tomb no. 356 of “Imn-m-wiA”.²¹² On the walls, there has been written a “Htp-di-nswt” funerary formula in which there was inserted after the preposition “Hr” a funny-sign (an eye with lashes found in KVO 21). In conclusion, the non-standard signs of the so called Funny-signs ostraca would hold, in some cases, a proper meaning. The meaning is inherent into its ideographic depiction. With more investigation we might be on the track, towards cracking its codes.

²¹¹ Bommas 2006, 14.

²¹² Bruyère 1928, 119.

KVO 15 (Pl. XV; fig. 15a, b)

O. Cairo JE 72481 (SR 1496)

A literary content + an administrative account

Transliteration (*recto*)

- (1) in^a wrw X (?) [...]
- (2) (i)^{Tb} n.k itrw pA [...]
- (3) in.f Hri^c sS [...]
- (4) in^d n i.ir (?) [...]
- (5) sDm (nA) [...]
- (6) Hr (?) [...]

Translation (*recto*)

- (1) May the great ones of [...] ? [...]
- (2) Which river of the (?) belongs to you ? [...]
- (3) Is he being far (from being) a scribe ? [...]
- (4) will (?) act (?) ? [...]
- (5) listen to the (?) [...]
- (6) on [...]

Transliteration (*verso*)

- (1) (?) [...]
- (2) im.f^e [...]
- (3) sip.ti [...]
- (4) mnx.t [...]

(5) Hzp.t (?) [...]

Translation (*verso*)

(1) [...]

(2) Therein it[...]

(3) Inspection [...]

(4) Efficiency [...]

(5) regnal year (?) [...]

Commentary

- Dimension: 7.5 x 6 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (in the excavations undertaken by Davis).
- Dating: according to the Special Register, it can be assigned to the XXth dynasty.
- Conditions: the ostracon is merely one slab of limestone detached probably from a larger one as the left part's inscription is incomplete. However, the overall condition is quite good and the inscriptions are still visible. Some parts of the *verso*'s writing are hardly readable (end of line 1 and first signs of line 2) because of a slight disappearance in the ink.
- Description: the ostracon has both the *recto* and the *verso* inscribed in black ink. The *recto* is composed of 6 lines dappled with red two remarkable dots as well as red smudges spread in different points on the ostracon. This punctuation may indicate that the ostracon might have been used as a draft of a literary composition. We know that most of the literary written outcomes are marked with spots in red ink as a sort of punctuation.²¹³ Or the *recto* could have been just a training draft for those apprentices who were attempting to reproduce literary compositions learnt by heart.²¹⁴ The *verso* is composed of 5 written lines as what remains from a larger text. It is lighter of colour as perhaps the ostracon was long laid on this side so it was not exposed to dust. There is some little smudge in yellow, on the fourth line. It is hard to draw up a clear conclusion about the content as for the big loss of writing. There remain only few words which may give an impression of understanding that this side was destined to be a part of an administrative composition. This is represented in the

²¹³ Posener 1938, still *in fieri*.

²¹⁴ Černý 1931, 212-224.

terminology used like “sip.ti” meaning “inspection” (Wb 4, 36. 5-9).²¹⁵ Besides, the absence of the red dots would suggest that this side was rather used as a surface to receive a non-literary composition. The ink is in very good conditions in comparison to that of the *recto*; but the missing written parts are larger here in respect with that of other side. What is interesting about this ostracon is that it holds two different written themes. From the handwriting, it sounds that it is only one scribe who wrote the two sides; he may probably have been just a beginner and this ostracon may have been just a training draft for him. As far as we know, this is the first time we ever encounter literary and non-literary compositions written on one ostracon.

- Palaeography: we would be rather inclined to attribute this ostracon to a period between Ramses III and Ramses IV.

a- There are four interrogative pronouns  (rare),  (frequent),  (quite rare), and   (exceptional) whose answer should be either in affirmative or in negative; they precede the major part of the independent forms either verbal or nominal.²¹⁶ They all have the value in.  is placed before sDm.f (wrw.i) form which should be translated either in future (prospective) or in past tense. I would be rather inclined here to translate it in Future tense as a wish (optative).²¹⁷ In fact, the prospective sDm.f form is considered an independent form.²¹⁸ However, “wrw” has never been rendered as a verb. So this could probably be an error committed by the scribe who was probably not experienced enough in the art of writing. He most probably mixed up wr̄r (Wb 1, 326; 328. 13) with meaning “to be great”, with wrw.

b-   | ”it” is an interrogative pronoun of specification which occurred very rarely in texts and means “which”.²¹⁹ It seems to me here also that the scribe

²¹⁵ The same word was used on a limited number of ostraca classified as administrative ones. For example, it can be found in O. Madrid 16.243 published in KRI VII, 335-336.

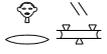
²¹⁶ Neveu 1998, 277.

²¹⁷ Černý & Israelit Groll 1984, 328.

²¹⁸ Neveu 1998, 121.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 31.

dropped out the initial signs of the word and retained the duckling with the upright stroke right after.²²⁰

c-  “Hri” (Wb 3, 144- 146) is an infinitive which means “to be far from”. I would rather consider  as another mistake undertaken by the scribe instead of writing the third interrogative pronoun  “in”. If so, the construction “n.f Hr sS” would be n (interrogative pronoun + suffix+ infinitive). We know that suffix + (Hr) infinitive is very frequent in Late Egyptian and is dubbed “first present”.²²¹ It is best translated in English as an action in progress.

d-  “in” is another interrogative quite rare.. For instance, in O. IFAO 1007 it occurs as follows:  “in i.ir.f r tAy” is it against this that he will act?²²² In our case we have in n i.ir which may be also translated in future tense as well. However, the “n” would render the whole construction somewhat irregular. This can be again accounted for the inexperience of the scribe who wrote this document. He might have inserted this extra “n” by error.

e- This construction is preposition + suffix. Its translation usually depends basically on the context of the clause in which it is found. So, it can be translated here as “therein it”. In other cases, this construction can be used as an adverbial predicate or can be translated “in which”, “by which” in relative clauses.

²²⁰ Some occurrences for this pronoun can be found in Collier 1985, 5-6, also in KRI VI, 795, 14-15.

²²¹ Neveu 1998, 175.

²²² Černý 1972, 59, pl. XX.

KVO 16 (Pl. XVI; fig. 16)

O. Cairo JE 71482 (SR 1497)

A note?

Transliteration

(1) [SA]a m^a inb^b

Translation

(1) [From] the enclosure on

Commentary

- Dimension: 9 x 10 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings, Davis's excavations.
- Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostrakon can assign to the XIXth dynasty.
- Condition: since there is no much inscription, we can not state much detail. However, the overall state of writing is obviously on its way to efface.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed only on one side and has one line. The beginning of the writing, from the right side, is almost effaced. In fact, it seems unusual to have only one line inscribed on such large limestone slab. The ostrakon could have been prepared to receive a larger text and at a certain point it was left out after handing down the first line. There are no, all over the ostrakon, other traces for inscription which may reinforce this hint, however.
- Palaeography: it can not be defined as there are no enough elements.

^a. “SAa-m” is a compound preposition which means “from (location) to or simply from”.²²³ During the deciphering process, it was too much hard to recognize the correct reading of this segment. It might shape-shift with  as this latter would more fit in here. However, if we transcribe it like that it will make no sense in terms of meaning. “tA” is such definite article which precedes feminine nouns. The word “inb” is certainly masculine noun and has never had the femininity value.

^b. “inb” could mean “wall, fence, and enclosure” if the word is terminated with .²²⁴ In our case, there is no any determinative. However, it seems more plausible to venture on this meaning as for the precedent preposition. In conclusion, if “wall, fence or enclosure” is the meaning which was wanted to be expressed in here, there will be a

²²³ Wb 4, 407.8-16; Neveu 1998, 27; Hornung 1991, 218-223, Fig. 154-159; Brunner-Traut 1989, 101-106; Lalouette 1987, 46-52.

²²⁴ Wb 1, 94, 15-95.9; Grapow 1953, 189-209; Assmann 1999, 515-518; Goedicke 1968, 23-26.

massive range of probabilities to infer what sort of location was. It could refer to a surrounding wall of a royal tomb, an enclosure, a workshop or a hut. These are the most relevant locations which may exist in the Valley of the Kings.

KVO 17 (Pl. XVII; fig. 17)
O. Cairo JE 72487 (SR 1502)
A jar label

Transliteration

(1) tA mrH.t^a tipt^b nt rsi.t niw.t^c

Translation

(1) The first (quality) of oil, of the southern town.

Commentary

- Dimension: 11x 12 cm
- Material: potsherd
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavation undertaken by Th. Davis).
- Dating: according to the Special Register, it can date to the XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostrakon is in a good condition except in some parts we can see some of the surface flaked off. However, the ink is in very good state and can be deciphered easily. It is obvious that this ostrakon is a broken piece from a larger jar.
- Description: the writing is consisted of one line which labels what the jar vessel had of item in it. The item being addressed is the oil “mrH.t”.
- Palaeography: it can rather assign to a later period than that of the Ramesside Period.

^a The exact meaning of mrH.t is difficult to determine. It has been in detail explained in “Wb Drogenmen”, however the conclusion was to indicate if the mrH.t refers to animal or to vegetable. If to animal, then the meaning is “fat” and if to vegetable then the meaning is “oil”.²²⁵ “mrH.t” of the price texts implies mostly castor oil and was used by the workmen, except for anointing purposes, as a laxative. It was measured by “hnw” which costs 1/2 dbn at mid of the XXth dynasty.²²⁶ Grandet defines mrH.t as “oil for ritual use”.²²⁷ In another ostracon, he translated it as “cosmetic oil”.²²⁸

^b “ti pt” could be just the phonetic complement of “𓂏” which means the “first”, the “foremost”, or in this case “the best”. On this basis, it is used here to qualify the noun which comes before (mrH.t) this why it is feminized with the addition of “t”.

²²⁵ Koura 1999, 114-123.

²²⁶ Janssen 1975, 333-336.

²²⁷ Grandet 2006, 135. His definition is based on the use of this word in O. DeM 10044 V^o line 3, p. 49.

²²⁸ Grandet 2003, 165. This translation is based on the use of “mrwH.w” in O. DeM 952, 165.

c. “rsi.t niw.t” is composed of noun with an adjective. However, the position of the two words is reversed. It used to be noun before and then an adjective which qualifies this noun. Then, the standard construction should be “niw.t rsi.t” which means the “Southern-City”, or Thebes.²²⁹ This can be plausible as the phonetic complement of word “tpy” is written in unusual form. With regard to the writing of “”, we know that “rsi.t” under the sledge sign there is “r” instead. That can also signify that the scribe could have put it like that by error.

²²⁹ Wb 2, 211.8

KVO 18 (Pl. XVIII; fig. 18)

O. Cairo JE72488 (SR 1503)

A jar label

Transliteration

(1) Hzb.t-rnp.t 37^a

(2) irp itrw imn.ti^b

Translation

1- Regnal year 37

2- Wine of the “Western river”

Commentary

- Dimension: 11x 12.5 cm
- Material: potsherd
- Provenance: the Valley of the Kings (excavations of Carter/ Carnarvon. It is designated Carnarvon/ 285).
- Publication: Černy MSS 111-01
- Dating: the ostrakon could safely be assigned to year 37 of Ramses II.
- Condition: the ostrakon is in very good condition and some written lost parts have been restored from Černy notebook. It seems that it was just a chipped piece of pottery from a larger container of wine. The writing is still well-appearing clearly.
- Description: the ostrakon has two written lines in black ink. There are some small red smudges spread on a small part of the ostrakon.
- Palaeography: the ink is effaced and there are no enough elements to define it.

^a The number 37 mentioned on this ostrakon can be a good clue to understand the dating. We know that the longest reigning period in the Ramesside Period was that of king Ramses II. He ruled Egypt for about 66 years from around (1290- 1224 B.C.) and none of his successors has ever reached this length of reign.²³⁰ The second ranking king in the Ramesside Period ever went beyond 30 years of reign was king Ramses III; he ruled roughly for about 31 years (1194-1163 B.C.). Therefore, we may be able to ascribe this ostrakon to year 37 of king Ramses II; the location in which this ostrakon was found may probably support this hypothesis. However, why was there a delivery of wine in year 37 of Ramses II's reign? The answer could be that there might have been a big collective festival in this year to Ramses II himself. It would be difficult to suggest

²³⁰ Baines & Malek 1990, 36.

that it was the Sed festival as it is not recorded anywhere that Ramses II had it in this year.²³¹

Geographical site

^{b.} “itrw imn.t”i is a topographical term which refers to a location at the north-western Nile Delta region; it is located where there is the modern Alexandria now.²³² It was a place where they could produce the wine and transport it to different places throughout Egypt. The most testamentary evidence for that are Malqata’s ostraca in which it is stated explicitly that the wine was produced at this place.²³³ Ogdon thought that the earlier orthographical form of “itrw imn.ti” during the Old Kingdom was “mr imntt (-nfr.t)”, Canal of the beautiful (Goddess) of-the-West.²³⁴ Leahy has hinted on a reading of some jar labels of Malqata in which it is mentioned also “itrw imn.ti” that it could be assigned to the reign of Ramses II; in this context the wine was described as “good” in quality. He might probably be correct in this hint and the missing year on these jars could be complemented as year “37” of Ramses II.²³⁵ There remains one question at this point, was there a delivery of wine on year 37 of Ramses II’s reign at Malqata as well? Malqata site was perhaps used as an administrative place where there could have been some delivery of items to be used on certain events. Further evidence which attests the designation “itrw imn.ti” is the jar labels dated to Ramses II’s reign and found at the Ramesseum. They are held now in “L’Institut d’egyptologie de Strasbourg”.²³⁶ Furthermore, on 26 amphorae from the Annex of king Tutankhamun, the estates and the vineyards are situated there as well.²³⁷ In the Nineteenth dynasty, we don’t know any sort of attestation in which the “itrw imn.t” is mentioned, except some citation to some places in Delta, oases and south of Egypt where Ramses III planted vineyards and used

²³¹ Hornung & Stähelin 2006, 71-72.

²³² McGovern 1996, 69-108.

²³³ Winlock 1912, 184-90; Winlock 1915, 253-6; Lansing 1918, 8-14; Hayes 1951, 35-56, 82-111, 156-83, 231-42.

²³⁴ Ogdon 1978-1979, 65-73, 5 fig.

²³⁵ Leahy 1978, 14-15, no. 61, 65, 68, pl. 6a, 7.

²³⁶ Bouvoier 2003, 193-194, 198, 200, 206 (n. 1257).

²³⁷ Černý 1965, 1-4, 21-4, pls. i-v.

vintners and labours from the class of his foreign captives.²³⁸ That means that this ostrakon would, hitherto, one of the first attestations where mentioning this place (itrw imn.t) in the XIXth dynasty documentary material. In the Twentieth dynasty, Gardiner published a squatting statue in Cairo Museum whose owner held the titles “*the scribe of the dispatches of the Lord of the two Lands, overseer of the treasury of Amun, and the great steward in the Western-river*”.²³⁹

²³⁸ From Papyrus Harris (1, 7, 10 ff) in Breasted 1907, sections 151-412.

²³⁹ Gardiner 1948, 19-22.

KVO 19 (Pl. XIX; fig. 19)

O. Cairo JE 72489 (SR 1504)

A jar label

Transliteration

(1) (?) nfr nfr^a n pA baHw^b

(2) [Hm.f]^c anx (w) wDA (w) snb (w) r-[(x)t^d nswt] ms

Translation

(1) An excellent (?) of the inundated lands

(2) [His Lord] L.P.H under [the authority of] ms

Commentary

- Dimension: 10x 14.5 cm
- Material: potsherd
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavations of Carter/ Carnarvon 1922). It is designated Carnarvon/ 345.
- Cft. Černy MSS 111-01.
- Dating: according to the Special Register data-base, it could be assigned to the XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostrakon is a piece of a larger jar which contained most probably wine. This hypothesis is based on the sign shadowed which precedes the beer jug. Its ink is effacing and the written surface is flaking off.
- Description: the ostrakon is consisted of two lines. The first one is relatively well-preserved; however the second one is almost gone. We relied basically on the manuscripts of Černy to restore the lost parts of the transcription of this ostrakon. It sounds that this ostrakon was used as a jar label to address that content being contained.

^a nfr nfr is a designation which describes wine quality. A considerable number of jar labels from the Ramesseum have the “irp” being qualified by “nfr nfr”.²⁴⁰ This designation usually implies that the wine is from high quality. However, in the transcription, there appears a “t” which renders the whole word somewhat difficult. We know that word “irp” never appeared with preceding “t”.

Geographical sites:

b. “baHw”²⁴¹ means “flood” or “inundation” as it is translated by Sceknel in “*Bewässerungsrev*”.²⁴² He mentioned, depending on MoaAllah’s sources, that the term may rather refer to the flooding process.²⁴³ Scrutinising further in the context of this

²⁴⁰ Bouvoier 2003, 226-234.

²⁴¹ Meeks 1978, 124.

²⁴² Schenkel 1978, 51.

²⁴³ Mo’alla 1a3; Davies 1902, pl. XXV, 23 (= URK. VII 178, 16),

ostrakon, “baHw” could refer to a geographical term which indicates to a certain site in Upper Egypt rather than to the inundation process as meaning.

Restoring some parts:

^c“Hm.f” could be restored as a usual formula which was commonly used in the jar labels of Malqata. In fact, Leahy could restore the missing word which precedes the stative formulae “L. P. H” with “Hm.f” or sometimes with (tpy n Hm.f). The mentioning of “L. P. H” would hint that there was an important occasion to take place in the Valley of the Kings.²⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the item delivered on this occasion is quite effaced and we can’t get an approach of it. There might have been written wine which was frequently delivered on certain occasions; however it could have been also beer, fat, or oil. It would be more plausible to go for “wine” as for the following adjective which qualifies its quality.

Meaning of some word:

^d“r-xt” is an expression which means “under the authority of”.²⁴⁵ In its orthographical appearance, it can be followed by a name of a high ranking official, and was frequently used in association with estates (specifically lands).²⁴⁶ Thus, most probably the name mentioned right after “r-xt” would be a proper name of an important personage.

²⁴⁴ Leahy 1978, *passim*.

²⁴⁵ Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990, vol. II, 52; Gardiner 1937, 1, 2, 3.

²⁴⁶ Valbelle 1976, 102. This article focuses on the difference between the use of “r-xt” and “m-Dr.t”.

KVO 20 (Pl. XX; fig. 20)

O. Cairo JE 72490 (SR 1505)

A non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension: 11 x 19 cm
- Material: Potsherd
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings, from the excavations carried out by H. Carter as field director and Carnarvon, Winter 1920- Spring 1921 (1 December- 3/13). Basic sources, Carter. MSS, I. J. 386-7, nos 276-350. Attested site designation, H, I, L; attribution of finds by numbers. The exact finding spot for this ostrakon is site 13 “the portion (of the Valley) leading to the tomb of Thutmosis III”. The exact date is 3rd January+). As Carter, “though there were immense heaps of rubbish from the former excavations accumulated on the upper stratum and rock slopes, the ground below had not been attacked since ancient times” (site I). This ostrakon has excavation no 308 and was found among other findings designated as follows: 305-9 ostraca (305 = CG 25822).²⁴⁷
- Dating: according to the Special Register, it could be attributed to the XIX-XXth dynasty as for the excavation context in which it was found.
- Description: non- standard Ostrakon with two horizontal lines in black ink. The ostrakon is broken into two pieces which have been glued later.

²⁴⁷ Reeves 1990, 329.

KVO 21 (Pl. XXI; fig. 21)

O. Cairo JE 72491 (SR 1506)

A non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension : 14 x10 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings, ostrakon Carnarvon 410 (4 fragments). As it is shown on the ostrakon, there is a numerical identification mark 410 and 411. Attested site designation is K; attribution of Finds by numbers. 'Recommended excavation on the side of foot hill containing the tomb of Siptah' (KV 47). (Carter in a note: 'The greater part of this spot was covered with large mounds of rubbish thrown out during the excavations of Siptah's tomb by Theo. M. Davis') (8 February +) (site K). Among many finds in the ('Lower stratum- on bed rock') came out a group of ostraca holding excavation No. 400 until 420 which have been mostly published in the Catalogue of Cairo Museum except the above ostrakon.²⁴⁸ Such a type of potsherds is recently dubbed Funny-Signs' ostraca. The season of the excavation was spring (8 February - 'March'). Carnarvon perhaps, at the beginning, thought that they are not fragments of the same ostrakon. Some scholar had actually realized that they constituted one ostrakon. This scholar could find the third fragment and put them together as one ostrakon. I would be rather inclined to attribute this work to Černý. Excavation site is no.17 according to Carter's numerical order. Basic source is Carter MSS, I. J. 387, nos 351-432.
- Dating: as for the Special Register, it can date to XIX-XXth dynasty. This dating framework was given as for the excavation context in which this ostrakon was found.
- Condition: the ostrakon was broken into 4 pieces and then was glued altogether. The ink is still in very good state. Two fractures are running vertically and the

²⁴⁸ Reeves 1990, 331.

third one on the first slab is running diagonally. On the top, between the first and the second slab, from the right side, there is a piece of the surface which is flaked off. That has resulted in obscuring the writing.

- Description: the ostrakon is made out of limestone and written in red ink. It is inscribed on only one side and in four vertical lines. In addition, it is composed of clear hieratic signs, aligned with no sense that is in respect with the hieroglyphic standard measures. It is noteworthy mentioning that the combination of signs can be repetitive from an ostrakon to another. The fact that the ostrakon had been written in red ink might imply some significance. For Petrie, such type of signs is considered another system of writing; its codes are worth being deciphered.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Petrie 1912, *passim*.

KVO 22 (Pl. XXII; fig. 22)

O. Cairo JE 72492 (SR 1507)

A non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension: 6.5 x11 cm
- Material: limestone
- Dating: for the Special Register: XIX-XXth dynasty as for the excavation context this ostrakon was found in.
- Provenance: the season of the excavation was spring (8 February - 'March'). Excavation site is 17. Basic source is Carter, MSS, I. J. 387, nos 351-432. Attested site designation is K; attribution of Finds by numbers. 'Recommended excavation on the side of foot hill containing the tomb of Siptah' (KV 47). (Carter in a note: 'The greater part of this spot was covered with large mounds of rubbish thrown out during the excavations of Siptah's tomb by Theo. M. Davis') (8 February+) (site K). Among many finds in the (Lower stratum- on bed rock), a group of ostraca holding excavation No. 400 until 420 which have been mostly published in the Catalogue of Cairo²⁵⁰ Museum, were unearthed. However these ostraca were left out.
- Description: An ostrakon with marks of workers in two horizontal lines, in black ink.

²⁵⁰ Černý 1935b.

KVO 23 (Pl. XXIII; fig. 23)

O. Cairo JE 72493 (SR 1508)

A non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension: 10.5 x 8 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: the finding spot according to the Register data, the Valley of the Kings. Special Register description: ostrakon with marks of workers in 1 incomplete vertical, column in black ink. It is designated ostrakon Carnarvon/376. The season of the excavation was spring (8 February- 'March'); excavation site is 17. Basic source is Carter MSS, I. J. 387, nos 351-432. Attested site designation is K; attribution of finds by number. 'Recommended excavation on the side of foot hill containing the tomb of Siptah' (KV 47). (Carter in a note: 'The greater part of this spot was covered with large mounds of rubbish thrown out during the excavations of Siptah's tomb by Th. M. Davis') (8 February+) (site K). Among many finds in the "Sondage", but mostly undisturbed came out a group of ostraca holding excavation no. 367-78.
- Dating: for the Special Register, it can date to XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostrakon is in good condition as well as its ink.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed vertically and has only one incomplete line.

KVO 24 (Pl. XXIV; fig. 24)

O. Cairo JE 72494 (SR 1509)

A non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension: 8x 11 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: it was found in the excavations conducted by Carter /Carnarvon in winter 1920- Spring 1921 (December 3/13 March). It is designated Carnarvon/307 (attested site designations are H, I, L; attribution of Finds by numbers, excavation site is 13). The exact finding spot is “The portion (of the Valley) leading to the tomb of Thutmosis III” (3 January+). (‘Though there were immense mounds of rubbish from former excavations accumulated on the upper stratum and the rock slopes, the ground had not been attacked since ancient times’) (site I) ²⁵¹. Finds/ results: among many other finds, a group of ostraca holding excavation no. 305-9 (305 = O. Cairo CG 25822).
- Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostrakon can date to the XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Condition: a big piece is chipped off above the writing part towards the right side. The ink is still preserved.
- Description: the ostrakon is written only on one side.

²⁵¹ Carter, MSS, I. J. 386-7, nos 276-350.

KVO 25 (Pl. XXV; fig. 25)

O. Cairo JE 72497 (SR 1513)

A non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension : 1.5 x 8.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: the ostrakon was found in the excavations conducted by Carter/Carnarvon in the Valley of the Kings in winter 1920- spring 1921 (December-13/03). The ostrakon was found in the “South of opening of cache Akhenaton’ (KV 55) (before 3/13 March), site 16. Attested site designations is H, I, L; attribution of finds by numbers. Finds/ results (337-341 ostraca, top stratum”.²⁵² It was designated “337”.
- Dating: the ostrakon can date to XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ink is still well preserved. The upper part of the ostrakon is lost. The writing is slightly fading.
- Description: the ostrakon is inscribed only on one side and has two vertical lines. The ink is red and the upper part of the writing is missing.

²⁵² Carter, MSS, I. J. 386-7, nos 276-350

KVO 26 (Pl. XXVI; fig. 26)

O. Cairo JE 72498 (SR 1512)

A Non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension: 6x7 cm
- Material: Limestone
- Provenance: Finding spot according to the Register data, is Valley of the Kings. The ostrakon has an excavation designation, Carnarvon/ 329. It was found in the excavations conducted in winter 1920-spring 1921(December-3/13 March).²⁵³ Attested site designations is H, I, L; attribution of finds by number. ‘Recommended excavations’. Lateral valley between tombs Ramses II and VI’ (KV 7-KV 9) (1-? 22 December); End of Thutmosis III valley’ (site I). Find/ results: many finds among which there was the ostrakon in question.
- Dating: XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Condition: the ostrakon sounds to be just a part of a larger one. The writing is still well preserved.
- Description: the ostrakon is chipped off in its right part. Consequently the right part of writing is missing as well. The ostrakon is inscribed only on one side which has two lines.

²⁵³ Basic source is Carter MSS, I. J. 386-7, nos 276-350.

KVO 27 (Pl. XXVII; fig. 27)

O. Cairo JE 72499 (SR 1514)

A Non-standard ostrakon

- Dimension: 14 x 8.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: the ostrakon was found in the excavations of Carter/ Carnarvon, in (8 February- 'March'). The exact findspot is site 17 at the foothill of KV 47 (Siptah). The ostrakon was designated 420.²⁵⁴ 'The greater part of this spot was covered with large mounds of rubbish thrown out during the excavations of Siptah's tomb by (Davis') (8 February+) (site K). Among many finds in the 'Lower stratum- on bed rock' came out a group of ostraca holding excavation no. 400- 420 which have been mostly published in the Catalogue of Cairo Museum (see Reeves 1990, 331).
- Dating: the ostrakon could date to the XIX-XXth dynasty, according to the Special Register data.
- Condition: the surface of the ostrakon is slightly flaked off, effacing some writing.
- Description: it is written in black ink and has two vertical lines. The lower part of the writing is slightly effaced. The two inscribed lines are running from top to bottom. The signs could classify to the Funny-signs ostraca which will be in detail explained later on.

²⁵⁴ Carter MSS, I. J. 387, nos 351-432.

KVO 28 (Pl. XXVIII; fig. 28)

O. Cairo 72501 (SR 1516)

A note (?)

Transliteration

(1) aA nry

Translation

(1) The great of Terror

KVO 29 (XXIX; fig 29a, b)

O. Cairo JE 72502 (SR 1517)

List of high ranking titles

Transliteration (*recto*)

Hry- [i]Hw^e

Hry-mDAy^f

Hry-bit^g

[Hry-i-(nf) ww]^h

[Hry-xA(w.t)]ⁿ

[Hry]

Hry-[mz wdn.w]ⁱ

Hry-[Xaq]^j

Hry-nw.w^k

Hry-[bAky.w]^l

Hry-[ax.w]^m

[Hry]-mz^a b

[Hry]-is.t^b

Hry-pr-Sna^c

Hry-[mr]^d

Translation (*recto*)

The superior of the stable

The superior of the police

The superior of the bees

[The superior of the sailors]

[The superior of the
offering tables]

[The superior]

[The superior] of the (?) carriers

[The superior] of the gang

The superior of [the offering
bearers]

The superior of the storehouse

The superior of [the barbers]

The superior of [servants]

The superior of the hunters

The superior of [the royal
works]

The superior of [brewers]

Transliteration (*verso*)

[imi-r- nw.w]^o

[im.i-r mr]^p

[imi-r kA.t]^q

[(s)smt]

imi-r st^r

imi-r iH(.w)^s

Translation (*verso*)

[The overseer of the hunters]

[The overseer of the mr]

[The overseer of the building activity]

[Horses] (?)

The overseer of the storehouse

The overseer of the cattle

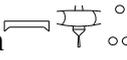
Commentary

- Dimension: a, 10 x 14 cm; b, 5.5 x 6.5 cm
- Material : limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings. The smallest piece is designated Carnarvon/300.
- Cft. Černý's MSS (106.21), transcription only.
- Dating: according to the Special Register, the ostrakon could date to the XIXth dynasty.
- Condition: the material of the stone is still well preserved. However, the ink of the biggest piece "a" is effacing notably; *recto* and *verso* alike. The ink of the smaller piece either that of *recto* or *verso* is slightly more preserved.
- Description: the ostrakon is clearly broken into three pieces. In the description of the Special Register, the ostrakon is described to be consisted of only two pieces (a, b). Perhaps, until the time of the documentation for this ostrakon, it was composed of only two fragments. Or the scholar, while documenting, thought that the part where there is the repetition of word "Hry" on "*recto*" and "imi-r" on "*verso*", could be placed atop the biggest piece. That way of thinking has led him to figure out that the ostrakon could compose of only two pieces instead of three. Since the biggest piece's ink is effacing remarkably, we relied on the Černý's notes in which there is only transcription of this ostrakon. The "*recto* a, b" is consisted of three columns; however the "*verso* a, b" is only two. Unfortunately, the photo does not conform to the setting of the transliteration despite our endeavour to do it. However, that has been adjusted in the facsimile.
- Palaeography: the ink is dramatically effaced and it is difficult for us to draw it out.

We shall handle here the titles one by one to understand the real function of each. It is really very hard to say that these titles are cited in here in a hierarchal sequence.

foreign origins.²⁶⁷ They had been rather on warlike with Egypt than on Peaceful terms. By the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, they helped Egypt release from the Hyksos invasion. In the Ramesside time, they were actually in good relation with the authority in such a way that they could be smoothly integrated in western Thebes's desert defence forces.²⁶⁸ By the increase of the workforce number during Ramses IV up to 120 workmen, the number of the Police was increased to be up to 60 chiefs.²⁶⁹

g. "Hry-bit" could mean the "superior of the Bee-keepers". However, this title was associated rather with the word "imi-r" during the Old and the Middle Kingdoms. There were actually the "the Overseer of the Bee-keepers and the Overseer of the Bee-keepers of the entire Land".²⁷⁰ That can imply that the two titles "Hry" and "imi-r" were totally different as nature of functioning from each others.

h. This title could probably correspond to "Hry-i-nf.w" which means the "Commander of the Sailors"²⁷¹ or "Chief Skippers"²⁷². It can be found in Al. Ayedi (397.1337), written . If so, what has it to do with the Valley of the Kings working activity? Furthermore; this is the first time we ever encounter such kind of "word" in the Valley of the Kings.

i. "mz-wdn.w" means the "Offerings Bearer".²⁷³ The combination "Hry mz-wdn.w" has never been attested in any of the documentary texts of either Deir el-Mednia or the Valley of the Kings. However, the word "wdn" was mentioned on two ostraca O. DeM 10026²⁷⁴ and O. UC 39658²⁷⁵. The latter's provenance is completely unknown.

j. "Hry Xaq" is such title which never occurred in the hieratic documentary Period of Deir el-Medina neither in that of the Valley of the Kings. However, the Barber-staff as a word long existed since the Old Kingdom.²⁷⁶

k. "Hry nw.w" is another title which has never been cited in any of the documents of Valley of the Kings neither in that of Deir el-Medina. "nwi" or "nww" could mean the

²⁶⁷ Gardiner 1947 I, 73, and II, 269.

²⁶⁸ Černý 2004, 261.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 262.

²⁷⁰ Ward 1982, 21.130-31.

²⁷¹ Wb 2, 251.7.

²⁷² Radwan 1987, 223-28, PL.III.

²⁷³ Wb 2, 135.23; Gardiner 1947 I, 63.

²⁷⁴ Grandet, 2006, 32, 215 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation).

²⁷⁵ Černý & Gardiner 1957, 10 (description) and pl. 33-33A no. 4 (facsimile and transcription of obverse).

²⁷⁶ Wb 3, 365.3-4; Jonesv 2000, no. 2822.

“Crew of Hunters”.²⁷⁷ The title was mostly in association with “imi-r” being  during the Middle Kingdom.²⁷⁸ Their mention was in close combination with “mDAy” and the word itself was terminated with the determinative of the “foreign lands ”.²⁷⁹ Perhaps the both staffs had the same Nubian origins.²⁸⁰

^l “Hry-bAk.w” could mean the “Superior of the Workers”; the meaning is very general- it could be the “Superior of the king Workers or some private Workers”.²⁸¹ In our document, it is written down “Hry bAky.w” which renders the word somewhat problematic.

^m “Hry-axw” could probably mean the “the Superior of the vessels-beer Porters (brewers)”.²⁸² This combination of words has never occurred in any of the documents of the Valley of the Kings. “ax” could mean the “vessel of the beer”; written  and dated to the XVIIIth dynasty.²⁸³ On this ostrakon, the determinative is  as well as the group of people determinative. Therefore, it would be plausible to think that the whole meaning of the word could be “vessel-beer Porters”. In fact, the same occurrence of the word could be found in O. Berlin P 14885 (line 7).²⁸⁴

ⁿ “Hry xA(w.t)” is written down incompletely; but it could probably be restored in this manner. For Lapp, it could be translated as the “Master of the offering tables”.²⁸⁵

^o “imi-r nw.w” means the “overseer of the hunters”.²⁸⁶ This title has never been attested in any of Valley of the Kings’ documents either. See note “k”.

^p “imi-r mr(?)” can not be easily restored as the second part of the second word could hold large range of probabilities as meaning.

^q The title of the « the overseer of the work » has very ancient tradition. The word “kA.t” is translated normally as “work”, its nature includes activities of construction, manual

²⁷⁷ Wb. 2-19.

²⁷⁸ Ward 1982, 226.

²⁷⁹ Ward 1982, 822.

²⁸⁰ Gardiner 1947 I, 84*.

²⁸¹ Wb. 1, 430.4.

²⁸² Al-Ayedi 2006, 375, 1261.

²⁸³ Wb 1, 221-16.

²⁸⁴ [http://obelix.arf.fak12.uni-](http://obelix.arf.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/cgi-bin/mmcgi2mmhob/mho1/p_new_user?user=gast&pw=DeMonline)

[muenchen.de/cgi-bin/mmcgi2mmhob/mho1/p_new_user?user=gast&pw=DeMonline.](http://obelix.arf.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/cgi-bin/mmcgi2mmhob/mho1/p_new_user?user=gast&pw=DeMonline)

²⁸⁵ Lapp 1997, pl. 2-9; Wb 3, 226.18; Ayedi, Titles NK, no. 1352.

²⁸⁶ Wb 3, 226.18; Al-Ayedi 2006, no. 1352.

activities, and transportation of material.²⁸⁷ For this reason, during the New Kingdom, the title still refers to the responsibilities of public building tasks, but also to manual and transporting work as illustrated in the Theban tombs.²⁸⁸ In his study about groups of titles of the New Kingdom, Steimann puts in evidence that the “imi-r kA.t” could be attributed to people of diverse ranks, implying a different value of the title. It can vary from the highest rank of the administration like the vizier down to the lower officials like local administrators.²⁸⁹ During the New Kingdom, the simple version of the title is attested for many officials. That may underline what Aling has suggested: “this is not a designation of rank or office, but indicates that the bearer supervised construction work at one time or at one place” .²⁹⁰ The nature of this title can imply extreme diversification and Specialization in different fields of the administration structure.²⁹¹

r. “imi-r st” means the “overseer of the storehouse”.²⁹²

s. “imi- r iH(.w)” means the “overseer of the cattle”.²⁹³

Some important notes:

As a matter of fact, this ostrakon was found in the Valley of the Kings. All the cited titles correspond to diverse functions being handled by some officials. That may imply that the Valley of the Kings was not such place in which everything was dedicated to the construction works of the royal tombs. However, there might have probably been such a small community in which different organizations were interacting under a local headquarter. Looking through such diversity of the functioning of each title would suggest that the community of the Valley of the Kings was a small administrative cosmopolitan in which different organizations could interconnect all together.

²⁸⁷ Wb 5 98,2-101, 8.

²⁸⁸ Steinmann1980, 137-157, part. 144-146.

²⁸⁹ For a study about the different rank of the same title see : Vernus, 1994, 251-260.

²⁹⁰ C.f. Aling 1976, 55.

²⁹¹ Al-Ayedi 2006, 135-153.

²⁹² Wb 4, 2.17-18; Ward, 1982, no. 313.

²⁹³ Wb 1, 119.21; Jones 2000, no. 286.

KVO 30 (Pl. XXX; fig. 30a, b)

O. Cairo JE 72503 (SR 1518)

A list of Ramses II sons' names

Transliteration (*recto*)

- (1) sA-nsw (?)
- (2) sA-nsw SA-ptH^a
- (3) sA-nsw snXt-n-imn^b
- (4) sA-nsw Mry-mn-tiw^c
- (5) sA-nsw Ra-mry^d
- (6) sA-nsw I[?]
- (7) sA-nsw[?]

Translation (*recto*)

- (1) Prince ?
- (2) Prince "SA-ptH"
- (3) Prince "Snxt-n-imn"
- (4) Prince "Mry-mn-tiw"
- (5) Prince "Ra-mry"
- (6) Prince [?]
- (7) Prince [?]

Transliteration (*verso*)

- (1) sA-nsw aAm sw^e
- (2) sA-nsw sS-sw^f
- (3) sA-nsw Wr-mA^g
- (4) sA-nsw st-m-tn^h
- (5) sA-nsw Nb-nⁱ
- (6) sA-nsw I[?]
- (7) sA-nsw[?]
- (8) sA-nsw sw-ty^j
- (9) sA-nsw Ra-msw-pA it-nTr^k

Translation (*verso*)

- (1) Prince [?]
- (2) Prince “sS-nsw”
- (3) Prince “Wr-mA”
- (4) Prince “st-m-(Hr?)”
- (5) Prince “Nb-n”
- (6) Prince I[?]
- (7) Prince [?]
- (8) Prince “sw-ty”
- (9) Prince “Ra-msw-pA it-nTr”

Commentary

- Dimension: 14.5 x 20 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings (excavations of Carter/Carnarvon) with designation Carnarvon/ 301.
- Dating: for the Special Register, it can date to the XIXth dynasty..
- Conditions: It is consisted of two four slabs different. They had been glued all together by a certain scholar (probably Černý in the past). The ink of the upper two pieces of the *verso* is still well-preserved and legible in comparison with the lower two ones. The ink of the *recto* is all over well-preserved and can be drawn out by sight easily. The ostrakon is chipped off in several parts, especially on the edges, either *recto* or *verso*. In general, the ostrakon is in very good status along with its inscription.
- Description: Both the *recto* and *verso* are written in black ink. The *recto* is consisted of 7 inscribed lines aligned from up to bottom. There is very large space running from up to bottom and left blank without inscription. However, the left part holds all the princes' names. The *verso* is inscribed in 9 lines and the right side is also left without inscription; all the names are inscribed on the left part. There might have been a big slab, chipped off, and consequently a big slab, which holds princes' names, is missing. This can not applied on the *recto* as most of the names are fortunately preserved entirely except the last two lines in the bottom.
- Palaeography: first half of the XIXth dynasty.

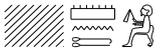
We would rather here prefer to write the names of king Ramses II transliterated in order to avoid any sort of misunderstanding. That is not applied to famous names like Merenptah as he could ascend the throne and become a real governing king.

^{a-} “SA-ptH” could be identified with the prince “Siptah” represented in Wadi es-Sebua, the inner Court, base register. He is there depicted wearing a wig and side lock with straight bottom. His right hand is raised in adoration attitude; left hand: fan over

shoulder.²⁹⁴ In (KRI II 866.13), the places of the princes occupy 26 through 30 along this wall and this king takes over place number 26.²⁹⁵ His name on Wdi-es-Sebua is mentioned among princes Siamun, Siatun, and Montuenheqau. His burial like all the other sons of king Ramses II might have been located in tomb KV 5 where there are now the ongoing excavations conducted by Weeks Kent.²⁹⁶ This tomb was presumably going receive multi burials of the sons of king Ramses II as for the multi-rooms existing therein. The SA-ptH is mentioned in Abydos, Temple of Seti I, first court, west wall, south side.²⁹⁷ This prince might have another orthographical appearance as his name is stated fully on a block statue kept in Louvre under inventory no. E 25413 and published by Vandier.²⁹⁸ He claims in this article that the statute could have probably been made in the reigning period of king Ramses II as for the crude style of carving. However, he does not consider him as the son of king Ramses II. On the other hand, Kitchen is the only scholar who attributes him as a son of king Ramses II.²⁹⁹

b. “Snxt-n-imm” is known little about him. His name’s occurrences can be counted as follows ion monuments can be listed as follows: Wadi es-Sebua, inner court, south and north walls, base register; Ramesseum, Hypostyle hall, west wall, south and north sides; temple of Seti I, west wall, south side.³⁰⁰ He is classified as prince number 20.³⁰¹ However in this ostrakon, he is mentioned right after the name of prince Siptah who has got the 26th ranking position among Ramses II’s sons.

c. “Mry-mn-tiw” was represented in Wadi es-Sebua, inner court, north wall, base register. He might be the pronce number 29 on Abydos list.³⁰² His representation on Abydos list can be located in the Temple of Seti I, first court, south wall, and south side.

