

en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 115 (2016), p. 179-230

Khaled Hassan

Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724711233 orientales 40	Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études	Emmanuel Pisani (éd.)
9782724711424	Le temple de Dendara XV	Sylvie Cauville, Gaël Pollin, Oussama Bassiouni, Youssreya
		Hamed
9782724711417	Le temple de Dendara XIV	Sylvie Cauville, Gaël Pollin, Oussama Bassiouni
9782724711073	Annales islamologiques 59	
9782724711097	La croisade	Abbès Zouache
9782724710977	???? ??? ???????	Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë, Dominique Valbelle
9782724711066	BIFAO 125	
9782724711172	BCAI 39	

© Institut français d'archéologie orientale - Le Caire

Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

KHALED HASSAN*

Egyptian Museum of Cairo. These ostraca are written in black and red ink. Unfortunately, the available data concerning the exact find spot of these ostraca in the museum's registers are very few. According to a brief note found inside the box, these ostraca were perhaps uncovered during the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum by H. Winlock at Deir el-Bahri between 1911 and 1931, either from the north-east side of the court of the Hatshepsut temple or from one of the Naville's dumps. Their topics vary between lists of names, distribution of beer in wšm-vessels, and list of supplies presented by the temple of Tuthmosis II to Hatshepsut temple, in addition to a necropolis journal for workmen. Presumably these workmen were involved in establishing royal buildings in the area of Deir el-Bahri and the Valley of the Kings. According to the topics as well as the palaeography of the texts, these ostraca are probably to be dated from the first half of the 18th Dynasty.

valuable comments. These ostraca are considered as a part of my PhD thesis that was conducted under their supervision and finished in 2014.

1 For more information about these dumps cf. Winlock 1942, p. 68; Hassan 2013, p. 183.

BIFAO 115 - 2015

^{*} I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Soad Abd el-Aal (Cairo University), and to Prof. Dr. Ursula Verhoeven (Mainz University), for reading the manuscript and giving me

I80 KHALED HASSAN

O. Cairo DeB. No. 5182

[pl. 1, fig. 1-2]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 7.5 cm

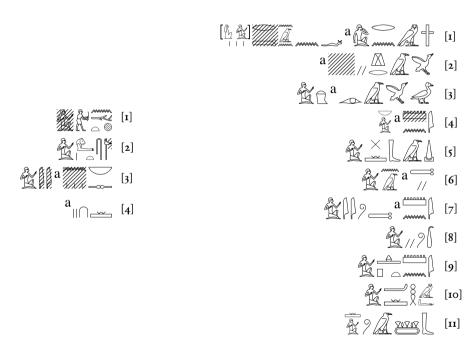
Material: Limestone

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

This ostracon is written in black ink on one side only. The text is complete in two columns. The first one consists of eleven lines, starting with the heading. The second column consists of four lines only. The ink is faint in some places; nevertheless the handwriting is neat and readable in most of the text.

Hieroglyphic Transcription

Col. 2 Col. 1



2 This number represents the serial number that has been assigned by a team of the Cairo University, the author was one of this team, who was authorized to

make a classification of the whole ostraca that are housed in the basements of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo, and does not relate to the entry or the temporary numbers of the museum's registers. It is worth mentioning that these ostraca are not recorded in the registers of the Cairo Museum.

Palaeographical Remarks

Col. 1

L. 2, a. ...: It is very faint, but it could be part of the name.

L. 3, a. M: Perhaps stands for the sign \bigcirc , 3 rather than the sign \bigsqcup .

L. 4, a. : It represents the group in the name of İmn. Compare the same group in the name of İmn-htp in l. 9.

L. 6, a. Uncertain form of = .

L. 7, a. : It could stands for the group

Col. 2

L. 3, a. $\frac{1}{2}$: It represents the group $\frac{1}{1}$ in the name of *Nb-sny*.⁴

L. 4, a. : The number is not clear, but according to the sum of the names most probably to be read as 12.

Transliteration

Col. 2

[1] *Nht* [2] *Wsr-h3t* [3] *Nb-sny* [4] *dmd: 12 (?)* Col. 1

[1] Imy-rn=fn3 n rmt

[2] P3 <u>hry</u> ...

[3] s3 P3-ir-t3

[4] *Nb-Îmn*

[5] D3b

[6] Tnwn3 (?)

[7] *Ímn-<u>T</u>wy*

[8] *Tiwy*

[9] *Ímn-ḥtp*

[10] *Mh*

[II] $B_{\mathcal{S}}$

³ Megally 1971, pl. XVI, j.

⁴ Megally 1971, pl. XLI, 1.

Translation

[1] Nakht

[2] Userhat

[3] Nebseny

[4] total: 12 (?)

Col. 2

Col. 1

- [1] Name-list of the men (workmen)
- [2] Pakhery
- [3] son of Pairta
- [4] Nebamon
- [5] Diab
- [6] *Tjenouna* (?)
- [7] Amentjouy
- [8] Tiouy
- [9] Amenhotep
- [10] Mehou
- [11] Besha

Commentary

As stated in the headline, the text is a list of workmen. As the ostracon came from Deir el-Bahri, these workmen could be involved in the construction of the temple.

Col. 1

L. 4. Kimple, Nb-Imn

This name has two forms $\vec{l}mn-nb$ or $Nb-\vec{l}mn$. It is clear that there was more than one individual who had the same name, such as the scribe Nebamon who occurred on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut (no. 71) at Deir el-Bahri. This name also appears on an ostracon, alongside the serfs "mrw", dated to year 10 of Tuthmosis III and found in the second court of Hatshepsut's Temple. 7 Nebamon also occurred on two ostraca without titles; one came from Gurna, and the other from Deir el-Medina. It is difficult to determine which one of the previous names could be identified with our Nebamon.

L. 5. 🗮 💢 🛴 🗓, D3b

This name has many variations like \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} 10 Perhaps, he is to be identified with the scribe D^3b who is attested in the visitors' graffiti written on the walls of the tomb of Antefoker.11

- 5 RANKE, *PN* I, pp. 29, 14; 183, 10.
- 6 Hayes 1942, pl. XV, no. 70.
- 7 Hayes 1960, pl. IX, no. 2.
- 8 GOEDICKE, WENTE 1962, 10 RANKE, PN I, p. 405-1.
- pl. LXXXVII, no. 56 rt.
 - Grandet 2006b, p. 7, no. 10001.
- 11 Davies, Gardiner 1920, pp. 306,
- 9 Grandet 2006a, pp. 95-96; 307; Ragazzoli 2013.

L. 6. Mar., Inwn3 (?)

Maybe this writing stands for the name of the workman *Tnwn3*, who occurred on hieratic ostraca dated back to the 18th Dynasty, 12 among other names, e.g. Nb-iry, H nw, and Nbd.

L. 8. **¾**//?∫, Tiwy

This name could be specified for the scribe (Teye) who is attested on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut.¹³ Possibly, he is the same person who is appearing on an unpublished ostracon from Deir el-Bahri.14

L. 9. A mm-htp

This was a common name during the first half of the 18th Dynasty, where many individuals bore the same name, such as the scribe Amenhotep who is attested on two hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Bahri. 15 Another Amenhotep son of Suner, served as chief masons. 16 The henchman 17 Amenhotep was mentioned on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut.¹⁸ Furthermore, this name is mentioned twice on a ostracon that was found in Deir el-Medina but without any titles.¹⁹ It is difficult to determine which one could be identified with the Amenhotep of the present text.

This name could be identified with the mason Mb, who is attested on an ostracon from Assasif with other masons such as Mnw, Msiw, P3-idn, Nfr-H'vw.20 He is also described as a mason on an ostracon found in the Temple of Hatshepsut and dating to year 49 of Tuthmosis III.²¹ Furthermore, he is mentioned on two other ostraca from Deir el-Medina dated to the same period.²²

L. 11. **1.** bš:

This name could be identified with the workman B\sigma\$ who is attested on many ostraca dating back to the 18th Dynasty, all of them were found in the tomb of Senmut, and each name is preceded by the title hrty, "mason".23

Col. 2

L. 1. W. Nht

This name could be identified with the foreman *Nht*. He is attested on an ostracon dated back to the reign of Tuthmosis III from Deir el-Bahri as stated in the following text: "Work of this day, those who carried Earth in Djeserou under the direction of Nakht: 8 men."²⁴ If he was the same person, the present text could possibly be dated to an earlier period when *Nht* had not yet been promoted to foreman.