³⁰³ His name on this list is fragmented and only part  is left. We can notice here the slight difference in the orthographical shape between the use of “tiw” and “T”.

²⁹⁴ Fisher 2001, 17, p.4.26.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, vol. I, 118.

²⁹⁶ Weeks 2000, *passim*. This a part of the Theban Mapping Project.

²⁹⁷ Fisher 2001, p.26.1-4.

²⁹⁸ Vandier 1971, 165-91.

²⁹⁹ KRI II 859.9; KRI II 907.15-908.8. The latter was just a response to oppose Vandier’s point of view and attribute the block statue of Ramses-Siptah to being one of the sons of king Ramses II.

³⁰⁰ Fisher 2001, vol. II, 178, 20.1-6.

³⁰¹ KRI II 865. 16, 866.1-2 and 16, 868.1; PM VI 3 (10)- (11).

³⁰² Fisher 2001, vol II, 18, 4.29.

³⁰³ Ibid, 52, p.15.5.

This is because there was a sound change of the consonant which was amended by Middle Egyptian.³⁰⁴ He is scarcely mentioned in publication except in (KRI 867. 16).³⁰⁵

d. “Ra-mry” is a prince who was frequently depicted in many royal processions. In Abu Simbel, small Temple, façade, first colossus from south³⁰⁶ and north³⁰⁷ ends. Elsewhere he is depicted in Wadi es-Sebua, inner court, south and north walls, base register. In addition, he is represented in the Ramesseum, hypostyle hall, west wall, south and north sides. In Luxor Temple, however he is depicted in several places; first pylon, inner side, court Ramses II, north wall, east side; at the same Temple at Ramses II court, the interior west and south wall, north side; at the same court of Ramses II, exterior south and west wall.³⁰⁸

e. For the name of this prince, I have been unable to decipher as there are several probabilities.

f. “SS-nsW” is rather a title than a proper name of one of Ramses II’s sons. We know that among the sons of king Ramses II, the name of “Mry-n-ptH” was mostly associated with this title. In Gebel I- Silsila, chapel of Horemhab, north doorway in front of Chapel of

Pesiar, he was depicted with this title  and .³⁰⁹ On a grey granite block coming from Athribis (Benha)-Tell Atrib (JE 32009), Merenptah’s name was written with the same title.³¹⁰ On a red granite colossus of king Ramses II (CGC 575), Merenptah’s name was incised by the left leg of king Ramses II, having his titles among which there is also the royal scribe.³¹¹ There is a grey granite plinth, kept in Florence Museum under inventory no.1681 (1801), on which there is once more the depiction of the same prince.³¹² There is a black granite colossal statue of Sesostoris I kept at Cairo Museum with SR. 634, and usurped by Merenptah, on which there is a depiction for the same prince offering to Seth. On this statute, there is incised the same

³⁰⁴ Allen 2000, 20.

³⁰⁵ Gauthier 1914, 98 NO. 24. He restores the name as Simontu rather than “Mry-mntiw”; however, in Kitchen he restores it as “Mry-mntiw”.

³⁰⁶ PM VII (1) ; KRI II 766.8; Champollion 1835-1845, pl. IX.

³⁰⁷ PM VII (6); KRI II 766.15 ; Champollion 1835-1845, pl. IX.

³⁰⁸ Fisher 2001, vol II, 156-158; PM II 333 (202); KRI 171.14.

³⁰⁹ KRI II 385.11; Gomaà1973, cat. 76.

³¹⁰ PM IV 66; Engelbach 1930, 197-202.

³¹¹ Hourig 1989, 21-22.

³¹² PM IV 22; Christophe 1951, 335-72.

title “the royal scribe”.³¹³ From all these citations, we may be in a position to assign this name to the prince and the king Merenptah.

g. “Wr-mA” may probably be rather a title which refers to an official position than to a proper name. This title had been frequently written on several Mastabas from the Old Kingdom and was mostly associated with Heliopolis.³¹⁴ The title was born by the priests of Heliopolis and means (the great seer, D. Jones, Titles Old Kingdom, no. 1429). One of Ramses II’s sons might probably have been in charge of this post at lwn.w. What may support this hypothesis is that this “name” has been mentioned only on this ostrakon and nowhere else on Ramses II sons’ lists.

h. “St-m-(Hr?)” is completely unknown name whose occurrence is only on this ostrakon too. The reading of the sign after “m” is hardly decipherable. However, we may be able to define this as rather title than a proper name. It might be the title which was held by the Sem-priests, written sometimes  (Wb 4, 119, W. Ward, Titles, no. 168).³¹⁵

i. “Nb-n” could probably be another title which means simply “the lord of...”. It is also mentioned only on this ostrakon.

j. “Sw-ty” might be identified with Sethi who was also present at Kadesh and Dapur. He was buried in KV5 – where two of his canopic jars were found – around Year 53. On his funerary equipment his name is spelled “sw-ty”.

k. “Ra-msw-pA it-nĪr” is mentioned only on this ostrakon. “iti-nĪr” means god’s father and is a priestly title which was long held over almost the whole Pharaonic Period (Wb 1, 142. 1-6, 8; Jones, Titles O.K no. 1283; Ward, Titles, no. 570 e). Therefore, we may identify the verso of this ostrakon as just a document which holds rather titles than proper names.

³¹³ KRI 902.15-903.2.

³¹⁴ PM III, 47-179: Giza, West Field: Mastaba of Wn-s-xt (G 4840); PM III, 47-179: Giza, West Field: Mastaba of Mr-ib (G 2100 I-annex); PM III, 47-179: Giza, West Field: Mastaba of SSAt-Htp, gen. Hty (G 5150), double statue.

³¹⁵ For further verification on the orthographical appearance of this word see Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990, vol III, 45.

KVO 31 (Pl. XXXI; fig. 31)

O. Cairo JE 72504 (SR 1519)

A draft of a stela

Transliteration

| | | |
|--------|------------------|-------------------------|
| Htp | Ax | n |
| Di nsw | iqr ^a | Ra |
| | | <i>Hrw</i> ^b |
| | | mAa xrw |

Translation

| | | |
|----------|------------|------------|
| An | The | of Ra |
| offering | beneficent | <i>Hrw</i> |
| that | soul | justified |
| king | | |
| gives | | |

Commentary

- Dimension: 9.5x 10.5 cm
- Material: limestone
- Provenance: Valley of the Kings in the excavations of Carter/ Carnarvon with designation Carnarvon/ 371.
- Dating: According to the Egyptian Museum Special Register, it can attribute either XIX-XXth dynasty.
- Previous publication: Demarée 1983, 31-32, pl. Ix.
- Condition: the ostrakon is in very good condition with a big lost part towards the bottom. The ink of the ostrakon is still clear and legible. This also can be applied to the figure drawn on the ostrakon from which there remains the bust.
- Description: The ostrakon is inscribed only on one side and has three columns. The ink is black and the overall handwriting is clear and easily legible. There is a figure of a man down toward the bottom of the ostrakon. It seems that the ostrakon was destined to be just a draft for a funerary stela. There is a horizontal line border which runs across the whole ostrakon.
- Palaeography: it can not be determined.

^a “Ax iqr” is such an expression which should be explained, word by word, in order to understand the significance of its derivation. During the Old Kingdom, In the Pyramid Texts, there was no any citation to this term; however about the “Ax”, there were so many quotations.³¹⁶ For the “Ax”, it is connected to the divine world and the Hereafter.³¹⁷ There is a quite strict link between the “Ax” and the both gods “Ra” and “Osiris”. “Ax” has been identified to equate the both mentioned gods above. However, the “iqr”, in the Pyramid Texts, has been identified with another quality. In PT 813, the king qualified himself, saying “I am more “Ax” than the “Axw”, more “iqr” than the “iqrw”, and more “Dd” than “Ddw”. From the passage, we can understand that they were

³¹⁶ Demarée 1983, 198.

³¹⁷ Assmann & Bommas 2002, 20-23.

two different natures being quite distinguished out in meaning. In other words, the “Ax” implies a quite different significance from “iqr”. On the other hand, “iqr” means “excellent and excellence” (Wb 1, 137.6).³¹⁸ The combination between “Ax” and “iqr” might mean “the beneficent soul”; in this case the “Ax” is that noun being qualified by the adjective “iqr”. It can be considered merely as an epithet for the deceased one.³¹⁹ It qualifies the deceased one as having the power of being able to help his supporters and to act against his antagonists.³²⁰ The dedicatee, as far as our knowledge extends, has not any particular distinction in the hierarchal society of Deir el-Medina. What is most distinct about this designation is that it gives us a dating clue, being confined from the XVIIIth down to the XXth dynasty.³²¹ Such expression can imply a new cultic tradition being highly culminated and stressed by the villagers of Deir el-Medina. It represents the so called “ancestors cult” which was practiced in the houses. Some scholars call this cult the “house-cult” which comprised “the adoration of some minor gods like Shed, Thueris, Renenutet and Meritseger” in and around Deir el-Medina village.³²²

^b For “*Hrw*”, it is hard to restore this proper name and to reassign it to a certain person. There are numerous personages bearing this name in the Village of Deir el-Medina.

³¹⁸ Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 47-49, pl. 24c, 64.

³¹⁹ Demarée 1983, 275.

³²⁰ Ibid, 277.

³²¹ Ibid, 281.

³²² Fitzenreiter 2008, 85-124.

Dating

KVO 1 lists a number of labours who may be safely assigned to the end of the XIXth dynasty. One of these workmen is “*Hsi-sw-nb.f*” whose name has been exclusively mentioned on some objects that are dated safely to the above indicated period. From these monuments, we may cite the stela erected in the Ramesseum representing him together with another workman called “*Nfr-Htp.w*”, who might have been his father; this stela is dated to the second half of the XIXth dynasty.³²³ On this stela he has the title “the servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of the Truth”, exactly like that of “*Nfr-Htp*”. The wife of “*Hsi-sw-nb.f*” was involved in a sexual relationship with “*PA-nb*”.³²⁴ The former lifetime span extended from the reign of Amenmesse onwards. He might be also the brother-in-law of a certain “*Mry-ra*” who appeared with him in two graffiti in which there is no reference to a term that would determine their relationship.³²⁵ “*Mry-ra*” might possibly have lived down to the reign of Ramses V or VI.³²⁶ We cannot define his exact lifetime span with more certainty though. Another workman’s name “*Nxt-sw*” can be also considered as a vivid clue of dating. The first occurrence of his name may have attested in Merenptah’s reign. The final attestation of his name may date to year 5 of Siptah; he first appeared in year 1 of Amenmesse’s reign. Thus, we might confine our dating framework between year 1 of Amenmesse and year 5 of Siptah. By virtue of his unusual name, “*PA-imi-r-ih.w*”, the workman appeared at the close of the XIXth dynasty. To be more precise, he happened to be, for the first time, in service in year 1 of Siptah.³²⁷ His name is mentioned also on a stela which he dedicated in honour of Queen Ahmes-Nefertari.³²⁸ On this stela, he was assigned to be the “the sculptor in the Place of the Truth”. In O. DeM 269, his name has occurred in association with a scribe called “*PA-srw*”. There were many scribes bearing the same name, from year 8 of Merenptah down to the middle of the XXth dynasty.³²⁹ That can entitle us to define *PA-mr-ih.w*’s working time span, at latest, down to the same time.

³²³ Davies 1999 footnote 407.

³²⁴ Ibid, 65.

³²⁵ Černý & Sadek 1971, 4.

³²⁶ Černý 2004, 353 (footnote 5).

³²⁷ Davies 1999, 187.

³²⁸ Vienna inv no.158.

³²⁹ Davies 1999, 102.

However, what we are most concerned about is that he first appeared sometime during the first years of Siptah's reign. On these grounds, the date of the ostrakon in question may more precisely be confined between year 1 and year 5 of Siptah. The breakthrough evidence is the mention of the regnal year 6, which could be a decisive evidence to attribute KVO 1 to year 6 of Siptah's reign. On the other hand, it is hard to determine the time span of the "Superior *H̄a-m-nwn*" as the use of the word "Hry" renders his name too difficult to identify. He has been mentioned on an ostrakon (O. DeM 290, vso. 5) dated to the end of the XIXth dynasty, as the "Chief of the mDAy".³³⁰ Černý has suggested about a certain "*H̄a-m-nwn*", that he lived, holding tenure of the office of the Chief of "mDAy", during the second half of Ramses II's reign. We cannot venture to hypothesise that they might have been the same person, although we cannot rule out that completely. In another ostrakon (O. BM EA 50730 + O. BM EA 50745, rto.5), he happened to be the "Chief of the Cattle"; this ostrakon is dated to year 1 of Ramses VI.³³¹ We would be inclined to identify him with the "Chief of mDAy", relying on the information provided about him. His name is associated with "Hry" but nothing else. At any rate, we learn that either of the two "*H̄a-m-nwns*" may have lived down to year 1 of Ramses VI, at latest.

As for KVO 2, it is impossible to work on the dating framework of this ostrakon as it concerns exclusively a delivery of some rations which would never give any clues. Therefore, the dating given in the inventory Register, XIX–XXth dynasty, might be plausible due to the excavation context in which it was found.

For KVO 3, it regards a delivery account of some lamps along with a letter. Unfortunately, in the letter, neither the name of sender nor that of the addressee is mentioned. Above all, there is no citation for dating, rendering the dating process quite hard to define. Surprisingly, it is attributed to the XIXth dynasty according to the data in the Special Register. We are not in a position either to concede or to deny this attribution. On the other hand, we are wondering why this ostrakon was given this date.

³³⁰ Collier, 2004, 123-124, 157-158.

³³¹ KRI VII, 360-61.

The scholar who made up the dating (probably Černý) probably had some evidence in hands to set out this date. Unfortunately, this clue is not mentioned anywhere.

As regards the terminology employed in KVO 4, the word “SAd” can be translated as “dig”; when added to “inr”, the meaning is “quarry”.³³² Unfortunately, the whole line has been fragmented and so has been the whole sentence. Therefore, we cannot venture on hypothesising an exact meaning for this word. Nevertheless, we may be able to infer that there might have been some specific work activity being handled by the workforce mentioned on this ostrakon. Accordingly, the ostrakon could be classified merely as an account that contains a list of names; some of them were absent others might have been involved in some work activities, probably related to digging. With regard to the personal names mentioned on it, it would be speculative to take action to identify them. However, “Mry-ra” or “Ra-mry” can probably be identified with either the workman who lived during the second half of the XXth dynasty or the smdt scribe who was known to be active in years 35 and 37 of Ramses II’s reign. The fact that there is no office affiliation on this ostrakon makes it hard to decide. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility of identifying him with the brother-in-law of “Ḥsi-sw-nb.f” who was mentioned in two graffiti and was active by the end of the XIXth dynasty. Grandet states that his time span can be determined from the XIXth dynasty down to year 24 of Ramses III’s reign.³³³ On these grounds, we would be rather prudent to concur with the date given in the inventory Register of Cairo Museum (XIX–XXth dynasty).

In dating KVO 5, one of the key persons on whom we may rely on to confine our dating framework is “PA-wr-aA”. As mentioned in the Edition of texts Chapter (KVO 5, column I, *recto* 7), his lifetime can be outlined down to year 10 of Ramses IX. The beginning of his working career was sometime at the end of Ramses III’s reign.³³⁴ His title was “the scribe of the right gang” whose father was “Twt-m-Hb”. It is really puzzling the fact that in this ostrakon his name is not affiliated with any sort of functionary position. Therefore, we would be inclined to assign him to the labouring class, rather than the scribal one. Then we may infer that there might have been two

³³² Meeks III 1779, 284 (79.2929).

³³³ Grandet 2003, 50.

³³⁴ Davies, 1999, 175.

persons with the same name. Or we are encountering one workman who was promoted from the labouring class to the scribal one. On the other hand, we have learnt that the lifetime of “PA-imi-r-iH.w” had started off by year 1 of king Siptah and ended by the middle of the XXth dynasty. If we say that he commenced his career when he was 18 years old and lived until the middle of the XXth dynasty; that implies that he died around 1134 B.C, when he was around 68 years old. This is an extremely long lifetime span in respect to the average lifetimes of workmen at that time. That would make us fall within the reign of king Ramses VII, at latest. It follows that KVO 5 probably falls between year 1 of Siptah and the first two years of Ramses VII.

KVO 6 does not require further dating analysis because it is obviously a letter addressed by the vizier to king Seti II. Therefore, the setting of this ostrakon can be safely assigned to the end of the XIXth dynasty (specifically Seti II’s reign).

Among the high number of workmen’s names on KVO 7, we would like to focus on the key persons that we can use as a vivid clue for dating. Once more, it comes to dealing with “*H*si-sw-nb.f” who has been systemically studied by Janssen.³³⁵ He has stated that this workman progressed to the rank of “deputy” by year 14 of king Ramses III. Davies says that he had been a member of the left gang in Siptah’s reign, following his transfer from the right one;³³⁶ this hypothesis was first originated by Černý.³³⁷ That can help us set out a dating framework for the ostrakon in question to sometime within Siptah’s reign, as the person is assigned to the right gang not to the left one. With the appearance of the workman “PA-imi-r-iH.w” in this ostrakon, we are constrained to count from year 1 of Siptah’s reign for his first appearance in the records of the workcrew. In O. Cairo CG 25521 from year 1 and 2 of Siptah’s reign, “*H*si-sw-nb.f” was named among the workmen of the left gang. That implies that up to year 2 of Siptah, he had not yet been assigned to the right gang. Another workman “Nb-nfr son of WAD-ms” can date from year 3 of king Amenmesse to year 2 of king Siptah.³³⁸ On the basis of all this data,

³³⁵ Janssen 1982, 113

³³⁶ Davies 1999, 33.

³³⁷ Černý 2004, 304.

³³⁸ Davies 1999, 235.

we may infer a more plausible dating to this ostrakon; either by the end of year 2 of king Siptah or at latest, by the beginning of year 3 of the same king.

As refers to KVO 8, one of the groundbreaking workmen who can set out a vivid dating framework is “NA-xy son of Bw-qn-tw.f”. On his first appearance, an allusion is made to Amenmesse’s reign.³³⁹ That can be the trigger where we can build on our dating framework. Another workman “PA-Sdw son of HH-(nxw)” can be dated from year 2 of Merenptah to the reign of Siptah.³⁴⁰ In addition, the foreman “HAy” mentioned in this ostrakon, can be securely dated too; his lifetime span could be outlined from the beginning of Amenmesse’s reign to year 21/22 of Ramses III.³⁴¹ Based on the information just cited, we may set out a date from the reign of Amenmesse to that of Siptah. It follows that KVO 8 may be assigned to the end of the XIXth dynasty. Furthermore, the association of some work crew names like “lpwy”, “SA-wAdyt” and “Nfr-Htp” who appeared in a number of documents mostly dated to the end of the XIXth dynasty strengthens this assumption.³⁴²

KVO 9 in the Special Register can be dated to the end of the XIXth dynasty. The two workmen, “Hwy son of Hwy-nfr” and “Ra-Htp”, have been mentioned in a number of ostraca, all attributed to the end of the XIXth dynasty; O. Cairo CG 25519 (year 1 of Siptah), O. Cairo CG 25521 (year 1 or 2 of Siptah), O. Cairo CG 25522 (after year 5 of Siptah), O. Cairo CG 25782 (year 3 of Amenmesse), and KVO 7 (probably year 2 of Siptah’s reign). That might help us place this ostrakon near the end of the XIXth dynasty or at latest to the beginning of the XXth dynasty. Unfortunately, there are no more assertive clues to help us be more precise than that.

For KVO 10, the appearance of feminine royal names might refer to Queen Tausert who ruled in association with king Siptah, as she was the regent of the latter. If this hint

³³⁹ Ibid, 66.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, 224.

³⁴¹ Ibid, 20-21 and 279.

³⁴² O. Cairo CG 25519 (year 1 of Siptah); O. Cairo CG 25520 (Siptah or year 2 of Amenmesse); O. Cairo CG 25522 (Siptah).

is correct, we may be able to attribute this ostrakon to the end of the XIXth dynasty within (Siptah–Tausert, 1204–1196 B.C.).³⁴³ The point is that the name in the cartouche might mean “royal wife” or “king’s wife” making the attribution to a specific time span quite ambiguous.

On KVO 11, the occurrence of the name “KAr” as a scribe leaves us puzzled about the guardian of the tomb with the same name. The occurrences of this guardian of the tomb took place mainly by the end of the XXth dynasty.³⁴⁴ For “KAr”, his name was very often written  with the throwing stick as one of his name’s determinatives.³⁴⁵ However, looking at a certain quarryman whose name was transcribed, , we infer that the latter’s name constituents could be rather similar to those of the scribe we encounter in this ostrakon.³⁴⁶ The quarryman lived mostly during the reign of Ramses II. Therefore, we might identify the scribe of this ostrakon with the same quarryman, despite the fact that they held two different positions. However, the same quarryman could have progressed to occupy the rank of scribe during Ramses II’s reign. This is not the first time we have encountered such a phenomenon in the workmen’s community. Janssen has outlined that progress in ranks was characteristic of the hierarchical sphere in the Deir el-Medina community.³⁴⁷ An inferior workman could have had the possibility of being promoted to a higher post. As a result of this brief argument, we would attribute this ostrakon to the reign of king Ramses II or possibly later. Unfortunately, we do not have enough evidences to determine the lifetime of this workman/ scribe. He might have lived until the end of the XIXth dynasty. In fact, in the inventory records of Cairo Museum, the ostrakon is assigned to the end of the XIXth dynasty as well.

KVO 12 is a literary text which is hard to assign to a specific period. Unfortunately, we can not be more detailed in giving a better attribution than that of the Special

³⁴³ Bienes & Målek 1980, 36.

³⁴⁴ O. DeM 44, vso and rto 15; O. DeM 45, vso. 14; O. DeM 46, vso. 14.

³⁴⁵ Černý 2004, 150.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, 254.

³⁴⁷ Janssen 1982, 109-113.

Register of Cairo Museum: it states that this can be assigned to the XIX-XXth dynasty due to the excavation context in which it was found.

KVO 13 is another ostrakon that contains literary text and cannot be assigned to a specific span of time. However, we might hypothesise that the passage written on this ostrakon was destined to be transferred onto the wall of the tomb of king Ramses IV (KV2) as explained in the Edition of texts chapter. If so, we would be rather inclined to assign it to the XXth dynasty (Ramses IV).

Since KVO 14 has been classified as merely an exercise in numerals, it would be hard to set out a dating framework for this ostrakon. We know that O. Cairo CG 25331 was found in the Valley of the Kings and also holds only an exercise in numerals and cannot be assigned to a specific time span. Of the unpublished ostraca kept at Cairo Museum, we have encountered O. Cairo JE 72473a, b with another exercise of numerals. It was also found in the Valley of the Kings. KVO 14 and O. Cairo JE 72473a and b are both attributed, according to Cairo Museum's Special Register, to the XIX-XXth dynasty.

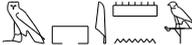
KVO 15 is another literary ostrakon, its dating outline is difficult to determine. According to the Special Register data, it could be assigned to the XIX–XIXth dynasty. From a pure palaeographical point of view, the ostrakon is rather to be assigned to the XXth dynasty or with more precision it could fall between Ramses III and Ramses IV.

With regard to KVO 16, it remains hard to set out a precise dating as the ostrakon contains just a note. According to the Special Register, it could be dated to the XIXth dynasty. It is not noted anywhere on what basis it had been dated in this manner. In fact, there is no dating clue that might confirm this date.

KVO 17 could date from the mid-XIXth dynasty on. This time setting is based on use of the measurement word “*hnw*” the use of which in textual outcomes began to appear from the middle of the XIXth dynasty on.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ Janssen 1975, 333-36.

Fortunately, KVO 18 dates safely to year 37 of Ramses II that is the latter half of his reign.

For KVO 19, the item being delivered might have been wine although it goes against the transcription setting of this jar label. However, the initial “t” of line 1, which is at the beginning of the line, makes hard to guess that it could one of the constituent letters of the word “irp”. The following adjective would qualify exclusively wine rather than anything else. Because of this hint, we would be rather inclined to go for “wine” in our final translation. If so, that will lead us to a very important point. In the huge number of jar labels transcribed in the unpublished manuscripts of Černý, numerous potsherds were found with the word “irp” inscribed on them. The majority of these labels were addressed to . One of them is dated safely to year 3 of king Ramses II.³⁴⁹ Two other jar labels are also securely dated to year 7 of Ramses II.³⁵⁰ In addition, a further label can be dated to year 8 of the same king.³⁵¹ Having said that, the jar label in question, might fall, as a time setting, within the regnal years of Ramses II. Surprising enough, this label was found in the Valley of the Kings. It might have been among those jar labels sent to the temple of Karnak or to the Ramesseum. After that, the wine was probably sent to the workcrew for consumption on Special occasions. At last, we may infer that this jar label might be attributed to the XIXth dynasty, probably to the first half of Ramses II’s reign.

KVO 28, from the epithet cited, may probably be assigned to Seti II. Despite the fact that this ostrakon was found at the entrance of KV 9, Ramses VI’s tomb, we have learnt from the Edition Texts chapter that the epithet was very often associated with king Seti II and no other king of the Ramesside Period. Assertive evidence for this hypothesis is KVO 6, the letter addressed to the same king by the vizier “Hrw” where it is attested the same epithet. Therefore, we tend to place KVO 29 somewhere within the

³⁴⁹ Černý MSS 111-04.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, c111-08.

³⁵¹ Ibid c111-10.

reign of king Seti II. As a matter of fact, KVO 28 and KVO 29 were found in the same site.

As for KVO 29, it is difficult to attribute this ostrakon to a specific period of time as there is no any clue for dating. On fragment “b”, there is written number “300”; one of the numerical designations of Carter/Carnarvon excavations. That means that we can trace down the finding spot of this ostrakon. According to sources, fragment “300” was found beside the entrance of KV 9 of Ramses VI.³⁵² That might probably prompt us to put KVO 29 somewhere within the reigning period of that king. Accordingly, KVO 29 might probably assign to the first half of the XXth dynasty (1151-1143 B.C). On the other hand, we can not exclude the possibility of attributing it to the XIXth dynasty. The bulk of the ostraca found at that site is dated in terms of palaeographical basis, to rather the XIXth dynasty.³⁵³ None of the material discovered at the place where this ostrakon was found is assigned to king Ramses VI.³⁵⁴ That may undermine our ascription of KVO 29 to the XXth dynasty. Thus we can not leave totally out the possibility of ascribing it to the first half of the XIXth dynasty. Moreover, there was discovered an ostrakon “O. Cairo CG 25760” by the same excavators, Carter/ Carnarvon in the Valley of the Kings. This ostrakon holds also some hierarchal titles and ascribes to the reign of Ramses II.³⁵⁵ So we may also attribute KVO 29 rather within Ramses II’s reign as the both ostraca might have probably been written by the same scribe; there is in fact much resemblance in the writing outlines of the two ostraca.

Since the KVO 30 was found beside the entrance of KV 9 of king Ramses VI, the ostrakon should be normally attributed to the reign of this king. However, the major part of the ostraca found along with this ostrakon at this place, were ascribed to the reign of king Ramses II. For example, O. Cairo CG 25815a³⁵⁶, O. Cairo CG 25809³⁵⁷, O. Cairo

³⁵² Reeves 1990, 328.

³⁵³ O. Cairo CG 25802 (first half of XIXth dynasty); O. Cairo CG 25805 (middle of XIXth dynasty); O. Cairo CG 25809 (first half of XIXth dynasty); O. Cairo CG 25815a, b (middle of XIXth dynasty); O. Cairo CG 25832a, b, c (second half of XIXth dynasty); look these ostraca up in Černý 1935b, 93-101.

³⁵⁴ See above footnote 29.

³⁵⁵ KRI III, 642-643.

³⁵⁶ KRI III, 567 (transcription) ; Černý 1935b, 96, 117, pl. CXII (description, transcription and facsimile).

³⁵⁷ Helck 2002, 64-65 (translation); KRI III, 514 (transcription); Černý 1935b, 95, 116, pl. CXII (description, transcription and facsimile).

CG 25816, O. Cairo CG 25807³⁵⁸, O. Cairo CG 25813³⁵⁹, O. Cairo CG 25802³⁶⁰ are all assigned to Ramses II's reign. Therefore, we would be more inclined here to assign this ostrakon to the same span of time. It could have been written somewhere in the reigning course of king Ramses II to be copied onto one of the monuments which hold Ramses II's children names. Furthermore, it bears the names of King Ramses II's sons. That can probably help us to place this ostrakon within the XIXth dynasty. It would be hard to get this dating more precise as there are no clues. The ancient Egyptian Pharaoh Ramses II had a large number of children – 40-56 sons and 40-44 daughters, whom he had depicted on several monuments. He apparently made no distinctions between the offspring of his first two principal wives, Nefertari and Isetnofret. Both queen's firstborn sons and first few daughters had statues at the entrance of the Greater Abu Simbel temple, although only Nefertari's children were depicted in the smaller temple, dedicated to her. Other than Nefertari and Isetnofret, Ramses had six more great royal wives during his reign – his own daughters Bintanath, Meritamen, Nebettawy, and Hnutmri (who, according to another theory was his sister), and two daughters of Hattusilis III king of Hatti. Except Bintanath and the first Hittite princess Maathornefer, none are known to have borne children to the pharaoh. A procession of the first nine daughters of Ramesses: B[intanath], Baketmut, Nefertari, Meritamen, Nebettawy, Isetnofret, Henuttawy, Werenro and Nedjemmut. Most of his children are known to us from processions like this. The first few children of Ramesses usually appear in the same order on depictions. Lists of princes and princesses were found in the Ramesseum, Luxor, Wadi-es-sebua and Abydos. Some names are known to us from this ostrakon, tombs and other sources. The sons of Ramses appear on depictions of battles and triumphs – such as the Battle of Kadesh and the siege of the Syrian city of Dapur – already early in his reign (Years 5 and 10, respectively), thus it is likely that several of them were born before he ascended to the throne. Many of his sons were buried in the tomb KV5. “Ramses” efforts to have his children depicted on several of his monuments are in contradiction with the earlier tradition of keeping royal children, especially boys

³⁵⁸ KRI II, 233 (transcription); KRI II, 86 (translation); KRI notes II, 145-146 (commentary).

³⁵⁹ Kitchen 1982, 191 (translation); KRI III, 569 (transcription); Helck 2002, 59 (translation).

³⁶⁰ KRI III, 531 (transcription); Černý 1935b, 93, 114, pl. CX (description, transcription and facsimile).

in the background unless they held important official titles. This was probably caused by the fact that his family was not of royal background.

KVO 31 is just a draft of a stela of a personality called “*Hri*” whose name can not, unfortunately, lead us to get a closer insight into the date of this ostrakon as there were a number of persons bearing the same name. Therefore, the attribution would not be something else other than assigning KVO 31 to the XIX-XXth dynasty due to the excavation context in which it was found.

Having gone through the corpus of ostraca, we can infer that most of them assign to the Late XIXth dynasty. The entire corpus, we are handling here, come from the Valley of the Kings. The fact that there is no mention for excavation years for most of these ostraca along with lack of regnal years renders the dating process too hard to outline. A few of these ostraca are marked with exact finding spot. They are those ostraca discovered by Carter/ Carnarvon in the Valley of the Kings as their excavations were systematically well recorded. Some of these excavations tended to continue the digging/ cleaning work of the former excavations conducted by Th. Davis.

Interpretation

The core of this research is 31 ostraca, 17 of which come from Davis's excavations in the Valley of the Kings. The rest (14) belongs to Carter/Carnavon's excavations. Before attempting to reassign the unprovenanced ostraca to more specific finding spots, we would like to handle the history of these excavators in the Valley of the Kings.

Introduction to Davis excavations:

The early excavation seasons of Davis (1902 until 1904) were conducted by the Antiquities Services Inspector based in Luxor; H. Carter and J. E. Quibell were just assistants in those years. In 1905, Davis has relegated the new inspector A. Weigall to a supervisory role and brought forward E. R. Ayrton to be his assistant. Ayrton was succeeded by E. H. Jones who died in 1911 and then his place was occupied by H. Burton who continued working until the death of Davis year 1915. His published excavation accounts were not at the same level of the great discoveries he unveiled in the Valley of the Kings. Despite this fact, fortunately in the archive of the EES, there was discovered recently a series of the excavations' photos relating to years 1905/06, 07, 08. In addition to this, there was also found the day journal by Jones in the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art along with some Photographs recently presented to Carmarthen Museum. The groundbreaking find is that there was found the sketch map locating the areas cleared and the site designations employed by Ayrton in year 1905/ 06. Davis's assistant (Ayrton) had given sites codes in ink or pencil to those ascertainable items found in those seasons. That has helped a mass of items, especially ostraca, to be reassigned to specific archaeological sites. Since the corpus of our ostraca come from the Valley of the Kings, we would like to define the locations of Davis's discoveries; exclusively those of the ostraca, in the course of his excavations from years 1902 to 1914.

Findspots of ostraca found by Davis between years 1902-1914:

- Davis excavations year 1902: what follows is a group of ostraca published by Černý, ostraca, O. Cairo CG (1) 25576, (2) 25577, B. N (2) 25547, (7) 25744, (10) 25560, (18) (25553, 25636, 25672), and (37) 25642. These ostraca were found in different sites;
 - Site 3: the valley running from the main valley, beginning in front of KV 4 (Ramses XI) until KV 21 and beyond; at the end of the valley near KV 28 (anonymous) they found few ostraca;
 - Site 4: over the tomb of the prince “MA-Hr-pA-ra”, there were found many ostraca and small fragments of the XIX-XXth dynasty.³⁶¹
- Davis excavations year 1903 (early January- 15 April): the small valley east of Seti I tomb, containing KV 19 and KV 20:
 - Site 6: in the entrance of KV 19 of (Ment-hi-khopshef) they found many hieratic ostraca.
- Davis excavations year 1905/06: numerous ostraca found in different locations and published by Černý, ostraca Cairo. The sites are (KV 2 of Ramses IV, KV13 of Bay, KV 14 of Tausert/ Setnakhte, KV 29 [anonymous], 35 of Amenophis II, and KV 53 [anonymous]). It is noteworthy mentioning that the bulk of the ostraca published in the Catalogue of ostraca of Cairo comes from KV 47 (Siptah),³⁶²
 - Site 13: in front of KV 2 of Ramses IV, there were found a series of ostraca and a hieratic ostrakon, mentioning king Amenophis I;³⁶³
 - Site 14: in the northern face of the promontory which runs out from the perpendicular cliffs slightly south of the tomb of Amenophis II, they found one or two ostraca of dynasty XXth;³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Carter 1903, 46.

³⁶² Reeves 1984, 227-235.

³⁶³ Davis 1908, 6.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 7.

- Site 15: in 1905, discovery and partial clearance of KV 47. There were discovered three potsherds and ostraca with name of Seti II together with O. Cairo GC 25766 published by Černý, ostraca Cairo;³⁶⁵
 - Site 16: the discovery of KV 49 (anonymous) where they found an ostrakon with the name of the chief workmen “Hꜣy”;³⁶⁶ slightly to the north of tomb KV 29 (anonymous), they discovered several ostraca; over the mouth of the same tomb they discovered remains of rough workmen’s huts together with several ostraca;³⁶⁷
 - Site 17: in 1906, in the entrance of KV 19 of (Ment-hi-Khopshef) they discovered several ostraca.
- Davis excavations 1906/07: a place about forty feet oblong in the vicinity of KV 55 of Queen Tiye: they found a number of ostraca published in the Catalogue of Černý, ostraca Cairo.³⁶⁸
 - Davis excavations 1907/08: they discovered a number of ostraca published in Catalogue Černý, Cairo coming from the area between KV 17 of Seti I-KV 21 (anonymous) which has workmen’s houses;³⁶⁹
 - Site 19: between KV 18 and KV 21 there were some finds including ostraca;
 - Site 21, from the vicinity of KV 9 of Ramses V/VI they found some ostraca; continuation of work southwards along the path near KV 61 (anonymous) they found ostraca as well.³⁷⁰
 - Davis excavations year 1908/09: between KV 57 (Hormoheb) and KV 35 (Amenophis II):

³⁶⁵ Ibid, 1.

³⁶⁶ Daressy 1922, 75-76.

³⁶⁷ Reeves 1990, 305.

³⁶⁸ Ibid, 307.

³⁶⁹ Davis 1912, 262.

³⁷⁰ Reeves 1990, 308.

- Site 23: they discovered two ostraca and two inscribed potsherds in debris opposite and in front of Hormoheb's tomb about 4 meters from the step;³⁷¹
- Site 25: they discovered several ostraca over the whole field and one limestone ostrakon in the trench 1 meter deep all along the Wadi going through the path and shed.³⁷²
- Davis excavations year 1909/ 10: some 20- 30 m S of KV 50-52 (both anonymous), removing debris over the cliff from the monkey tomb:³⁷³
 - Site 28: to N and S along the footpath due E of KV 47 of Siptah, they found there several ostraca; a broken pot ostraca with the name of Ramses II;
 - Site 32: Clearance of sloping desert of all sides (presumably of KV 43 of Thutmosis IV and KV 20 of Hatshepsut) where they found several ostraca.

Introduction to Carter/ Carnarvon's excavations:

Davis died in February 1915 and after his death the concession of work at the royal tombs was passed to the Earl Fifth Carnarvon who was under the supervision of H. Carter. Their work results did not satisfy a number of excavators with exception of KV 62 of Tutankhamun. Nevertheless, full excavation records were properly done and to reconstruct their scheme of works does not require big effort. The ostraca in our corpus being assigned to their excavations are easily restored in terms of location and year. Apart from their wide excavation spread in the Valley of the Kings and their discoveries to a new number of tombs, they had aimed to take on the former uncompleted excavations of Davis and clear up the debris hills accumulated by the previous digging works.

Apart from the finding of ostraca, in the course of Davis/ Carter's excavations, there had been discovered a considerable number of huts spread throughout the Valley of the Kings and its lateral valleys. Most of scholars agree about the use of these huts as

³⁷¹ Ibid, 310.

³⁷² Ibid, 311-313.

³⁷³ Ibid, 314.

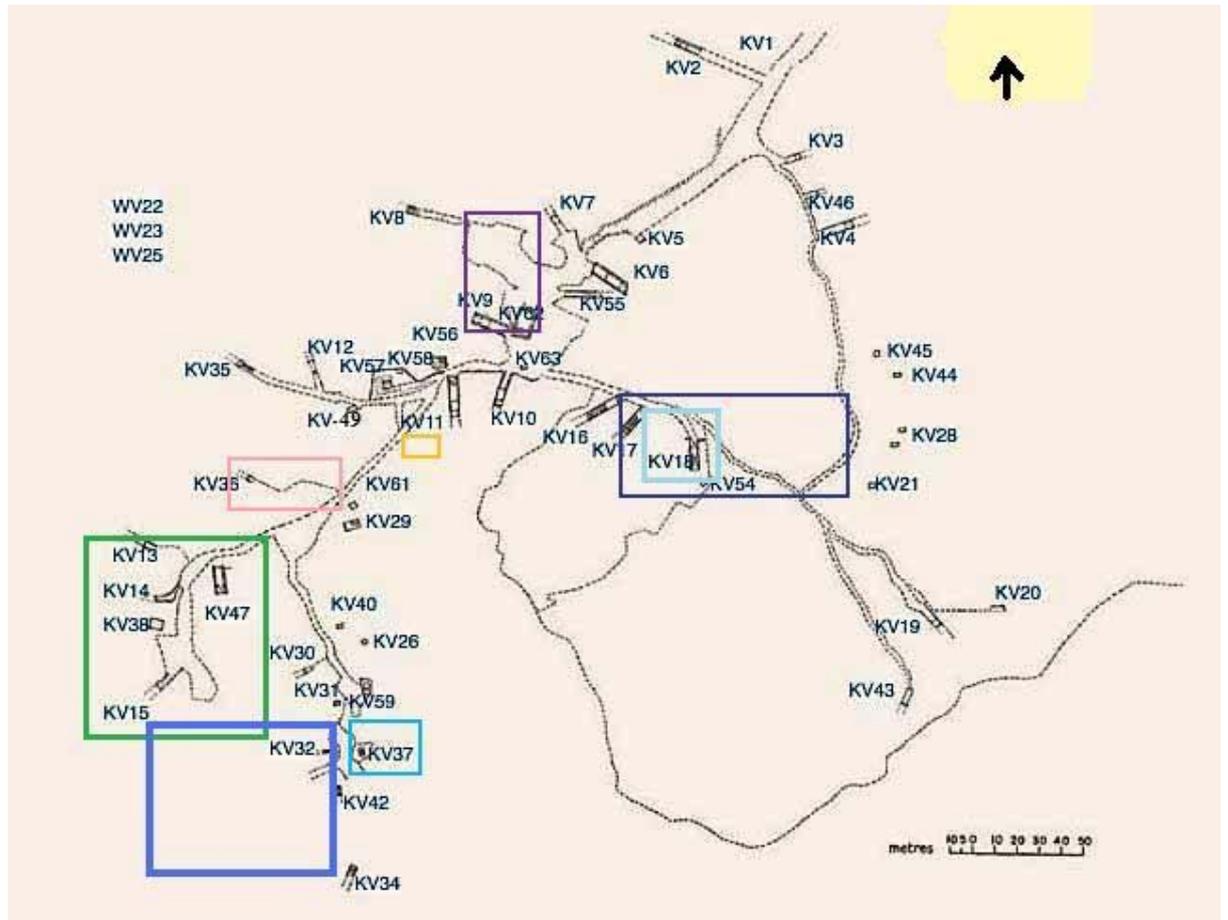
merely temporary stations for workers on the nine weekly days. In Amenmesse project, they have discovered recently in 2001 and 2003 two groups of houses for workmen, being divided on the east and the west sides of KV 10 (Amenmesse). They have named them (East and West Huts). In the East Huts, they found some ceramic and a few ostraca. From the finds, it can hint that this workmen's mini-village might have functioned from late in the reign of Ramses II and from late Merenptah through Amenmesse and Seti II. Surprisingly, none of the discoveries can assign to the king Amenmesse.³⁷⁴ These huts may probably have served as mini-workshops/ settlements to execute the work of a certain king as well as to settle down temporarily in case of need.