- 12 ČERNÝ 1935.
- 13 Hayes 1960, pl. XXIII, no. 130.
- 14 This unpublished ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri (stored in the basement of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo, no. 440) belongs to the group of Mrs. Rasha Isaac (Ain Shams University) as a topic of her PhD thesis. This text mentions the individual ∰ /// ? → with other workmen
- like 截/1之。截□1之。截□100 and 值/元.
- 15 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 6 rt.; Goe-DICKE, WENTE 1962, pl. LXXXVI, no. 38.
- 16 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XXII, 1.
- 17 This is the translation of the title *Šms* by Hayes 1960, pp. 24–87.
- 18 Hayes 1960, pl. XVIII, 87.
- 19 Grandet 2006b, no. 10002.

- 20 RÖMER 2008, p. 614.
- 21 Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 58; Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 rt.
- 22 ČERNÝ 1935; GRANDET 2006b, p. 6,
- 23 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 63, 5, pl. XIV, no. 69, pl. XV, no. 73, pl. XV, p. 74-75.
- 24 Hayes 1960, p. 32, pl. IX.

L. 2. Wer-hit

Maybe, this name could be identified with the mason *Wsr-ḥ3t* who occurred with the mason *Mh* on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut.²⁵

L. 3. Domesny

This name has been written in many forms \$\int_{\text{III}} \text{//} \text{

O. Cairo DeB. No. 407

[PL. 2, FIG. 3-6]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Dimensions: H. II cm; W. 7.5 cm

Material: Limestone

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

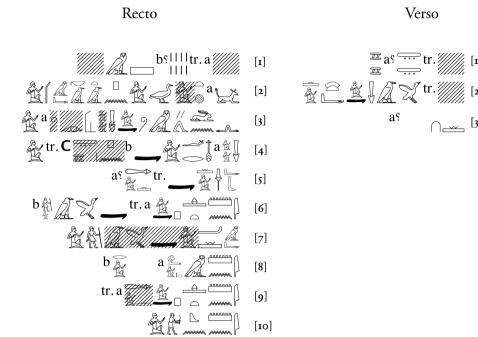
The ostracon is inscribed in black ink on both sides. The recto consists of ten lines. The ink is very faint in many parts of it. The first line, which is considered the heading line, is incomplete and some signs are missing. The dirt on the lower part of the recto and the poor condition of the surface makes it difficult to read some words. The verso consists of three lines, the first two lines are broken and many signs are missing as well.

- 25 Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 85.
- 26 RANKE, *PN* I, pp. 186-14.
- 27 He occurred on an unpublished ostracon from Deir el-Bahri, (it belongs to the group of Rasha Isaac), with other workmen such as: *İmn-m-h3.t, Imn-P3 On, Dhwty.*
- 28 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XVI, 6.
- 29 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XLVI, 1.
- 30 HAGEN 2011, p. 23, no. E GA.6124.1943, pl. 22 rt.
- 31 P. Louvre E. 3226 is one of the longest surviving 18th Dynasty administrative papyri; it consists of 61 pages. It recorded the movement of two cargo ships traveling along the Nile Valley and dealing in dates and grain (Quirk 2001, s.v. "The Administrative Texts", p. 25).

This papyrus is dated to the time between years 28-35 of Tuthmosis III and written in hieratic script that has the features of the first half of the 18th Dynasty, MEGALLY 1971, p. 3.

- 32 MEGALLY 1977, p. 95.
- 33 GOLÉNISCHEFF 1993, col 13, no. 150.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



Palaeographical Remarks

According to the palaeography, the handwriting bears the same features as the 18th Dynasty ostraca of Deir el-Bahri, as well as that of the P. Louvre E. 3226:

Recto

- **L. 1, a.** The beginning of the dating formula is lost, so that the year number is uncertain. **b.** : it could represent |||||| as a part of the year number. Usually, the complete formula of the date was composed of year, month, and day. However, I am not inclined to read this sign as 3bd 4 "month four," because the form of this group in the date is different from the present shape. The usual writing is 1,34 1, 1,35

- 34 HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, nos. 62-1, 63
 35 Grandet 2010, nos. 10145, 10173,
 36 Möller 1927b, 144.

 rt.-1; Megally 1971, pl. XI, c, d.
 10176, 10179 rt., 10780 vs., 10200,
 10201 rt.

L. 4, a. 1: The two seated men are ligatured in this line, which is very similar to parallel examples found in the tomb of Senmut.³⁸ b. It represents the repetition sign — which was often used to indicates a repetition of the above word or phrase ditto. This repetition sign has many other forms such as 39 , 40 , 41 , 41 , and sometimes the sign 43 was used as well. c. The second half of this line is problematic. However, a few traces suggest that the first group could be read as \square .

- L. 5, a. The second half of this line is difficult to transcribe, but the three final signs 7
- L. 6, a. Very rubbed traces, therefore it is difficult to recognize. c. : it could represent &1, although the back of the sign is rubbed (compare the same sign in l. 7). The sign below could represent 2 , as a determinative of the name, which is possibly written underneath due to insufficient space at the end of the line.
- L. 8. a. : It represents the group $\frac{\mathcal{L}}{\mathcal{L}_{10}}$, however, there is an unusual sign above $h\mathcal{L}.t$ that is still inexplicable. b. This ligature suggests $\frac{\mathcal{L}}{\mathcal{L}}$, which represents the last part of a father's name. However, there are no noticeable traces before it.
- L. 9, a. Reading of this group suggests , while the last few signs of the line are very faint. Unfortunately, the traces are not enough readable to transcribe them.

L. 1. a. 7: Perhaps stands for , however, the lower part of the sign is still inexplicable.

L. 3. a. The reading of it escapes me.

Transliteration

Verso
[1] [] T3wy (?)
[2] [] P3 Sn (s3) H ^c
[3] dmd 10(?)

- 38 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, 63 rt. 5, 41 Grandet 2003, nos. 899, 906, 911 43 Hayes 1960, pl. XI, 14 rt. 13-15, 64 rt. 5, XIV, 69, 3.
- 14 vs. 2-4; Hayes 1960, pl. XVIII, no. 82,
- 39 Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 14 rt. 2-11. 42 Grandet 2003, no. 899 rt.
- 40 Grandet 2006b, no. 883 rt.
- 3-8; Grandet 2003, no. 754.

Translation

Recto

- [1] [...] 8 Shemou seas[on ...]
- [2] Seth son of Paentakm
- [3] Absent: Mou son of Senires
- [4] Seninofer son of Paenta
- [5] Âba son of [...] Âa (?)
- [6] Amenhotep son [...] son of Paser
- [7] Mehou son of Paser
- [8] Amenemhat [...]r (?)
- [9] Amenhotep son of Âa [...]
- [10] Qenamen

Verso

- [1] [...] Taouy (?)
- [2] [...] Pasen son of Khaâ
- [3] Total 10 ...(?)

Commentary

This text contains a list of attendance of workmen, accompagnied here with the names of their fathers. This kind of parentage list was not in common use among name lists.⁴⁴

Recto

L. 2. Ap

As far as I know, this individual did not occur on any ostraca of the 18th Dynasty; especially those dated to the first half of the 18th Dynasty at Deir el-Bahri, i.e. Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.

It is uncertain whether he is the same scribe Senires, who appears in the P. Louvre E. 3226, which is dated to the 18th Dynasty.⁴⁵

This name could be identified with the workman Sennofer who occurred on many ostraca found in the tomb of Senmut at Deir el-Bahri.⁴⁷ This individual was mentioned as a workman who was responsible for smoothing the walls of the tomb with the same tomb holding the title

- 44 A similar list dated to the 18th Dynasty has been published by ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XVI, 5. Most of the names are accompagnied with the names of their fathers. However, one or two names are inscribed in the names of their mothers, while a few names are still without second name.
- 45 MEGALLY 1971, p. 163. Another Senires lived at the time of Amenhotep I and Tuthmosis I, holding the title http-^cm niwt rsyt, imy-r šnwty: Helck 1958-1975, p. 523-3.
- 46 It is worth noting that this name is different from Sennofer, who occurred in P. Louvre E. 3226. Sennofer of P. Louvre E. 3226 is mentioned holding the title *imy-r sd3wt*, "Chief of the grain treasury". MEGALLY 1977, p. 280. This man kept his position until year 32 of Tuthmosis III, and many years under Queen Hatshepsut. MEGALLY 1977, pp. 280-281. For more information cf. HELCK 1958-1975, pp. 348-351.
- 47 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, nos. 63 rt. 5, 64 rt. 5, XIV, 65-2 66 rt. 6, 69-3.
- describe the action of smoothing the wall surfaces of newly excavated parts of the tomb, by rubbing it with lumps of sandstone or other abrasives. This phase of smoothing following their "trimming" *š'd* and prior to their being "faced" or "overlaid" *dqr* with plaster. Hayes 1960, p. 31.
- HAYES 1960, pl. XIV, no. 69-3. While two.w: shorer, derived from the verb of the stay, shore-up, support, HAYES 1960, p. 40.