In view of the activities of the Project ARTP (UK) in the Valley of the Kings, they have discovered a wide range of huts running from south to north and from east to west along with some spread throughout the lateral valleys.³⁷⁵ The locations of these workshops/ settlements don't necessitate that there should exist items of the king whose tomb is in the vicinity. Therefore, the aim of this research is to handle out this point of argument and bring forward further debating issues as it is what our project is concerned about. Before getting into details of our corpus of ostraca, we would like to locate in a form of mapping charter, the finds of ostraca along with the workmen's huts found so far in the Valley of the Kings.

³⁷⁴ Available on www.kv-10.com.

³⁷⁵ Available on www.nicolasreeves.com.

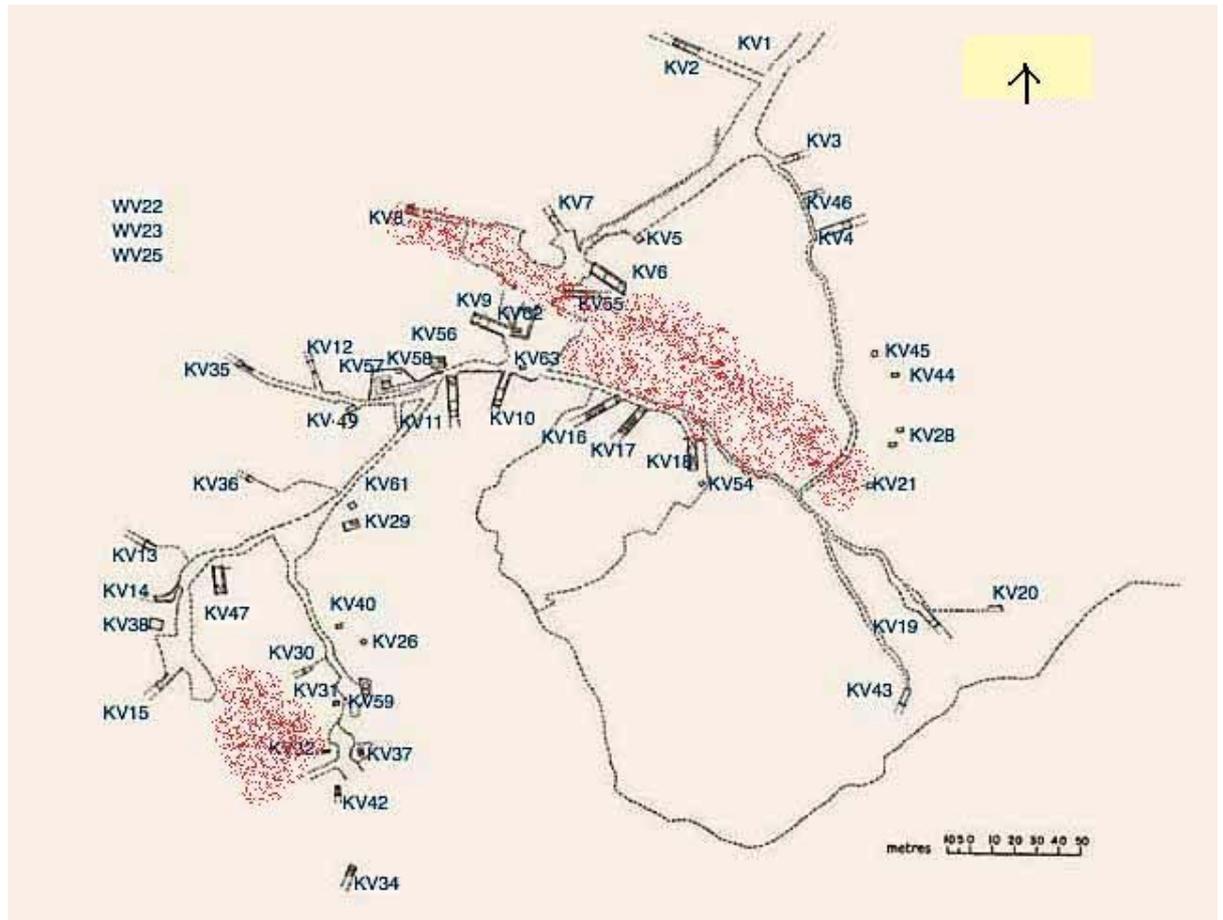
Main findspots of ostraca so far in the Valley of the Kings



- **Ostraca discovered by Davis, Carnarvon/Carter and MISR project of the end of the XIXth dynasty: main findspot is KV 47**
- **Ostraca discovered by Davis**
- **Ostraca discovered by Daressy**
- **Ostraca discovered by Davis**
- **Ostraca discovered by Davis and MISR project of the Ramesside Period (Ramses IV to Ramses VI): main findspot is KV 18**
- **Ostraca discovered by Davis**
- **Ostraca discovered by Carnarvon/Carter**

- **Ostraca discovered by the Service des Antiquités d’Egypte of the XIX-XXth dynasty**

Provenance of the ostraca at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
 Excavations Th. Davis 1907-1908 as recorded in the MMA Registers, provided by A.
 Oppenheim (assistant curator in the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

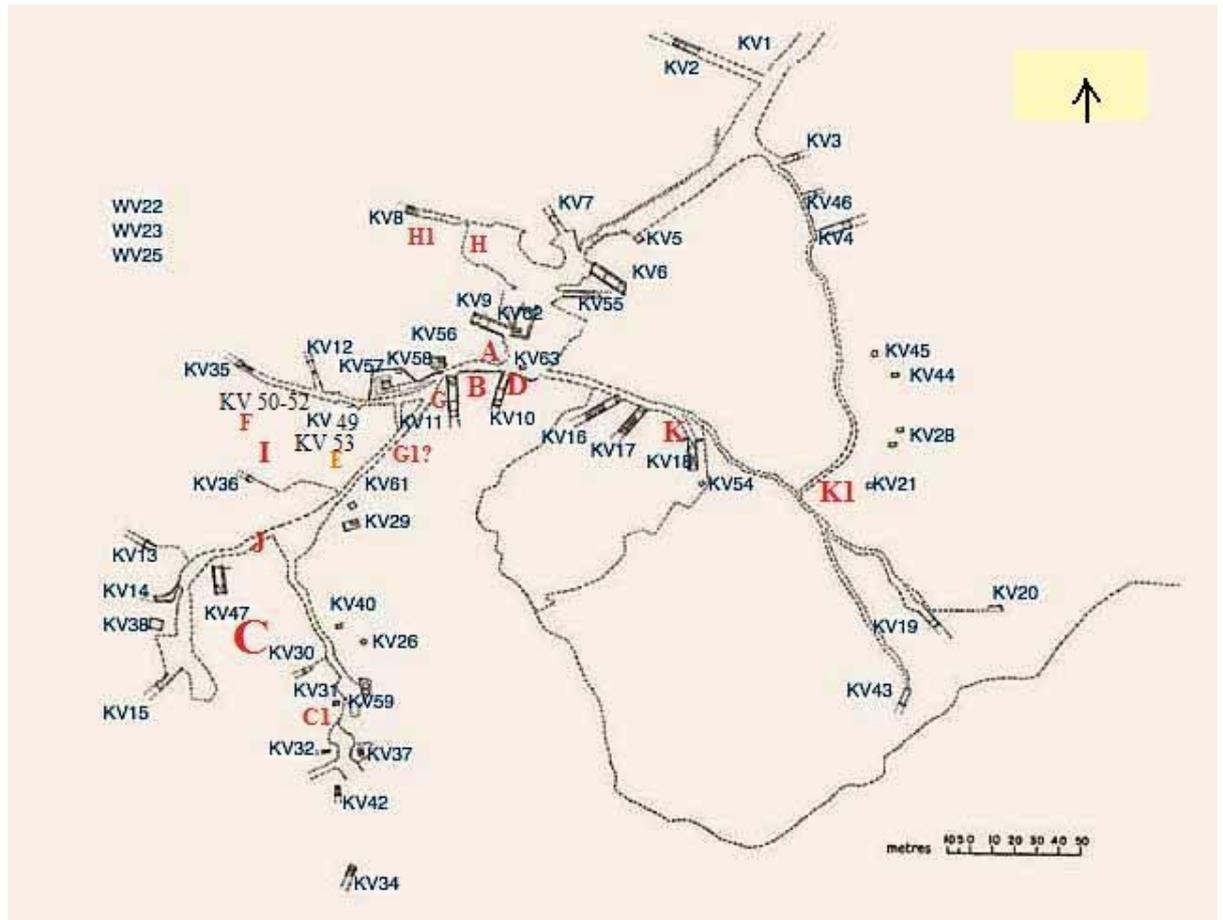


- A very wide and not well defined area between KV 8 (Merenptah) and KV 21
- On the right of the workmen's huts near Tiy tomb (KV 32)

From the chip heaps in the same branch of the valley³⁷⁶

³⁷⁶ I am deeply thankful to the assistant curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art A. Oppenheim who has provided me with this crucial data about Davis's excavations in excavation season 1907/08.

Map of the workmen's huts so far in the Valley of the Kings



A between KV 9 (Ramses VI) and KV 56 (Gold Tomb) discovered by H. Carter and further investigated by Reeves: XXth dynasty

B between KV 10 (Amenmesse) and KV 11 (Ramses III) investigated by the Amarna Royal Tombs Project (UK)

C between KV 37 and KV 47 (Siptah) discovered by E. Ayrton on behalf of Th. Davis in 1905 and further investigated by the Amarna Royal Tombs Project (UK): Ramesside

CI near KV 32 (Tiy)

D to the East of KV 10 (Amenmesse) investigated by the Amenmesse Project (Colorado, USA)

E over the mouth of KV 53

F to the South of KV 50-52

G to the South of KV 11 investigated by E. Ayrton on behalf of Th. Davis

G1? probable hut labelled KV 0 between KV 11 and KV 61

H valley leading to KV 8 (Merenptah) discovered by H. Carter

H1 south of KV 8 discovered by H. Carter

I region of KV 36 (Maiherperi)

J junction of the track leading to KV 47 (Siptah)

K South and South-East of Ramses X (KV 18) discovered by E. Ayrton on behalf of Th. Davis (season 1907-1908) and further investigated by MISR Project (Basel University, CH): Ramses IV-Ramses VI

K1 near KV 21 discovered by E. Ayrton on behalf of Th. Davis (season 1907-1908)

From the three maps, we can observe that there could be a relationship between the diffusion of the workmen's huts and the finding of ostraca in the Valley of the Kings. We would be rather inclined to hypothesise that these workmen's huts might probably have been used as administrative stations where workmen could probably live in and craftily produce what should have been, then, transferred into royal tombs.

The majority of the ostraca published in Daressy's catalogue come from the clearance of royal tombs at the Valley of the Kings. That can be described as what follows:

- KV 18 (Ramses X) cleared in 1890
- KV 9 (Ramses VI) cleared in 1890. The ostraca coming from these two tombs were mixed up during the transport to Cairo so the scholar could not identify the exact provenance.
- KV 11 (Ramses III) cleared in 1892: O. Cairo GC 25008, 25013
- KV 37 (anonymous), wadi cleared in 1899: O. Cairo GC 25020-25023, 25055, 25069, 25973, 25081, 25089, 25104, 25112, 25127, 25178-25180, 25189bis, 25228, 25248-25249, 25269, 25293, 25297-25398, 25313-25315, 25321, 25352, 25354, 25357, 25360, 25362, 25364

Černý's catalogue includes documents from different provenances, but the bulk comes from the Valley of the Kings:

- Clearance of the tombs by Daressy: O. Cairo CG 25626, 25628, 25629
- Excavations of Th. Davis subdivided as follows:
 - Not attributable to a precise season: "beneath G α.9": O. Cairo GC 25657
"β": O. Cairo GC 25648
"EQ": O. Cairo GC 25599,
O. Cairo CG 25634
"Q": O. Cairo GC 25571
 - Season 1902
 - Season 1905-1906
 - Season 1906-1907
 - Season 1907-1908
 - Season 1908-1909
- Excavations Carnarvon/Carter as follows:
 - Season 1917-1918
 - Season 1922

As a matter of fact, we can also realize that the bulk of the ostraca published and assigned to the latter half of the XIXth dynasty in Cairo Museum, comes from four basic sites (KV 47 of Siptah has the major part of those ostraca, KV 13 of Bay, KV 14 Tauesert, and KV 15 Seti II).³⁷⁷ The entry of the ostraca to Cairo Museum, we are concerned about in this project, had occurred at the same time of those already published in the Catalogue of Černý that is according to the Special Register data. In addition, the major part of ostraca unpublished in Cairo Museum among which there is also the corpus of ostraca of this research had been seen and briefly commented in the Inventory Registers by the same scholar. He had most probably left them out for future work as they probably did not hold any vivid auxiliary elements for dating. Accordingly, we will be relying on the dating framework of each ostrakon as an essential tool to help us extract probable locations for those ostraca left without defined findspots.

In view of KVO 1 discovered by Davis, we have drawn up some suggestions favouring this ostraca to be assigned to year 6 of king Siptah that is the latter half of the XIXth dynasty. This dating was based on the interrelationships between the workmen who appeared in this ostrakon as well as relying on the regnal year 6 already mentioned on it. According to the detailed explanation above along with the explanatory maps of the ostraca locations, we may infer that the ostrakon's location might probably have situated in four basic sites (KV 47, KV 13, KV 14, and KV 15). However, the fact that there is a lack of any excavation year makes this assumption a subject to debate.

KVO 2 has some marks on the *verso* which could be classified as “Funny-sings”. In addition, there is a writing “BM” along with a circle drawn and could probably be read as number “5”. If this number corresponds to a tomb, most probably the reference may probably be to the “site 2” of the excavations conducted by Davis/Carter in 1902, in the

³⁷⁷ Černý 1935a, passim; Daressy 1901, passim.

Valley of the Kings.³⁷⁸ Then, we could probably assign the finding spot to the area between KV5 and the opposite side of KV3, including the debris of KV5.³⁷⁹

For KVO 4, we have actually argued to probably attribute it from the end of the XIXth dynasty to year 24th of Ramses III. However, it could even fall within the reigning years of king Ramses II (perhaps years 35 and 37). That complicates more the location setting process. Therefore, we would rather avoid going on further assumption with regard to its findspot.

KVO 5 can not be relocated either, as there is not any clue of reassigning it to a specific location.

As regards KVO 6, we may be able to draw up more assertive conclusions as it is mentioned in the Inventory Register that the ostrakon was found in year 1905/06 of Davis's excavations. Based on the Davis' excavations in that season, we have seen that in site 15, in year 1905, the first discovery of KV 47 was triggered off and there had been done a partial clearance to the same tomb. In the course of clearance, they had found three potsherds and ostraca with Seti II's name. Together with these ostraca there was found also O. Cairo CG 25766 which is published in the catalogue of Cairo Museum of the ostraca.³⁸⁰ He suggests that even this ostrakon may attribute to the end of the XIXth dynasty according to its palaeography. That implies that KVO 6 might have been amongst these ostraca. Interesting enough is that KVO 6 is marked on its back with "X₂", like O. Cairo CG 25521 (year 1 and 2 of Siptah) whose fragments are marked with "X₁, X₂₂, X₄₁". Looking up in the sketch map of Ayrton, the site "X" can be located north-east of KV 13 (Bay) and downwards the tomb of "Ma-Hr-pA-ra".³⁸¹ We are wondering whether the designated capitalized letter "X" corresponds to the place where KVO 6 might have been found. If so, then the ostrakon in question might assign as a findspot to north-east of KV 13.

³⁷⁸ <http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>.

³⁷⁹ Reeves 1990, 293.

³⁸⁰ Černý 1935a, 82, pl. XCVIII.

³⁸¹ Reeves 1990, 299- 300 (look it up in the sktech map of Ayrton year 1905/06).

For KVO 7, its date has been set out to the end of the XIXth dynasty (year 2 or 3 of Siptah) in the “Dating chapter”. Therefore, we would probably assume that this ostrakon can come from one of the four basic sites mentioned above where there was found the bulk of ostraca dated to the latter half of the XIXth dynasty. However, we would not be able to assure that with more assertive evidences.

KVO 8 may probably date to the end of the XIXth dynasty (Amenmesse- Siptah). Therefore, would suppose to attribute it as a findspot to one of the same four basic sites cited above. Unfortunately, we can not be more precise than that.

For KVO 10, we have assumed that it may date to the reign of “Siptah-Tauesert” as she is the most relevant queen at the end of the XIXth dynasty. If this assumption is correct, we may think that this ostrakon was found either in the tomb itself of KV 14 or in its surrounding area.

As regards KVO 12, it remains hard the identification process of the literary piece written on this ostrakon. Furthermore, we have never encountered such passage somewhere else. That makes the identification of the findspot too hard to determine.

KVO 13 might have been drafted to receive some passage inspired from the “Book of Caverns”. We have actually hinted above that the tomb in which it was represented the “Book of the Caverns” is KV2. We may probably hint that this ostrakon may have probably been found either in the tomb of the same king or in its vicinity.

KVO 16 refers to an enclosure by mentioning the word “inb”. We are wondering what kind of enclosure the scribe wanted to indicate to. The recent find of Reeves of a Shrine and Cross-wall running deeply beneath the modern tourist-path between KV57 (Horemheb) and KV11 (Ramses III) confirms the existence of such wall.³⁸² There was found also a limestone bluff, swinging round at the north to give restricted access to the valley. It was a natural checkpoint during the Ramesside Period protected by guards whose water-jars and hearth were uncovered as well. Furthermore, they found also some relieves within the wall of the rock-cut shrine into the wall. Some god figures were

³⁸² <http://www.nicholasreeves.com/artp.aspx?page=2>.

found also of Atum, Isis, and Meretseger along with undisturbed votive-stela for over thirty centuries. We wonder whether this wall can correspond to the same “inb” being mentioned in this ostrakon. Even if it is the same wall, we can not venture on attributing KVO 16 to the same site where this wall was found although we can not rule out this probability completely.

KVO 18 was designated Carnarvon/ 285. It was found in the excavations conducted by Carter/Carnarvon in 1920- Spring 1921 (1 December-3/ 13 March). The main target of these excavations was to clear the rubbish mounds accumulated by the former excavations of Th. Davis. Basic sources are Carter. MSS, I. J. 386-7, nos 276- 350. The site in which this ostrakon was found is site 9 where there is the lateral valley between tombs Ramses II and VI’ (KV 7- KV 9).³⁸³ This ostrakon was there unearthed along with others published by Černý (278= O. Cairo CG 25788³⁸⁴; 279 = O. Cairo CG 25789³⁸⁵; 280 = O. Cairo CG 25823).

For KVO 19, the exact location was site “16” (south of opening of cache Akhenaton KV 55, before 3/13) in the excavations conducted by Carter/ Carnarvon in 1922 on an attempt to clear up the rubble accumulated by former excavations of Th. Davis.³⁸⁶ This ostrakon is designated with no. “345” and was found in the rubbish of the Lower stratum along with 344= CG 25824. The latter has been published by Kitchen and dated to the reigns of (Siptah-Tausert).³⁸⁷

KVO 28 was found in the excavations conducted by Carter/ Carnarvon between Winter 1920- Spring 1921 (1 December-3/13 March).³⁸⁸ The exact finding spot of this ostrakon is “the nearby area of the entrance of king Ramses VI’s tomb (KV9) (23 December-?3 January) (Site H). The ostrakon was designated “292” as excavation number.

³⁸³ Reeves 1990, 328.

³⁸⁴ Černý 1935b, 88, 111, pl CVI (description, transcription, facsimile) ; Helck 2002 , 87 (translation); KRI IV, 158 and 159 (transcription). This ostrakon is dated by Helck to year 6 of Merenptah’s reign.

³⁸⁵ Černý 1935b, 89, 111, pl CVI (description, transcription). The attribution of dating is to Amenmesse’s reign (end of XIX Dynasty) by Helck 2002, 87; KRI IV 235.

³⁸⁶ Reeves 1990, 330.

³⁸⁷ KRI IV, 434 ; cf. Černý 1935b, 99, pl. CXVII.

³⁸⁸ Carter MSS, I.J.386-7, nos 276-350.

One of the fragments of KVO 29 is designated Carnarvon/ 300.³⁸⁹ According to the records of Carter/ Carnarvon, This fragment was found beside the entrance of KV 9 (Ramses VI). We suppose that the other fragments might have been discovered in the course of events of the former excavations of Davis and were not systematically recorded. When Černý looked over the ostraca of Cairo Museum could realize that these scattered pieces could have constituted one ostrakon.

KVO 30 was discovered in the excavations conducted by H. Carter in Winter 1920-Spring 1921 (1 December- 03/13 March).³⁹⁰ The sites excavated were designated H, I, L; attribution of finds by number. This ostrakon is designated 301. The exact finding spot of this ostrakon was beside the entrance of KV 9 of king Ramses VI.³⁹¹ This finding place was used to mix mortar or plaster and there were huts built partly upon ground made up with numbers of boulders.

KVO 31 was found in the excavations conducted by Carter/Carnarvon in 1922 (8 February-“March”).³⁹² The attested site designation is “K”. The site number in which this ostrakon was found is “17”: “recommended excavations on the east side of foot-hill containing the tomb of Siptah (KV47)”. The ostrakon was designated “371” and found among a group of other ostraca, bearing excavation numbers 367-78.

As seen above, the excavations of Carter/ Carnarvon are fairly recorded such that we can easily define the exact findspots of ostraca. Conversely, those excavations conducted by Th. Davis have caused a considerable misconception of relocating several ostraca. Therefore, we have relied sometimes on the dating framework of several ostraca along with the information published by Reeves being extracted exactly from the day-journal records of Davis’ assistant (Ayrton). We have actually profoundly checked out the ostraca published by Černý whose corpus was taken mostly from the excavations of Davis. This endeavour has established a vivid outline which helped us speculate on the location of some unprovenanced ostraca. The fact that there are many ostraca left out of the corpus without handling them with more detailed analysis with

³⁸⁹ Reeves 1990 , 328.

³⁹⁰ Carter, MSS, I. J. 386-7, nos 276-350.

³⁹¹ Reeves 1990, 328.

³⁹² Carter, MSS, I.J. 387, nos 351-432.

regard to their findspots is accounted for the lack of information these ostraca have. These unhandled ostraca might be better defined with the forthcoming publications of some missions in the Valley of the Kings; like MISR, Amenmesse, and ARTP project. We do believe that my ostraca can complement those discovered by these missions. Until they publish their material, these ostraca may remain away from the light spot.

Classification

In this chapter, we would like to focus on the nature of each account and draw up a sort of comparative study against their analogies from Deir el-Medina. We have in our corpus a variety of contents. Therefore, we have decided to group those which have the same nature and handle them in a homogenous framework.

For KVO 16, from the single written line, we can infer that this account might have been merely a **note** to indicate to a certain event. The terminology employed through the word “inb” suggests that there might have been some wall. As a matter of fact, against these occurrences for word “inb”, there has occurred none in Deir el-Medina’s accounts, as yet, bearing such a word. The scribe had probably outlined his work, using this ostrakon as merely a note to get back to in case of need. We have found also two ostraca of the Valley of the Kings bearing the same word (O. Cairo CG 25558, vso, 1 and O. Cairo CG 25831, vso, 1). The former was found by Th. Davis in the Valley of the Kings³⁹³ and the latter was discovered by Carter/ Carnarvon in the “Lower stratum” with mark “411” in their excavations of 1922 to the east side of KV 47 (Siptah).³⁹⁴

KVO 1, KVO 5, KVO 7 and KVO 8 can be all classified as lists workmen’s names. For this type of accounts, the scribe tended to write down some names either with or without dates along with some terminology referring to absence or presence. In other cases, he used to mention merely proper names without any specification, perhaps as preparation for certain duties assigned to the workmen. These four mentioned ostraca above have all these characteristics. For example, KVO 1 initial word starts off with a word which conveys a construction work by the use of word “SAd”, meaning “dig” or “dig out”.³⁹⁵ After that, it came in a word “wsf = off” meaning rather “off” or absent. For “SAd”, written , it appeared with this meaning as old as the Old Kingdom time, Pepi I’s reign, at Akhmim site.³⁹⁶ The same word occurred in (O. DeM 159. 6a, and O. DeM 144 vso.10). If the word was intended to function as “dig” in

³⁹³ Černy 1935a, 101, pl.119.

³⁹⁴ Reeves, 331.

³⁹⁵ Wb 4, 414. 11-415.4.

³⁹⁶ Kanawati 1986, 49, 51, Pl. 3b, 8c, fig. 20.

meaning, then this word might probably imply that the account on recto “a” concerns the initial stages of digging some king’s tomb. The same word can be also translated as “Pillage” and written . ³⁹⁷ The determinatives of this word are the forearm and the forearm with the stick. So, we would be more inclined here to rule out this meaning as the following context is totally irrelevant to the word “pillage”. As for wsf, ³⁹⁸ (time off with permission on certain events like inspection, feasts, bringing water and so forth), it can be abbreviated in such designation when there is a genitival structure with tA is.t. ³⁹⁹ So, there might have been tA ist which has been missed out by the fracture of the ostrakon. From the content of the two accounts written on either *recto* (a, b) or *verso* (a, b), we can learn that there are not any clues which may correlate them in a common sense. However, the scholar who designated them under one inventory (JE number) might have hinted that they constitute one ostrakon. From the palaeographical point of view, we can notice the resemblance of the handwritings on the two fragments [*recto* (a, b) and *verso* (a, b)]. In addition, the limestone material and the nature of the surface of the two fragments might suggest that they may have constituted a larger ostrakon handed down by the same scribe. What is certain about the two fragments is that they contain a day-to-day journal account regarding basically some workmen’s names (probably absence account). Unfortunately, the entire account has been considerably fragmented in a way that the content can hardly be outlined with more certainty. Contrary to the absence account, KVO 7 concerns some individuals being present on certain days. This has been embodied in the use of the qualitative “iw” meaning “has come” or “present”. ⁴⁰⁰ In some cases like KVO 8, the ostrakon can be safely classified as a “list of workmen absent on various days due to probably illness”. That can be safely defined by the mention of certain days along with proper names of workmen. What may be little problematic is the lack of citing any affiliation of these workmen with regard to their ranking position. In a very few cases, there is some definition to some personages, like “Hꜣy” as “foreman” and “lpwy” as “draftsman”. What may intrigue one’s attention are the different designations like mr, wsf. We wonder whether they convey the same meaning or not. The both designations

³⁹⁷ Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990 III, 135.

³⁹⁸ O. DeM 340; O. DeM 353.

³⁹⁹ O. DeM 894-895; Grandet 2003, 68-69.

⁴⁰⁰ Neveu 1998, 80; P. Turin 2021. 2 8-9 in KRI VI, 740, 1-2.

accompany each other in a considerable range of ostraca (for instance O.Ashm 148, O.Ashm. 167, and O. Cairo CG 25314). For KVO 5, the proper names of individuals are mentioned without any reference to a specific event. However the workmen's names divided onto two columns as a reference to the two gangs.⁴⁰¹ If we look at the ostraca of Deir el-Medina, which bear the same account nature, we will realise that there is no difference in the wording use in any sense. Moreover, such type of accounts is entirely set up the same way.⁴⁰²

With regard to the delivery accounts, KVO 2, the upper half of KVO 3, KVO 4 and KVO 11 bear all some items being handed in to the workforce. It is obvious that these ostraca were destined to be a day-to-day entry of some items (record of item(s)/amounts delivered, often with date and/or person responsible for delivery or receipt). In particular, KVO 3 holds two types of accounts (the upper four lines bear a delivery account of lamps and the lower five ones concern a sort of letter of complaint arising from this delivery). Therefore, the ostrakon has been divided spatially to receive two different accounts in nature. For the delivery of lamps, it is shown in some terminology like rdy.t (given) and Smw sw 15 which used to designate such a type of accounts. They are characterized as just a record of item (s)/amounts delivered, often with date and /or person responsible for delivery or receipt.⁴⁰³ In accordance with that, in the upper part there is mentioned rdy.t as well as some traces of the name of the receiver starting with hieroglyph "s" and being preceded by "r" (to). The lower account is too hard to determine. First time I ever saw this ostrakon, it seemed to classify rather as deposition type. That has been demonstrated by the use of the narrative formula which is shown by the use of "iw" throughout the text. For instance, iw.i Hr Dd, and iw.f m Dd n.i are typical expressions used in such content (cft. O. Ashm 36, O. Ashm 254). With regard to the content of this part, it seems that some servant probably called PA-ra was accused of neglecting some lamps given to him by a certain high ranking official whose name is unfortunately missing in this ostrakon. In fact, we get an immediate feeling, while reading, that there might have been probably a course of interrogation between two persons; of course an interrogator and an interrogated one. However, according to the

⁴⁰¹ cft. O. DeM 212, O. DeM 236, and O. DeM 243.

⁴⁰² cft. O. DeM 209, O. DeM 339 and O. DeM 389, all absence accounts.

⁴⁰³ O. Ashm 160, published in KRI VII, 362-363 (transcription); Helck 2002, 442 (outline of content). Other instances can be found in O. Ashm 266-270, and O. Cairo CG 25247, 25257.

general formulae used in ostraca designated as deposition we may be slightly reluctant to attribute to this typology; the most common formulae used are (ir ink), (sDm r n NN), (dD (.t).n NN) which practically have nothing to do with what we are encountering here.⁴⁰⁴ On the other hand, we may be more inclined to subcategorize the lower part of this ostrakon under report typology (cft. O. Cairo CG 25742,⁴⁰⁵ and O. Turin N. 57381⁴⁰⁶). Such type is commonly identified as a narrative text recording one or more event, mentioning dates and some officials. Perhaps, it was just an audit undertaken by a high official to certain lamps which were damaged or lost somewhere. Furthermore, I think that this ostrakon may have been a draft for a larger account destined to be sent to the vizier's office. Alternatively, we may be entitled not rule out completely the probability of ascribing it to "letters" category which has a subtle difference with the "report" one. It looks more like a letter of complaint being sent to high authority for a dispute event which took place in the Valley of the Kings between two parties. The lack of the citation of regnal years along with the unwritten ruling contemporary king's name makes this ascription somewhat doubtful. Nevertheless, we are rather inclined to go down this road. There remains one intriguing question which may assert itself at this point; is it normal to get two different accounts attested on one ostrakon? In effect, this is not the first time we encounter such melange (administrative account plus deposition) on one ostrakon, it is a very common peculiarity either in Deir- el- Medina or in Valley of the Kings' written documents.⁴⁰⁷ For KVO 2, it bears some rations to be delivered to the workcrew. What is important about such account is that the bulk of the itemized lists are those alimentary objects (emmer-oil-barely-grain). All these items serve only an inhabited centre. It was normal to see this input in Deir el-Medina's community with word "sDr".⁴⁰⁸ That may introduce the possibility of having workmen living therein. That implies that even in the Valley of the Kings there were some collective areas where the workmen could live in, work and probably settle down temporarily. This is demonstrated in the terminology of words used in several ostraca. In the present ostrakon, the use of the word like "sDr" indicates that there could be a settling area

⁴⁰⁴ Donker van Heel & Haring 2003, 167.

⁴⁰⁵ Černý 1935a, 75, 89*, pl. XC (description, transcription, facsimile).

⁴⁰⁶ López 1978-1984 III, 27, pl. 119-119a.

⁴⁰⁷ O. Ashm. 285 published in Valbelle 1977a, 101 (description), pl. 39-39a (facsimile and transcription).

Other analogies can be found in O. Cairo CG 25258, and O. DeM 93.

⁴⁰⁸ O. DeM 1017.

between KV5 and the opposite side of KV3. We know that the meaning of “sDr” would be either “sleeping-mat” or “pallet”.⁴⁰⁹ We would rather be inclined to go for the former translation as the determinative of this word may support this meaning. For the delivery of firewood on KVO 11, we may notice no difference between the accounts of the Valley of the Kings and those of Deir el-Medina.⁴¹⁰ Unfortunately, the dates here are lacking as the entire content has been dismantled out by the fractures of the ostrakon. However, the quantified items and the person with his title might be of some clues to classify this account as delivery one as well.⁴¹¹ Other accounts of such type can be quite puzzling like KVO 4. The account is too obscure to get a clear picture of it. Encountering some numbers, dates along with some personal names would suggest that this account is a day-to-day journal. Moreover the account could be classified also as delivery as for the mentioning of word “𐎧” “XAr” followed by a considerable number “60”. We think that the whole account could be considered as merely a registration of workmen with delivered rations. What is most distinct about “300” as a number is that we are not certain whether it refers to a type of rations or to the number of workforce in the Valley of the Kings. If it indicates to a type of rations, number 300 is very elevate and may imply that there might have been a big number of workmen. If the reference was to the number of the workforce, still number “300” is extremely exaggerated and we don’t know whether it was a precise counting or not. We know that the highest number of workmen has ever been recorded was at the time of king Ramses IV and it was 120 workers; according to the reforms enforced to double the workforce during the reigning period of this king.⁴¹² Then, the number “300” mentioned might probably, to some extent, refer to the number of the workforce of the both sides of the gang. In other words, the number here refers to the total sum of the workers appointed to carry out certain assignments in/around a royal tomb.⁴¹³ **As far as our knowledge is concerned, this is the first time we ever encounter such a massive number of men allocated to**

⁴⁰⁹ Janssen 1975, 158-159.

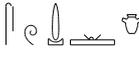
⁴¹⁰ cft.O. DeM 7; O. DeM 8; O. DeM 9; O. DeM 10 (all bear delivery of firewood). Against these documents those coming from the Valley of the Kings: O. Cairo CG 25633; O. Cairo CG 25635; O. Cairo CG 25638.

⁴¹¹ Examples for delivery accounts can be found in ostraca: O. Ashm 160 published in KRI VII, 362-363 and Helck 2002, 442 (outline of content), also O. Ashm. 169 transcribed and described in Černý MSS, 45. 73, in this ostrakon there are mentioned delivery and name like this ostrakon, the subject of these papers.

⁴¹² Dijk 2000, 307.

⁴¹³ Grandet 2003, 168 O.DeM 842.

a constructional work in the Valley of the Kings. If the cited number is correct, it will be a breakthrough of our understanding to the maximum workforce ever worked in the Valley of Kings. We can encounter sometimes a quite fragmented day-to-day journal with names and some incomplete dates like that one in KVO 9. Some of them can be classified as just a **note** of an account. **This can be applied tentatively on KVO 9 as well.** We see commonly such type of accounts of Deir el-Medina in a very considerable number of ostraca.⁴¹⁴

Of the 31 ostraca we are dealing with, we have seized an account on KVO 6 which can be decisively classified as a letter.⁴¹⁵ It was addressed to king Seti II from a vizier called “Hrw” by the end of the XIXth dynasty. Such type of non-literary documents reflects rather the spoken language of the Ancient Egyptians.⁴¹⁶ It is just a quick substitution to the spoken communication as well as that of today. It belongs to diverse classes of the society, ranging from kings, passing over with the hierarchal officials and ending up with ordinary people. The letters could be addressed from kings to the Egyptians directly or the contrary.⁴¹⁷ There are some infinitival phrases which were commonly used in letters, like the causative form  “make the heart sound”; other epistolary formulae like ix rx=k - m anx wDA snb (m Hs.w.t ...) - NN (Hr nD xr.t/swDA ib) n NN - nfr snb=k - r nty - hAb pw r rdi.t rx - Hna Dd - ky swDA ib - ky Dd.⁴¹⁸ It used to have such account either in the Valley of the Kings⁴¹⁹ or in Deir el-Medina.⁴²⁰ Looking over the two outcomes of these two sites, we can infer that there is no much difference between the letters of Deir el-Medina and those of the Valley of the Kings in terms of letters’ settings. Unsurprisingly, the two letter outcomes had been written by the same persons, handling almost the same needs and circumstances. As a matter of fact the bulk of the letters comes from Western Thebes where there was based a small group of administrators originally associated with the royal Necropolis.⁴²¹

Another type of accounts is the note where the scribe meant to hand down brief information recording an important event and usually introduced by date. KVO 10 and

⁴¹⁴ O. DeM 236; O. DeM 254; O. DeM 262.

⁴¹⁵ Janssen 1991, *passim*.

⁴¹⁶ Wente 1967, *passim*.

⁴¹⁷ Allen 2000, 386.

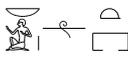
⁴¹⁸ Ibid, 387.

⁴¹⁹ O. Cairo CG 25561 ; O. Cairo CG 25644.

⁴²⁰ O. DeM 228; O. DeM 246; O. DeM 248.

⁴²¹ Sweeny 2001, 11.

KVO 28 can be classified as merely note accounts. For KVO 10, the scribe has written down a name in a cartouche referring either to the royal wife or to a Queen. The missing line might have been filled out with a heading date but unfortunately it is completely lost. So far, we have never encountered such type of notes as it never occurred in the written documentary ware of neither Deir- el-Medina or that of the Valley of the Kings. What might be similar account is that of KVO 28 where only an epithet is written down. Like KVO 10, KVO 28 has not any analogy neither in this of the Valley of the Kings or in that of Deir el-Medina. The notes are very unique in their nature.

For the literary ostraca, KVO 12, KVO 13 and KVO 15 (*recto*) can be classified as literary ones. Most of the literary ostraca are characterized of being dappled in red circles.⁴²² The three literary accounts share in being hardly identifiable in terms of content. Furthermore, as yet, I have been unable to find parallels in all the literary accounts published so far.⁴²³ The text of KVO 12 has been radically fragmented out and it is hard to reconstruct the exact purpose for which this inscription was written. On the other hand, if we scrutinize into the use of some words like “Imn”, “Ra”, “wiA”, “Hrw”, we may infer that it can be classified as a procession.⁴²⁴ However, KVO 13 has some key words which help us to infer its content as probably a piece of the Book of the Caverns. The fact that there is  along with  (Wb 4, 354. 13-355.3) which means “the lord of the Cavern”, may probably address the nature of this account. The full writing of this word is , however in hieratic texts we know that there could be some omission to certain signs. Probably the text was written in draft, in hieratic version and should have been transferred onto the walls of the royal tombs, into its hieroglyphic counterparts. We know that the “Book of the Caverns” describes the journey of the sun god through the six caverns of the netherworld. The significance of this journey lays on the rewards and the punishments in the afterlife. It has been originated in the Ramesside Period (XXth dynasty).⁴²⁵ The oldest version of this book was depicted in the Osireion, a well known cenotaph of Seti I located at Abydos, along with his mortuary temple. This type of books derived from the “Book of the gates” and found as depictions in the decorative themes in the sarcophagus chamber of tombs

⁴²² Posener 1951, *passim*.

⁴²³ Posener 1938, *passim*; Gasse 2005, *passim*.

⁴²⁴ Assmann 2001, *passim*.

⁴²⁵ Piankoff 1942, 1-11.

Merenptah (KV 8), Tausert (KV 14), and Ramses III (KV 11). Some versions of this book may have been inscribed in the earlier gilded shrines around the sarcophagi. In the third corridor of Ramses IV (KV 2), the first and the second sections of the Book of the Caverns were employed rather than the traditional Amduat passages. Other tombs where this book was depicted are Ramses VI (KV 9), Ramses VII (KV 1), and Ramses IX (KV 6). At the very beginning of the book, two vertical strips depict the solar disk and Re as a ram headed sun god. This is "Ra who is in the sky", and his mission is to enter the primeval darkness in order to defend and provide care to Osiris. Afterwards, depictions of section one are divided into five Registers.⁴²⁶ The separate text is a monologue of Ra directing various groups of entities. Here, the three snakes of the Duat's first cavern guard the cavern entrance. Ra faces Osiris with his hand extended to him in the third Register. We see Osiris within his shrine, protectively surrounded by a serpent, as are his followers inside their sarcophagi. In the bottom Register, Osiris' enemies are shown beheaded though still guarded by another three serpents. They are to be punished in the "Place of Annihilation", an ancient Egyptian concept of Hell, as Ra condemns them to non-existence.⁴²⁷ In section two, Ra must reach the various gods and goddesses in their sarcophagi who are guarded by several serpents. He meets various forms of Osiris in the second Register and beseeches them to "open their arms to me...receive me".⁴²⁸ In the third Register, Ra encounters Osiris in his coffer, which sits aside the ram and jackal headed posts of the sun god found also in the Book of Gates. Other forms of Osiris are encountered in the fourth Register, while in the lowest Register, we again find Osiris' enemies who are bound and beheaded. Some of these figures are depicted hanging head first with their hearts torn out. Once again, Ra condemns them to non-existence, sending them to the Place of Annihilation where their punishment is carried out by guards with knives. Now, Osiris is told by Ra that he will enter the "cavern where Aker is". The most distinctive thing about the "Book of the Caverns" is that it was written on sarcophagi and perhaps the ostrakon we are handling in these papers may have been a draft for a text which should have been written onto one of the sarcophagus of these kings mentioned above. For KVO 15, it might be very unique in its nature. The literary content might probably concern a hymn to the Nile as for the words employed in this

⁴²⁶ Hornung 1999, *passim*.

⁴²⁷ Shafer 1991, *passim*.

⁴²⁸ Robert 1981, *passim*.

ostrakon. However, the *verso* can be classified as an inspection account. As far as Valley of the Kings is concerned, we know that there have been represented literary themes in several ostraca.⁴²⁹ In other words, the bulk of the literary ostraca coming from Biban el-Molouk can be classified as religious texts, hymns to diverse deities, literary letters, and some passages of famous literary compositions like, “Snwhy” story (O. Cairo GC 25216). For example, O. Cairo GC 25207-25215 hold exclusively religious hymns to diverse deities.⁴³⁰ I think that these were the texts which should have been either carved in the interior of the royal tombs or transferred onto papyrus rolls to be buried with the deceased king. The literary compositions were written by the ones who were learning how to write, or by the ones who were attempting to reproduce a passage of a literary text learnt by heart, likely to spend the time (as a sort of amusement) or to test the capacity of their memory. There are also original compositions, for which the inexperienced authors thought that the papyrus was too much precious and expensive as a material for writing out their texts. This category preserves many pieces, written by persons not so specialised in the art of writing and this can explain the presence of many errors undertaken by their drawers. In addition, their writing technique is usually quite simple and not precise.⁴³¹ This is the reason why we have seized many handwriting mistakes in this ostrakon as well as miswriting some words. We are acquainted with the fact that the majority of the surviving ostraca comes from three main sites, where Institutions were allocated and linked to the civil (schools) and religious administration.⁴³² These Institutions were based in the Ramessuem, the funerary temple built by Ramses II, the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, and the village of Deir el-Medina, where artisans lived to get an easy access to the royal tombs.⁴³³ The major part of the literary ostraca derives from the Ramessum and Grand-Puits (Deir el-Medina). However, it is very rare to see literary ostraca deriving from Valley of the Kings and Queens. Finding this KVO 15 among other administrative ostraca would suggest that even in Valley of the Kings there were perhaps some schools to teach the beginners of scribes the art of writing. Then, the Valley of the Kings was

⁴²⁹ Peterson 1973, *passim*. This publication concerned the ostraca published by Daressy and classified them into 5 basic groups. One of these groups regarded those figurative ostraca connected with literary themes and found in Valley of the Kings.