L. 5. 4 1 , '6250

This name could be identified with the workman 'b', who is attested on two necropolis journals ostraca along with well known 18th Dynasty workmen. 51 It is worth noting that 'b' was recorded as the first name in the lists with the highest amount of rations among the other workmen. It could be a probable indication that he served as a senior of this group or perhaps, at that time, he was not a young man or at least he was the oldest of them.

L. 7. A A A Z, P3-sr

This name could be identified with the individual Paser who occurred on an ostracon dated to the 18th Dynasty found at Gurna with other workmen such as *Ḥwri*, *İmn-nb* and *Ímn-ms.* ⁵² However, it is uncertain whether he is the same Paser who occurs as the father of Mehou in the next line.

L. 8. \mathbb{Z}_{1} , \mathbb{Z}_{m} , \mathbb{Z}_{m} , \mathbb{Z}_{m}

It is uncertain to whom this name belongs, whereas there are many individuals who bore the same name on ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri dated to the first half of the 18th Dynasty:

- 1. Amenemhat who appears on an ostracon at Deir el-Bahri holding the title T3w n Imn, "the skipper of Amon".53
- 2. Another Amenemhat occurrs as T3w, "Reis"54 on an ostracon from Deir el-Bahri.55 He might be the same man who is attested on two ostraca from the tomb of Senmut, where he is mentionned as a supervisor of many of the workmen.⁵⁶
- 3. The servant sdm 's who appears on an ostracon dated to year 16 of Tuthmosis III.57
- 4. The mason who is attested on an ostracon dated to year 49 of Tuthmosis III.⁵⁸
- 5. The workman who appeared on an ostracon from West Thebes with other workmen without any title.59

L. 10. K. Qn-Ímn

This name is attested on many 18th Dynasty ostraca. Cf. ostracon no. 488, pl. 5, fig. 15-16.

Verso

L. I.
$$[...]_{\pi}^{\pi}$$
, $[...]_{T}$ wy

It could be part of a name, but the reading is uncertain.

L. 2. $\stackrel{\frown}{\boxtimes}$, $\stackrel{\frown}{\mathcal{H}}$ Could be identified with the mason who occurred on an ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri dated back to the first half of the 18th Dynasty.60

- 50 RANKE, PN I, p. 60-1. This name may seem like the Semitic names, which occurred in the ostraca of the 18th Dynasty, Albright 1954, pp. 225-229. For more information about the Semitic names cf. Albright 1954, no. 4, pp. 222-223; Hayes 1955, pp. 92-98; Hoch 1994; Hayes 1960, p. 41.
- 5-I; ČERNÝ 1935, I.
- 52 GOEDICKE, pl. LXXXVII, no. 56 vs.
- 53 Hayes 1960, p. 36, pl. X, no. 8-5.
- 54 This is the translation of Hayes.
- 55 Hayes 1960, pl. XI, 13 vs. 2.
- 51 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XX, 56 HAYES 1960, pl. XVII, no. 84, XIX, 93 rt.
 - WENTE 1962, 57 Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 13 rt. 8.
 - 58 HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, 21 vs. 13.
 - 59 Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1911, pl. XXIX, P 10618.
 - 60 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, 20-7.

L. 3. It is uncertain what this sign could represent, especially if the preceding number is correct, so it could not be a counterpart of the number. Presumably, this sign could be a signature of the scribe or used here as an "end sign" indicating that the text is finished.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 495

[PL. 3, FIG. 7-8]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri
Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 7 cm

Material: Limestone

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

The ostracon contains eight lines with black ink on one side only. The text is written in thick and bold ink; however the handwriting is elegant, neat and readable. The text is not complete because the ostracon is broken at the end of the last line.

Hieroglyphic Transcription

Palaeographical Remarks

L. 3. Despite the lack of sufficient details, it may represent the sign (a). This form is very close to the form of the P. Louvre E. 3226.61

61 MEGALLY 1971, pl. 1, g.

L. 4. Uncertain reading for Art?

L. 6. It is likely to read as sn, but the above stroke is unusual.

Transliteration

- [1] Mnt.w-hr-wnmy=f
- [2] *P3-n-tbw*
- [3] *Mry*
- [4] Dr.t(?)-3
- [5] *Ípw*
- [6] Tn.w(?)-h3.t
- [7] *Ímn-w3d-sw*
- [8] $W'-m/\dots$

Translation

- [1] Montoherwenmyef
- [2] Paentjebou
- [3] *Mery*
- [4] *Djert(?)âa*
- [5] *Ipou*
- [6] Senou(?)hat
- [7] Amenwadjesou
- [8] *Wâuem[...]*

Commentary

The text is considered to be a list of workmen. These names are written directly without a heading line.

As far as I know, this name was not known before in the documents of the 18th Dynasty especially at Deir el-Bahri and Deir el-Medina. Later in the 19th Dynasty, this name was given to one of Ramses II's sons. ⁶² However, the section *hr-wny-f* occurred as a second part in the name of *P3-R'-hr-wny-f* dated to Ramesside Period as well. ⁶³

This name is mentioned once again on a funeral cone along with the title imy-r pr. However, it must be different person from our individual.

- 62 RÖMER 2014, p. 213. 64 SPI
- 63 LOPEZ 1984, pl. 181, no. 57559. p. 30

64 Spiegelberg, Newberry 1908, p. 36, pl. 25; Ranke, *PN* I, p. 112-7.

L. 5. 290 1, Ipw

This name could be identified with the individual Ipw who occurs on a jar label dated to the 18th Dynasty and found in Deir el-Medina along with his father's name:

- [1] Rnp.t sp 5 < îrp n> 't n.t h.t
- [2] Ipw s3 3hy
- [1] Year 5 [wine of] orchards
- [2] Ipou son of Akhy

O. Cairo DeB. No. 475

[PL. 3, FIG. 9-10]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Dimensions: H. 6.5 cm; W. 5.5 cm

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

Limestone ostracon inscribed in black ink on one side only with six lines. The handwriting is large, thick and bold. The text is incomplete on the left side and the lower part of the ostracon is broken, therefore many signs are missing.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



65 Bruyère 1929 p. 12, Tombe no. 1137.

Palaeographical Remarks

L. 2, a. M: The handwriting of the group \mathbb{P} is similar to the forms of P. Louvre E. 3226, \mathbb{P} 66, \mathbb{P} 67 (cf. l. 5 too).

L. 3, a. : One could conclude that the group is identical with the group of the P. Louvre E. 3226, e.g. 3, 3.68

L. 4. a. : The transcription of this group is difficult to give.

Transliteration

- [1] Nb-w'.w
- [2] *Nb-sny*
- [3] *Qn-Imn*
- [4] Sbk-ms ...(?)
- [5] P3y
- [6] /.../tr.

Translation

- [1] Nebouaou
- [2] Nebseny
- [3] Qenamen
- [4] *Sobekmes* ...(?)
- [5] *Pay*
- [6] /.../tr.

Commentary

This text is a list of personal names written without any introductory formula or heading line. Most of these names occur on other 18th Dynasty ostraca originating from Deir el-Bahri, in addition to P. Louvre E. 3226, which bears the same characteristics.

This name is mentioned on an ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri holding the title *imy-r iḥw*, "the overseer of the cattle.⁶⁹" He might have been involved with other workmen, individuals, and institutions in the construction of Hatshepsut's temple.⁷⁰

- 66 Megally 1971, pl. XLVII, k.
- 67 Megally 1971, pl. XL, c.
- 68 Megally 1971, pl. XX, e.
- 69 Hayes 1960, pl. X, 9 rt. 9.

70 Hayes 1960, p. 34.

L. 3. Qn-Imn
Sometimes, this name is inscribed in another variant , Imn-qn.71 This individual is mentioned as a mason on an ostracon from Deir el-Bahri dating to year 49 of Tuthmosis III72. The same name is written on an ostracon dated to the 18th Dynasty, and recording a message sent from him to the workman Hry-ms, discussing about masons.⁷³ *On-Imn* is mentioned on another ostracon from the tomb of Senmut without any titles,⁷⁴ in addition to a hieratic ostracon from Deir el-Bahri, where he is referred to as Qn-Imn of thsw (?).75 Following what is mentioned above, one could identify him with the mason who appears on the ostracon of Deir el-Bahri that dated back to the year 49 of Tuthmosis III.

As far as I know, this name is not attested among the persons discussed on the 18th Dynasty ostraca of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.

Most probably he could be identified with the mason mentioned on an ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri and dated to the 18th Dynasty.⁷⁶

O. Cairo DeB. No. 528

[PL. 4, FIG. II-I2]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Dimensions: H. 9 cm; W. 7.5 cm

Material: Flint

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

The text is written in black ink on one side only. The text is complete, and consists of three short lines. The handwriting is clear, neat, and readable in most of the text.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



- 71 RANKE, *PN* I, p. 334.
- 73 MÖLLER 1911, pl. XXX, P 10614.
- 72 Hayes 1960, p. 47, pl. XIII, no. 21. 74 Hayes 1960, pl. XXI, no. 121.
- 75 Hayes 1960, p. 40, pl. XI, no. 13 rt., 9-22.
- 76 HAYES 1960, pl. XII, 17 vs. 7.

Palaeographical Remarks

The sign after [1] is still too vague to be transcribed.

Transliteration

- [1] Dhwty-nfr
- [2] Ímn-htp
- [3] Rwn ...(?)

Translation

- [1] Djehutynofer
- [2] Amenhotep
- [3] *Roun* ...(?)

Commentary

L. 1. Dhwty-nfr

This name is mentioned twice on an unpublished ostracon along with the title 2270 1 sš-qd.77 However, it was not commonly used among the published ostraca dated to the first half of the 18th Dynasty.

with Djehutynefer, who was himself mentioned on an unpublished ostracon now stored in the basement of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 435

[PL. 4, FIG. 13-14]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Dimensions: H. 12.5 cm; W. 10 cm

Colour: Dark brown

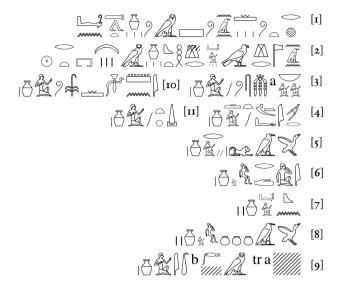
Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

This potsherd is inscribed in black ink on one side only. The text is almost complete and consists of eleven lines. The heading is in the first two lines. Because of the bad condition of the surface, there is some faintness at the beginning of the ninth line. The handwriting is thick, regular, and compact.

77 Some draughtsmen were mentioned on this ostracon such as \(\), Lt is worth noting that there are two draughtsmen with the same name as

Djehutynofer that were mentioned on the later ostracon. This ostracon belongs to the group of Mrs. Rasha Isaac.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



Palaeographical Remarks

This text is written in administrative handwriting, which belongs to the 18th Dynasty style, when the handwriting was thick and bold. The scribe is a professional and is familiar with writing the variations of the signs.

- L. 3, a. This word is determined by two seated men. Normally, the determinative is a man and a woman. Perhaps, the scribe forgot to add the diacritic mark for the second sign.
- L. 9, a. It is a much effaced sign that is very difficult to recognize. b. : The upper part could represent —, however the lower sign is still illegible.

Transliteration

anonteration			
[1] rh.t n3 n wšm.w ítí (i)	η		
[2] n3 n Hr.tyw-ntr hr h(n,)ķ.t m 3bd 3 pr.t		
[3] Nb-ms.w wšm	I	[10] Ímn-w3d-sw wšm	Ι
[4] Mrí-M3 ^c .t wšm	I	[11] Wd3.t-Ms wšm	I
[5] P3-rwry wšm	I		
[6] Írd wšm	I		
[7] Qn wšm	2		
[8] <i>P3-nw.w-nw wšm</i>	2		
[9] []m-Mḥty wšm	I		

Translation

[1] List of the wsm-vessels that taken by

[2]	The	masons	with	beer	in	the	third	month	01	^c Peret	season

[-] 1170 110030103 000013 0001 0	it tise tistice into ite	is of 1 cice scusore	
[3] <i>Nebmesou</i> wšm	I	[10] <i>Amenwadjsou</i> wšm	I
[4] <i>Merymaât</i> wšm	I	[11] <i>Wdjatmose</i> wšm	I
[5] <i>Paroury</i> wšm	I		
[6] <i>Ired</i> wšm	I		
[7] <i>Qen</i> wšm	2		
[8] <i>Panonou</i> wšm	2		
[9] []emmehty wšm	I		

Commentary

This text contains information about the distribution of beer in *wšm*-vessels and enumerated the number of vessel for each workman.

The wšm-vessel was generally employed as storage for beer,⁷⁸ and later it was particularly used as a beer measurement.⁷⁹ This vessel first appeared in the 18th Dynasty,⁸⁰ in the form $\overline{\theta} \mathcal{A} \mathcal{A} \mathcal{A}^{81}$ Then, throughout the New Kingdom, its regular writing was $\overline{\theta} \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A}^{82}$ or $\underline{\theta} \mathcal{A} = 9^{.83}$ With some exceptions like $\underline{\theta}$? $\mathcal{A} \mathcal{A} = \mathcal{A}^{.84}$ The regular determinative of wšm is a vessel without handle, but in later times, especially in the texts of the 25th Dynasty, the determinative is representing a *situla* with a movable handle $\bigcirc = 2000$ $\bigcirc 200$ $\bigcirc 200$ This kind of vessel was a high-walled vessel with a neck and a wide opening, 86 generally made of metal (silver or bronze).87 However, in some cases it was made of gold.88 J. Janssen mentioned that the *wšm* is quite small which agrees with its price. A clear price of bronze *wšm* is dated to the late 19th Dynasty, when its value equalled two deben, so J. Janssen concluded that while its exact value is uncertain, it remains fairly low.⁸⁹

L. 2. Hr.tyw-ntr

Hr.ty.w-ntr is the complete form of the abbreviated title *Hr.ty*, which means "masons".90 This title is a nisbe form of the old expression Hr.t-ntr, "god's underground" or "necropolis." 91 This title is attested since the Old Kingdom, where it generally indicated the tomb builders. From the 18th Dynasty onwards, it has a specific meaning in which it referred only to the workmen who had the responsibility of cutting the stone and digging the royal tomb, which was hewn from solid rock.⁹² J. Černý considered *Hr.ty-ntr* as a rare title, because it was not

- 78 SPALINGER 2000, p. 315.
- 79 The wšm is close in shape to other measurements which were used also for beer like qby, stt, t3b. محمد صلاح بن محمد محمد أحمد، المكاييل والموازين في مصر القديمة، رسالة ماجستير، غير منشورة، كلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٨٩، ص ٦٦.
- 80 Wb I, 374-2; HANNIG 1995, p. 21.
- 82 Wb I, 374.
- 83 Hayes 1960, pl. XIX, no. 94.
- 84 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. LXXX-VI, 1 rt. This ostracon is dated to the late 19th and early 20th Dynasty.
- 85 Wb I, 374; Janssen 1975, p. 426.
- 86 Pommerening 2005, p. 186.
- 87 Wb I, 374.
- محمد صلاح، المكاييل والموازين في مصر 🛭 88 Wb I, 374; GARDINER 1957, p. 474. عمد صلاح، المكاييل والموازين في مصر
 - 89 Janssen 1975, p. 426.
 - 90 ČERNÝ 1929, p. 245; *Wb* III, 394-14; Hayes 1960, p. 38; Hannig 1995, p. 643; Lesko 2002a, p. 388.
 - 91 ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 251.
 - 92 Megally 1981, p. 310; Wb III, 394-14.

mentioned frequently on the ostraca of Deir el-Medina. ⁹³ M. Megally justified this rarity for the type of documents, which recorded <u>Hr.ty-ntr</u> in Deir el-Medina. <u>Hr.tyw-ntr</u> is mainly written on reports on papyrus, but not on ordinary daily-life ostraca. ⁹⁴ Furthermore, this rarity may have resulted from the fact that masons were considered in general as workmen among the crew of the tomb builders. So they were described in the documents as *rmt-ist*, and when they had a specific mission related only to them or had rations and rewards, they were described as <u>Hr.ty-ntr</u>. Perhaps, this is the reason why they are not frequently attested.