⁴³⁰ Daressy 1901, 41- 45.

⁴³¹ Černý 1931, 212-224.

⁴³² Osing 1997, 131-142.

⁴³³ For the finding places in west Thebes see Peterson 1973, 11 ff.

not merely such work-shop where artisans built the eternal graves of the Kings but it was also a place where young apprentices could learn how to write.

In some cases, we can also encounter some ostraca used as preliminary drafts for stele. KVO 31 can not be ascribed to any sort of Valley of the Kings known accounts. It is clear that the ostrakon was destined to be just a draft for a stela dedicated to its owner. Finding this stela amongst a royal predominant stuff may be out of place. We know that the Valley of the Kings is such a place where artisans constructed basically royal tombs along with their funerary stuff. We are wondering what a non-royal stuff has to do in the Valley of the Kings. Were the workmen allowed to manufacture their own stuff in the Valley of the Kings? That can be answered by conducting a statistical process on the non-royal artefacts discovered in the Valley of the Kings. As far as our knowledge can save us, the stela manufacturing is found scarcely in the Valley of the Kings with respect to that of Deir el-Medina. Until 1983, there were found in Deir el-Medina 47 stelae designated with formula “Ax iqr n Ra”; only 6 were found in the Theban region.⁴³⁴ Reeves has found, surprisingly, a votive stela with a scene of adoration before the serpent goddess “Meritseger” of the Theban mountain.⁴³⁵ This stela was found under the natural checkpoint found beneath the modern tourists-path which runs between KV 11 of Ramses III and KV 57 of Horemheb. In comparison to Deir el-Medina stela-drafts, we know that O. DeM 246 can be also classified as a draft for a stela as well. It contains a draft of the scribe Pn-IA-wr.t adoring God Montu on it.⁴³⁶ Unfortunately, such account is still in very scarce amount this is why we can not obtain a clear picture of it.

Three potsherds can be classified as jar-labels. These labels are KVO 17, KVO 18 and KVO 19. KVO 17 addresses the content of oil being kept in the larger vessel; KVO 18 is however a jar label which addresses the content being contained in (wine of Western river). For KVO 19, its content is unknown and can not be defined. An unpublished ostrakon O. Cairo JE 96398 transcribed and described in Černý MSS 2.6, containing oil.

KVO 14 can classify as merely a scribal exercise. That can be understood from the spacing adjustment mistakes committed by the student scribe who wrote this ostrakon.

⁴³⁴ Demarée 1983, 279.

⁴³⁵ www.nicholasreeves.com; Newsletter of the Valley of the Kings Foundation, No. 1 (2002), Nicholas Reeves (ed.) with contribution from Geoffery Martin, Stephen Quirke, Nicholas Reeves, Paul Sussman.

⁴³⁶ McDowell 1999, 98, no. 70 (translation, commentary).

Moreover, the sequence of numbers is somewhat clumsy and not precise, especially in the “recto”; some numbers are repeated like “100”. When we first saw this ostrakon, we could claim that the two sides had been handwritten by two different scribes. It is noticeable that the handwriting of the “*recto*” is different from that of the “*verso*” along with the spacing adjustments; the handwriting of the “*verso*” is more elegant and evenly spread throughout the space of the slab. Like Valley of the Kings, from Deir el-Medina has come out some accounts being classified as scribal exercises.⁴³⁷

Some ostraca were handed down to receive list of names or titles. KVO 29 and KVO 30 can classify in this manner. For KVO 29, it contains a list of high ranking titles. There is a distinction in functioning between the use of “Hry” and “imi-r”. We are used to knowing that “imi-r” is higher in ranking than “Hry”. The earliest attested title connected with the treasury is an official of the white house, “Hry-pr HD”, early in the reign of king Den. In the IIIrd dynasty, the official was the overseer, or imi-r pr-HD, a title borne by Nfr, Mry, and PH-r-nfr, who also held three other titles connected with the treasury, and was overseer of the granaries.⁴³⁸ After that it was widespread during the Old Kingdom with variety of tasks (Wb 1, 74.13; Jones, Titles OK, no. 255).⁴³⁹ For Gardiner, as a ranking title, perhaps “wr” is higher than “Hry”. He thinks that “Hry” could be translated as “captain”.⁴⁴⁰ However, we would be more inclined here to translate it as “superior” that is the literal translation of this word in “Wb 3, 141.14-142.2”. This is the first time we ever encounter an ostrakon with big range of titles like the ostrakon in question. KVO 30, however, concerns a list of some Ramses II son’s names. Most of these names should probably have been copied onto one of the commemorative monuments of Ramses II or probably into KV 5 (multi-burial chambers tomb of Ramses II’s sons. To some extent, it can be used as a reliable document to get informed of some of Ramses II’s sons. Certain names in this ostrakon are first encountered here. In general, for royal names accounts, they exist only in the Valley of the Kings.

⁴³⁷ O. DeM 10122; O. DeM 10123.

⁴³⁸ M. Parsons, Ancient Egyptian Government and Bureaucracy. Available On: <http://www.touregypt.net/featuresstories/government.htm>.

⁴³⁹ Kanawati 2002, 42-45, pl. 1b, 17-21, 53, 55b.

⁴⁴⁰ Gardiner 1947, 84, 86.

Funny-signs perspective

In several excavation contexts in the Valley of the Kings, we have encountered a considerable number of non-standard written ostraca recently dubbed “Funny-signs”. They have attracted the attention of some scholars. The first scholar ever wrote about this topic was Petrie. He found in Tel el-Yahoudia (Egypt) some foreign alphabetic signs (Phoenician) on glazed backs of tiles bearing the name of Ramses III. He discovered also in the site of Gurob some western set of signs which can lay chronologically between 1400-1200 B.C.⁴⁴¹ In addition, Gardiner suggested that the Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions is based on the hieroglyphic system in writing and from these inscriptions derived the Phoenician language.⁴⁴² That can confirm the belief that the existence of foreign entities being integrated in the Egyptian society was in fact something of very old traditions. We can see their existence in many representations from the first half of the XVIIIth dynasty (they have probably existed from the Middle Kingdom as well).⁴⁴³ It is not surprising then that even in Deir el-Medina’s community there were some inhabitants of immigrants’ origins or descendants of foreign families; they had particular skills and were appointed alongside the Egyptian craftsmen to construct the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings.⁴⁴⁴

We are concerned most about those ostraca discovered in the Valley of the Kings bearing such kind of non-standard signs. They occur in very particular combination which is, to some extent, repetitive. They have been discovered in diverse excavation contexts together with standard-hieratic ostraca as well. For their genre, they can be classified into three main types:

a group of ostraca discovered in the Biban el-Molouk and published in Cairo Catalogue of Daressy.⁴⁴⁵ These ostraca have a certain combination similar to the so called Funny-signs along with some dots. Others are designated with merely dots.⁴⁴⁶ Another type has some geometrical shapes (mostly squares) and dappled also from inside.⁴⁴⁷ They have

⁴⁴¹ Petrie 1912, 2.

⁴⁴² Gardiner 1916, 16.

⁴⁴³ Gilroy 2002, 39.

⁴⁴⁴ Ward 1994, 62.

⁴⁴⁵ Daressy 1901, 83-84, pl. 59.

⁴⁴⁶ O.Turin 57303.

⁴⁴⁷ O. Turin 57301 (*recto*).

been identified by Lopez as workers' marks as well. Haring thinks about the dots that they represent number/s?.⁴⁴⁸

A second type has some abbreviations of some personal names along with dates written in hieratic script.⁴⁴⁹ Before writing the number in hieratic, there stands a hieroglyph  which is thought to be an abbreviation for word "sw", meaning day. McDowell thinks that such type of ostraca concerns the workmen's guard duties list which is very famous from hieratic texts.⁴⁵⁰ She assumes that the scribe meant to quote the initial letters of the workmen's names and the numbers represent the days on which the guards took over their turnus. Haring advocates this hypothesis and is endeavouring to prove it with more evidences.⁴⁵¹ Conversely, Megally has opposed McDowell's view, suggesting that such writing can be considered as a non-standard system which is totally different from the hieratic conventional framework. He goes further to think that Funny-signs ostraca can be such a product of apprentices for those who were selected to learn the art of writing.⁴⁵²

The third type has some signs composed in either horizontal or vertical alignments. Of this type, we have 8 ostraca in our corpus besides those which lay out because there is not much space to handle them in this dissertation. The signs can be written in black or red. It intrigues us a lot the fact that the combination of signs can repeat from an ostrakon to another.⁴⁵³ Not only this, we have found also that some signs can be integrated in funerary standard-hieroglyphic texts. On two door jambs of "Hr-m-wiA", XIXth dynasty, with inventory no. JE 46367, having each two columns of texts, there

are written two signs similar to those in KVO 21; these signs are  and .⁴⁵⁴ The inscription on these two door jambs is just "Htp di nswt" formula. The part where these

signs exist can read "di.sn irti.i Hr  nfrw m  an ka sDm-aS... = May they cause

⁴⁴⁸ Haring 2000, 45.

⁴⁴⁹ O. Glasgow D. 1925.67; O. Glasgow D. 1925.80, pls. 2, 3, 20 and 21.

⁴⁵⁰ McDowell 1993, 4-5, 9 and 20.

⁴⁵¹ Haring 2000, 47.

⁴⁵² Megally 1998, 271-282.

⁴⁵³ KVO 21 typically assimilates to an unpublished ostrakon in the Ph.D corpus of Andreas Dorn Basel University from the east-side of the foothill of KV 47.

⁴⁵⁴ Bruyère 1928, 118-119.

(optative construction) to make me to  the beauty, shine and please the KA of the servant of.... ”. Looking over the frequency of this funerary formula in standard texts, we could perhaps find a parallel to it. One prayer can read (di.f) irti.f Hr mAA nfrw.k = he may cause him to make see your beauty.⁴⁵⁵ Therefore we may infer that the sign can be read “to see”. Furthermore, such sign has occurred in large frequency in several tombs’ equipment in Deir el-Medina. On the pedestal of a wooden statuette of “Any” from Ahmes Nefertari’s reign, there are written six lines in hieroglyphic. In the fourth line the same sign has been written right before word “nfrw” as well.⁴⁵⁶ That can lead us to think that  can be the counterpart of the hieroglyph “mAA”. Another breakthrough occurrence for the same sign  can be found in tomb no. 323 of Deir el-Medina for a painter called “PA-Sdw” who lived during Seti II’s reign. In this tomb, there was found a number of Ushabtis with some formulae taken from the Book of the Dead (chapter VI). After these formulae, one of the owner son’s names is mentioned in two parallel different phrases;  and .⁴⁵⁷ Therefore, the sign  is with no doubt “mAA”. The other sign  is hard to define; however it could probably be “wbn”. Moreover, the cestrus depicted on KVO 21 column 4 and KVO 25 col. 2, is also written on a limestone basin, being integrated amongst a funerary texts dedicated to Hathor.⁴⁵⁸ The basin was found in tomb no.1006 from the XVIIIth dynasty attributed to unknown owner. The text can be identified as prayer to the same goddess. The sign stands at the beginning of the hieroglyphic line before the name of Hathor. In fact, it has not any syntactical function; however its existence is rather aesthetic or symbolic to the goddess; that is in respect to the standard hieroglyphic system. The same cestrus was depicted on the west wall of tomb no.335 of “NA-xt-Amn” being integrated in “Htp-di-nswt” formula. It hints that the scribe may have utilized this sign to be a counterpart of the hieroglyph  meaning goddess Hathor.⁴⁵⁹ Then, the cestrus on KVO 21 might probably indicate to the goddess Hathor in meaning. Another sign (a handle of probably a mirror) found in KVO 20 line 1 coming right after the “nb tAwy” is

⁴⁵⁵ A prayer no. 57 in Barta 1968, 145 taken from an object published in Piehl 1895, t. 35.

⁴⁵⁶ Bruyère 1926, 35.

⁴⁵⁷ Bruyère 1925, 88.

⁴⁵⁸ Bruyère 1937a, 136.

⁴⁵⁹ Bruyère 1939, 157.

entirely depicted twice on a base of a limestone lamp.⁴⁶⁰ In addition, there was found in an anonymous tomb no.360 from the Ramesside Period, a mould with a depiction. This representation is merely a crying woman with her left arm over head; behind her there are carved two signs. These two signs have nothing to do with neither personal name nor can it be considered as a Deir el-Medina term.⁴⁶¹ Besides, there have been discovered a variety of objects on which there are incised the same marks. Bruyère had suggested that they served only as symbols of ownership.⁴⁶²

With regard to the signs' sequence, it can be repetitive to certain extent. For instance, the fourth column of KVO 21 resembles the second column of another ostrakon from the eastern necropolis of Deir el-Medina.⁴⁶³ The latter one's surface is divided into squared boxes and the signs are associated with some numerals.

Based on the brief argument above, we may therefore consider the Funny-signs as just a new method of writing which was accessible to certain class of Deir el-Medina's Community. Its ground is the hieroglyphic system with non-standard structure of signs' alignments. The hint arisen by McDowell and then by Haring who assign such type of writing to illiterate persons is not convincing in any sense. The two scholars rely on the increase of the workforce number by Ramses IV up to 120 workmen. They think that the scribe could have compiled a new kind of day-to-day journal to speed up the documentation process in terms of registering personal names. They would sort out the initial character of each workman and put it alongside the number of day on which they had to take over their *turnus*. That might seem somewhat unconvincing as along with the Funny-signs' ostraca, there is found a large number of hieratic ostraca in different sites as explained in the "Edition of Texts" chapter; KVO 20 to KVO 27. The scribe who handed down long lists of names in hieratic could simultaneously take over the documentation process of the other names as well.⁴⁶⁴ In view of having some of them written in red colour, like KVO 21 and KVO 27, that may reflect the importance of the context in which a given ostrakon was to be used. In addition, the illiterate persons would have no access to scribble in this well-restricted colour. The red colour was used

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, 144.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, 133.

⁴⁶² Bruyère 1939, 212-213, 224-225.

⁴⁶³ See Bruyère 1937a, p.62, facsimile 6.

⁴⁶⁴ O. Cairo CG 25599; O. Cairo CG 25634; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25651, all have lists of names and from the Valley of the Kings.

to punctuate the ostraca with literary contents (didactic lessons in writing, an advanced stage of apprentice, more capable scribes). Writing in red colour would imply an underlined message to be addressed.

While writing, ancient Egyptian used to abbreviate common words or phrases in both hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions. The scribe did deliberately that, probably for aesthetic reasons or for space constraints.⁴⁶⁵ For example, word like “justified” or  used to be written in merely two signs. Another example can be found in a Middle Kingdom Onomasticon which includes a list of abbreviations for types of cows;  referred to a red ox whose skin is mottled. In Karnak North they have discovered some painted blue pottery with potmarks which resemble somewhat the funny-signs.⁴⁶⁶ It was thought that they have been described as just marks to address the content of offerings being contained. However, it was argued that these potmarks revealed nothing of the content, the jars might have contained. They represent rather a wish or quality deemed appropriate for the context in which the vessel was to be used.⁴⁶⁷ Therefore, there is always significance out of depicting marks or non-standard signs on different objects. Their depiction was not merely for no reason but rather to convey a concealed meaning inherent in their pictographs.

As to their dating, it remains hard to contextualize it with the scanty tools we have. In the inventory Registers, these ostraca have been given a broad range of dating framework according to the excavation context in which they were discovered; XIX-XXth dynasty.

As could be understood from occurrences of these signs, they appeared mostly in funerary texts. The majority of these signs can be classified as hieroglyphs; except some few signs which have nothing to do with hieroglyphs. They have been employed hieroglyphic sentences in some texts as seen above as though they were hieroglyphs. Some of them have been deciphered with supportive evidences others are still hard to understand their codes. The alignments of the signs are unusual and quite odd in comparison to what we are accustomed to see in hieroglyphic phrasing structure. In other words, we see hieroglyphs together with some odd signs but they do not make any

⁴⁶⁵ Parkinson 1999, 93.

⁴⁶⁶ Hope 1999, 122.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 127.

proper sense. That can lead us to think whether this non-standard writing was handed down by Egyptian scribes or by another category of scribes. Some scholars have claimed recently that the funny-signs ostraca were written by a class of illiterate scribes; they were just scribbling. A word illiterate is totally unacceptable. We have seen above that the sequence of signs can be repetitive from an ostrakon to another. Therefore, such signs' order was meant to convey certain sense out of it. Furthermore, it would make much sense finding these signs within Deir el-Medina's settlements rather than the Valley of the Kings. The fact of finding them in a very considerable number of ostraca in the Valley of the Kings surprises us enormously. They have been discovered in diverse excavation contexts as shown in the "Edition of texts" chapter.

However, as yet it remains hard to decode this combination of signs. The reason for our incapability of finding out the key to decipher these codes may be because till now there is no a broad systematic investigation on the material discovered by Bruyère in Deir el Medina though it is full of rich data. Looking over the funerary equipment coming from Deir el-Medina and comparing it with that of the Valley of the Kings would perhaps lead us to very decisive results about the funny-signs' enigma.

In our point of view, the funny signs are such abbreviated method of funerary writing by some class of scribes. These scribes could be originally Egyptians and we can not rule out the possibility that they may have belonged to foreign labouring class. The purpose why they invented such new codes to hand down documents is still totally unknown. We are quite confident that with more scrutinized study over all the material discovered so far from Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings, we will be able to decode their enigma and trace down its origins.

Conclusions

The entire corpus of ostraca we are dealing with in this research comes from the Valley of the Kings; these ostraca were discovered by Th. Davis and Carter/Carnarvon. They contain diverse accounts which concern mostly day-to-day journals, some literary works and some jar labels. It infers from the contents a considerable number of ostraca in our corpus that the Valley of the Kings could be considered a large settlement where workmen could execute the royal work and temporarily live in. In KVO 2, it is worth noting that the items delivered to the Valley of the Kings resemble those delivered to the community of Deir el-Medina. That has been demonstrated in the terminology employed of some words like “sDr”. In the same ostrakon, common household tools like “Sma tmA” are attested as well. What such kind of items has to do with the community of workmen at the Valley of the Kings? Finding these items within Deir el-Medina’s site would make much more sense as the site used to house the workmen community. The jar labels (KVO 18 and KVO 19, probably both containing wine) would prompt us to hypothesise that there may really have been a community living therein.

Ventura suggested that the Royal valleys, and particularly the Valley of the Kings, were august, secret, concealed, guarded, and unapproachable sites.⁴⁶⁸ However, during the course of our research we have observed exactly the opposite of what the scholar claimed. In particular, the Valley of the Kings could have been an active, accessible and interactive, cosmopolitan community. This hint has been supported by several documents in our corpus. For instance, KVO 29 contains a spectrum of combinations of titles that have never been attested together in one document from the Valley of the Kings. When mentioned “imi-r ih.w”, it certainly comes to mind that the temple had been long associated with animals in general. The animals, especially cows, could have been involved in agricultural activities to cultivate the fields of the memorial temple.⁴⁶⁹ They were also used for cultivation purposes by the necropolis workmen in the Deir el-Medina community. That may bring up a logical question: was there some real administrative institution, like a temple, in the Valley of the Kings? This question may not be affirmatively answered now as there is not enough archaeological evidence as yet.

⁴⁶⁸ Ventura 1986, 170.

⁴⁶⁹ Haring 1997, 255.

However, the titles in KVO 29 like “Hry-xA(w.t)” and “Hry-mz-wdn.w”, are an allusion to a somewhat well-equipped community, its different institutes were in harmony under a larger local headquarter. This community was probably in association with some other institutions based somewhere in the Valley of the Kings and there may have been considerable interaction. Otherwise, what do the “the superior of the offering tables” and the “the superior of the offering bearers” have to do with the workmen of the Valley of the Kings? These titles represent temple functions as well and their existence in the Valley of the Kings seems quite strange. From our point of view, there could have been some rituals for the deceased king in the course of his funerary process. Another intriguing title, like “Hry-Ḳaq”, in the same ostrakon, has also captured our attention. “Hry-Ḳaq” or the “chief of the barbers” is a very characteristic title of inhabited places. Moreover, the word “Hry” or “imi-r” implies that there should have been subordinates in terms of job subtitles. This means that there was a team of barbers, similar to other teams for different jobs, undertaking their work within the Valley of the Kings which is a quite unimaginable thing. In fact, from all the titles listed on KVO 29, we might state, without any hesitation, that the Valley of the Kings could have been another community like that of Deir el-Medina. The workmen could have used this sacred place to carry out their obligations towards the king as well as to settle down. As seen above, there may have been such a variety of organisations in harmony together under small local headquarters, probably based somewhere in the Valley of the Kings itself. The finding of several huts spread throughout the entire Valley, and in its side valleys, suggests that there may have been inhabitable installations. The increase of the workforce at some time during the Ramesside period would have forced the central administration to construct enough dwellings to contain the huge number of workmen.

The workmen of the Valley of the Kings lived in exactly the same manner as the Deir el-Medina community did. That is why we have seen in KVO 14 the exercise done by an apprentice selected to learn the art of writing. In addition to KVO 14, we have also found some literary works represented in KVO 12, KVO 13 and KVO 15. We have long known that literary compositions were mostly written on ostraca discovered near temples; like the Ramesseum where the bulk of literary ostraca were found. That prompts us to think that here might have been some religious institution based somewhere in the Valley of the Kings in spite of the lack of archaeological finds.

Nevertheless, we would rather hint that there could be, to a certain extent, some pedagogical structures where young scribes and artisans could learn the skills of managing the royal building activities; writing the day-to-day journal accounts and decorating the royal tombs.

In KVO 4, we have encountered the highest ever attested number of workmen. The number given, 300, although not itemized, may have referred either to the number of workmen or to rations being delivered to the workcrew (right and left gang). In either case, that presumably signifies an inflation of the number of labourers carrying out royal building activities in the Valley of the Kings. All these workmen should have been properly fed on a regular basis, this is why there was a place in the Valley of the Kings (probably beside the entrance of KV 9 of Ramses VI, as explained in the Interpretation Chapter), probably a storehouse administered by an overseer as shown in KVO 29. Not only that, but there was also the “master of the storehouse” who was probably a subordinate of the overseer. This implies the possible existence of a large storage place to fulfil the food requirements of that large number of workmen. We know that the village of Deir el-Medina is comprised of 68 now-ruined houses.⁴⁷⁰ During the Ramesside period, the villagers had to reuse parts of the pre-existing necropolis, such as the south-west tombs of the western cemetery of Deir el-Medina to live in.⁴⁷¹ So, at sometime during the Ramesside period, they had to extend the village even over their tombs because of the consistent increased number of inhabitants. That may help us to comprehend the necessity for finding an additional living area to accommodate such growing number of workmen. This place may have been throughout the Valley of the Kings and its lateral valleys.

In our argument about KVO 16, the word “inb” might refer either to a wall discovered recently in the Valley of the Kings or to a tomb. We would tend to favour the latter as the ostrakon could be classified as merely a note taken by a scribe for future continuation of work.

We have noticed in the Classification Chapter that a large number of letters come from the Valley of the Kings. The fact that KVO 3 and KVO 6 were found also in the Valley of the Kings indicates that the site could be classified as an administrative site. People

⁴⁷⁰ Viiala 2001, 3.

⁴⁷¹ Bruyère 1934, 17-25.

of various ranks employed in the same place would interact in terms of one administrative body. This has been shown in findings of purely administrative documents which deal with the organisation of workmen within their administrative framework, like KVO 1, KVO 4, KVO 5, KVO 7, KVO 8, KVO 9, KVO 10 and KVO 11.

The above brief argument supports our belief that the Valley of the Kings might have been a living community along with being such royal workshop. The site could have been an administrative subdivision governed by a central administrative station based somewhere in the Valley of the Kings itself. We have also understood that finds of a given king may be discovered, not necessarily in the area surrounding his tomb, but somewhere else in the Valley of the Kings; this phenomenon has been outlined in the Interpretation Chapter. We believe that there were several administrative points that workmen could use as workshops. The artisans were in charge of carrying out the building activities of the contemporary king whose tomb may have been in the immediate area, or perhaps in the larger surrounding area. That has been demonstrated by the finding of several ostraca and other objects of different kings in the foothills east of KV 47 where we think that there could have been such an administrative station.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| ÄAT | Ägypten und Alten Testament |
| ASAE | Annales du services des antiquités égyptiennes |
| BdE | Bibliothèque d'Étude |
| BIFAO | Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie |
| BMMA | Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts |
| ChdE | Chronique d'Égypte |
| DFIFAO | Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale |
| EA | Egyptian Archaeology |
| EU | Egyptologische uitgaven |
| IFAO | Institut français d'archéologie orientale |
| JARCE | Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt |
| JEA | Journal of Egyptian Archaeology |
| JNES | Journal of Near Eastern Studies |
| JSSEA | Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities |
| MÄS | Münchener ägyptologische Studien |
| MIFAO | Memoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale |
| MIO | Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung des deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin |
| NINO | Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten |
| OBO | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis |
| OLA | Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta |
| RdE | Revue d'Égyptologie |

SAK
ZÄS

Studien zur ägyptischen Kultur
Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und
Kunstgeschichte

Bibliography

- Adrom 2008 F. Adrom, Katrin & A. Schülter, Altägyptische weltichten: akten des symposiums zur historischen topographie und toponymie Altägyptens vom 12.-14. Mai 2006 in München, ÄAT 68, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden
- Al-Ayedi 2006 A. R. Al-Ayedi, Index of Egyptian administrative, religious and military titles of the New Kingdom, Obelisk Publications: Ismailia
- Aling 1976 A. Aling, Prosopographical Study of the Reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III, PhD Dissertation University of Minnesota
- Allam 1973 S. Allam, Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit, Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im Alten Ägypten I, by the author: Tübingen
- Allen 2000 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian: An introduction to the language and culture of the hieroglyphs, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge
- Allen 1949 T. G. Allen, Some Egyptian Sun Hymns, JNES 8/4, 349-355
- Andreu 2002 G. Andreu ed., Les artistes de Pharaon. Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Fatou: Dijon

- Armour 2001 R.A. Armour, Gods and Myths of Ancient Egypt, The American University in Cairo Press: Cairo
- Assmann 1999 J. Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete: Übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet, OBO, Universität Freiburg: Freiburg (Schweiz) and Göttingen
- Assmann 2001 J. Assmann, Ma'at : Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten, Beck: München
- Assmann & Bommas 2002 J. Assmann & M. Bommas, Altägyptische Totenliturgien/1: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches Schriften der Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Supplemente 14, Universitätsverlag C. Winter: Heidelberg
- Baines & Malek 1980 J. Baines & J. Malek Atlas of ancient Egypt, Phaidon: Oxford
- Bakir 1983 M.A. Bakir, Notes on Late Egyptian Grammar: A Semitic approach. An introduction to the study of the Egyptian Language, Aris & Phillips: Warminster
- Barns1956 J. W. B. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, University Press: Oxford
- Barta1968 W. Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, Ägyptologische Forschungen 24, J. J. Augustin: Glückstadt and New

York

- Beckerath 1994 J. Beckerath von, Papyrus Turin 1898+, Verso, SAK 21, 29- 33
- Beckerath 1999 J. Beckerath von, Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, MÄS 49, 2nd edition, Philip von Zabern: Mainz am Rhein
- Bierbrier 1982 M. L. Bierbreir et al., Notes de prosopographie thébaine. Deuxième série. The family of Amenemone at Deir El- Medina, CdhE 57, 201-230
- Bierbrier 1982 M. L. Bierbreir ed, Hieratic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc. Part X, the Trustees of the British Museum: London
- Bogoslovsky 1980 E. S. Bogoslovsky, Hundred Egyptian Draughtsmen, ZÄS 107, 89-116
- Bogoslovsky 1981 E. S. Bogoslovsky, On the system of the Ancient Egyptian Society of the Epoch of the New Kingdom. According to Documents from Deir el-Medina, Altorientalische Forschungen 8, 5-21
- Bommas 2006 M. Bommas, Ostrakon Zürich 1892. Eines der jüngsten Zeugnisse der Sinuhe-Erzählung aus dem Alten Ägypten, Archaeologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich 32 (2006), 7-16.
- Bouvoier 2003 G. Bouvoier, Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques inédites de l'Institut d'Égyptologie de

Strasbourg, DFIFAO 43, IFAO: Le Caire

- Breasted 1907 J. H. Breasted, Ancient records of Egypt: Historical Documents, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest, collected, edited and translated with commentary, vol. V, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago
- Brovarski 2001 E. Brovarski, The Snedjemib Complex Part I. The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Giza Mastabas 7, Museum of Fine Arts: Boston
- Brunner-Traut 1989 E. Brunner-Traut, Altägyptische Märchen. Mythen und andere volkstümliche Erzählungen, Eugen Diederichs: München
- Bruyère 1925 B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, FIFAO 2/2, IFAO: Le Caire
- Bruyère 1926 Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1924-1925 FIFAO 3/3, IFAO, Le Caire
- Bruyère 1928 B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, FIFAO 6, IFAO: Le Caire
- Bruyère 1934 B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, FIFAO 10, IFAO: Le Caire
- Bruyère 1937a B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1933-1934. Première partie. La nécropole

de l'Ouest, FIFAO 14, IFAO: Le Caire

- Bruyère 1937b B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1934-1935. Deuxième partie. La nécropole de l'Est, FIFAO 15, IFAO: Le Caire
- Bruyère 1939 B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1934-1935. Troisième partie. La nécropole de l'Est, FIFAO 16, IFAO: Le Caire
- Bruyère 1959 B. Bruyère, La tombe N° 1 de Sen-Nedjem à Deir el-Medineh, MIFAO 88, IFAO: Le Caire
- Burkard 2003 G. Burkard, Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte. Altes und Mittleres Reich, Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 1: Münster and Hamburg
- Camino 1977 R. A. Camino, A Tale of Woe : From a Hieratic Papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, Griffith Inst./Ashmolean Museum: Oxford
- Carter 1903 M. H. Carter, Report on General Work done in the Southern Inspectorate, ASAE 4, 43-50
- Černý 1929 J. Černý, Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055), JEA 15, 243-258
- Černý 1931 J. Černý, Les ostraca hiératiques, leur intérêt et la nécessité de leur étude, ChdE VI/12 (1931), 212-224

- Černy 1935a J. Černy, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh. Tome I. Nos 1 à 339, DFIFAO 3, IFAO: Le Caire
- Černy 1935b J. Černy, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Nr. 25501-25832): ostraca hiératiques, Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, IFAO: Le Caire
- Černy 1939a J. Černy, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh. Tome IV. Nos 242 à 339, DFIFAO 6, IFAO: Le Caire
- Černy 1939b J. Černy, Late Ramesside Letters, Bibliotheca aegyptiaca 9, Bruxelles
- Černy 1965 J. Černy, Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun, Tutankhamun's Tomb Series 2, Griffith Institute: Oxford
- Černy 1972 J. Černy, Troisième série de questions adressées aux oracles, BIFAO 72, 49-69
- Černy 2004 J. Černy J, A community of workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, BdE 50 3rd edition, IFAO: Le Caire
- Černy & Gardiner 1957 J. Černy & A. H. Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, Griffith Institute: Oxford
- Černy & Israelit Groll 1984 J. Černy & S. Israelit Groll, A Late Egyptian

- Grammar, 3rd updated edition, Ed. Pontificio Istituto Biblico: Rome
- Černý & Sadek 1970 J. Černý & A. A. Sadek, Graffiti de la montagne Thébaine IV. Transcription et indices, CEDAE: Le Caire
- Champollion 1835-1845 J.-F. Champollion, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: D'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux sous la dir. de Champollion le-Jeune et les descriptions autographes qu'il en a rédigées, vols I-II, Didot: Paris
- Chirstophe 1951 L.-A. Chirstophe, La carrier du prince Merenptah et les trios régences ramessides, ASAE 51, 335-372
- Collier 1985 M. Collier, Papyrus BM 10052 3,17, Wepwawet research papers in Egyptology 1, 5-6.
- Collier 2004 M. Collier, Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca, EU 18, NINO: Leiden
- Collier & Quirke 2004 M. Collier & S. Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical, BAR International Series 1110, Archaeopress: Oxford
- Daressy 1901 G. E. J. Daressy, Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (N^{os} 25001-25383): Ostraca, catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes 1, IFAO: Le Caire

- Daressy 1922 G. E. J. Daressy, Un ostracon de Biban el Molouk, ASAE 22, 75-76
- Daressy 1927 G. E. J. Daressy, Quelques ostraca de Biban el-Molouk, ASAE 27, 161-182
- Davies 1997 B. G. Davies, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Aegyptiaca 2, Paul Åströms förlag: Jonsered
- Davies 1999 B. G. Davies, Who is who at Deir El-Medina: A prosopographic study of the royal workmen's community, EU 13, NINO: Leiden
- Davies 1902 N. de G. Davies, The Rock tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi. Part II. Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group, Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir 12, Egypt Exploration Fund: London
- Davis 1908 T. M. Davis, The Tomb of Siptah: The Monkey Tomb and the Gold Tomb: The Discovery of the Tombs; illustrations in color by E. Harold Jones. King Siptah and Queen Tauosîrt/ by Gaston Maspero. The excavations of 1905-1907/ by Edward Ayrton. Catalogue of the objects discovered/ by G. Daressy Constable: London
- Davis 1912 T. M. Davis, The tombs of Harmhabi and Toutânkhamoun: The discovery of the tombs. King Harmhabi and Toutânkhamoun/ by Sir Gaston Maspero. Catalogue of the objects discovered/ by

G. Daressy, Duckworth: London

- Demarée 1983 R. J. Demarée, The “3h ikr n Rc” stelae. On ancestor worship in ancient Egypt, EU 3, NINO: Leiden
- Demarée 2002 R. J. Demarée, Ramesside Ostraca, The British Museum Press: London
- Demarée 2006 R. J. Demarée, The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri, British Museum Research Publications 155, British Museum: London
- Dijk 2000 J. van Dijk, The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom, in I. Shaw ed., The Oxford history of Ancient Egypt, Oxford University Press: Oxford
- Donker van Heel & Haring 2003 K. Donker van Heel & B. J. J. Haring, Writing in Workmen’s Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deri el-Medina, EU 16, NINO: Leiden
- Dorn 2004 A. Dorn, Die Lehre Amunnachts, ZÄS 131, 38-55
- Engelbach 1930 R. Engelbach, Monuments of Prince Merenptah from Athribis (Benha), ASAE 30, 197-202
- Erichsen 1933 W. Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca V, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth: Bruxelles

- Fisher 2001 M.M. Fisher, The Sons of Ramesses II, ÄAT 53/1-2, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden
- Fitzenreiter 2008 M. Fitzenreiter, *Ax n jtn als Ax jqr n Ra: Die königlichen Familienstelen und die religiöse Praxis in Amarna*, SAK 37, 85-124
- Gaballa 1977 G. A. Gaballa, The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose, Aris & Phillips: Warminster
- Gardiner 1911 A. H. Gardiner, Egyptian Hieratic Texts: Transcribed, translated and annotated. Series. Literary Texts of the New Kingdom. The Papyrus Anastasi I and the Papyrus Koller together with the Parallel Texts, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Leipzig
- Gardiner 1916 A. H. Gardiner, The Egyptian Origins of the Semitic Alphabet, JEA 3, 1-16
- Gardiner 1923 A.H. Gardiner, The Eloquent Peasant, JEA 9, 5-25
- Gardiner 1932 A. H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian stories, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth: Bruxelles
- Gardiner 1937 A. H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth: Bruxelles
- Gardiner 1947 A.H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica,

Oxford University Press: London

- Gardiner 1948 G. Gardiner, The Founding of a New Delta Town in the Twentieth Dynasty, JEA 34, 19-22.
- Gasse 2005 A. Gasse, Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir el-Médîna. Tome V. Nos 175-1873 et 1156, DFIFAO 44, IFAO: Le Caire
- Gauthier 1914 H. Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte III, MIFAO 19, IFAO: Le Caire
- Gilroy 2002 T. D. Gilroy, Outlandish outlanders: foreigners and Caricature in Egyptian Art, GM 191, 39
- Goedicke 1968 H. Goedicke, Remarks on the Hymns to Sesostris III, JARCE 7, 23-26
- Gomaà 1973 F. Gomaà, Chaemwese Sohn Ramses' II, und Hoberpriester von Memphis, ÄAT 27, Harrasowitz: Wiesbaden
- Goyon 1972 J.-C. Goyon, Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an (Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50), BdE 52, IFAO: Le Caire
- Goyon 1999 J.-C. Goyon, Le papyrus d'Imouthès, fils de Psintaês, au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21), The Metropolitan Museum of Art: New York
- Grandet 2000 P. Grandet, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non

- littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh/8: Nos 706-830, DFIFAO 39, IFAO: Le Caire
- Grandet 2003 P. Grandet, Travaux grèves et personnages célèbres aux XIX^e et XX^e dynasties, dans quelques ostraca documentaires de l'IFAO, in G. Andreu ed., Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Roi: La vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002, Éditions Khéops: Paris, 209-233
- Grandet 2003 P. Grandet, Catalogue des ostraca hiéroglyphiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh/9: Nos 831 – 1000, DFIFAO 41, IFAO : Le Caire
- Grandet 2006 P. Grandet, Catalogue des ostraca hiéroglyphiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh/10: nos 10001 – 10123, DFIFAO 46, IFAO: Le Caire
- Grapow 1953 H. Grapow, Liederkranz zu ehren Königs Sesostris des dritten aus Kahun, MIO 1, 189-209
- Grdseloff 1947 B. Grdseloff, Texts of Hatschepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos, JEA 33, 12-33
- Häggman 2002 S. Häggman, Directing Deir el-Medina: The External Administration of the Necropolis, Uppsala Studies in Egyptology 4, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History Uppsala University: Uppsala
- Haring 1997 J.J. Ben Haring, Divine Households: Administrative and economic aspects of the New Kingdom Royal memorial temples in western Thebes, EU 12,

NINO: Leiden

- Haring 2000 J.J. Ben Haring, Towards Decoding the Necropolis Workmen's Funny signs, GM 178, 45-55
- Hayes 1951 W. C. Hayes, Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III, JNES 10 35-56, 82-111, 156-83, 231-42.
- Helck 1959 W. Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich, *Studia biblica et orientalia*. Volume III: *Oriens antiquus* Roma, 113-129 = *Analecta biblica* 12, 113-129
- Helck 1963 W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches: Eigentum und Besitz an verschiedenen Dingen des täglichen Lebens* Kapitel, vol. III, Steiner: Wiesbaden
- Helck 1965 W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches: Eigentum und Besitz an verschiedenen Dingen des täglichen Lebens* Kapitel, vol. V, Steiner: Wiesbaden
- Helck 2002 W. Helck, *Die Datierten und datierbaren Ostraka: Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh* (bearbeitet von Adelheid Schlott), Harrasowitz: Wiesbaden
- Hope 1999 C. A. Hope, *Some Remarks on the Potmarks of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty: Studies on the Ancient Egypt in the Honour of H. S. Smith* (.eds) by A. Leahy et al., Egypt Exploration Society: London, 121-146

- Hornung 1991 E. Hornung, *The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I: Das grab Sethos' I*, Artemis Verlag: München and Zürich
- Hornung 1999 E. Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (translated from the German by D. Lorton), Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London
- Hornung & Stähelin 2006 E. Hornung & E. Stähelin, *Neue studien zum Sedfest*, *Ägyptiaca Helvetica* 20, Schwabe Verlag: Basel
- Hourig 1989 S. Hourig, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, *Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologisches Instituts. Abteilung Kairo* 22, Philipp von Zabern: Mainz am Rhein
- Janssen 1975 J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period: an Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*, E. J. Brill: Leiden
- Janssen 1982 J.J. Janssen, *Two Personalities*, in R. J. Demarée ed., *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, *EU* 1, NINO: Leiden, 109-131
- Janssen 1991 J. J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* 6, British Museum Press: London
- Janssen 1992 J. J. Janssen, *Gear for the Tombs*, *RdE* 43, 107-122

- Janssen 2005 J. J. Janssen, *Donkeys at Deir el-Medina*, EU 19, NINO: Leiden
- Johnson 1986 J. Johnson, *Thus Wrote 'Onchsheshonqy. An Introductory Grammar of Demotic*, *Studies in the Ancient Oriental Civilization* 45, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Chigago (Ill.)
- Jones 2000 D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols., BAR International Series 866, Archaeopress: Oxford
- Kanawati 1986 N. Kanawati, *The rock tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim* vol. 6, Macquire Ancient History Association: Sydney
- Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998 N. Kanawati & M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara III: the Tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiptah*, *American Centre for Egyptology Reports* 11, Aris & Phillips: Warminster
- Kanawati 2002 N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza. II: Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970) and Seshemnefer II (G5080)*, *Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports* 18, Warminster 2002
- Koura 1999 B. Koura, *Die "7-Heiligen Öle" und andere Öl- und Fettamen: eine lexicographische Untersuchungen zu den Bezeichnungen von Ölen, Fetten und*