Duties of the masons in the New Kingdom

The gang of workmen included masons, carpenters, chief carpenters, sculptors, and draughtsmen. Each one of them was specialized in a certain phase of the creation of the royal tomb. The role of the masons was starting once the site was chosen and when the plan was drawn up. They were cutting the royal tomb out of the solid rock. Although, the main duty of the masons was to establish the royal tomb, some of them worked on the buildings in the temples of Luxor, Karnak and in the southern city during the Ramesside period.

As J. Černý mentionned, this specification in the southern city, or even more precisely at Karnak and Luxor, suggests that sometimes during the long reign of Ramesses II when his tomb was finished, the workmen were commandeered to the vast constructions of the king on the east bank.⁹⁸ That is why one can find more than one mason during the reign of Ramesses II adopting the title *Ḥr.ty-nṭr*, among the other "servants in the place of truth⁹⁹." Another possibility is that they were sent to quarry stones for the construction of the Theban sanctuaries in the sandstone-quarries at Gebel Silsila.¹⁰⁰ M. Bierbrier added that the talent of the workmen could be used for the benefit of other members of the royal family and it is certain that the craftsmen were employed to construct the highly decorated tombs of the royal wives and princes in the Valley of the Queens, such as the famous tomb of queen Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II. This fact can also be applied to the masons.¹⁰¹

Number of the masons

On one hand the number of masons among the crew was not stable. The variation in their numbers relates to the progress of the work in the royal tomb. The larger numbers meant that the work was beginning. On the other hand the small number indicates that the royal tomb had been completed or on its way of being completed so fewer workmen were required. In the field of work, the masons were under the authority of the vizier; this is referred to on an ostracon dated to King Tuthmosis III, when the masons worked under the direction of the vizier Rekhmere. According to a hieratic ostracon dated to the 18th Dynasty, the masons were put under the direct control of the Amazon Chief of masons. 104

- 93 ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 251.
- 94 Megally 1981, p. 310.
- 95 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 39.
- 96 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 46; ČERNÝ 1973b, p. 17.
- 97 MEGALLY 1981, p. 310.
- 98 ČERNÝ 1973a, pp. 254-255.
- 99 ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 255; one can numerate many of them, e.g.
- Karo: servant in the place of truth, mason of Amon in the southern city *Hr.ty-ntr n İmn m İp.t rsy.t*; Pashed: mason of Amon in Karnak: for more examples cf. ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 254.
- 100 ČERNÝ 1973a, pp. 254-255.
- 101 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 54.
- 102 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 27.
- 103 Hayes 1960, p. 46, pl. XIII, no. 20.

104 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XXII, rt.1 and vs.1, Among the work-force of the masons, we can find non-Egyptian masons e.g. 2 Pr.ty-nṭr nḥṣy tɨ-r-kɔ-iɔ, Nubian mason "Trka" Cf. Hayes 1960, p. 32, pl. IX, 4.

L. 3. 10 2 / 9 1 2 Nb-msw

This individual is mentioned in a very brief text found in the tomb of Senmut. 105

This name is attested among another masons on an ostracon dated to year 49 of Tuthmosis III found at Deir el-Bahri. 106

O. Cairo DeB. No. 488

[PL. 5, FIG. 15-16]

Description:

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm; W. 11 cm

Material: Limestone Date: New Kingdom

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo.

The ostracon is inscribed in black ink on one side only. The text is complete and consists of seven lines. The handwriting is elegant, thick, and bold.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



Palaeographical remarks

L. 1. a. : This ligature is the same as that found on an ostracon dated to year 43 of Tuthmosis III. 107 b. : This sign which represents the long-legged buzzard , 108 is written in the present text in the first two lines. This shape was in common use during the 18th Dynasty as a typical form of this sign. Many similar parallels are found on ostraca 109 and papyri, such

105 Hayes 1960, pl. IX, 45. 107 (106 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 vs. 5 no. 5.

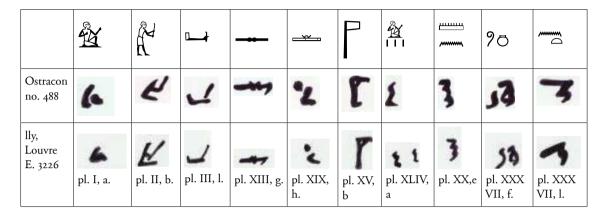
107 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. LVI,

109 MÖLLER 1927b, 191; HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 rt.; HAYES 1960, pl. XIV, nos. 68, 69, 74, 75.

108 GARDINER 1957, p. 467.

as P. Louvre E. 3226 dated to the same time. ¹¹⁰ Occasionally, this sign was written with a point over the head of the buzzard, ¹¹¹ or added behind its back. ¹¹²

It is worth noting that the handwriting is very similar to that of the P. Louvre E. 3226. The palaeographical comparison suggests that they were written at the same period:



Transliteration

[1] N3 n hr.tyw-ntr nty nn s.t

[2] m n3 n hr.tyw-ntr iw.w hn = k

[3] *Snw*

[6] Nht-Mnw

[4] *Qn-Ímn*

[7] Snrk3 dmd 5

[5] s3w

Translation

[1] The masons who have not been

[2] with the masons who have come with you

[3] Senou

[6] Menounakht

[4] Qenamen

[7] Senrka total: 5

[5] Saou

Commentary

This ostracon could be a necropolis journal. This kind of journal records the details of the daily work in the royal necropolis, such as the progress of the work in the royal tomb, the numbers of labourers, and their presence or absence. Usually the scribes used headings at the beginning to introduce such texts. However, the scribe of the present ostracon didn't pay attention to recording the date and didn't use any heading line, as well as not being interested in writing any notes in red.¹¹³ Presumably, most documents of this kind were considered temporary records, and would be recopied as permanent registers on papyrus.

110 MEGALLY 1971, pl. VI, b.

111 HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, no. 63 rt.; pl. XIV, no. 67.

112 MEGALLY 1981, pl. XXXVI. As for the point to be added over the head

of the bird, it is attested for the first time during the Middle Kingdom, in P. Brooklyn no. 351446, and continued to be in use until the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. The first example of this point during the 18th Dynasty is dated to Queen Hatshepsut, and it was also found on an ostracon uncovered in the tomb of Senmut. MEGALLY 1981, p. 295. 113 MEGALLY 1981, p. 298.

L. 2. n3 n hr.tyw-ntr iw.w hn'=k

The information about absence from or presence at work in the royal tombs is often included in the necropolis journal.¹¹⁴ The phrase under discussion perhaps has three meanings: the first one could that the masons were already absent from work that day; the second could that they had already attended to their work that day, but didn't participate with their group of masons in a certain task; and the last one could that they attended the work but had another mission to be carried out.

L. 3. 🖄 9011, Šnw 3. 14 9011, Snw
This name is written in variant forms 4 / 4 o 1 / 4 o 1 / 4 o 1 / 5 . 115 Maybe this individual can be identified with the mason who occurs on an ostracon dated to year 49 of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri, in the form of . The Perhaps he is also the same person who is mentioned on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina dated to the 18th Dynasty among other workmen.¹¹⁷

- L. 4. 2 , Qn-Imn cf. ostracon no. 475, l. 3 (pl. 3, fig. 9-10).
- L. 6. T, Nht-Mnw This name is mentioned in the P. Louvre E. 3226. II8
- L. 7. 2 2 3 Snrk3 119

It is clear that this is a Nubian name. 120 It is usual to find foreigners among the Egyptian workmen, e.g. a Nubian mason is attested on an ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri.¹²¹

O. Cairo DeB. No. 404

[PL. 5, FIG. 17-18]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri Dimensions: H. 4.5 cm; W. 5 cm

New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty Date: Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

Limestone ostracon inscribed in black ink on one side only. The text is composed of four incomplete lines as the ostracon is broken at the bottom. The handwriting of this text is big with bold ink.

114 DONKER VAN HEEL, HARING 2003, 116 HAYES 1960, p. 47, pl. XIII, no. 21

119 ERMAN 1911, p. 57, k-6; RANKE,

117 ČERNÝ 1935, rt.13.

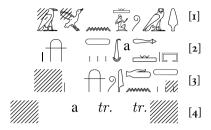
120 Römer 2014, p. 214.

PN I, p. 297.

115 RANKE, PNI, p. 310, 21.

118 MEGALLY 1971, pl. XLVII, f. 121 Hayes 1960, pl. IX, 4 vs.

Hieroglyphic transcription



Palaeographical Remarks

- L. 1-2. Traces of ink could be seen at the end of the first line and the beginning of the second line. Most probably the scribe erased a mistake.
- L. 2.a. : It could represent =.
- L. 4.a. Perhaps stands for the repeating sign for the above word dni.t.