- Salben bei den alten Ägyptern von der Frühzeit bis zum Anfang der Ptolemäerzeit (von 3000 v. Chr.-ca.305 v. Chr.), *Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia* 2, Shaker: Aachen
- KRI Kitchen 1975-1990 K. Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscription: Historical and Biographical* , 8 vols., B. H. Blackwell: Oxford
- KRI translation Kitchen 1993- K. Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscription. Translated and Annotated*, B.H. Blackwell: Oxford
- Kitchen 1982 K. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant : the life and times of Ramses II, King of Egypt*, Aris & Phillips: Warminster
- Lalouette 1987 C. Lalouette, *Textes sacrés et textes profanes de l'ancienne Égypte*, vol 2 : *Mythes, contes et poésies*, Gallimard : Paris
- Lapp 1997 G. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477) Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum 1*, British Museum Press: London
- Lasing 1918 A. Lansing, *The Egyptian expedition 1916-17: Excavations at the palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes*, *BMMA* 13, 8-14
- Leahy 1978 M. A. Leahy, *The inscriptions*, D. O'Connor & B. J. Kemp, *Excavations at Malqata and the Birket Habu 1971-1974*, *Egyptology Today* vol. 4, Aris & Phillips: Warminster

- Lesko & Lesko 1982-1990 L. H. Lesko & B. Lesko, A dictionary of Late Egyptian, 5 vols, B. C. Scribe Publ.: Berkeley (Calif.)
- López 1978-1984 J. López, Ostraca ieratici Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Seconda. Collezioni vol. 3 fasc. 1-4, Istituto editoriale cisalpino, la Goliardica: Milano
- Lüddeckens 1994 E. Lüddeckens ed., Aegyptische Handschriften, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 19/4 beschrieben von G. Burkard & H. Fischer-Elfert, Franz Steiner: Wiesbaden and Stuttgart
- McDowell 1993 A. G. McDowell, Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (the Colin Campbell Ostraca), Griffith Institute/Ashmonlean Museum: Oxford
- McDowell 1995 A. G. McDowell, An Inscribed Hieratic Ostrakon (Ashmolean HO 655), JEA 81, 220-225
- McDowell 1999 A. G. McDowell, Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs, Oxford University Press: Oxford
- McGovern 1997 P. E. McGovern, Wine of Egypt's Golden Age: an Archaeochemical Perspective, JEA 83, 69-108

- Meeks 1978 D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique/2*, Meeks : Paris
- Meeks 1979 D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique/3*, Meeks : Paris
- Megally 1998 M. Megally (Review by), on A. G. McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (the Colin Campbell Ostraca)*, Griffith Institute/Ashmolean Museum: Oxford, ChdE 146, 271-287.
- Möller 1927 G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der 5. Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit, Bd. II : von der zeit Thutmosis' III bis zum Ende der einundzwanzigsten Dynastie*, Hinrichs: Leipzig
- Neveu 1998 F. Neveu, *La langue des Ramsès: grammaire du néo-égyptien*, Khéops : Paris
- Ogdon 1978-1979 J. R. Ogdon, *The Old Kingdom Name for the Canopic Branch of the Delta*, JSSEA 9, 65-74
- Osing 1997 J. Osing, *School and Literature in the Ramesside Period*, in I. Brancoli ed. Et al., *L'impero ramesside. Convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni*, Quaderni del Vicino Oriente 1, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza": Roma, 131-142

- Parkinson 1999 R. Parkinson, *Cracking Codes. The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment*, British Museum Press: London
- Parkinson 2002 R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt. A Dark Side to Perfection*, Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Continuum: London
- Peet 1930 T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, 2 vols, Clarendon Press: Oxford
- Peterson 1973 B. E. J. Peterson, *Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung im Stockholm*, *Bulletin Medelhavsmuseet* 7/8: Stockholm
- Petrie 1912 W. M. F. Petrie, *The formation of the alphabet* *British School of Archaeology in Egypt Studies* 3, Macmillan & Quaritch: London
- Peust 1999 C. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology: an Introduction to the Phonology of a Dead Language*, *Monographien zur ägyptischen Sprache* 2, Peust & Gutschmidt: Göttingen
- Piankoff 1941 A. Piankoff, *Le livre des Quererts. I^{er} Tableau*, *BIFAO* 41, 1-11

- Piankoff 1947 A. Piankoff, Le livre des Quererts (Fin), BIFAO 45, 1-42
- Piankoff 1968 C. Peust, Egyptian Phonology: an Introduction to the Phonology of a Dead Language, Monographien zur ägyptischen Sprache 2, Peust & Gutschmidt: Göttingen
- Piehl 1895 K. Piehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte. Troisième série. I., J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Leipzig
- PM Porter & Moss 1927- B. Porter & R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings, vols 1-5, Clarendon Press Griffith Institute: Oxford
- Pomorska 1987 I. Pomorska, Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne, Éditions scientifiques de Pologne : Varsovie
- Posener 1938 G. Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh. Tome I. Nos 1001 à 1108, DFIFAO 18/1 IFAO: Le Caire
- Posener 1934-1980 G. Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh. Nos 1001 à 1675, DFIFAO 18/1-3 IFAO: Le Caire

- Posener 1955 G. Posener, L'exorde de l'instruction éducative d'Amennakhte, RdE 10 (1955), 61-72
- Posener 1972 G. Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiéatiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh. Nos 1214 à 1266, DFIFAO 18/3 IFAO: Le Caire
- Quack 2004 J. F. Quack, Der präntale Geschlechtsverkehr von Isis und Osiris sowie eine Notiz zum Alter des Osiris, SAK 32, 327-332
- RAD A. H. Gardiner, Ramesside administrative documents, Oxford University Press: London 1948
- Radwan 1987 A. Radwan, Six Ramesside Stelae in the Popular Pyramidion-Form, ASAE 71, 223-228
- RPN Ranke 1935-1977 H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, vols I-III, Augustin: Glückstadt
- Reeves 1984 C. N. Reeves, Excavations in the Valley of the Kings, 1905/6: a Photographic Record, MDAIK 40 227- 235
- Reeves 1990 C. N. Reeves, Valley of the Kings : the Decline of a Royal Necropolis, Kegan Paul International: London
- Schenkel 1978 W. Schenkel, Die Bewässerungsrevolution im Alten Ägypten, Philipp von Zabern: Mainz am

Rhein

- Shafer 1991 B. E. Shafer ed., Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice, Routledge: London
- Smith 2006 M. Smith, the Great Decree issued to the Nome of the Silent Land, RdE 57, 217-232
- Steinmann 1980 F. Steinmann, Untersuchungen zu den handwerklich-künstlerischen Produktion beschäftigten Personen und Berufsgruppen des Neuen Reichs, ZÄS 107 (1980), 137-157
- Sweeney 2001 D. Sweeney, Correspondence and Dialogue: Pragmatic Factors in late Ramesside Letter-Writing, ÄAT 49, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden
- Tosi & Roccati 1972 M. Tosi & A. Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina : n. 50001 - n. 50262. Edizioni d'arte fratelli Pozzo: Torino
- Urk VII Sethe 1935 K. H. Sethe, Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches, Heft I, Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums VII, J. C. Hinrichs: Leipzig
- Valbelle 1975 D. Valbelle, La tombe de Ḥay à Deir El-Médina (N° 267), MIFAO 95, IFAO : Le Caire
- Valbelle 1976 D. Valbelle, Remarques sur les textes néo-

- égyptiens non littéraires, BIFAO 76, 101-109
- Valbelle 1977a D. Valbelle, Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh : nos 5001-5423, DFIFAO 16 IFAO:1977
- Valbelle 1977b D. Valbelle, Remarques sur les textes néo-égyptiens non littéraires, BIFAO 77, 129-136
- Vandier 1950 J. Vandier, Mo'alla : la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep, BdE 18 IFAO : Le Caire
- Vandier 1977 J. Vandier, Ramsés-Siptah, RdE 23, 165-191
- Ventura 1986 R. Ventura, Living in a City of the Dead : a Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis, OBO 69, Universitätsverlag: Freiburg-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen-Freiburg
- Verhoeven 2001 U. Verhoeven, Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift, OLA 99, Uitgeverij Peeters: Leuven
- Vernus 1994 P. Vernus, Observations sur le titre imy-ra xtmt « directeur du Tresor », S. Allam (ed.), Grund und Boden in Altägypten (rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse). Akten des internationalen Symposium Tübingen 18.-20. Juni 1990, Tübingen 1994, 251-260
- Viitala 2001 J. Toivari-Viitala, Women at Deir el-Medina. A

- study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's community during the Ramesside Period, EU 15, NINO: Leiden
- Vogelsang & Gardiner 1908 F. Vogelsang & A.H. Gardiner, Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches. I. Die Klagen des Bauern, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung: Leipzig
- Wb Ermann & Grapow 1935-1971 A. Erman & H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache, vols I-V, Akademie Verlag Berlin: Berlin
- Ward 1982 W.A. Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a Glossary of Words and Phrases used, American University of Beirut: Beirut
- Ward 1994 W. A. Ward, Foreigners living in the Village, in L. H. Lesko ed., Pharaoh's Workers the villagers of Deir el Medina, Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London, 61-85
- Weeks 2000 K. R. Weeks ed., KV 5: A Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Tomb of the Sons of Ramses II in the Valley of the Kings, vols I-II, Publication of the Theban Mapping Project 2, American University in Cairo Press: Cairo and
- Wente 1967 E. F. Wente, Late Ramesside Letters, Chicago UP: Chicago (Ill.)
- Wente 1990 E. F. Wente, Letters from Ancient Egypt, Writings

from the ancient Worlds/Society of Biblical Literature, Scholars Press: Atlanta

Wimmer 1995

S. Wimmer, Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie, ÄAT 28, Harrassowitz in Kommission: Wiesbaden

Winfried 1968

B. Winfried, Aufbau bedeutung der altägyptischen opferformel, J. J. Augustin: New York

Winlock 1912

H. E. Winlock, The work of the Egyptian Expedition, BMMA 7, 184-90

List of proper names

Names of gods

| | | |
|------------|-------|--|
| Ra | deity | 27, 52, 57, 59, 61, 64, 113, 150, 152 |
| <i>Hrw</i> | deity | 57, 149 |

Names of kings

| | | |
|------------|------|--|
| Amenmesse | king | 5, 6, 22, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 115, 118, 119, 130, 134, 135, 139, 142 |
| Bay | king | 127, 137, 138 |
| Merenptah | king | 5, 6, 24, 27, 108, 110, 111, 115, 119, 130, 133, 135, 150 |
| Ramses II | king | 19, 25, 26, 37, 38, 44, 45, 81, 82, 94, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 116, 117, 120, 122, 123, 124, 129, 130, 138, 140, 151, 153 |
| Ramses III | king | 6, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 38, 45, 47, 72, 81, 82, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124, 136, 138, 139, 149, 152, 154 |
| Ramses IV | king | 23, 24, 25, 56, 72, 103, 121, 127, 131, 135, 147, 150, 157 |
| Ramses V | king | 24, 128 |
| Ramses VI | king | 9, 64, 102, 116, 122, 123, 131, 134, 135, 136, 140, 141, 150, 162 |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Ramses VII | king | 118, 150 |
| Ramses IX | king | 25, 117, 150 |
| Ramses X | king | 135, 136 |
| Ramses XI | king | 25, 127 |
| Seti II | king | 15, 22, 27, 28, 30, 36, 37, 44, 47, 97, 118, 122, 123, 128, 130, 137, 138, 148, 156 |
| Setnakhte | king | 30, 127 |
| Siptah | king | 5, 26, 30, 36, 37, 38, 44, 47, 50, 88, 90, 91, 95, 108, 109, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 129, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143 |
| Tausert | queen | 38, 119, 120, 127, 140, 149 |
| <u>Royal epithets</u> | | |
| aA nry | great of Terror | 96 |
| <u>Princes of Ramses II</u> | | |
| Wr-mA | prince | 107, 111 |
| Mry-mn-tiw | prince | 104, 107 |
| Nb-n | prince | 107, 111 |
| Ra-mry | prince | 106, 110 |
| Ra-msw-pA it-nTr | prince | 107, 111 |
| sA-ptH | prince | 106, 108, 109 |
| snXt-n-imn | prince | 106, 109 |

Ranking titles

| | | |
|--------------|--|----------|
| imi-r iH(.w) | Overseer of the cattle | 100, 160 |
| imi-r mr | Overseer of (?) | 100, 104 |
| imi-r- nw.w | Overseer of the hunters | 100, 104 |
| imi-r st | Overseer of the storehouse | 100, 105 |
| imi-r kA.t | Overseer of the building activity | 100, 105 |
| Hry- iHw | Superior of the cattle | 98, 102 |
| Hry-is.t | Superior of the gang | 98, 100 |
| Hry-ax | Superior of the burnt offerings | 98, 104 |
| Hry-(nf) ww | Superior of the sailors | 98, 103 |
| Hry-bAky.w | Superior of the royal works | 98, 104 |
| Hry-bit | Superior of the bees | 98, 103 |

| | | |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| Hry-pr-Sna | Superior of the storehouse | 98, 102 |
| Hry-mr(.t) | Superior of the servants | 98, 102 |
| Hry-mz b | Superior of the (?) carriers | 98, 102 |
| Hry-mz wdn.w | Superior of the stable | 98, 103, 161 |
| Hry-mDAy | Superior of the police | 98, 102 |
| Hry-nw.w | Superior of the hunters | 98, 103 |
| Hry-xA(w.t) | Superior of the offering tables | 98, 104, 161 |
| Hry-Xaq | Superior of the barbers | 98, 103 |

Personal names

| | | |
|----------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Ipwy | Draftsman | 41, 45, 46, 119, 144 |
| Imn-m-ipt | no title | 19, 32, 37 |
| Imn-xaw sA HAY | no title | 20, 24 |
| Imn-(?) | no title | 33 |
| da-nxt.w | no title | 32, 37 |

| | | |
|---------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| ḏA-pHty | no title | 32, 37 |
| Wn-nfr | scribe | 37 |
| Wn-nfr | no title | 21, 23, 24, 25 |
| PA-imi-r-iH.w | no title | 21, 26, 115, 118 |
| PA-ym.w | no title | 32, 37 |
| PA-nxt-aA | no title | 20, 25 |
| PA-ra | no title | 16, 145 |
| PA-ra-Htp | no title | 15, 24, 25, 26 |
| PA-Sdw | no title | 23, 32, 36, 44, 45, 119, 156 |
| [PA] Sdw sA H(-nxw) | no title | 39, 45 |
| Pn-imn | no title | 22, 23 |
| P[tH]-Sdw | no title | 33, 34 |
| Pn-dwAww | no title | 41, 46 |
| Min [...] | no title | 48 |
| Ma-k (y)-rmT-tw.f | no title | 33, 34 |
| Mn-nA | no title | 20, 25 |
| Mry-ra | no title | 39, 44, 115, 117 |
| NA-xy sA Bw-qn-tw.f | no title | 41, 46, 47, 119 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Nb-imn | no title | 39, 40, 45 |
| Nb-imn.t | no title | 20, 25 |
| Nb-nfr sA WAd-ms | no title | 32, 37, 38, 118 |
| Nb-nxt.w | no title | 32, 37 |
| Nb-smn | no title | 39, 40, 45 |
| Nxw-m-mwt | no title | 41, 45 |
| Nxt-imn | no title | 20, 23 |
| Nxt-sw | no title | 1, 5, 7, 115 |
| Raw-wbn | no title | 32, 38 |
| Ra-Htp | no title | 48, 50, 119 |
| Rw-tx | no title | 33, 34, 38 |
| <i>H</i> Ay | Chief of the gang | 1, 2, 6, 41, 119, 128, 144 |
| <i>H</i> Ay | Draftsman | 23 |
| <i>H</i> wy | no title | 17, 19, 38 |
| | no title | |
| <i>H</i> wy-nfr | no title | 6, 26 |
| <i>H</i> wy sA <i>H</i> wy-nfr | no title | 3, 6, 33, 34, 38, 44, 50, 119 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Hwy</i> sA <i>Haw</i> | no title | 33, 34, 38, 46, 41 |
| <i>Hwy-nfr</i> | no title | 7, 26, 50 |
| <i>Hrw</i> | Vizier | 27, 30, 139, 148 |
| <i>Hri</i> | no title | 125 |
| <i>Hr-m-wiA</i> | no title | 3, 7, 32, 44, 155 |
| <i>Hsi-sw-nb.f</i> | no title | 1, 6, 33, 34, 115, 117, 118 |
| <i>Htpw</i> | no title | 33, 34 |
| <i>HAmw</i> | no title | 34, 44 |
| <i>Ha[...]</i> | no title | 1, 5 |
| <i>Ha-m-ip.t</i> | no title | 20, 23 |
| <i>Ha-m-nwn</i> | no title | 3, 6, 116 |
| <i>Ha-m-nwn</i> | no title | 33, 38 |
| <i>\$nm-m-sw</i> | no title | 3, 7 |
| <i>\$nmw-msw</i> | no title | 33, 38 |
| <i>Enmw-nxt</i> | no title | 20, 24 |

| | | |
|-----------------|----------|-----------------|
| SA-wADyt | no title | 41, 47, 119 |
| Sbk-ms | no title | 20, 25 |
| [KA] sA Ra-(ms) | no title | 32, 36, 37 |
| KAr | Scribe | 53, 54, 55, 120 |
| KA-sA | no title | 32, 37 |
| QA-HA | no title | 34, 38 |
| Qn | no title | 39, 44 |
| (?)sA Pn-nbw | no title | 33, 34 |

Documents quoted

Ostraca

Ashmolean Museum ostraca

| | |
|-------------|---|
| O. Ashm 36 | 145 |
| O. Ashm 160 | 145 (footnote 403) and 147 (footnote 411) |
| O. Ashm 169 | 145 (footnote 403), 147 (footnote 411) |
| O. Ashm 254 | 145 |
| O. Ashm 266 | 145 (footnote 403) |
| O. Ashm 267 | 145 (footnote 403) |
| O. Ashm 268 | 145 (footnote 403) |
| O. Ashm 269 | 145 (footnote 403) |
| O. Ashm 270 | 145 (footnote 403) |
| O. Ashm 285 | 146 (footnote 407) |

Berlin Museum ostraca

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| O. Berlin P 10634 | 56 |
| O. Berlin P 12294 | 56 |
| O. Berlin P 14885 | 104 |

British Museum ostraca

| | |
|----------------|----------|
| O. BM EA 5634 | 25 |
| O. BM EA 50730 | 102, 116 |
| O. BM EA 50745 | 102, 116 |
| O. BM EA 65599 | 67 |
| O. BM EA 65600 | 67 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| O. Cairo Carnarvon 421 | 10 |
| O. Cairo Carnarvon 343 | 37 |
| <u>Cairo Museum ostraca</u> | |
| O. Cairo CG 25008 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25013 | 136 |
| O. Cairo GC 25020-25023 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25055 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25069 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25973 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25081 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25089 | 138 |
| O. Cairo CG 25104 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25112 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25127 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25178-25180 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25189bis | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25207-25215 | 151 |
| O. Cairo CG 25216 | 151 |

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| O. Cairo CG 25224 | 15 |
| O. Cairo CG 25228 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25237 | 5 |
| O. Cairo CG 25240 | 15 |
| O. Cairo CG 25247 | 145 (footnote 403) |
| O. Cairo CG 25249 | 15 |
| O. Cairo CG 25248-25249 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25257 | 145 (footnote 403) |
| O. Cairo CG 25269 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25293 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25297-25398 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25313-25315 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25321 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25331 | 67, 121 |
| O. Cairo CG 25352 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25354 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25357 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25258 | 146 (footnote 407) |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| O. Cairo CG 25360 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25362 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25364 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25512 | 47 (footnote 168) |
| O. Cairo CG 25513 | 38 |
| O. Cairo CG 25516 | 47 (footnote 169) |
| O. Cairo CG 25517 | 36 |
| O. Cairo CG 25519 | 50 (footnote 179), 119 and footnote (342) |
| O. Cairo CG 25520 | 119 and footnote (342) |
| O. Cairo CG 25521 | 5, 50 (footnote 179), 118, 119, 138 |
| O. Cairo CG 25522 | 119 and footnote (342) |
| O. Cairo CG 25523 | 36 |
| O. Cairo CG 25539 | 15 |
| O. Cairo CG 25540 | 15 |
| O. Cairo CG 25553 | 26, 127 |
| O. Cairo CG 25556 | 22 |
| O. Cairo CG 25558 | 143 |
| O. Cairo CG 25560 | 127 |
| O. Cairo CG 25561 | 148 (footnote 419) |
| O. Cairo CG 25571 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25576 | 127 |
| O. Cairo CG 25577 | 127 |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| O. Cairo CG 25599 | 136, 157 (footnote 464) |
| O. Cairo CG 25626 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25628 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25629 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25633 | 147 (footnote 410) |
| O. Cairo CG 25634 | 136, 157 (footnote 464) |
| O. Cairo CG 25635 | 147 (footnote 410) |
| O. Cairo CG 25638 | 147 (footnote 410) |
| O. Cairo CG 25642 | 127 |
| O. Cairo CG 25644 | 148 (footnote 419) |
| O. Cairo CG 25648 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25650 | 157 (footnote 464) |
| O. Cairo CG 25651 | 157 (footnote 464) |
| O. Cairo CG 25657 | 136 |
| O. Cairo CG 25672 | 127 |
| O. Cairo CG 25742 | 146 |
| O. Cairo CG 25744 | 127 |
| O. Cairo CG 25760 | 123 |
| O. Cairo CG 25764 | 102 |
| O. Cairo CG 25766 | 128, 138 |
| O. Cairo CG 25779 | 36, 46 (footnote 164), 47 (footnote 167) |
| O. Cairo CG 25780 | 38 (footnote 134), 46 (footnote 164) |
| O. Cairo CG 25782 | 46 (footnote 164), 119 |
| O. Cairo CG 25783 | 7 |

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| O. Cairo CG 25788 | 140 |
| O. Cairo CG 25789 | 140 |
| O. Cairo CG 25797 | 37 |
| O. Cairo CG 25781 | 37 |
| O. Cairo CG 25802 | 123 (footnote 353), 124 |
| O. Cairo CG 25804 | 24 |
| O. Cairo CG 25805 | 123 (footnote 353) |
| O. Cairo CG 25807 | 124 |
| O. Cairo CG 25809 | 123 (footnote 353), 124 |
| O. Cairo CG 25813 | 124 |
| O. Cairo CG 25815 | 123 (footnote 353), 124 |
| O. Cairo CG 25816 | 124 |
| O. Cairo CG 25822 | 87, 92 |
| O. Cairo CG 25824 | 140 |
| O. Cairo CG 25831 | 143 |
| O. Cairo CG 25832 | 123 (footnote 353) |
| O. Cairo CG 25873 | 46 |
| O. Cairo CG 51514 | 43 |
| O. Cairo JE 72453 | 9 |
| O. Cairo JE 72473 | 68, 121 |
| O. Cairo JE 96398 | 152 |
| O. Černy 7 | 38, 46 |
| O. DeM 60 | 25 |
| O. DeM 114 | 30 |

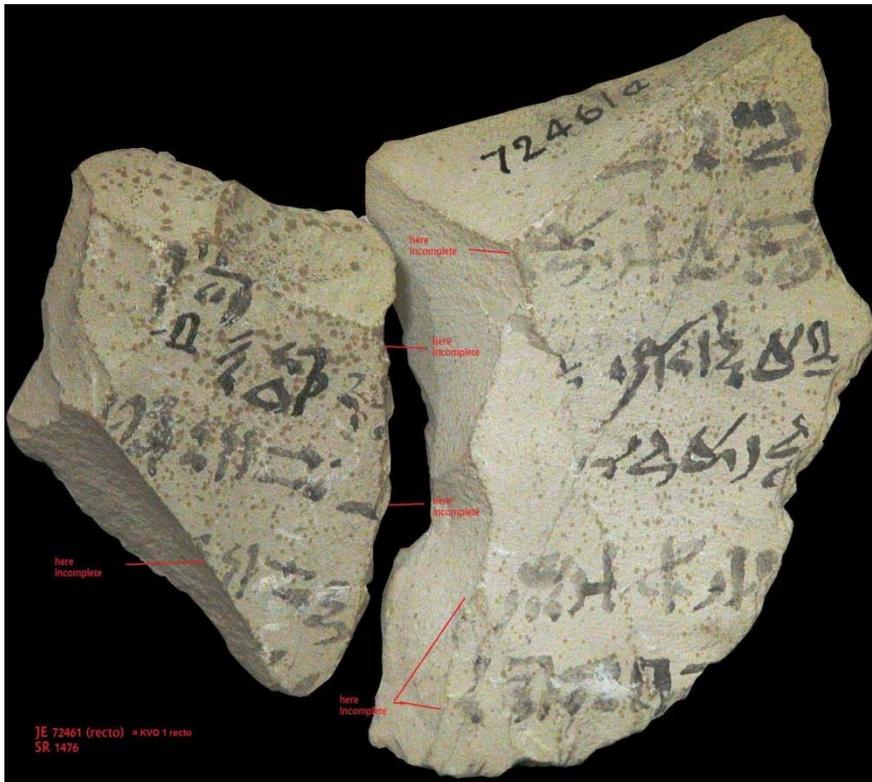
| | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| O. DeM 144 | 143 |
| O. DeM 159 | 143 |
| O. DeM 209 | 43 |
| O. DeM 236 | 23 |
| O. DeM 246 | 152 |
| O. DeM 269 | 115 |
| O. DeM 286 | 25 |
| O. DeM 290 | 5, 6, 116 |
| O. DeM 556 | 25 |
| O. DeM 375 | 44 |
| O. DeM 773 | 10 |
| O. DeM 580 | 25 |
| O. DeM 621 | 26 |
| O. DeM 831 | 25 |
| O. DeM 900 | 46 |
| O. DeM 912 | 36 |
| O. DeM 929 | 10 |
| O. DeM 930 | 10 |
| O. DeM 935 | 10 |
| O. DeM 10026 | 100 |
| O. DeM 10044 | 12, 78 (footnote 227) |
| O. DeM 10046 | 25 |
| O. DeM 10082 | 10 |
| O. DeM 10097 | 5 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| O. DeM 10102 | 10 |
| O. DeM 1248 | 30 |
| O. DeM 25264 | 5 |
| O. Gardiner 57 | 23 |
| O. Gardiner 87 | 46 |
| O. Gardiner 37 | 38 (footnote 137) |
| O. IFAO 371 | 25 |
| O. IFAO 1007 | 73 |
| O. IFAO 1080 | 25 |
| O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14126 | 38 |
| O. Michaelides 2 | 25 |
| O. Michaelides 5 | 25 |
| O. Toronto B 7 | 6 |
| O. Toronto A11 | 14 |
| <u>Turin Museum ostraca</u> | |
| O. Turin N. 57082 | 44 |
| O. Turin 57301 | 154 (footnote 447) |
| O. Turin N. 57366 | 10 |
| O. Turin N. 57381 | 146 |
| O. Turin 57388 | 36 (footnote 114) |
| <u>University College ostraca</u> | |
| O. UC 39658 | 103 |

Papyri

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| P. Berlin 10496 | 22, 26 |
| P. Berlin P 14448 | 46 |
| P. BM EA 10477 | 60 |
| P. BM EA 75015 | 102 |
| P. DeM 32 | 44 |
| P. Leiden I, 348 | 26 |
| P. New York MMA 35.9.21 | 56 |
| P. Salt 124 | 45, 47 |
| P. Turin Cat. 1880 | 24 |
| P. Turin. Cat. 1898 | 26 |
| P. Turin Cat. 1926 | 26 |
| P. Turin Cat.1937 | 26 |
| P. Turin Cat. 2071/224 + 1960 | 54, 55 |
| P. Turin Cat. 2094 | 26 |
| P. Turin Cat. 54021 | 26 |

KVO 1



recto



verso

Figure 1a

KVO 1 recto

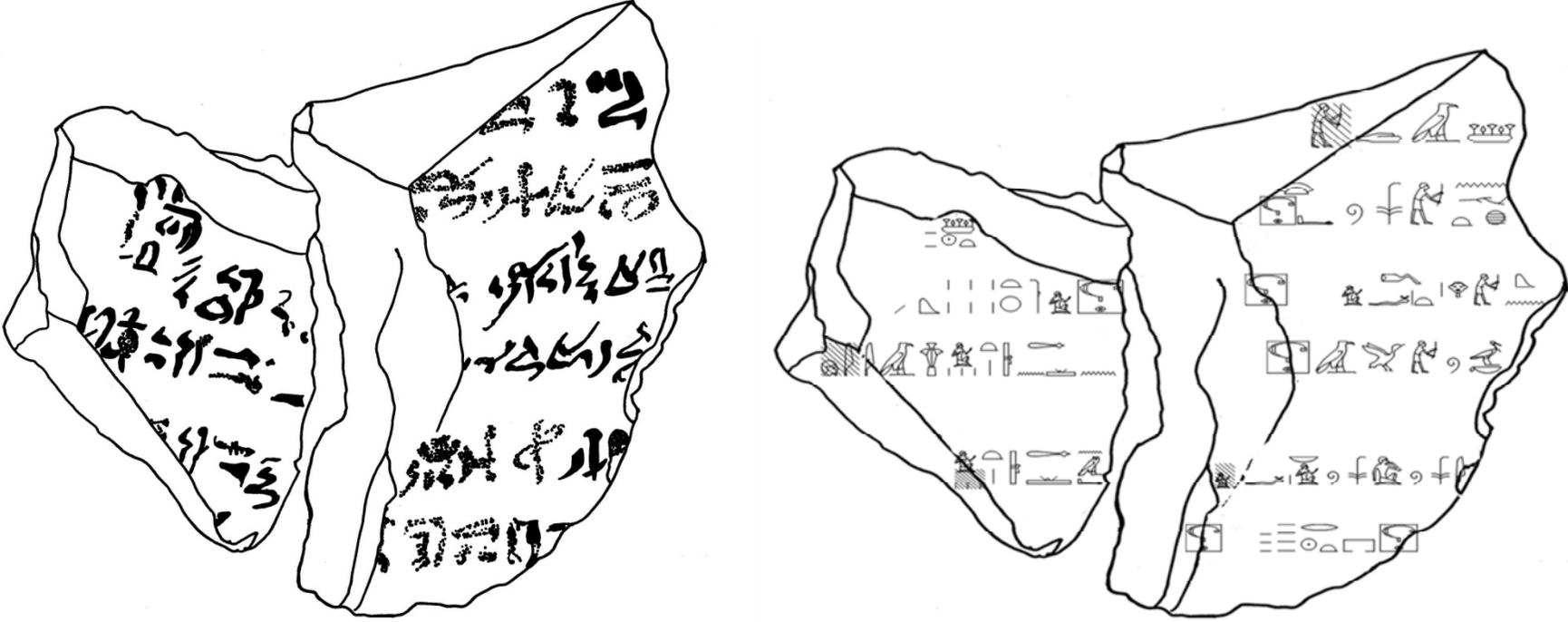
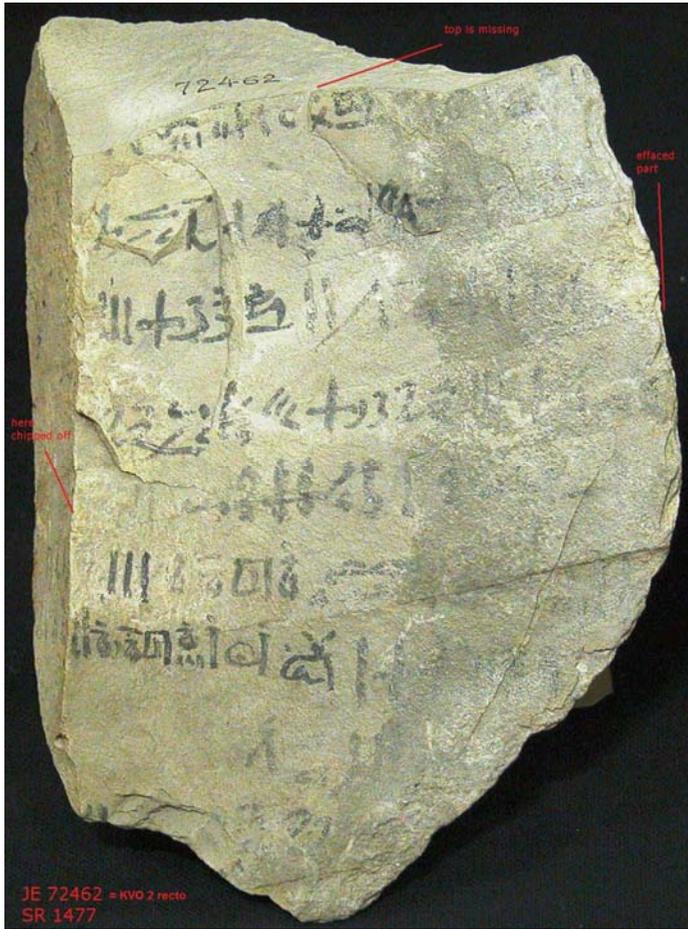


Figure 1b

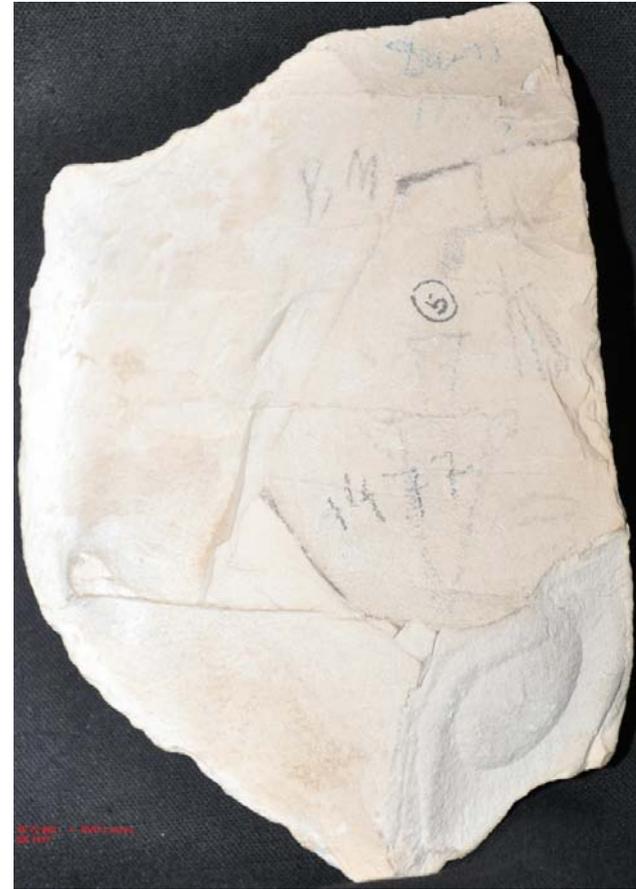
KVO 1 verso



KVO 2



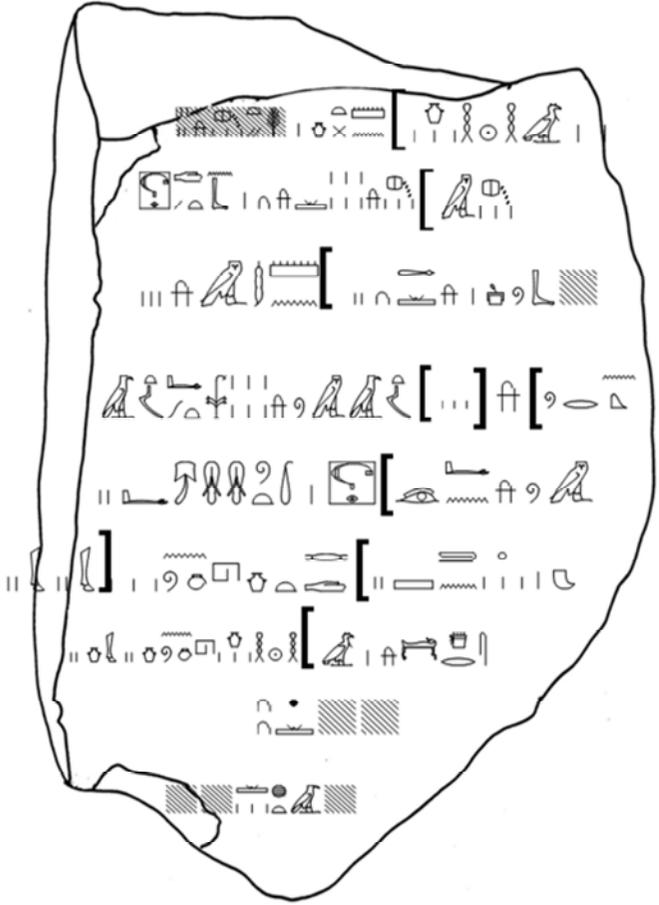
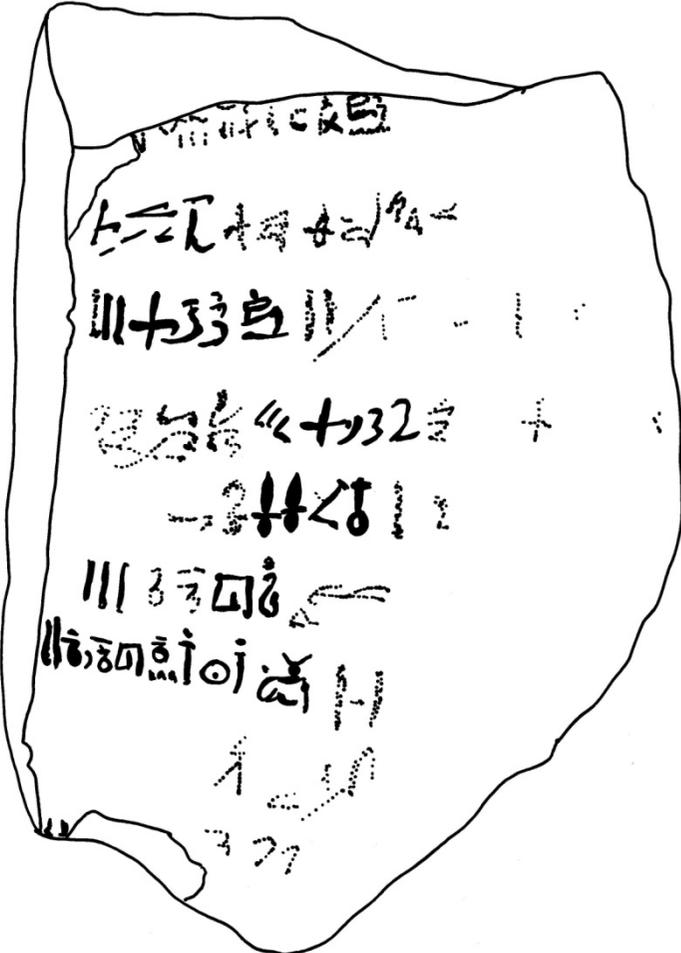
recto



verso

Figure 2a

KVO 2 recto



KVO 2 verso

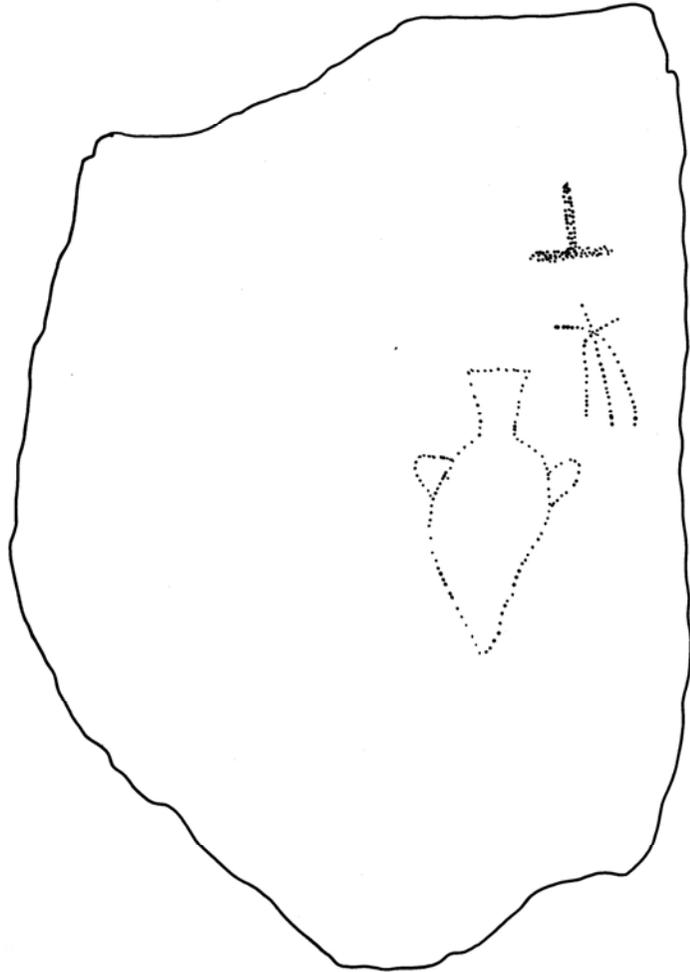
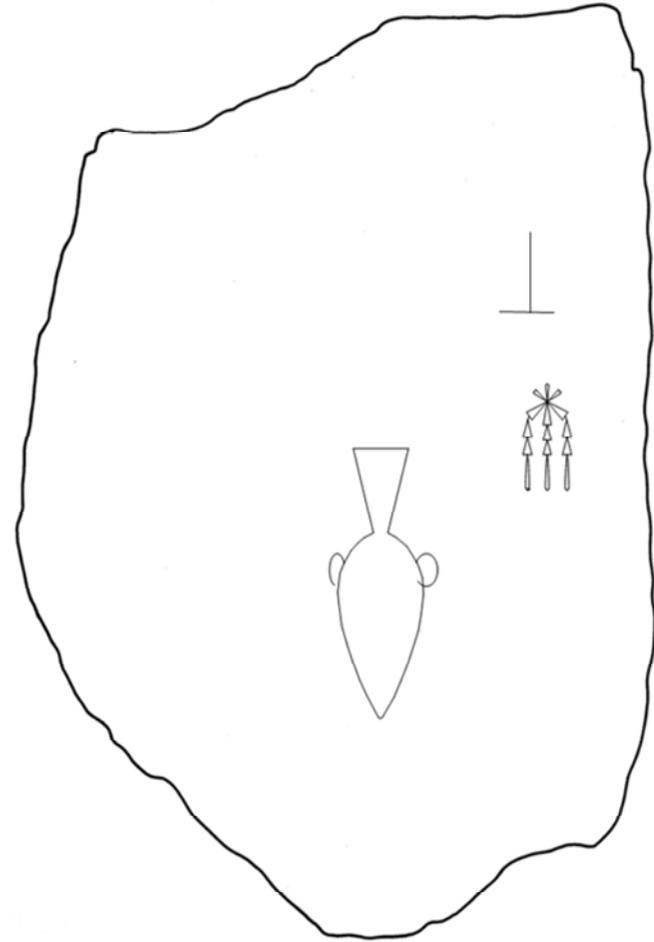
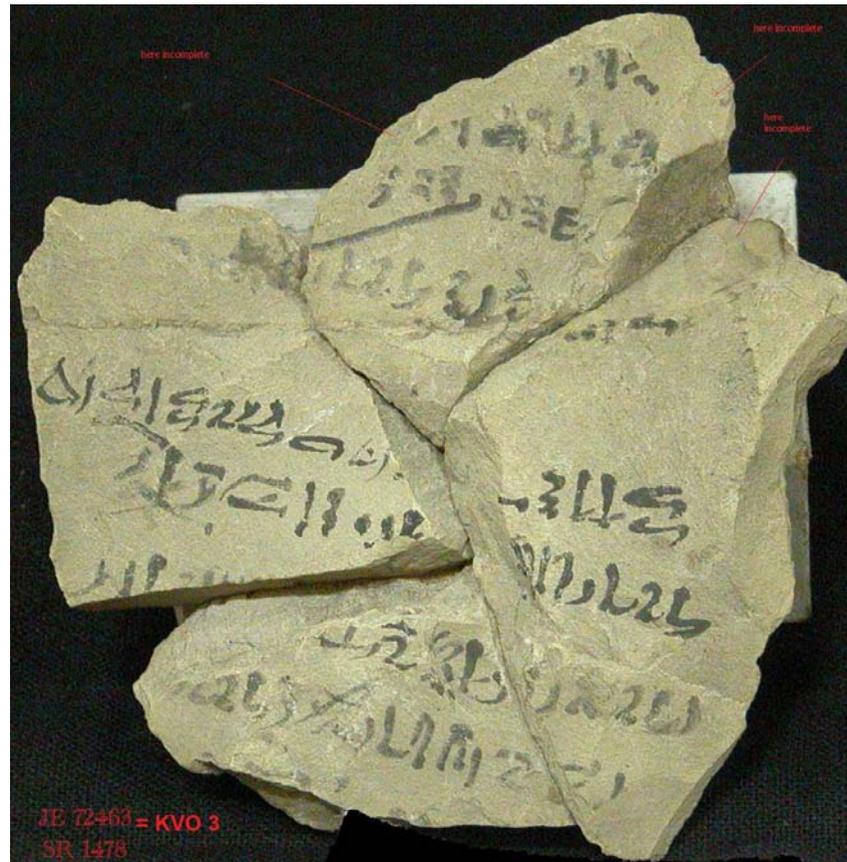