Transliteration

- [1] İsm.w n ps
- [2] Pr-'3 wan h3r 1
- [3] 'q.w dni(.t)
- [I] [...]
- [4] [...] tr. [...] tr.

Translation:

- [1] Yamou to the
- [2] Royal Palace (i.e. Great House), wdnt-bread: 1 khar.
- [3] Bread: dint-basket I [...]
- [4] \[\ldots \r

Commentary

Presumably this text is a list of contributions from the official Yamou to the Royal Palace. This sort of supplies for temples and palaces has been known before.¹²² It has been noted that most of the supplies that were offered by officials on the ostraca of Deir el-Bahri were kinds of baked products. In addition they were in small amount.¹²³

122 Cf. Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 9 rt. 123 Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 9 rt., cf. ostracon no. 448 vs.

L. 1. $\overline{2}$ 9 A A, \hat{I} 3m.w¹²⁴

The official Yamou was known as an overseer of the Treasury at the time of Amenophis I.¹²⁵ However, it is not certain whether the Yamou of the present text is the same man of the time of Amenophis I and still live in the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.

L. 2. ____, Pr-'3

It seems that, in this case, this term points to the royal palace rather than the pharaoh. Pr- \Im is mentioned in a list of supplies presented for the preparation or upkeep of the tomb of Senmut. However, it was written in the form \square , adding the sign \square as determinative. 126

O. Cairo DeB. No. 448

[PL. 6, FIG. 19-22]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

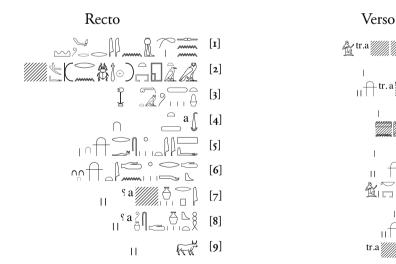
Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 7.5 cm

Material: Potsherd

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

The ostracon is inscribed in black ink on both sides. The recto is written in nine lines, including the heading on the first two lines. The text is complete; however the ink is frequently faint in some parts. The verso, which consists of eleven lines, is incomplete. Most of the signs are wiped out especially in the first seven lines; furthermore, the last line is completely erased.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



124 RANKE, *PN* I, pp. 25–14.

125 HELCK 1958-1975, pp. 345, 466. It is worth noting that this name is entered

as apart in the name of the official $(M_{N})^{2} = (M_{N})^{2} 6 HAYES 1960, pl. XI, no. 14 rt. Hayes in the two cases translated it as "Pharaoh", p. 41.

[9]

[11]

Palaeographical Remarks

It seems that the text on both the recto and verso was written by the same scribe. The inscriptions represent the characteristics of the 18th Dynasty handwriting, most probably from the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.

Recto

L. 4, a. 4: It stands for \int , which occurred also on the verso in lines 2, 6, and 9. This writing as seen in the following table is far from its ordinary shape, and is very close to the sign \int :

I	4 , 4 , 4 Ostracon. 448.	K , K Hayes 1960, pl. IX, 9rt.	Megally 1971, pl. XVI, K. 6.
1	MÖLLER 1927b, 383		

The writing technique of this sign $\[\]$ is different from the sign $\[\]$. However, it seems that the scribe was confused here between the two signs. Any parallels for this sign dating back to the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III are uncertain.

- L. 7. a. The second part of this line escapes me.
- L. 8. a. I am not confident in my reading for this group as *ds*, because the sign is written here in an odd form, and the whole word is written in an uncommon arrangement.

Verso

- L. 1. a. Faint traces probably refer to a name.
- **L. 3. a.** This line is very faint. However, based on the visible traces, one could read the first and the last group, while the middle group is difficult to understand.
- **L. 5. a.** The last three signs could be restored as $\vec{l}mn$.
- L. 8. a. 1: It could represent the sign \mathbb{Z} , where it is written in the form of middle hieratic. 127
- **L. 11. a.** The whole line is wiped except for a few traces at the very end that could be part of a number.

127 MÖLLER 1927a, 467.

Transliteration

Recto		Verso		
[1] snn iny(.t) r Dsr.w		[i] tr tr.		
[2] m t3 Ḥw.t ('3-hpr-n-H	R') m3'-[ḥrw]	[2] wdn.t	I	
[3] <i>t-wmt</i>	1000	[3] t tr. <u>h</u> 3r	2	
[4] <i>wdn.t</i>	IO	[4] tr	I	
[5] š ^c y.t srf <u>h</u> 3r	II	[5]		
[6] dqr.w dni.t	30	[6] <i>wdn.t</i>	I	
[7] <i>irp</i>	2	[7] 'qw <u>h</u> 3r	2	
[8] $h(n)q.t ds$ (?)	2	[8] <i>Grg≈k-pr</i>		
[9] <i>îḥw</i>	2	[9] <i>wdn.t</i>	I	
		[10] ^c qw <u>h</u> 3r	2	
		$[II] \dots tr.$		

Translation

Recto

16565		7 6200	
[1] List of what is brought to i	3 1	[1] <i>tr tr.</i> [2] wdnt <i>-bread</i>	_
[2] From the temple of (Âakh [3] Thick bread	1000	[3] Breadtr.	1 2 Khar
[4] wdnt-bread	IO	[4] tr	I
[5] Fresh Sayt-cake	11 Khar	[5] Iou tr. Amon	
[6] Fruits dnit-baskets	30	[6] wdnt-Bread	I
[7] Wine	2	[7] Bread	2 Khar
[8] <i>Beer des (?)</i>	2	[8] Geregekper	
[9] Cattle	2	[9] wdnt- <i>bread</i>	I
		[10] Bread	2 Khar
		$[II] \dots tr.$	

Commentary

The recto contains a list of supplies presented by the temple of Tuthmosis II to Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri. The verso contains supplies and offerings from the officials of Hatshepsut to her temple as well.

Recto

L. I.
$$\hat{l}$$
, \hat{l} ny(.t)

For this verb refers to movements, it was highly used by the administrative vocabulary and, as such, in delivery account formulae.

Verso

L. 2. (, Hw.t (3-hpr-n-R')

The temple of Tuthmosis II, which is located to the north of Medinet Habu,¹²⁸ was called *Šsp.t-'nlp* or *Ḥw.t Šsp.t-'nlp*,¹²⁹ "Chapel of life".¹³⁰ This ostracon clarified the economic role that was played by temples throughout the New Kingdom. Through the 18th Dynasty documents, as well as in the Ramesside Period inscriptions, it has been revealed that the temple was a self-sufficient economic unit,¹³¹ powerful enough to meet its own requirements and contribute to the offering-cult in the great temple of Amon at Karnak. In addition to its support to other institutions like the community of workmen at Deir el-Medina,¹³² it also supported other temples under construction. It is worth noting that the temple was considered to be a kind of economic organization that contained a productive workshop called *šn'*, which was responsible for the production of their requirements.¹³³

L. 3. A9 I I A, t-wm.t

The total number of names of bread that occurred throughout the New Kingdom texts was about 97, of which almost 50 are attested for the first time while the others are known from earlier periods. ¹³⁴ The loaves varied in size, shape (oval, round, conical), decoration, and also had special flavours. ¹³⁵ The word *t* refers to bread in general, ¹³⁶ while sometimes it was preceded by adjectives – more than 20 – forming new types of bread. Sometimes these names of bread describe their shape, size, colour or their ingredient, e.g. *t-'C3*, "great bread"; *t-nfr*, "good bread"; *t-hd*, "white bread"; *t-n-it*, "barley bread." ¹³⁷ Probably the very uncommon name *t-wm.t*, that means "thick bread" ¹³⁸ is used to describe the size or the shape of the bread. Presumably, this thick-bread is similar to the well-known bread called "Eish ash-Shams" and still eaten in Upper Egypt.

L. 4. 😅 🕻 wdn.t

- 128 MEYER 1980.
- 129 Haring 1997, p. 419; PM II, p. 456; Lu. Gabolde, Ma. Gabolde 1989, p. 137.
- 130 Wilkinson 2005, p. 191.
- 131 Haring 1997, p. 3.
- 132 HARING 1997, p. 256.
- 133 Janssen 1979, p. 515. For more information about Sna, it's administrative organization, employees, products, cf. Pendlebury 1951, p. 171, no. 233; Bakir 1947, p. 41; Daniel 1990, p. 43-60; *Urk* IV, 742-743; Megally 1977, p. 77; Ikram 1995.
- خالد حسن عبد العزيز، بطاقات الأواني 134 الحجرية والفخارية في الدولة الحديثة، رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، كلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة، ٢٠١٠، ص ١٩٨٨ -١٤ ايان محمد المهدي، الخبز في مصر القديمة، القاهرة، ٢٠٠٥، ص ١٩.
- 135 SAMUEL 2001, s.v. "Bread", p. 198; DAVID 1999.
- محمد شريف عبده حسن، مجموعه من المريف عبده حسن، مجموعه من البرديات الهير اطبقية الأدارية في المتحف المصري، دراسه لغوية حضارية مقارنة، رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، كلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٨٩،
- إيهان محمد، الخبز في مصر القديمة، ص ١٨. [137]

- 138 *Wb* I, 306-9; F*CD*, p. 60; Lesko 2002a, p. 100.
- 139 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 10; Hayes translated it as "offerings"; Hayes 1960, pp. 36-37.
- 140 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 10.
- 141 Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 9 rt.
- 142 JANSSEN 1995.
- 143 Wb I, 393-I.
- 144 JANSSEN 1995, p. 30.
- 145 Janssen 1995, p. 30.

This kind of cake was one of the most important and popular foods mentioned through the ancient Egyptian texts. The word $\check{S}'v.t$ is attested for the first time in the tomb of Khâbausoker at Saggara (3rd Dynasty, Old Kingdom), 146 and continued to be used until the end of the New Kingdom.¹⁴⁷ It was a regular type of delivery by the memorial temple where it occurs among the daily and festival offerings together with grain products. This cake was made of emmer, mixed with fat and honey, it was thus an expensive product. 148

Adjective meaning "warm." When it comes with cake, it could simply mean "fresh cake". 149

$$L. 6. \mid \cdot \mid \Rightarrow \triangle, \underline{dqr.w}$$

Fruits were an important part of the ancient Egyptian diet along with the cereal products, and vegetables. 150 The word dqr.w, "fruits", 151 is attested for the first time in New Kingdom texts. 152

Verso

The verso probably contains an offering list of four officials to Hatshepsut's temple. This kind of private donation (concentrated mainly on bread) to this temple was known before and occurrs on an ostracon uncovered inside the temple itself.¹⁵³ According to W. Hayes, the foregoing list would be recopied onto a permanent register, e.g. papyrus, and duplicated in the temple records. 154 At the same time, it is an indication that the temple was operating and receiving offerings from Hatshepsut's officials and their families. 155

As far as I know this individual is not known in the 18th Dynasty texts, especially in those of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 384

[PL. 7, FIG. 23-24]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm; W. 9 cm

Material: Limestone

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

محمد شريف، مجموعه من البرديات الهيراطيقية، ص ١٢٩؛ إيهان محمد، الخبز في مصر القديمة، ص ٣٥.

149 Wb IV, 195, 6-7; FCD, p. 314;

Grandet 2003, no. 938; Grandet 2010, no. 10205 vs.

148 HARING 1997, p. 259.

150 GERMER 2001, s.v. "Fruits", p. 564.

151 CHARPENTIER 1981, p. 852, no. 1463.

152 Wb V, 495; Lesko 2002b, p. 256.

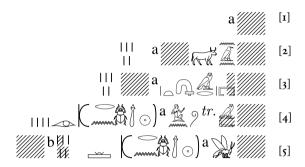
153 Hayes 1960, pp. 36-37, no. 9.

154 Hayes 1960, p. 37. 155 Hayes 1960, p. 37.

إيان محمد، الخبز في مصر القديمة، ص ٣٥. 147

The ostracon is inscribed in black ink on one side only. The text consists of five incomplete lines, because the ostracon is broken on the right side. The surface is in a bad state of preservation, so the ink is very faint in many parts of the text. The handwriting is regular, neat, and elegant.

Hieroglyphic Transliteration



Palaeographical remarks

- L. 1. a. Reading of this part is difficult. However, its position indicates to be a part of a heading.
- L. 2. a. 1. The reading of this group escapes me.
- L. 3. a. The writing of this title is similar to the 18th Dynasty handwriting especially to Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III, e.g. 156 157.
- L. 4.a. Because of the breakage and the faintness, the reading of these signs is still uncertain. However, it could represent a name due to the existence of the seated man as a determinative at the end, or it could be the second part of the title k3mw, "gardener". 158

Transliteration

```
[1] [...]...(?)
[2] [...]... n3 n ih(.w) [...] 5
[3] [...]... pr imy-r htm ... 5
[4] [...]...(?) n ('3-hpr-n-R') ir 4
[5] [... nsw.t]-bity ('3-hpr-n-R') dmd 5 [...]
```

156 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XXX-VI, 2. 157 HAYES 1960, pl. X, no. 6 rt. 158 *Wb* V, 106-10.

Translation

```
[1] [...]...(?)
[2] [...]... the cattle [...] 5
[3] [...]... House of the overseer of the treasures ... 5
[4] [...]...(?) of (Âakheperenrâ) that is 4
[5] [... King of upper] and lower Egypt (Âakheperenrâ), total 5 [...]
```

Commentary

Due to the breakage, in addition to the faded parts, it is not possible to grasp the entire meaning. However, the subject is similar to other texts found at Deir el-Bahri dated to the 18th Dynasty. It could be a list recording contributions and supplies from various institutions, individuals, and towns to the construction of Hatshepsut's temple, ¹⁵⁹ or at least to the preparation of Senmut's tomb. ¹⁶⁰

L. 3. 12 Q & 1 , pr imy-r htm

As far as I know, this term is used in one 18th Dynasty ostracon of Deir el-Bahri, with other officials, e.g. *imy-r pr tw*, in a list of contributions to the temple of Hatshepsut. However, the title *imy-r htm*, "Overseer of the treasure", occurred many times in lists of supplies and contributions to the temple of Hatshepsut and in the tomb of Senmut as well. It has been noted that the highest amount of supplies in these lists belonged only to the overseer of the treasure.

L. 5. (,), '3-hpr-n-R'

The royal name '3-\(\psi pr-n-R'\), "Tuthmosis II", is almost not attested in Deir el-Bahri except in ostracon no. 448 (pl. 5, 6, fig. 17-20) of the current paper.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 482

[PL. 7, FIG. 25–26]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Diameter: 9.5 cm
Base: 4.5 cm
Material: Pottery
Colour: Red

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

A circular bowl inscribed in black ink on the convex side only. The text, incomplete, consists of four lines. The handwriting is elegant, and readable. However, some signs are faint; some

```
HAYES 1960, p. 34, pl. X, no. 6.
HAYES 1960, p. 41, 42, pl. XI, no. 14.
HAYES 1960, p. 35, pl. X, no. 8.
HAYES 1960, p. 34, pl. X, no. 6 rt., pl. XI, no. 14.
HAYES 1960, p. 35, pl. X, no. 8.
HAYES 1960, pl. XI, no. 14.
```

others are missing, especially in the first and third lines on the edge of the bowl. There are also some faint signs at the end of the third line that make it difficult to read.

Hieroglyphic Transliteration



Palaeographical Remarks

- L. 3, a. At the end of this line, a few signs are faint and difficult to read. Possibly they relate to the scribe Djehwty-Tety or it may also give the reason why his amount of barely is less than that of the scribe Hori.
- L. 4, a. Abbreviated and unusual writing for the name Hor(i). 164 There are no details at all except the two legs. It is worth noting that the name is written without any determinative.

Transliteration

- [1] 3bd 3 3h.t sw 19
- [2] rh.t it nty sšm.w
- [3] sš Dhwty-Tty it 34 ...(?)
- [4] sš Ḥr(i) it 64

Translation

- [1] The third month, Akhet season, day 19
- [2] Amount of barley which is delivered (distributed) (to)
- [3] Scribe Djehoutytety: barley 34 ...(?)
- [4] Scribe Hor(i): barley 64

Commentary

The text records a distribution of barley for two scribes, as it presents their names accompanied with their shares of barley.

As far as I know, this name was not known before in the text of Deir el-Bahri.