Figure 2b

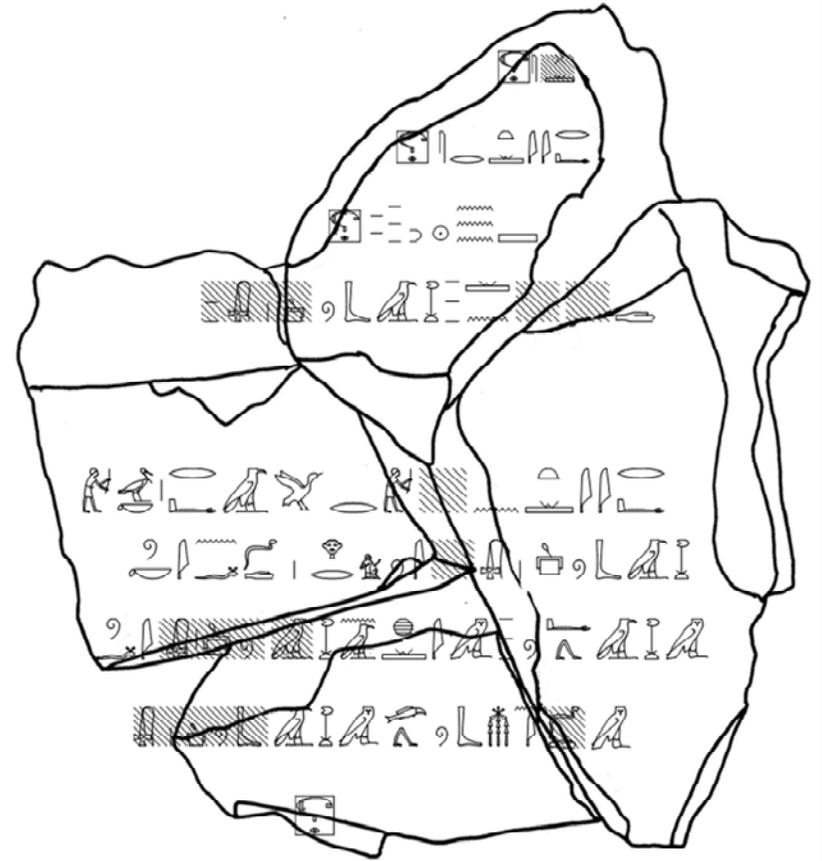
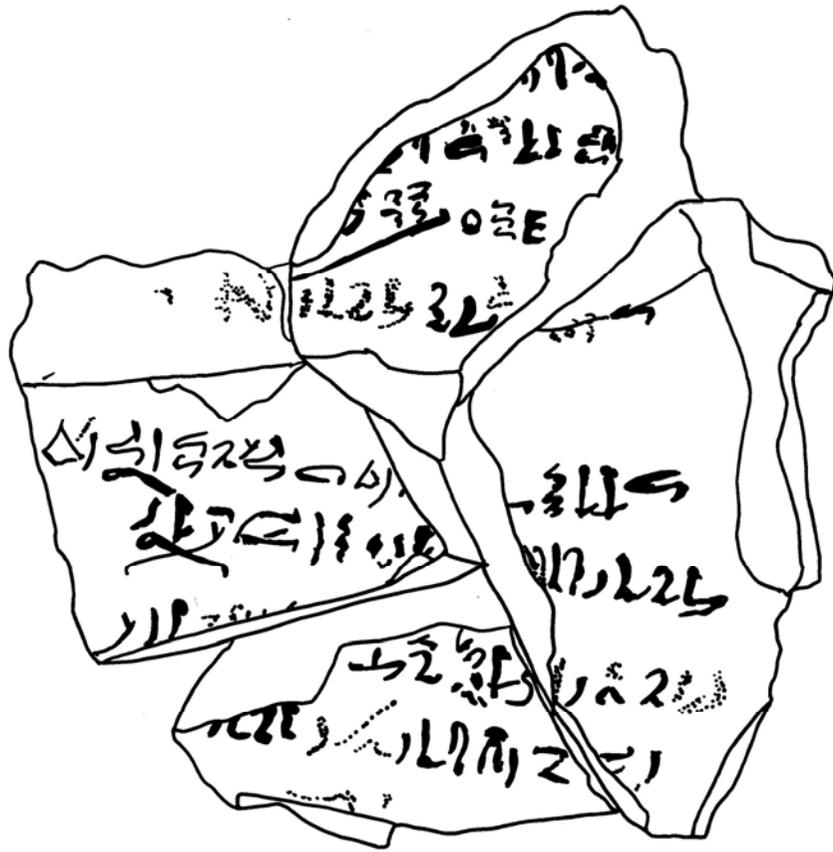


KVO 3



KVO 3

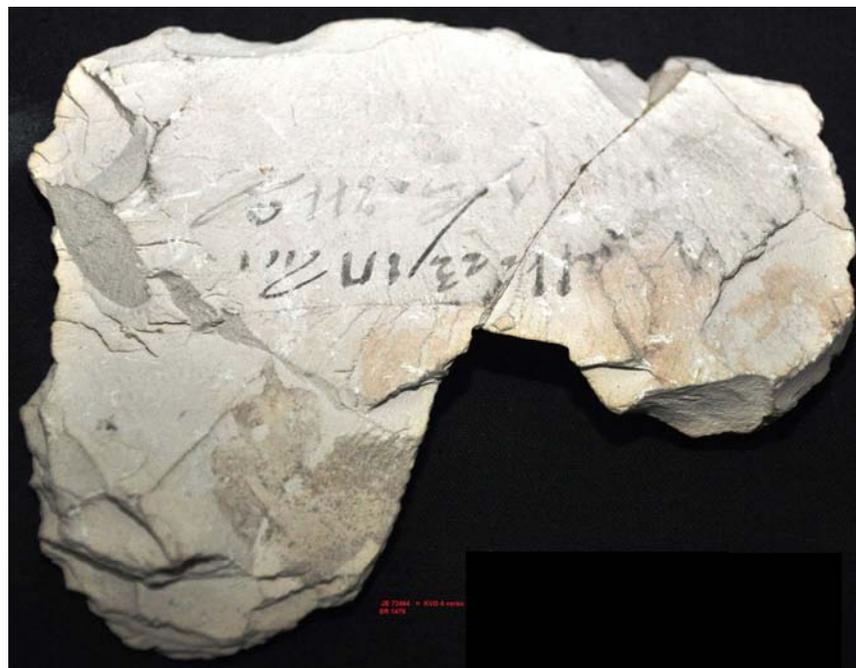
Figure 3



KVO 4



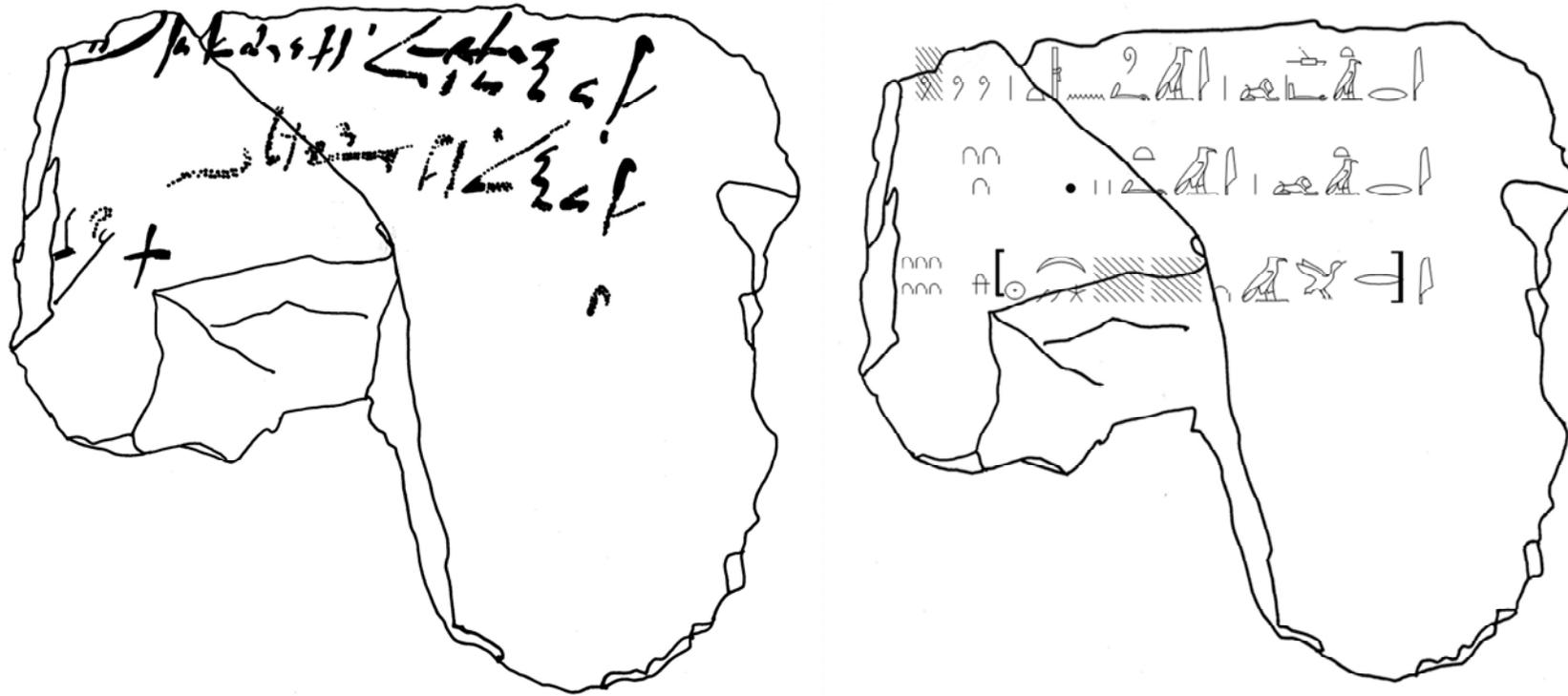
recto



verso

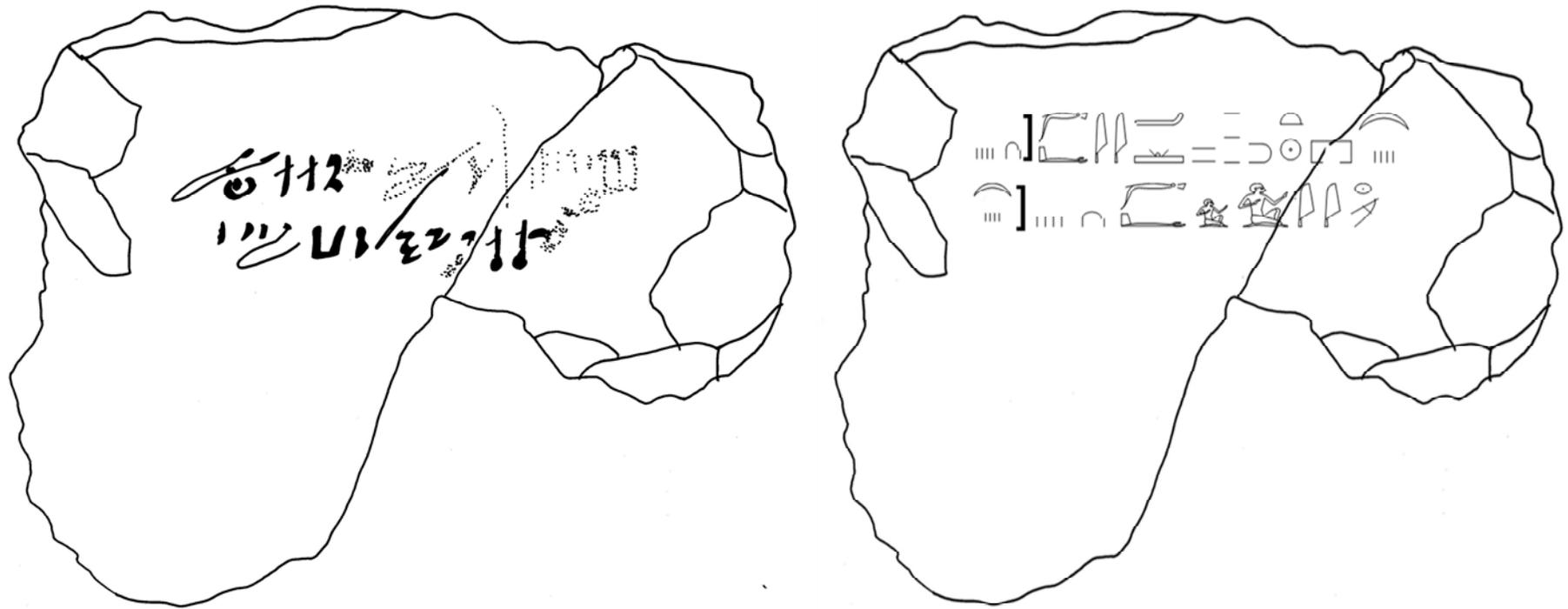
KVO 4 recto

Figure 4a

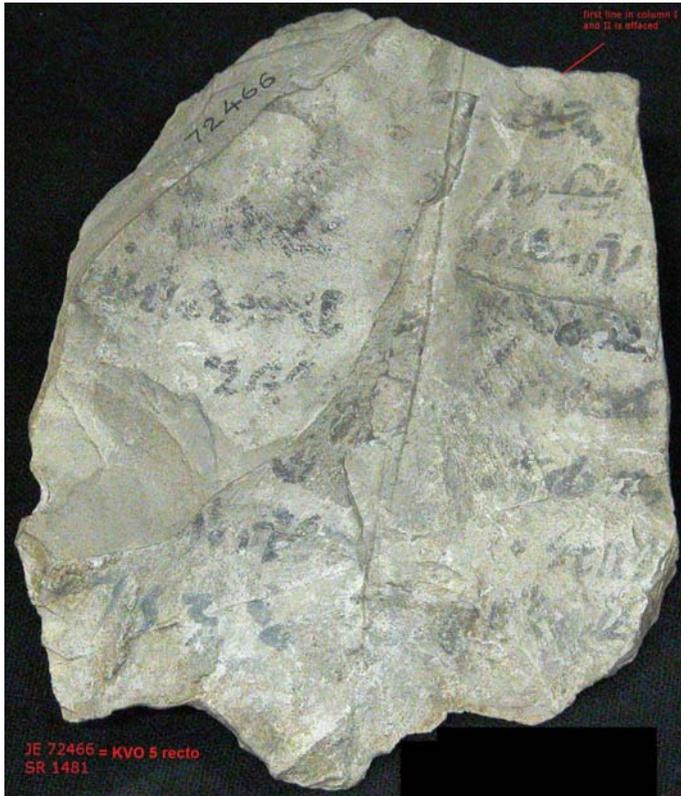


KVO 4 verso

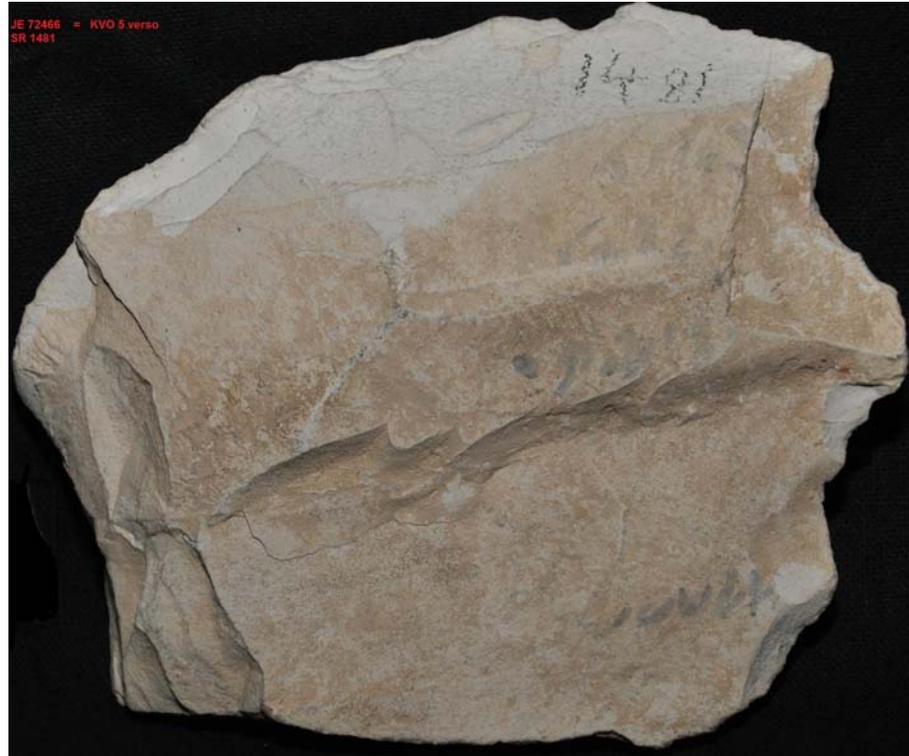
Figure 4b



KVO 5



recto



verso

Figure 5a

KVO 5 recto

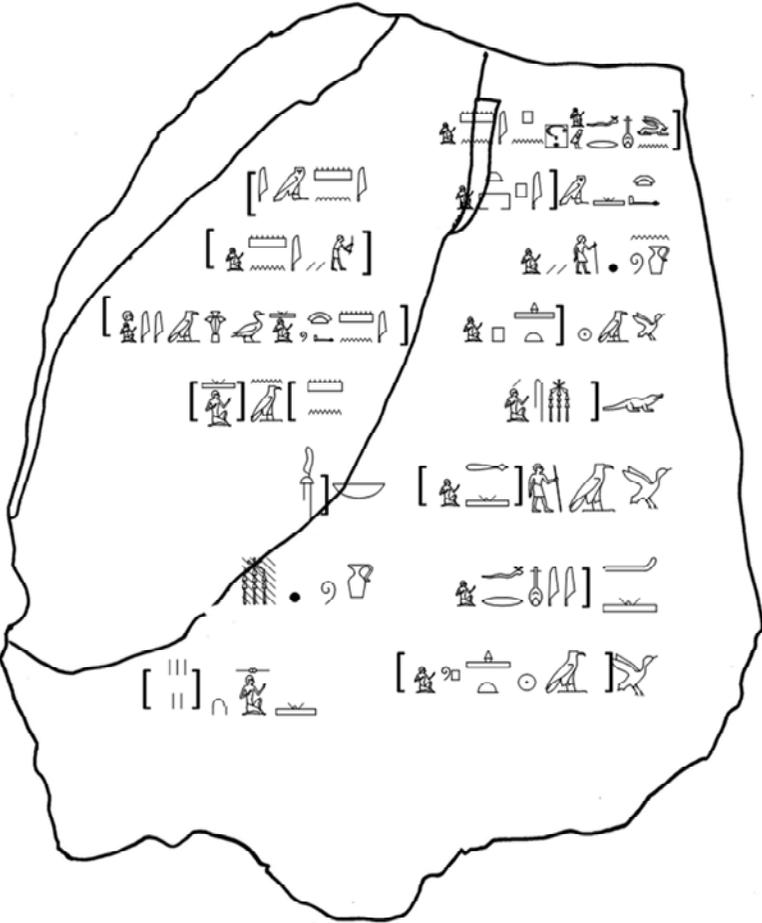
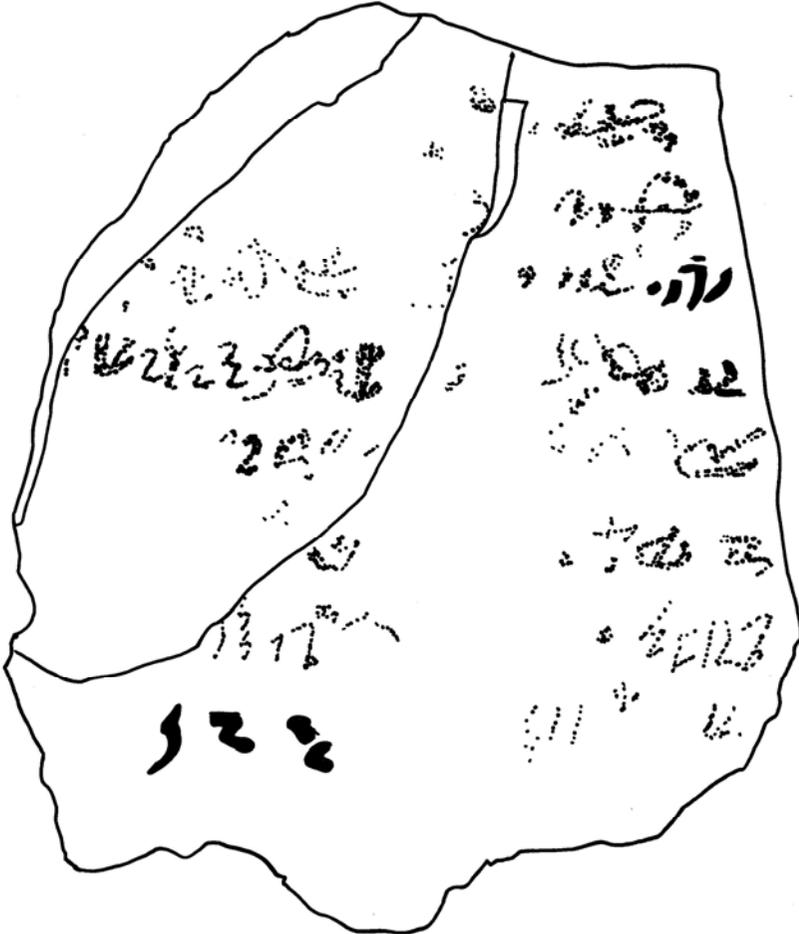
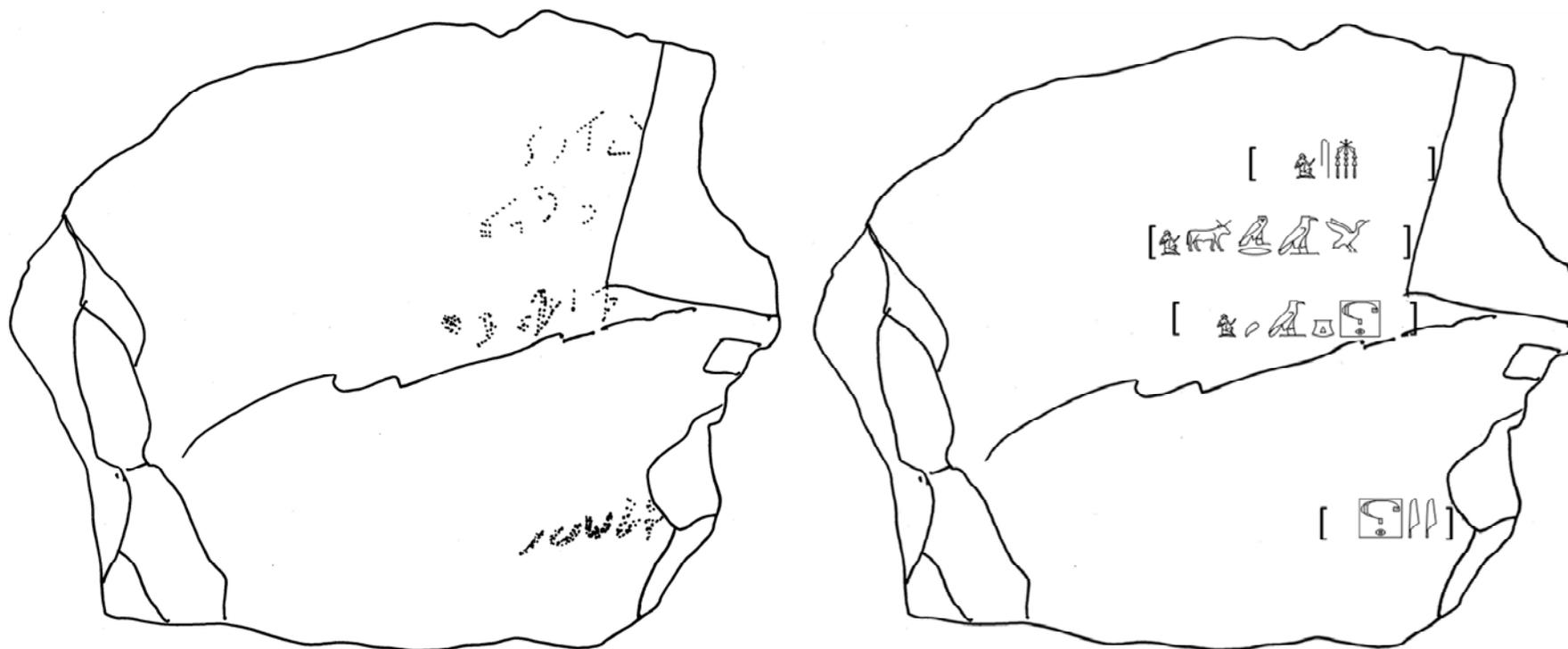


Figure 5b

KVO 5 verso



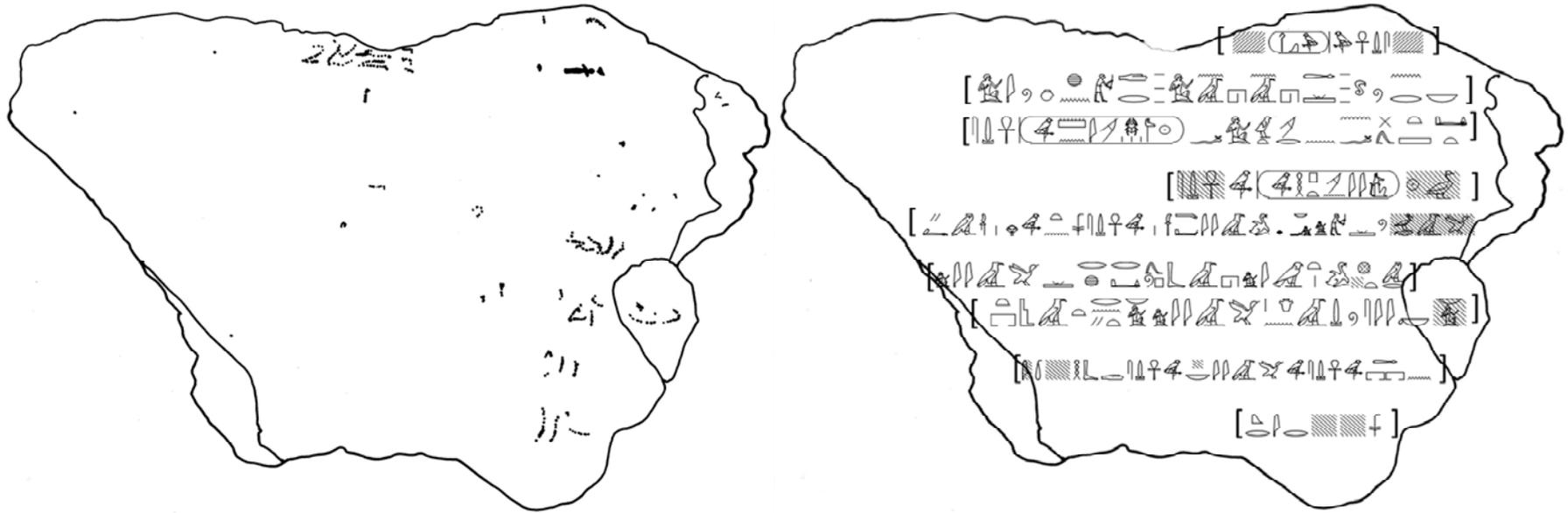
KVO 6

Plate VI

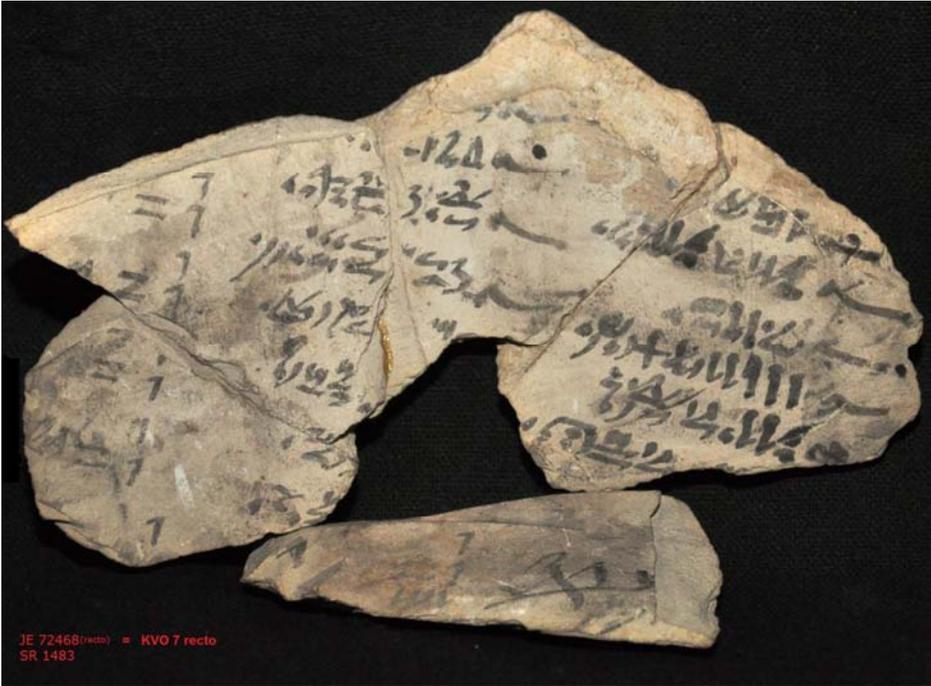


KVO 6

Figure 6



KVO 7



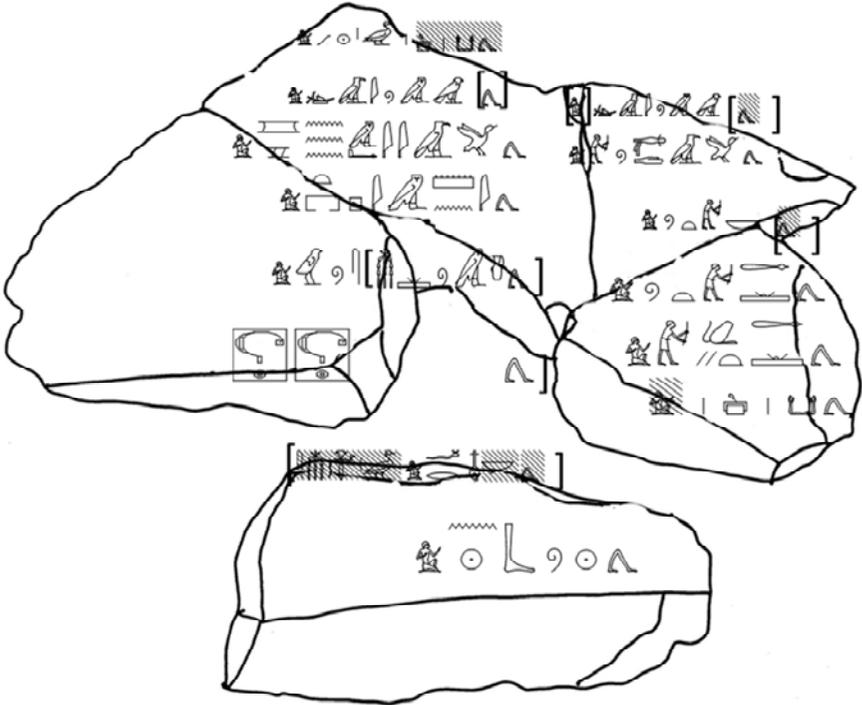
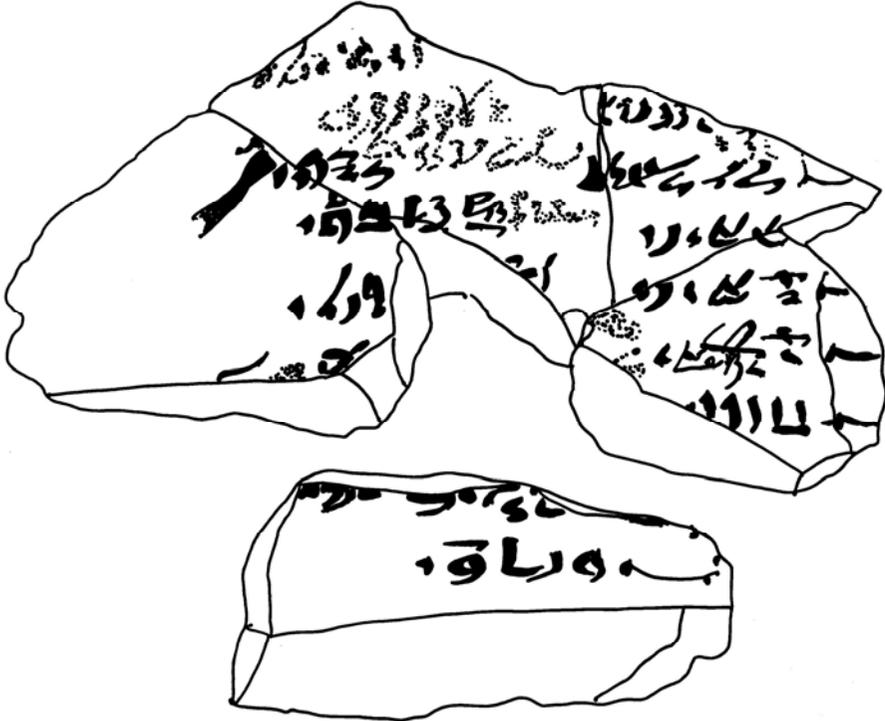
recto



verso

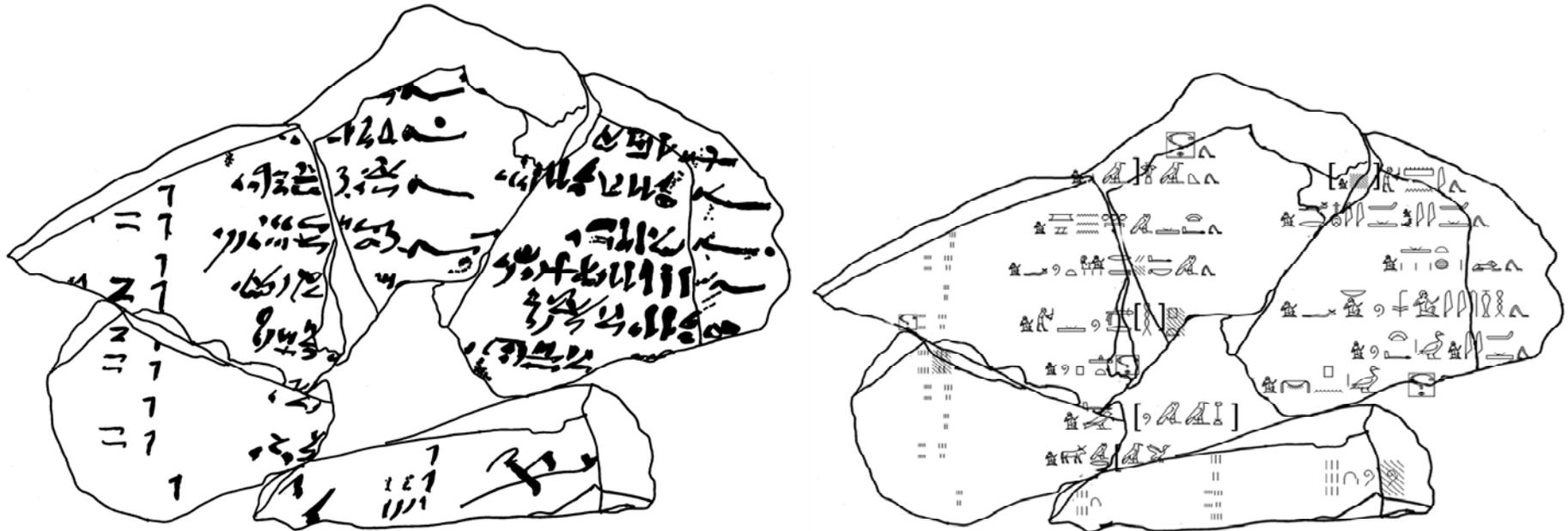
Figure 7a

KVO 7 recto

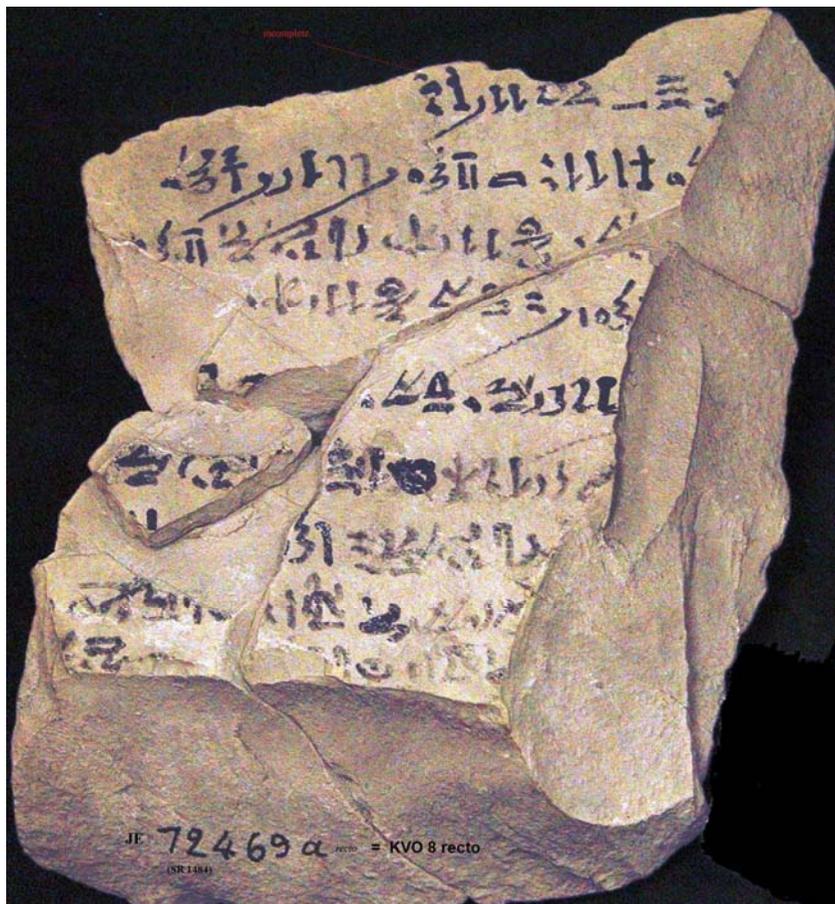


KVO 7 verso

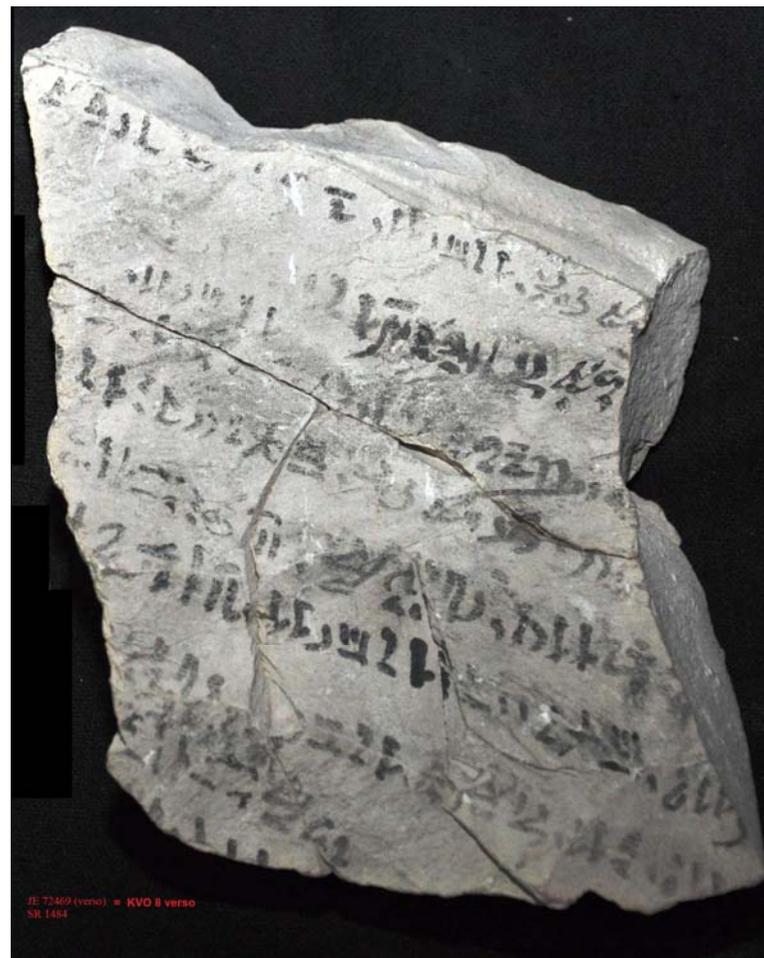
Figure 7b



KVO 8



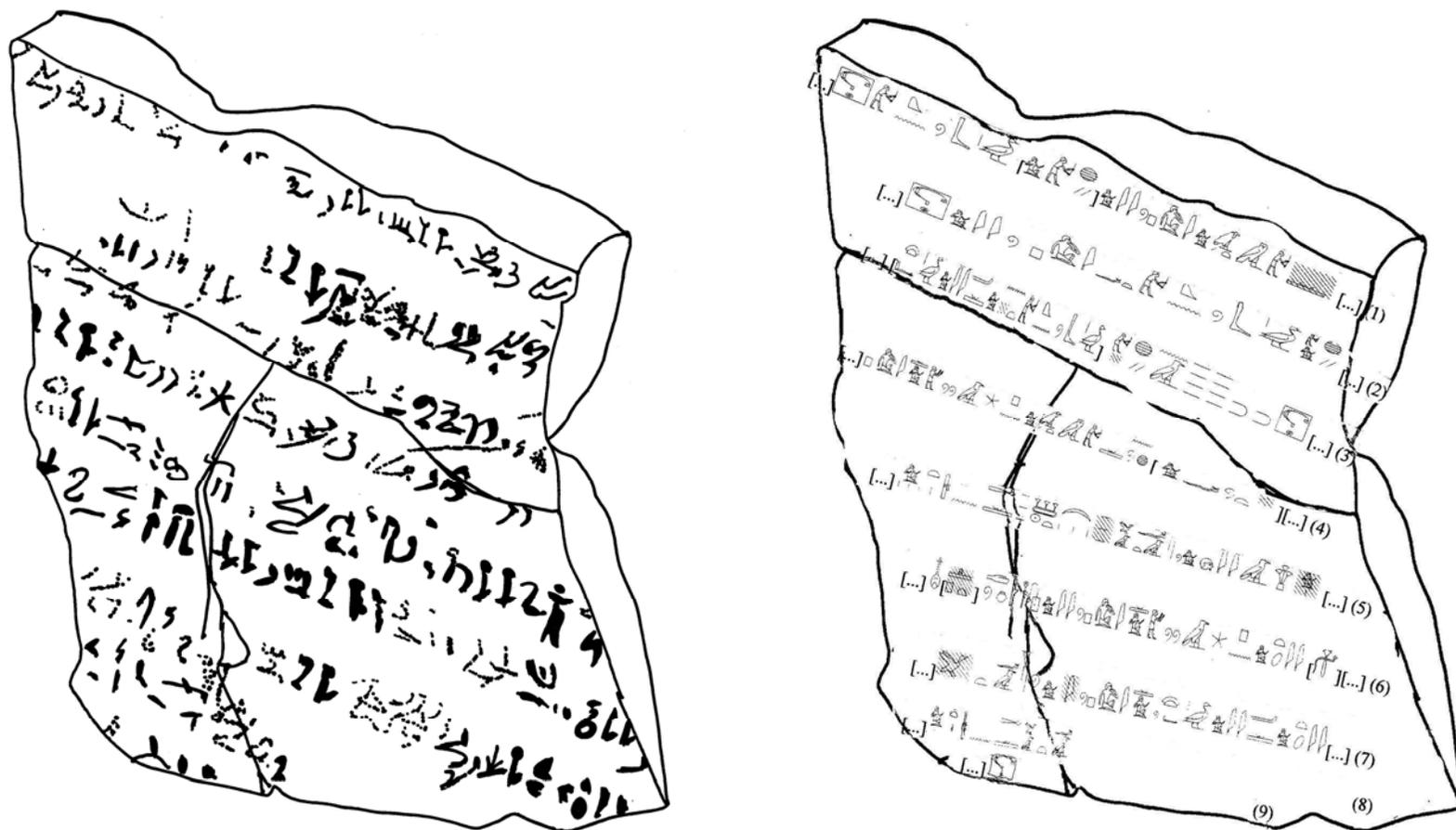
recto



verso

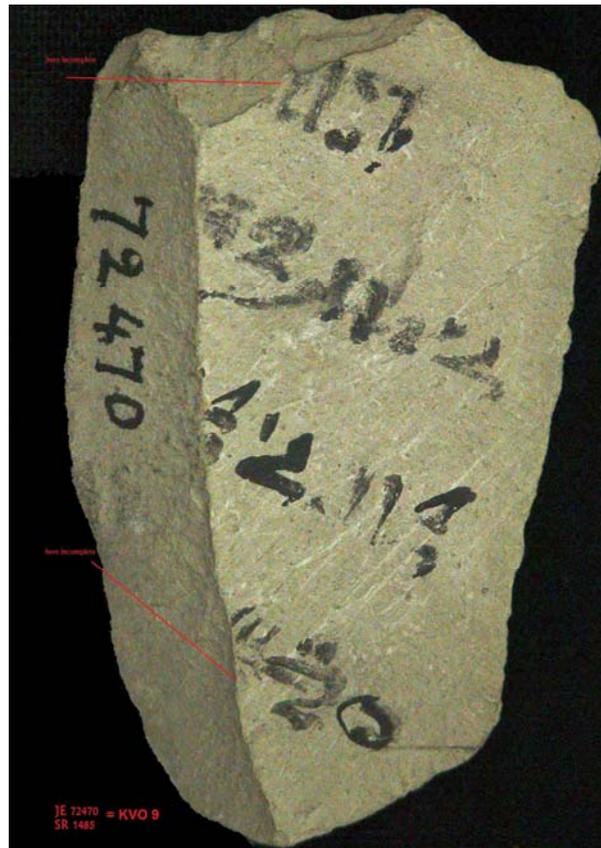
Figure 8b

KVO 8 verso



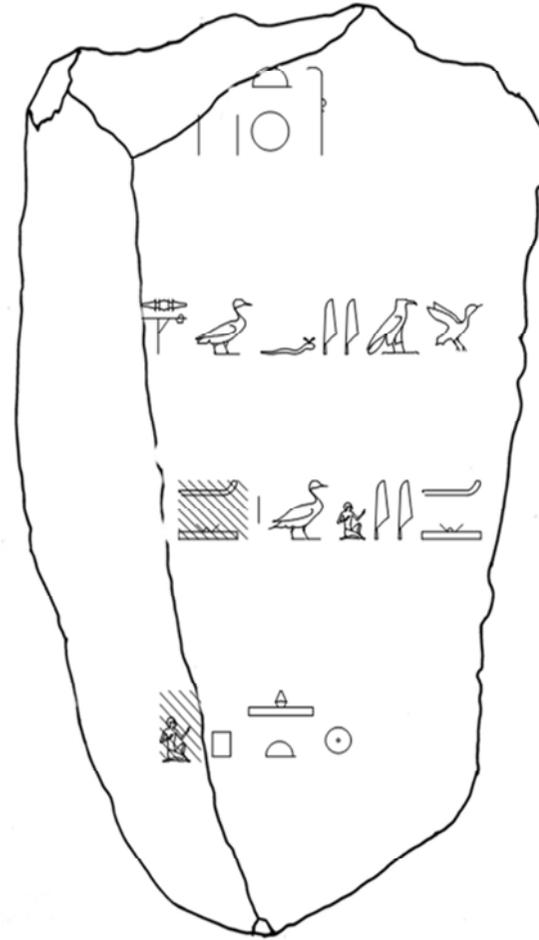
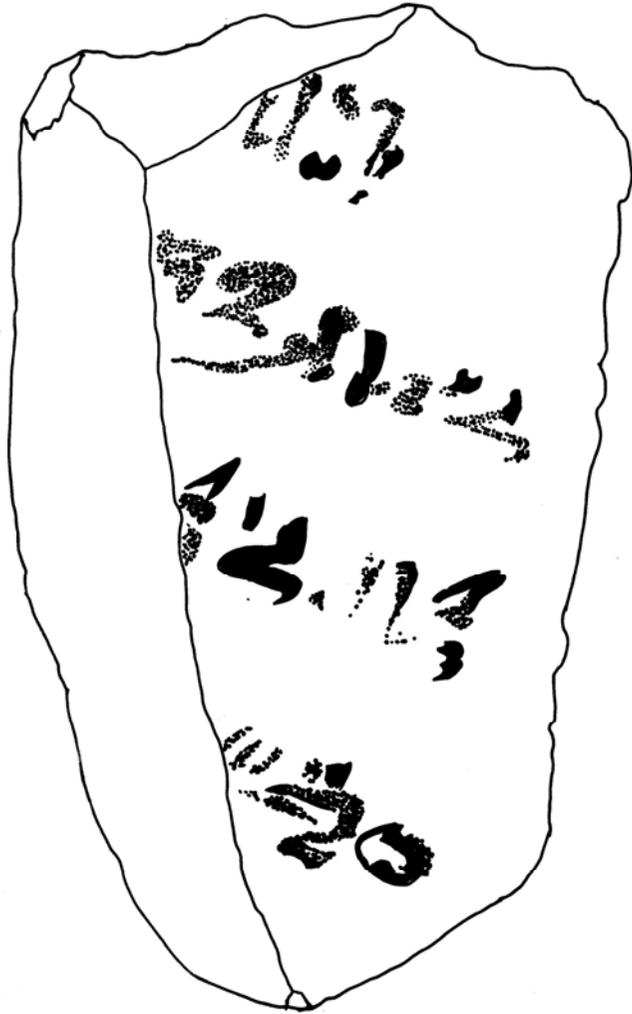
KVO 9

Plate IX



KVO 9

Figure 9

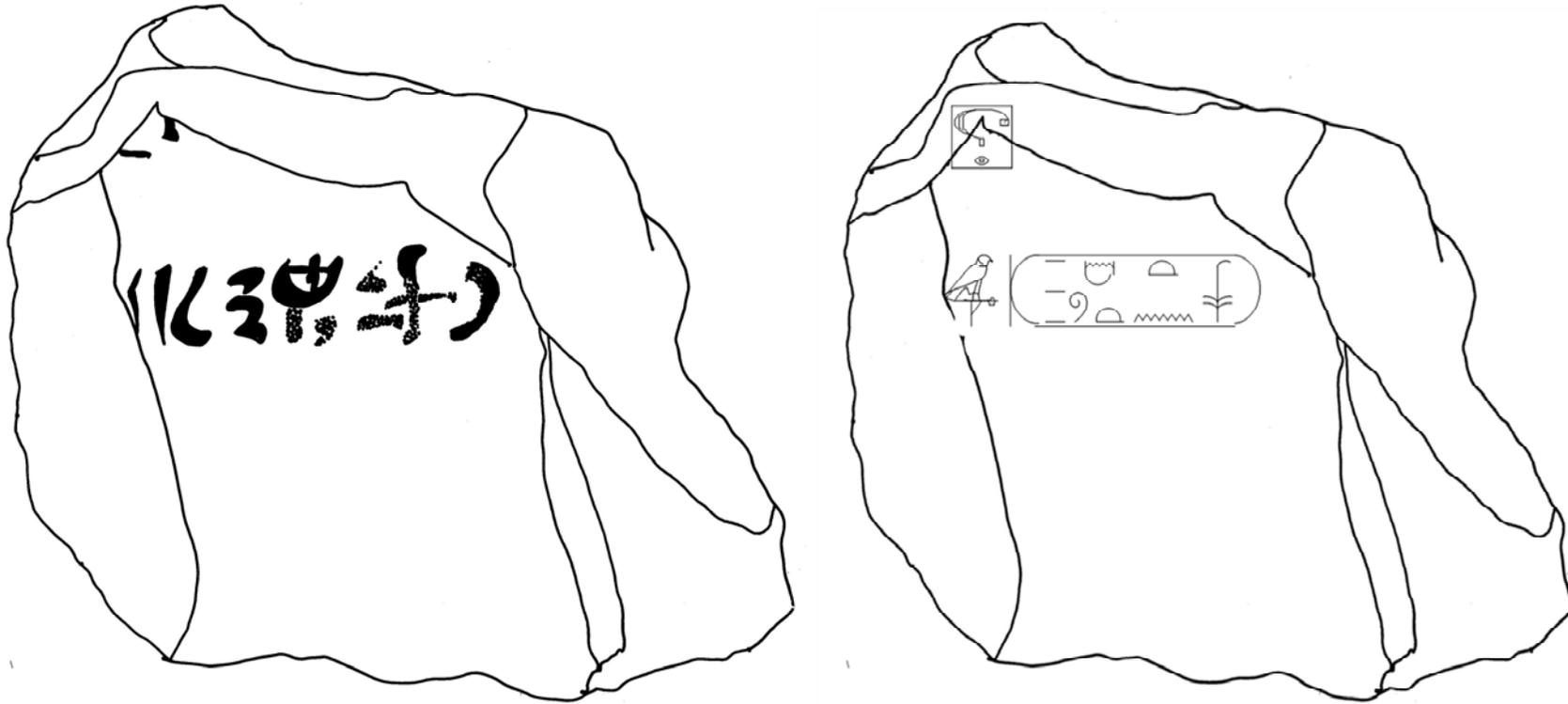


KVO 10



KVO 10

Figure 10

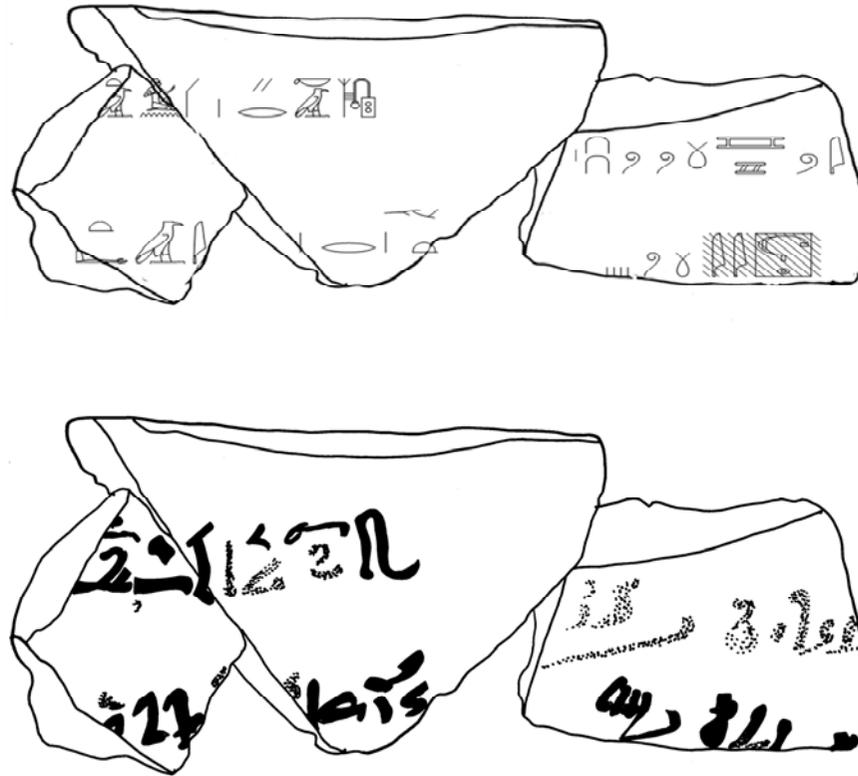


KVO 11



KVO 11

Figure 11



KVO 12

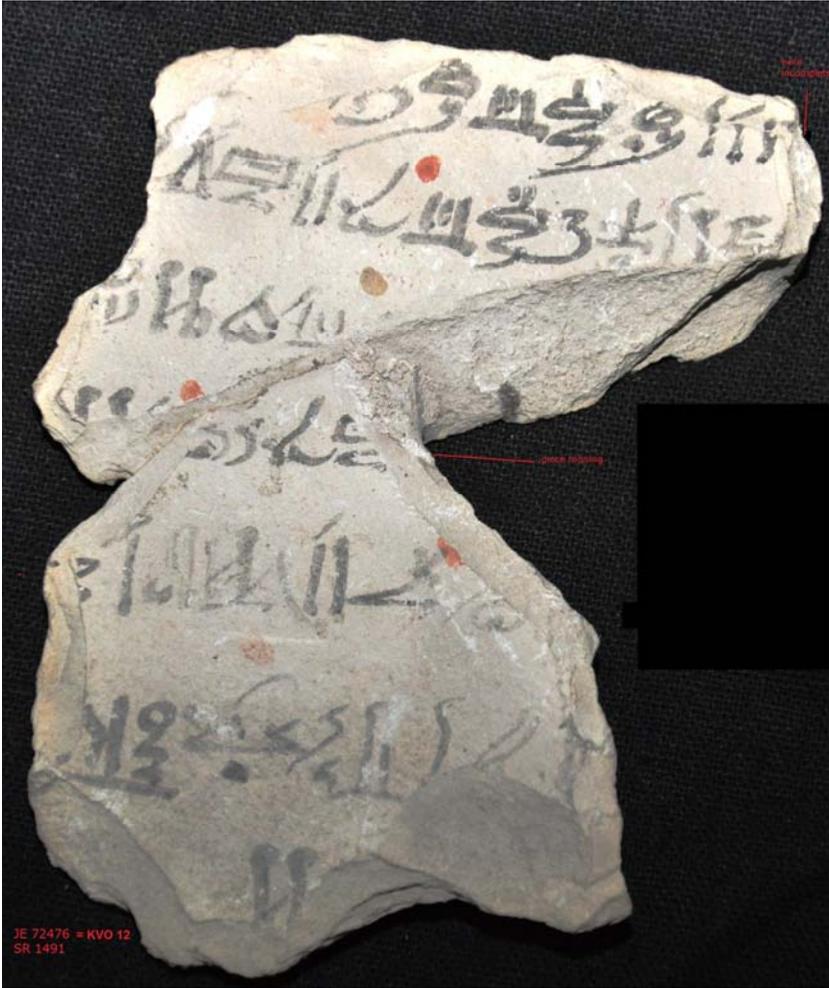
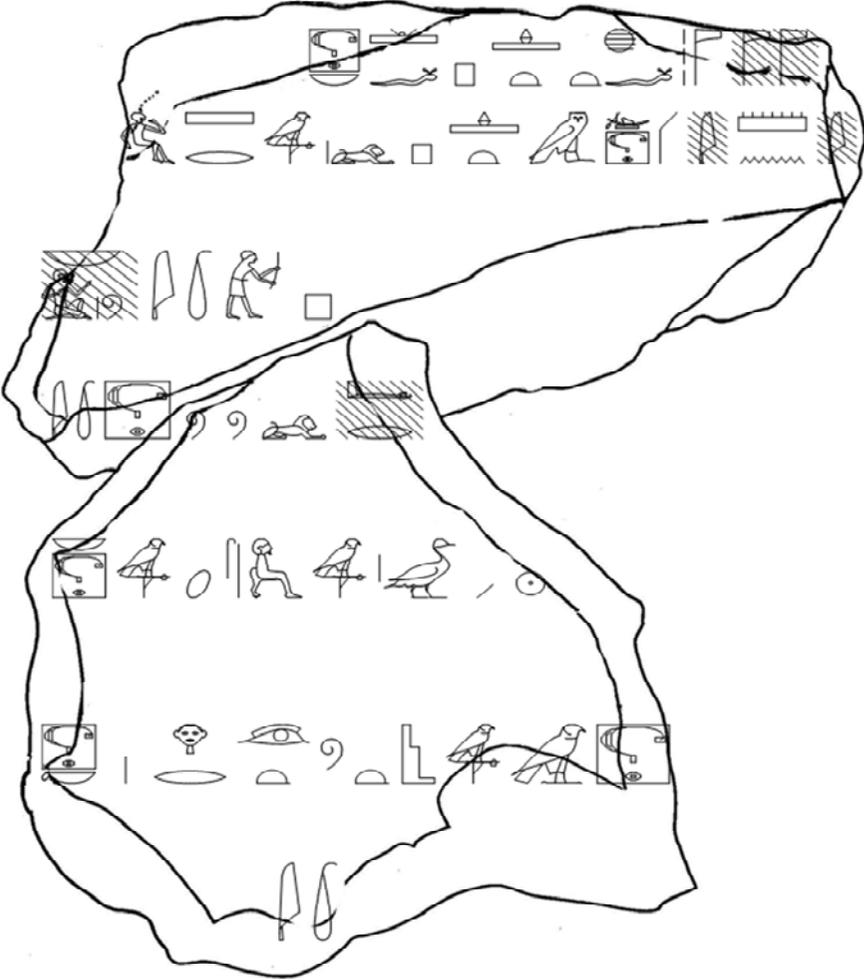
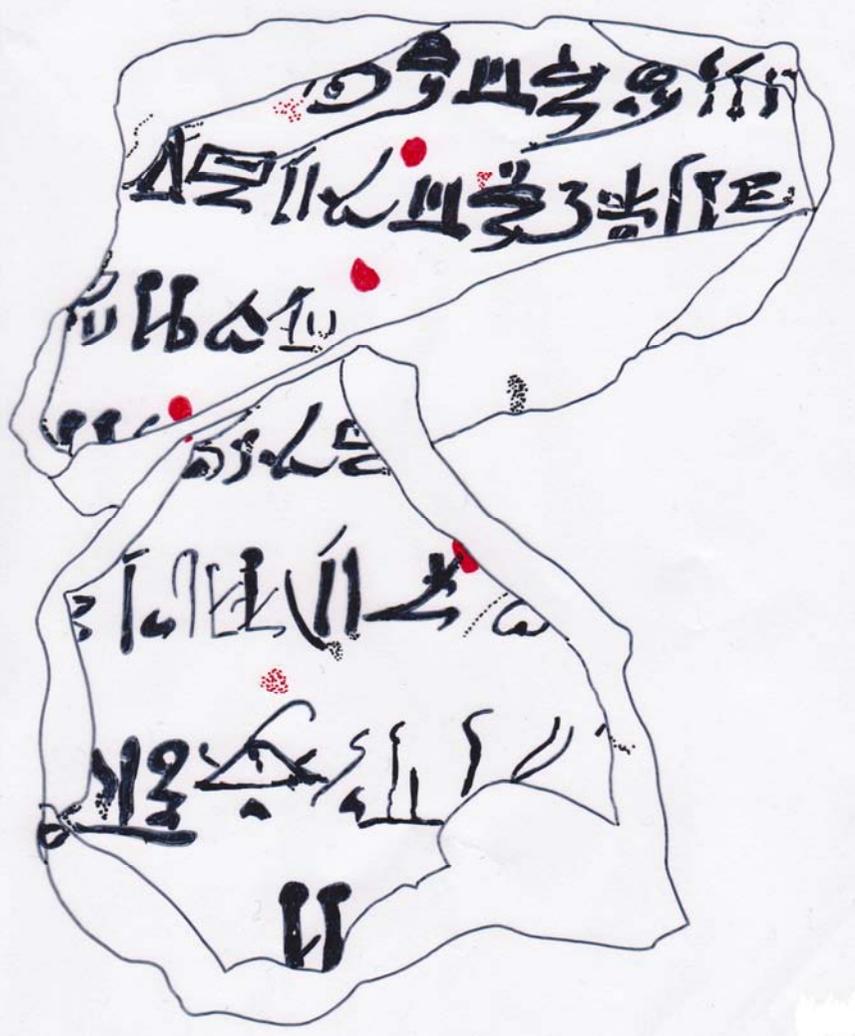


Figure 12

KVO 12



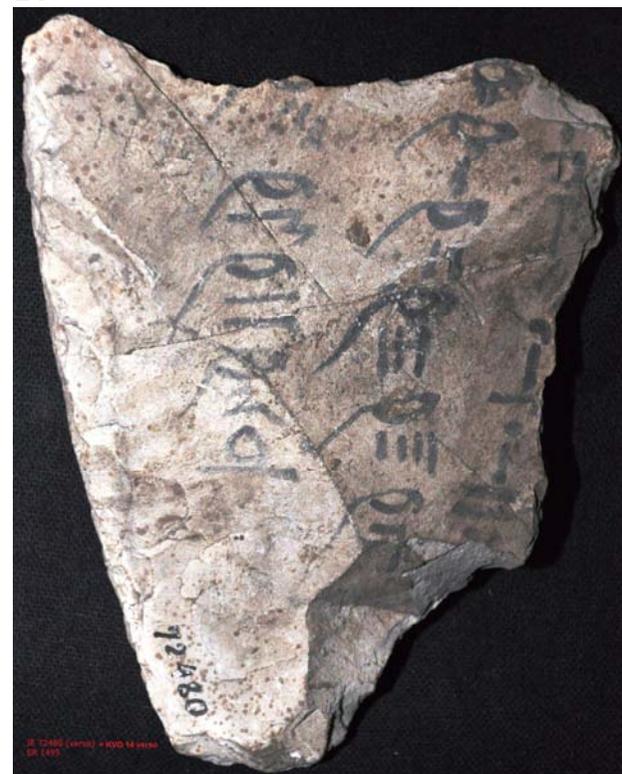
KVO 13



KVO 14



recto

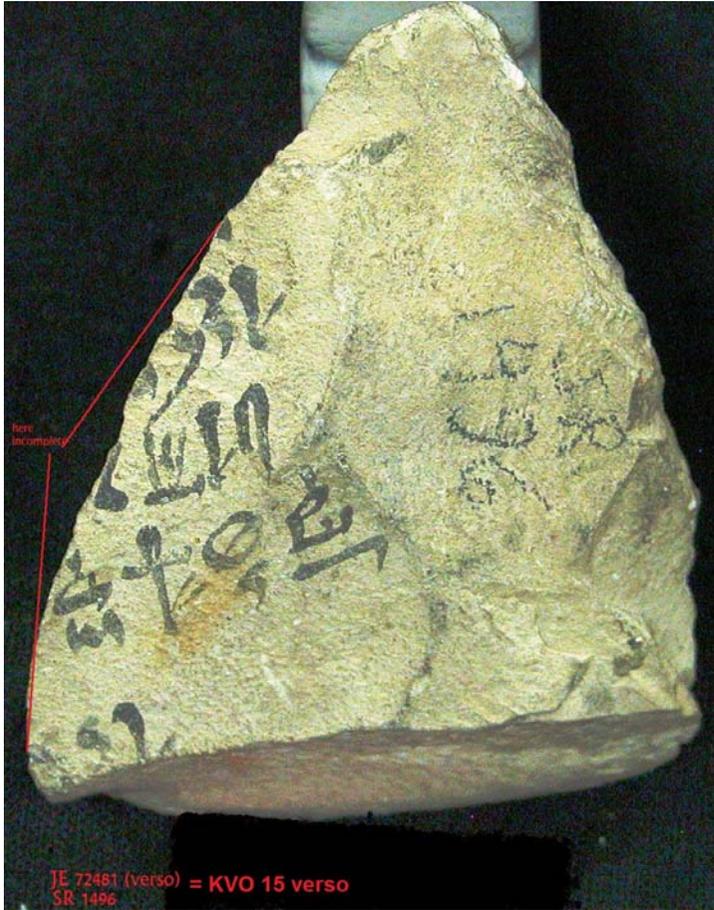


verso

KVO 15



recto



verso

KVO 15 recto

Figure 15a

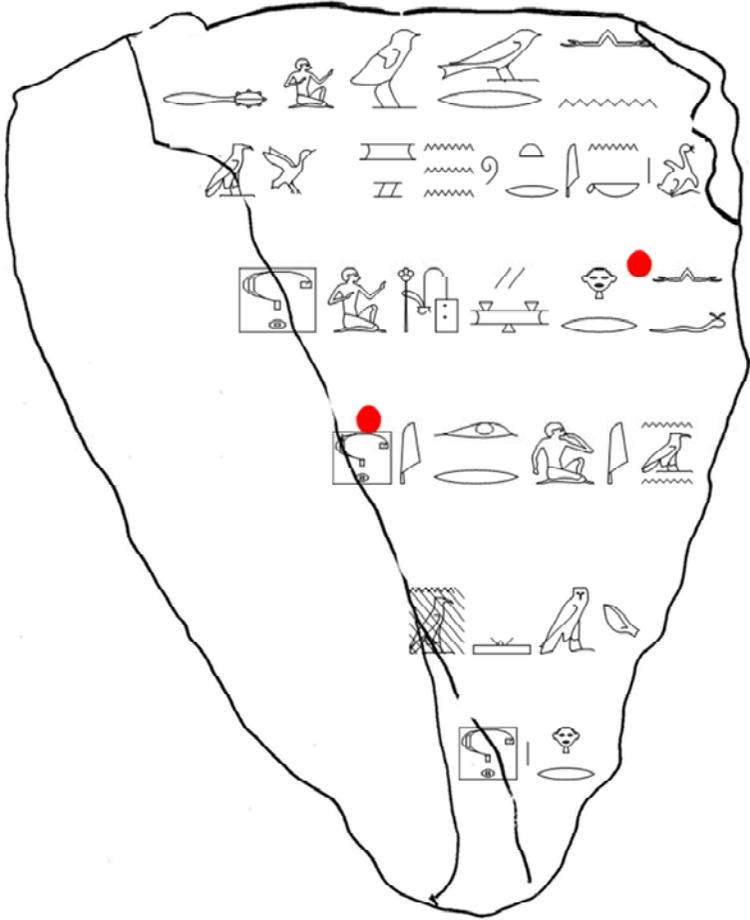
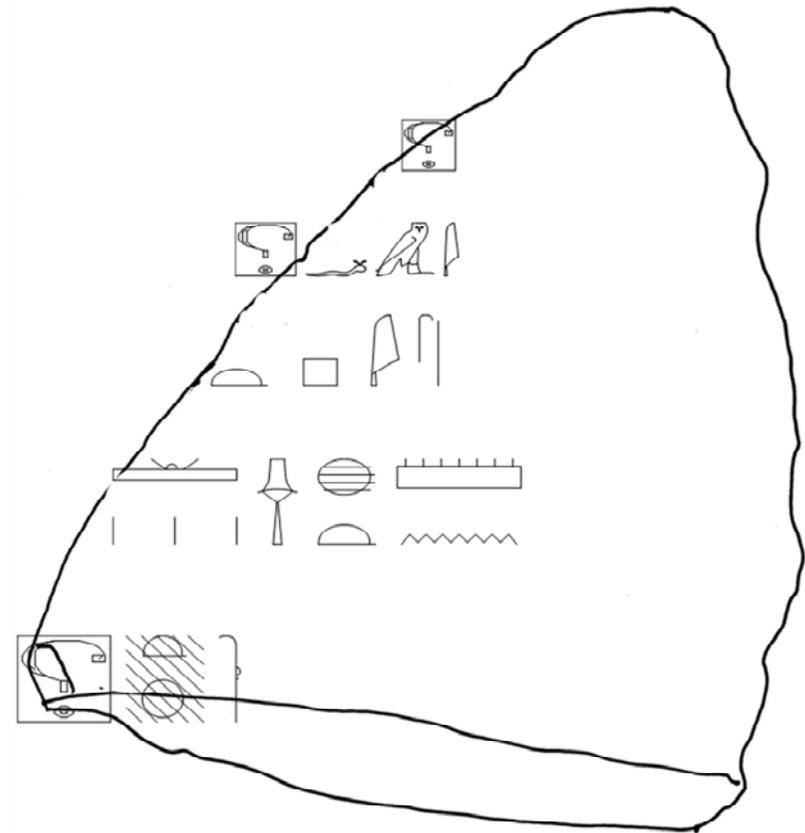


Figure 15b

KVO 15 verso

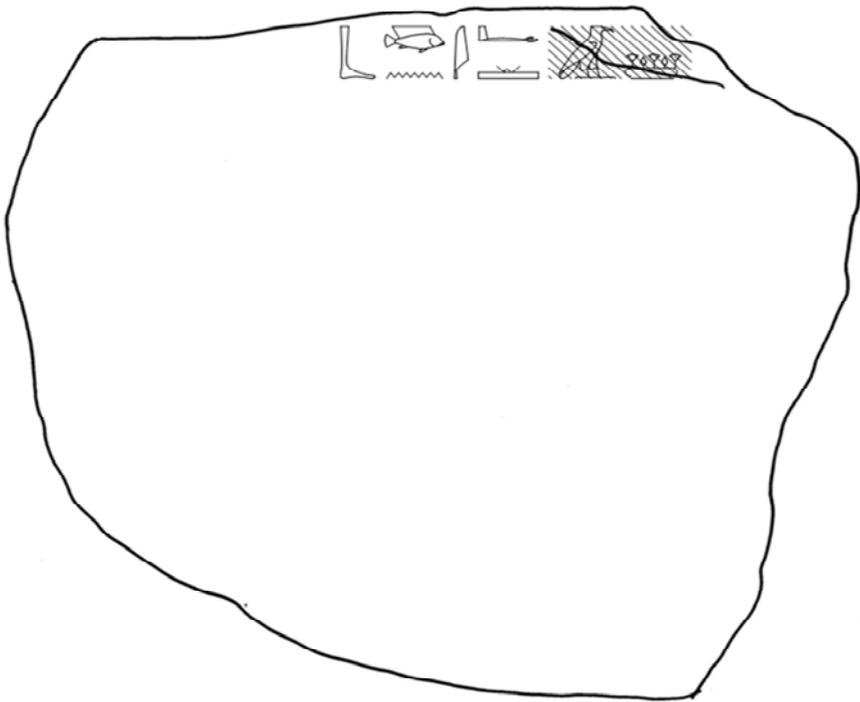


KVO 16



Figure 16

KVO 16



KVO 17

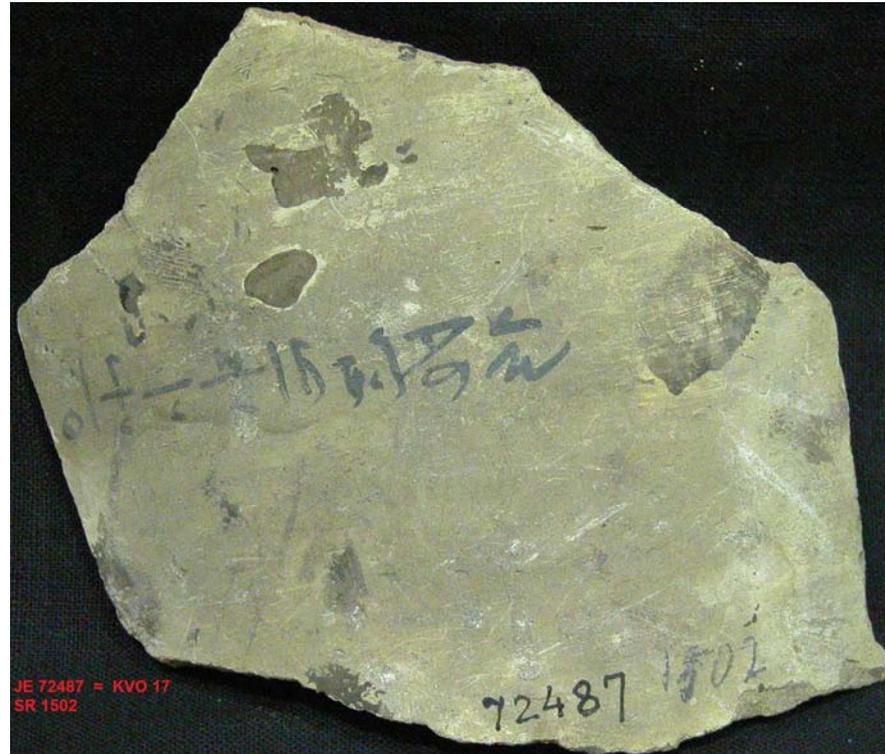
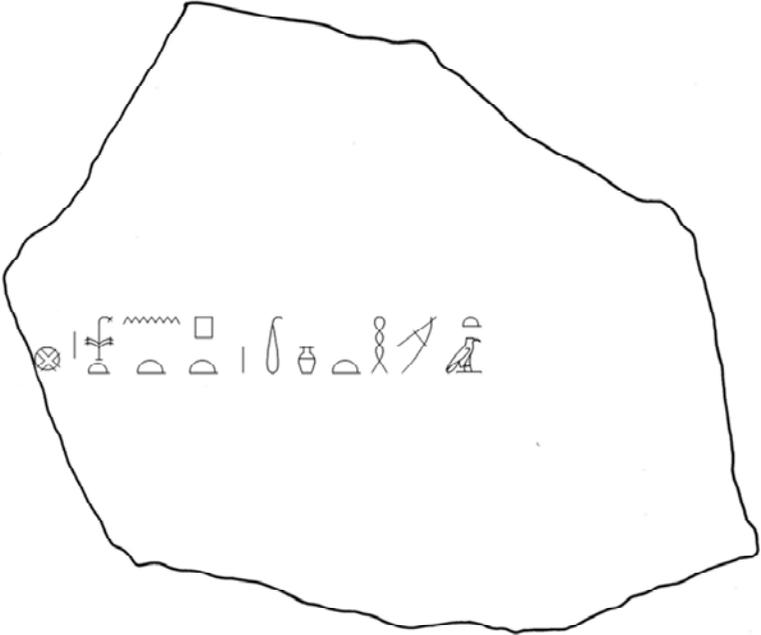
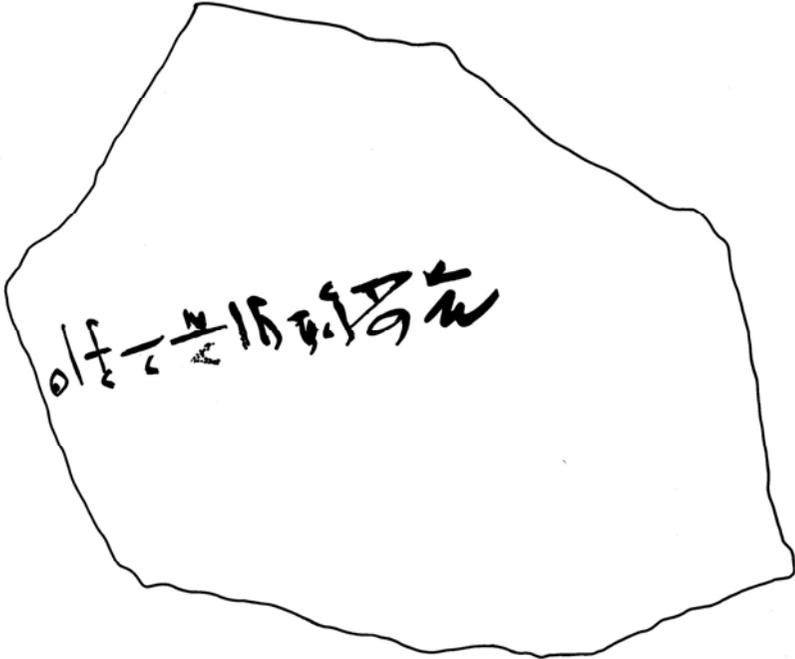


Figure 17

KVO 17



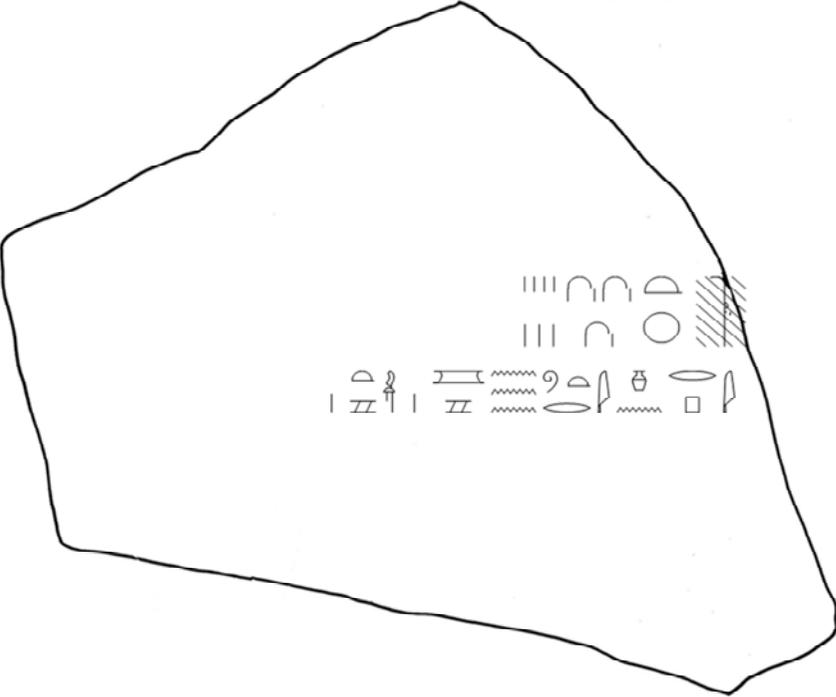
KVO 18

Plate XVIII



Figure 18

KVO 18



KVO 19

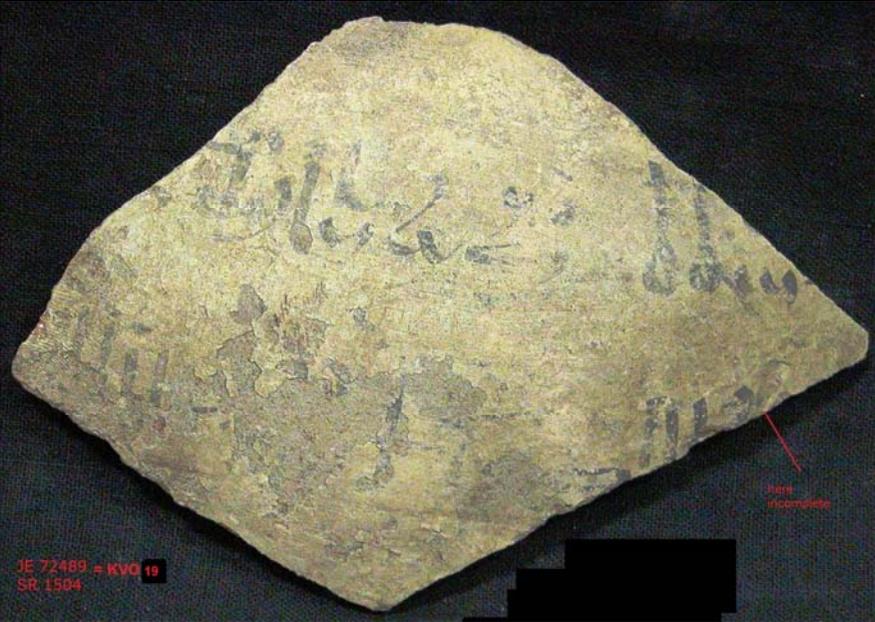
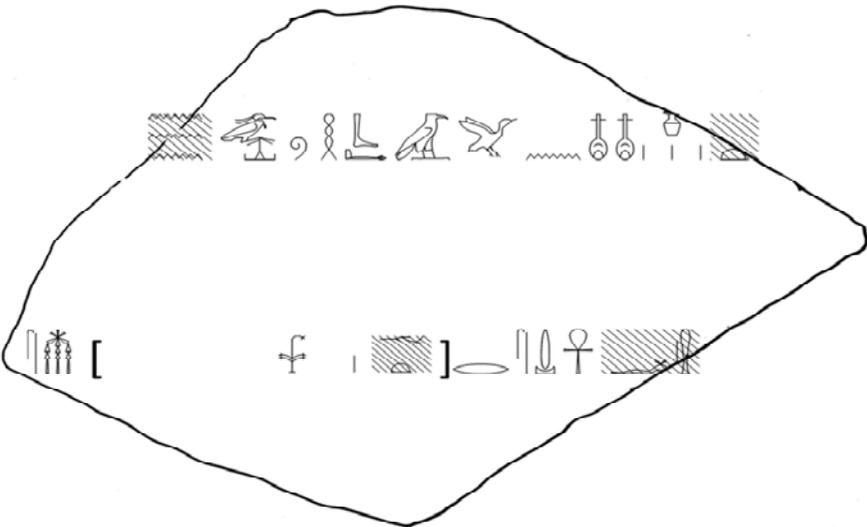


Figure 19

KVO 19



KVO 20

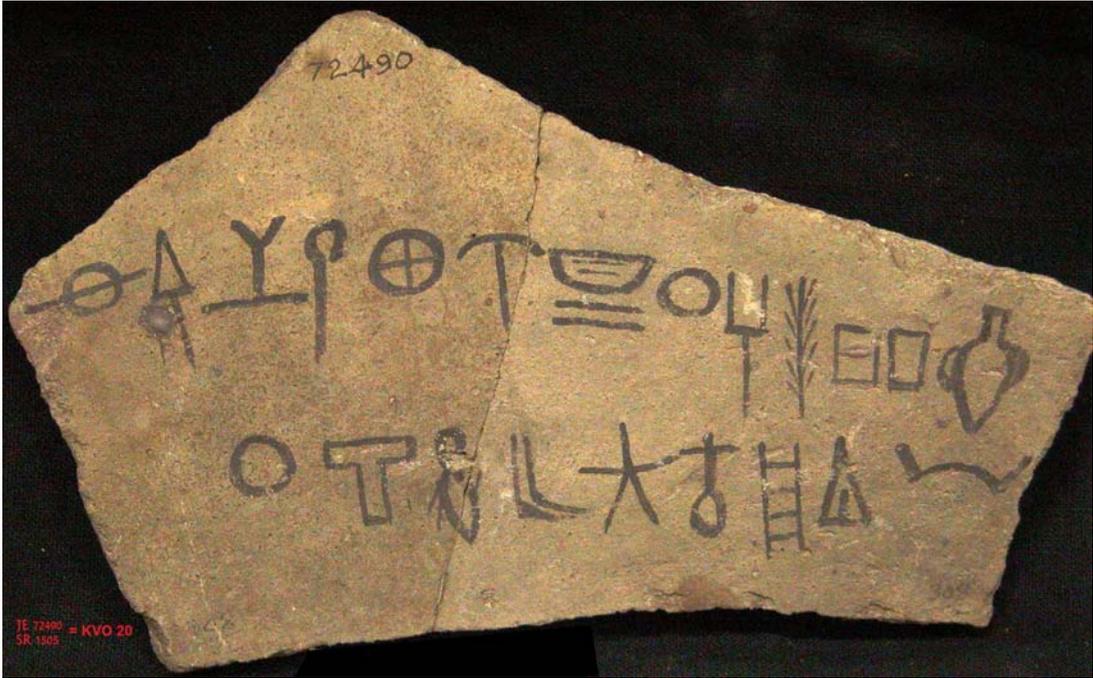
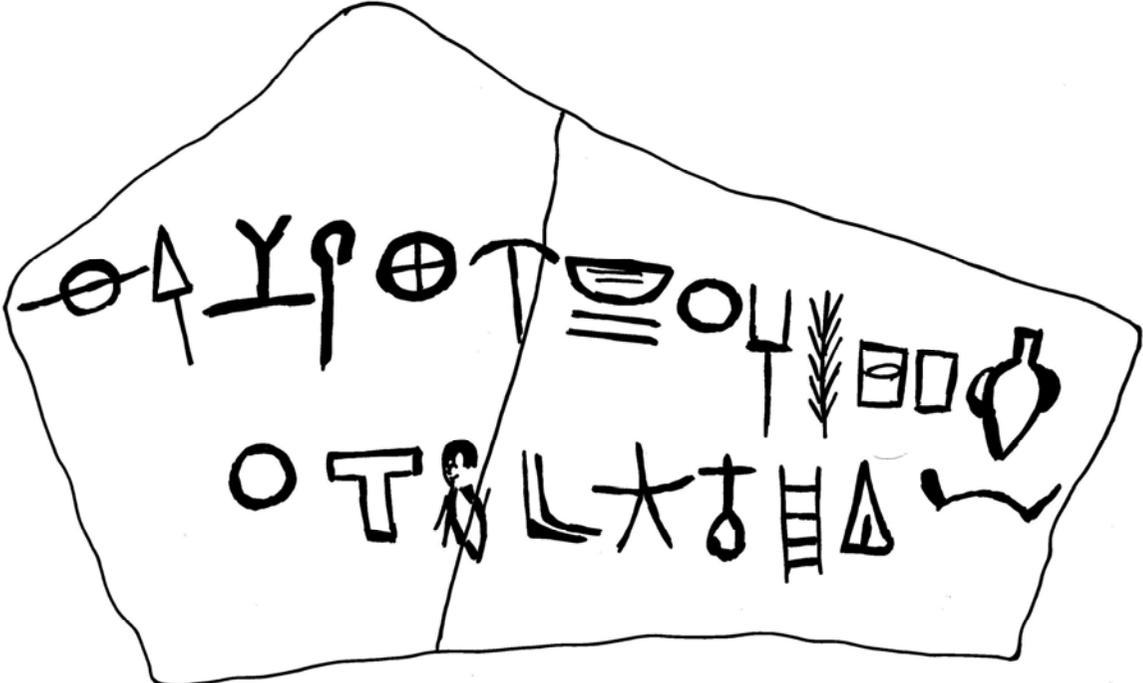


Figure 20

KVO 20



KVO 21

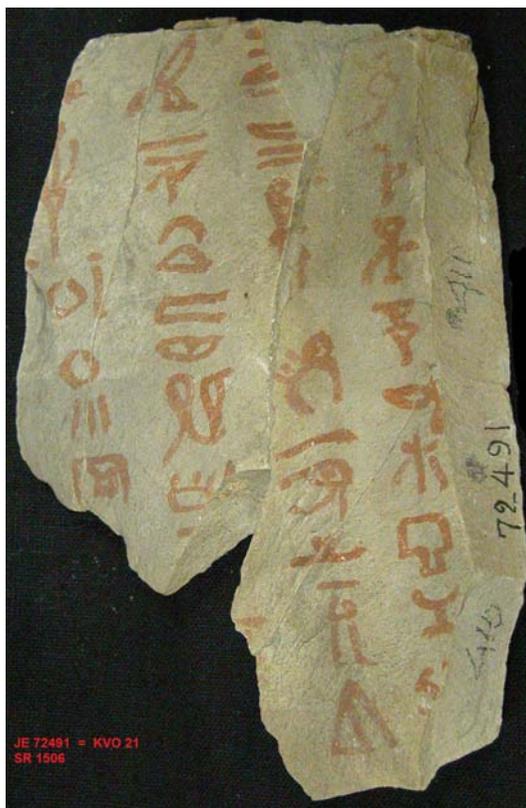
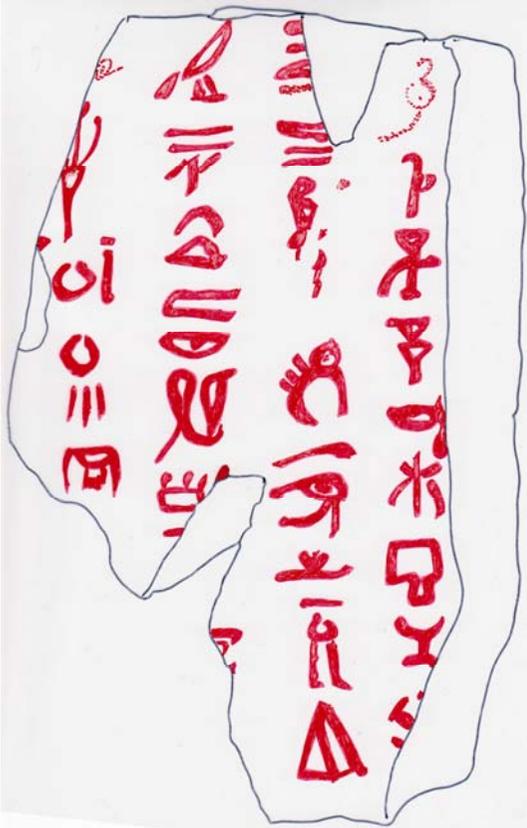


Figure 21

KVO 21

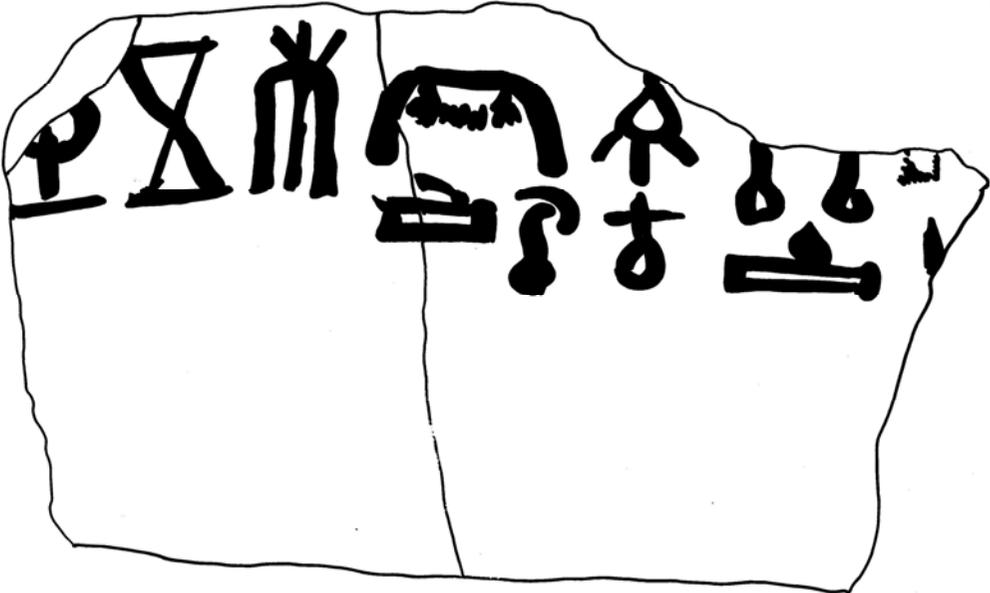


KVO 22



Figure 22

KVO 22

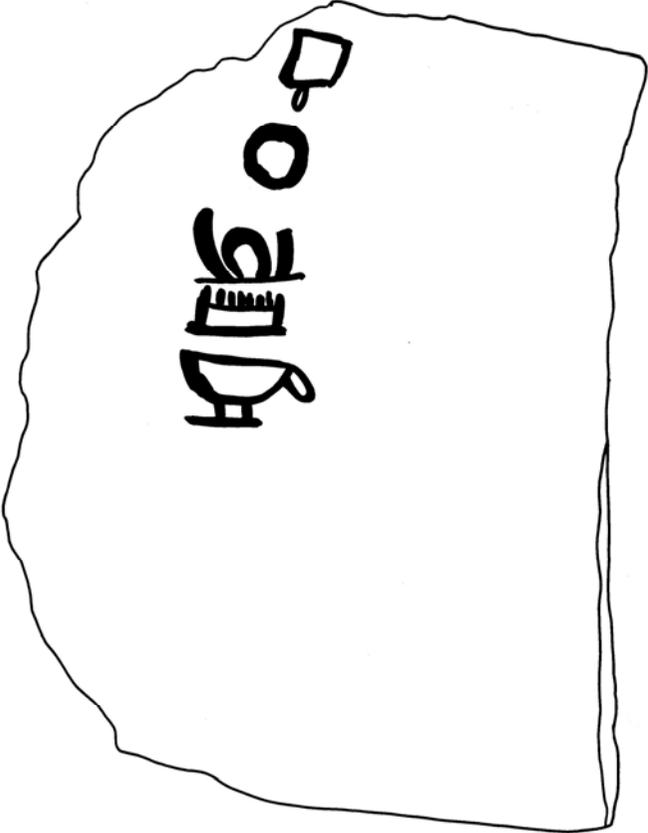


KVO 23



Figure 23

KVO 23



KVO 24

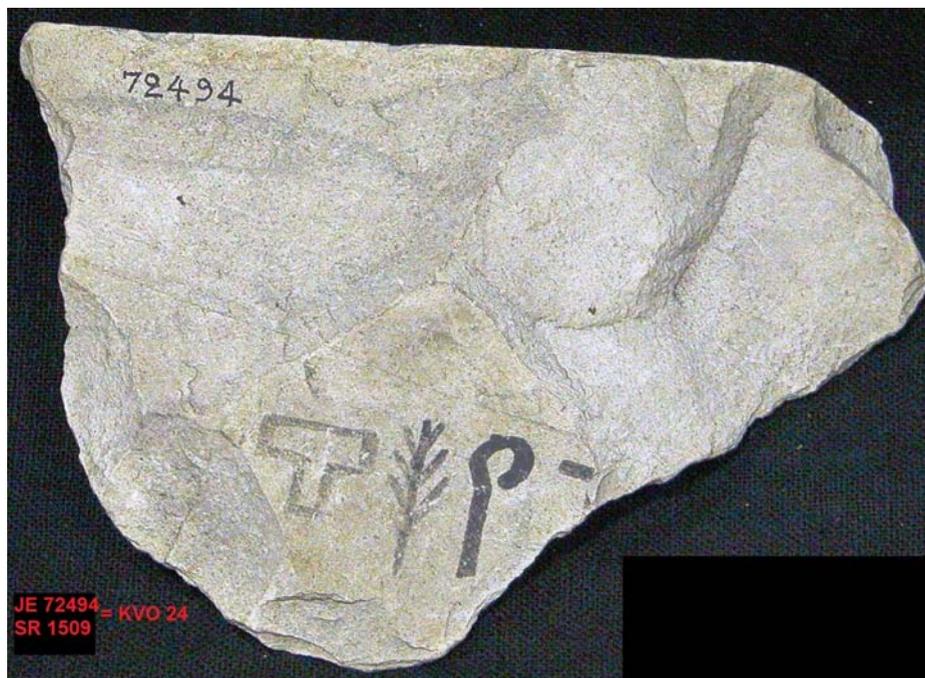
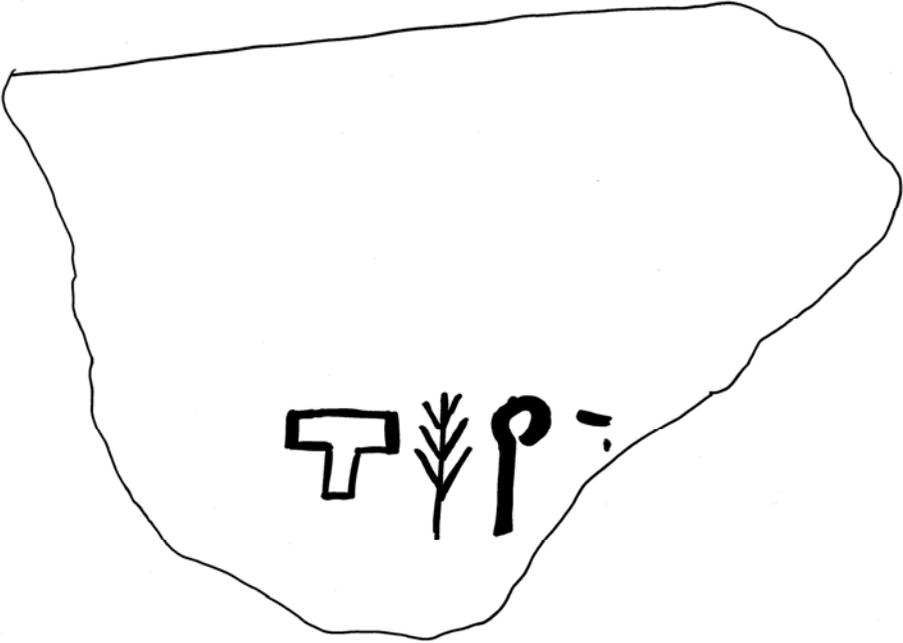
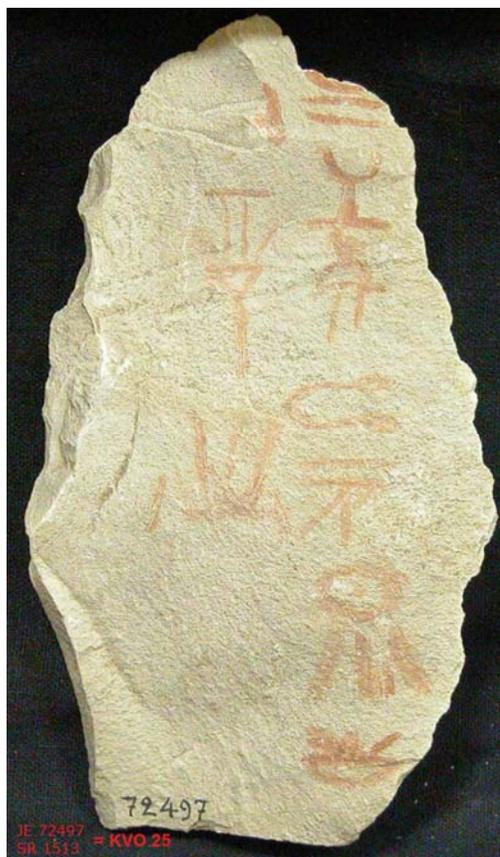


Figure 24

KVO 24



KVO 25



KVO 26

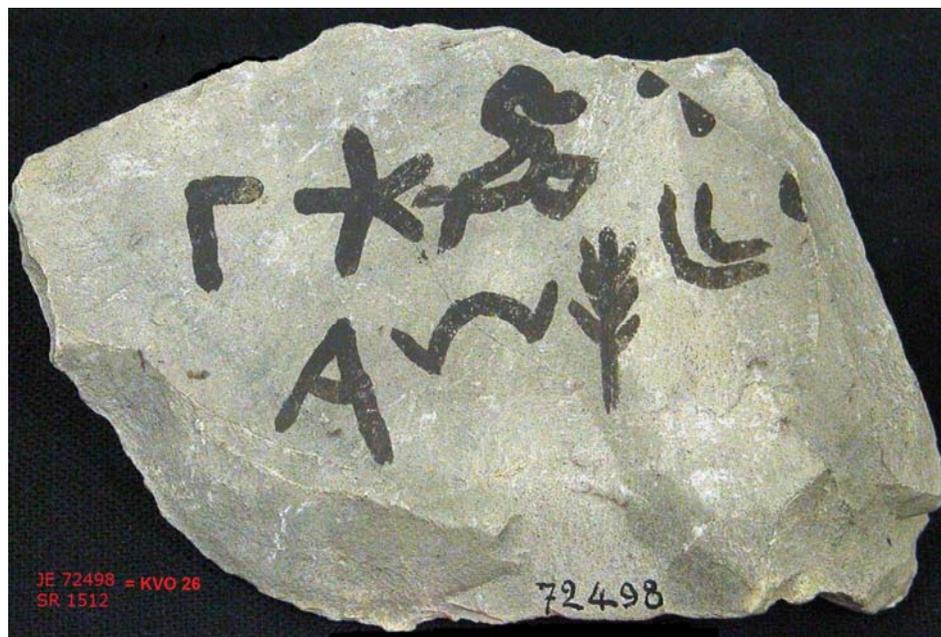


Figure 26

KVO 26

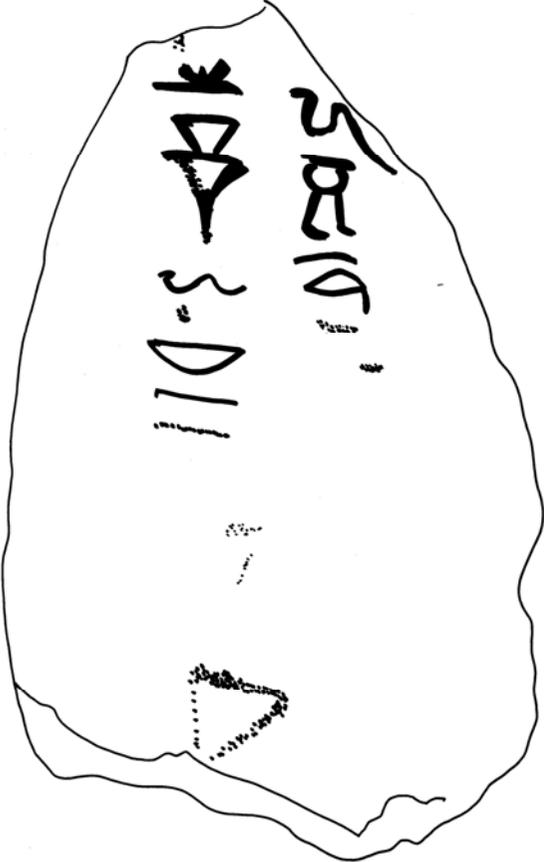


KVO 27



Figure 27

KVO 27



KVO 28

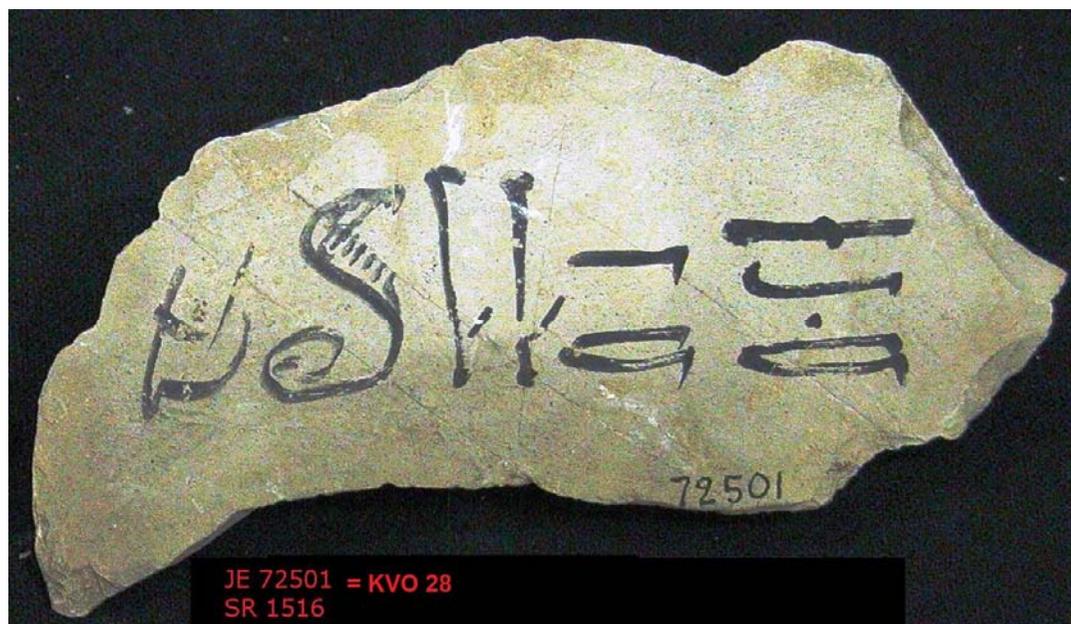
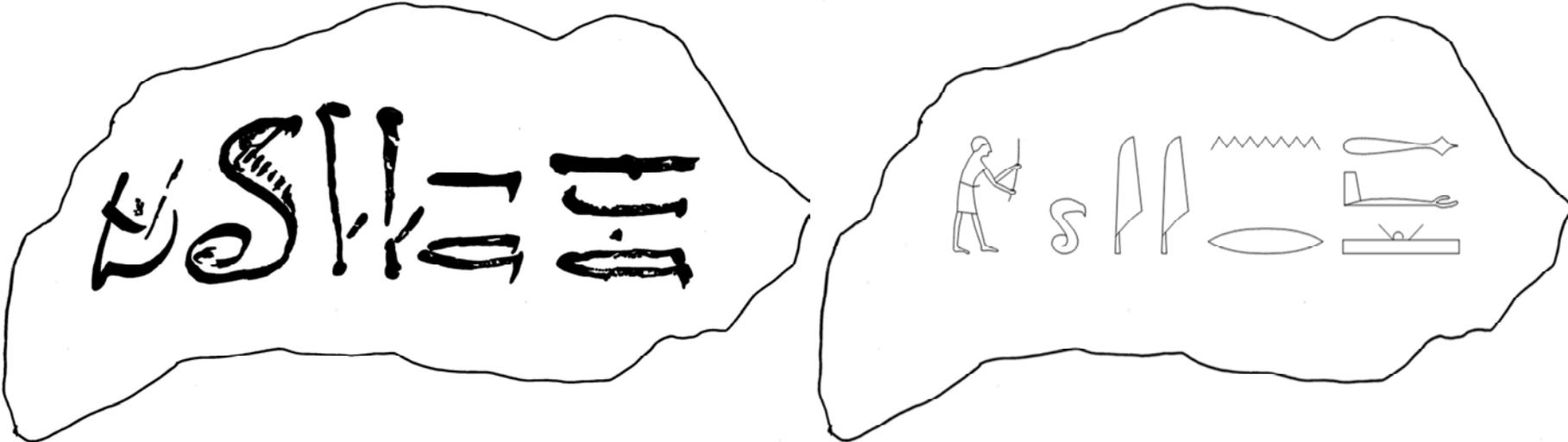


Figure 28

KVO 28



KVO 29



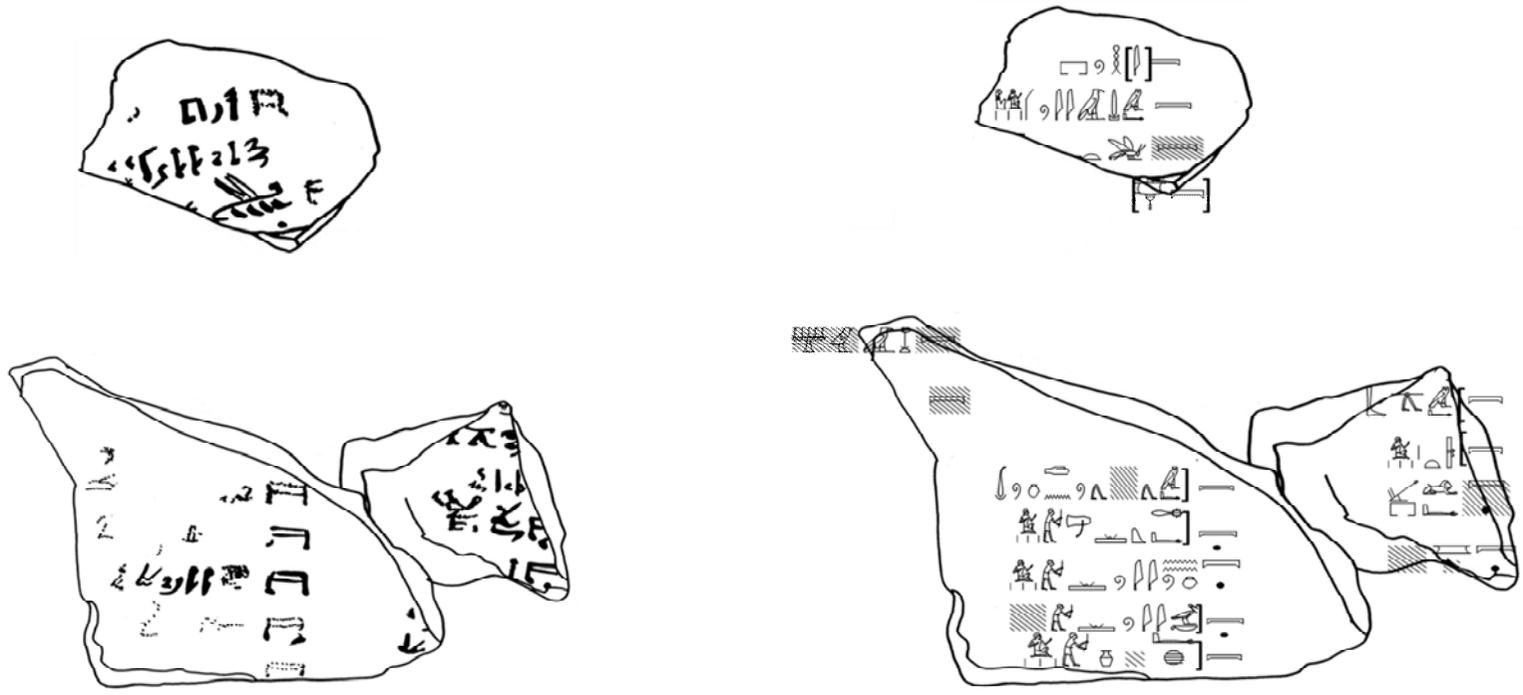
recto



verso

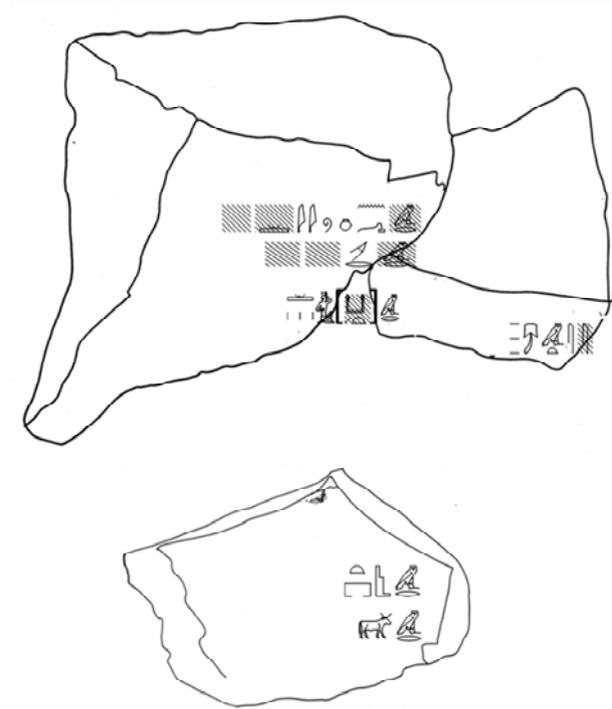
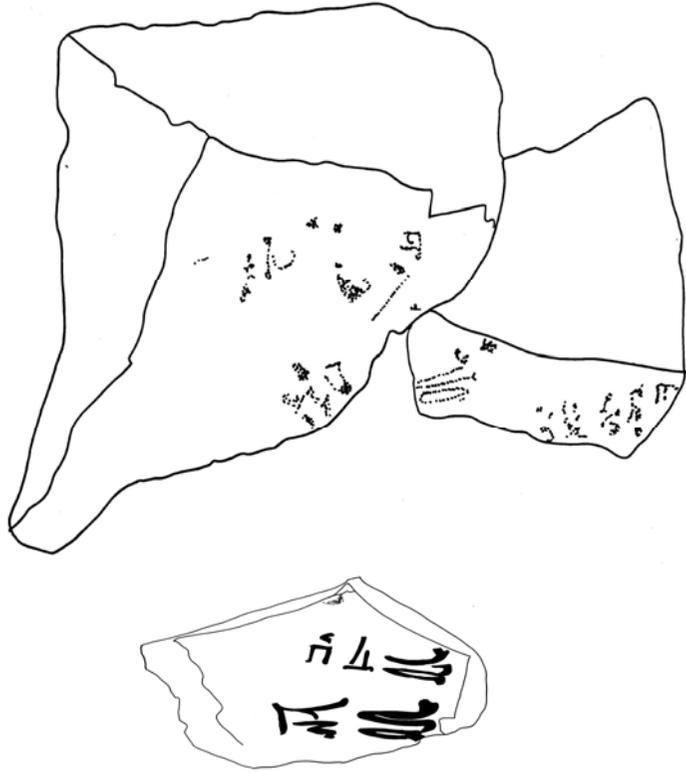
Figure 29a

KVO 29 recto

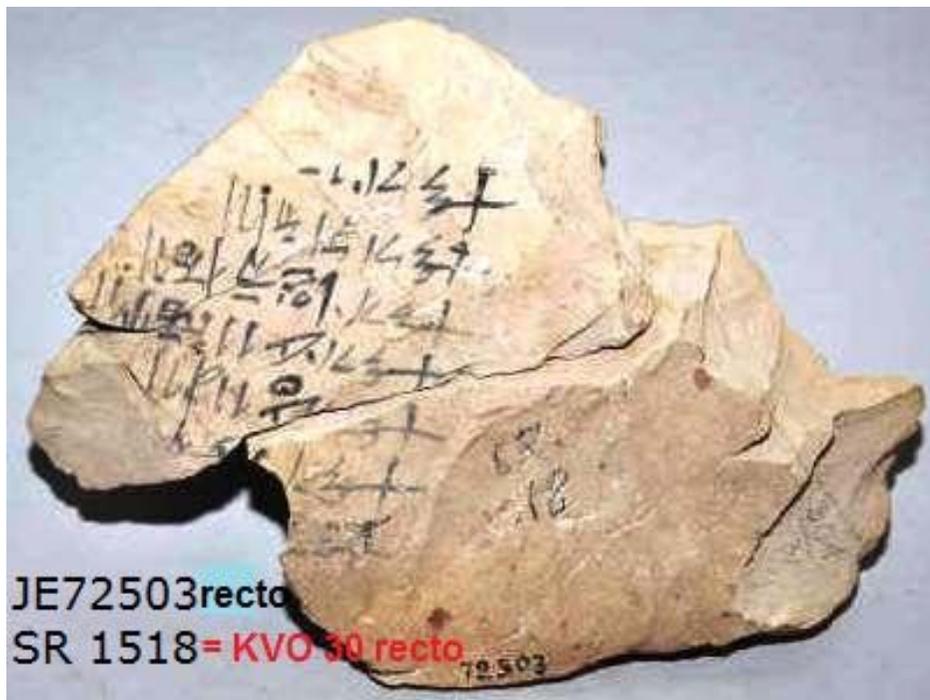


KVO 29 verso

Figure 29b



KVO 30



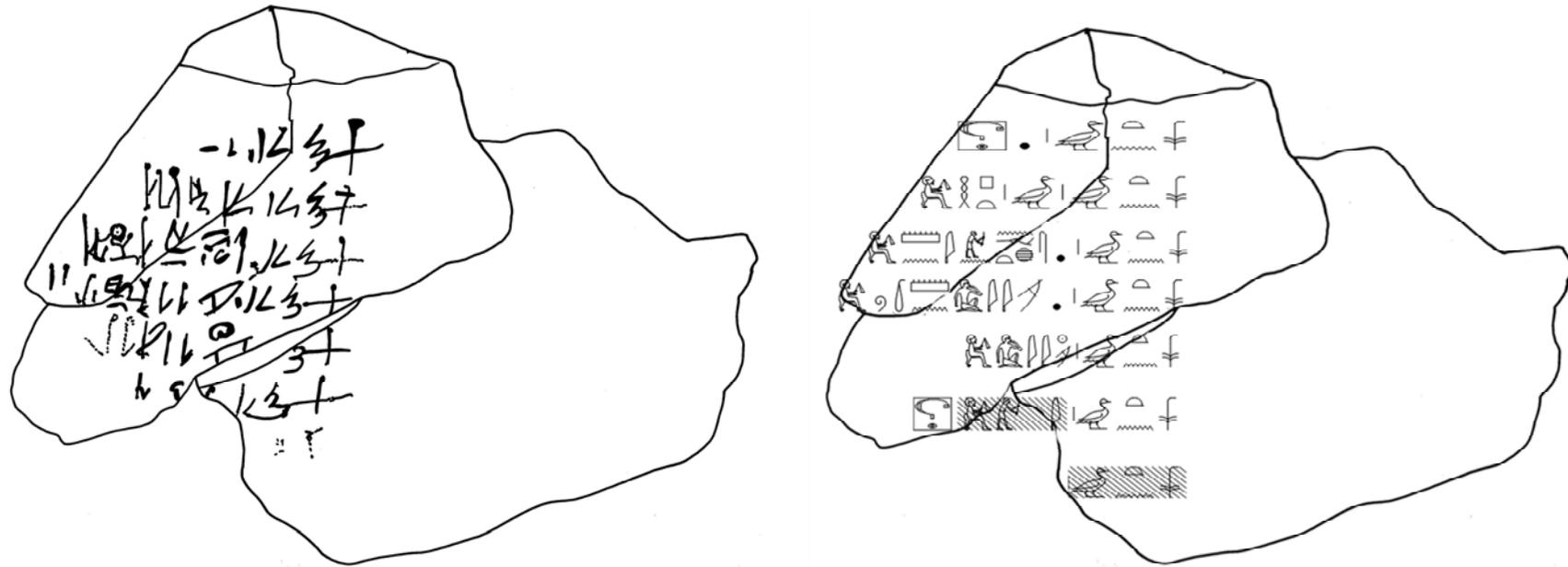
recto



verso

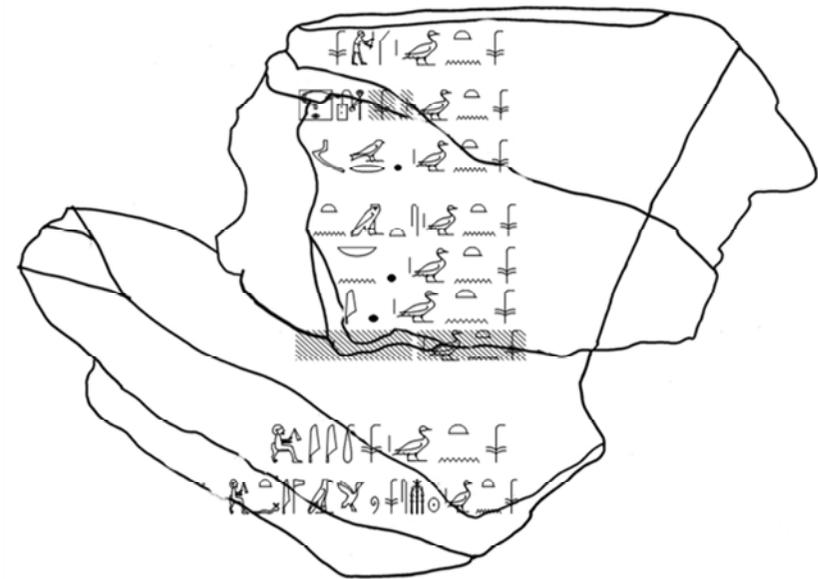
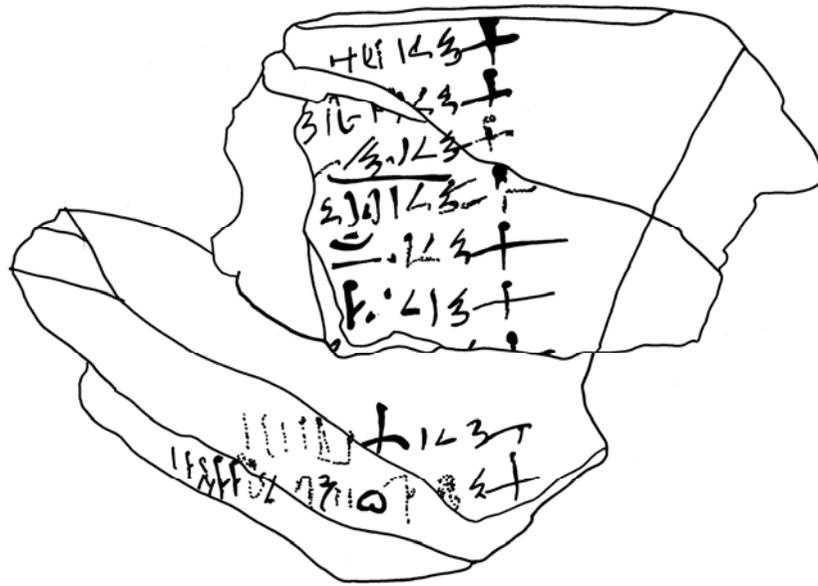
Figure 30a

KVO 30 recto



KVO 30 verso

Figure 30 b



KVO 31



JE 72504 = KVO 31
SR 1519

Figure 31

KVO 31