164 Compare the similar writing of the falcon as a part of the name (*Ḥr-nfr*), cf. Grandet 2010, no. 10125.

Maybe this name is identified with the scribe Hori who is attested on an ostracon from the tomb of Senmut. He is also mentioned on an ostracon found in Gurna dated to the 18th Dynasty together with the workman $\vec{l}mn-nb$. He is also mentioned on an ostracon found in Gurna dated to the 18th Dynasty together with the workman $\vec{l}mn-nb$.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 486

[PL. 8, FIG. 27-30]

Description

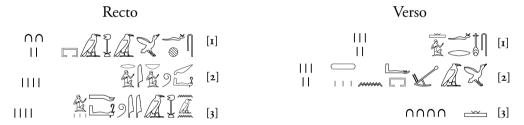
Provenance: Deir el-Bahri
Dimensions: W. 8 cm; H. 6.5 cm

Material: Flint

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

The text is written in red ink on both sides. The recto and the verso consist each of three lines. The handwriting is clear and readable. The ink is thick, and heavy on the both recto and verso.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration:

Recto		Verso		
[1] sfh p3 h3	22	[1] Snfr	5	
[2] sšm Nb-iry	4	[2] p3 šn' n 'q.w	5	
[3] n3 n h3y.w	4	[3] <i>dm</i> d	40	

165 Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 83-6. 166 GOEDICKE, WENTE 1962, pl. LXXXVII, no. 56 rt.

Translation

Recto		Verso	
[1] removing the hall?	22	[1] Sennofer	5
[2] the leader (of the team) Nebiry	4	[2] the storehouse of the bread	5
[3] the measurers	4	[3] <i>total</i> :	40

Commentary

Presumably this text is a list with the number of workmen assigned to special missions or duty. Unfortunately, the text did not provide enough information about the nature of this work. However, the numbers before the entries could indicate the number of men involved in the work. In addition, at the end of the text, the whole workforce of about 40 men was calculated by the scribe. It is worth noting that some expressions of the present ostracon were not in common use in the published texts dated to the 18th Dynasty, especially those of Deir el-Bahri.

Recto

This expression is different from the known O(1), sfly $n \not D_s$, "used tool". Most probably the meaning here is "removing the hall". Maybe the text refers to a process of removing a construction by this large number of workmen.

Perhaps refers to the leader of the team or at least the leader of his group. However, this title was not in common use through the texts of the 18th Dynasty with this specific meaning.

$$\bigcap_{n} \bigcap_{n}

This name could be a variant of the name Nebiry, who occurred on two 18th Dynasty ostraca dated to the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. 168

L. 3.
$$\mathbb{Z}_{9}$$
 \mathbb{Z}_{3} , no n hoy.w

This term means "measurers", 169 and could refer to the people who measure the lands before the construction or during the work.

167 According to the Berlin Dictionary, 168 ČERNÝ 1935; ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, the word b3 that is determined by \Box means "hall" Wb III, 221-18. So that it 169 Wb III, 223-23, HANNIG 1995, could refer to "building" rather than "tool or chisel".

pl. XX, 5.

p. 579, Lesko 2002a, p. 344.

Verso

He could be identified with the individual Senofer (cf. ostracon, 407, l. 4 rt., pl. 2). It is worth noting that the writing of this name is different from any other known form of the name: it is written $\mathbf{1} + \mathbf{1}$ instead of the sign $\mathbf{1}$. The sign $\mathbf{1}$ instead of the sign $\mathbf{1}$ i

The text refers to five men who were assigned to the storehouse of the bread. Maybe this storehouse is located in the royal palace or somewhere in the temple.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 434

[PL. 9, FIG. 31-32]

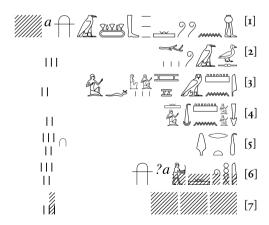
Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri
Dimensions: H. 10 cm; W. 7 cm

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

Limestone ostracon inscribed in black ink on one side only. The text consists of seven incomplete lines. The ostracon is broken on the lower part, and slightly broken on the left side. The handwriting is thick, elegant, clear, and readable.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



170 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, 63 rt.

Palaeographical Remarks

Presumably stands for \cap .

L. 6, a. Perhaps the broken part could be restored, with more caution, as has been part could be restored. However it is still an uncertain reading.

Transliteration

[1] în.w bš3 <u>h</u> 3r []	
[2] S3.w	3
[3] <i>Îmn-m-mr=f</i>	2
[4] <i>Sn-mn</i>	2
[5] <i>Trt</i>	15
[6] Îtḥ (?) <u>h</u> 3r	5
[7] []	3

Translation

[1] Delivery of malted barley, .	sack []
[2] Saou	3
[3] Amenemmeref ¹⁷¹	2
[4] Senmen	2
[5] Teret	15
[6]? sack	5
[7] []	3

Commentary

As far as I know, this word is not mentioned in the texts of the first half of the 18th Dynasty. It is worth noting that this name and the word *Tîrt*, which belongs to a kind of plant, don't have determinatives in contrast with the other names.

This name could be identified with the workman Senmenou, who occurs on an ostracon from the tomb of Senmut. He is mentioned with other workmen such as Mh and Wsr-h3.t.¹⁷⁴ Presumably, this individual could be considered as Senmut's brother. 175

The meaning of this word is problematic.

171 Maybe translated as "Amen among 172 RANKE, PNI, p. 285-9. his servants".

174 Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 85.

Bibliography

Albright 1954

Albright, W.F., "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.", *JAOS* 74,4, 1954, pp. 222–233.

Bakir 1947

Bakir, A., *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, ASAE 45, Cairo, 1947.

BIERBRIER 1982

Bierbrier, M., *The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaohs*, Cairo, 1982.

Bruyère 1929

Bruyère, B., "Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1928)", in P. Jouquet (ed.), Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, année 1928, FIFAO 6,2, Cairo, 1929.

ČERNÝ 1929

Černý, J., "Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)", *JEA* 15, 1929, pp. 243–258.

ČERNÝ 1935

Černý, J., Ostraca hiératiques, CGC 25501-25832, Cairo, 1935.

ČERNÝ 1973a

Černý, J., A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, BiEtud 50, Cairo, 1973.

ČERNÝ 1973b

Černý, J., *The Valley of the Kings*, BiEtud 61, Cairo, 1973.

ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957

Černý, J., Gardiner, A., *Hieratic Ostraca* I, Oxford, 1957.

CHARPENTIER 1981

Charpentier, G., Recueil des matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique, Paris, 1981.

Davies, Gardiner 1920

Davies, N.G., Gardiner, A., The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his Wife, Senent (no. 60), TTS 2, London, 1920.

Daniel 1990

Daniel, P., "Die Sna-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches", ZÄS 117, 1990, pp. 43–60.

DAVID 1999

David, R. *Handbook to life in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 1999, p. 288.

Donker Van Heel, Haring 2003

Donker Van Heel, K., Haring, B., Writing in a Workmen's Village, Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina, EgUit 16, Leiden, 2003.

Erman 1911

Erman, A., Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen, aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenschiff, ASGW 1, Berlin, 1911.

Lu. Gabolde, Ma. Gabolde 1989

Gabolde, L., Gabolde, M., "Les Temples 'mémoriaux' de Thoutmosis II et Toutankhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques)", *BIFAO* 89, 1989, pp. 127–178.

GARDINER 1957

Gardiner, A.H., *Ancient Egyptian Grammar*, 1927, 3rd ed., London, 1957.

GERMER 2001, s.v. "Fruits", p. 564

Germer, R., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, s.v. "Fruits", vol. I, p. 564, London, 2001.

GOEDICKE, Wente 1962

Goedicke, H., Wente, E., *Ostraka Michaelides*, Wiesbaden, 1962.

GOLÉNISCHEFF 1993

Golénischeff, W., Les transcriptions des papyrus hiératiques nºs 1116 A (verso) et 1116 B (verso) de L'Ermitage impérial à St-Pétersbourg, San Antonio, 1993.

Grandet 2003

Grandet, P., Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médînéh IX, nºs 831-1000, DFIFAO 41, Cairo, 2003.

Grandet 2006a

Grandet, P., "KY JNR ŠRJ, un autre petit caillou, ostraca hiératiques documentaries inédits de L'IFAO", in A. Dorn, T. Hoffmann, (eds.), Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. sosiohistorical embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts, AegHelv 19, Bâle, Genève, 2006, pp. 93–1205.

GRANDET 2006b

Grandet, P., Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médînéh X, nºs 10001-10123, DFIFAO 46, Cairo, 2006.

GRANDET 2010

Grandet, P., Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médînéh XI, nos 10124-10275, DFIFAO 48, Cairo, 2010.

Hagen 2011

Hagen, F., New Kingdom Ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Leiden, 2011.

Hannig 1995

Hannig, R., Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch. Die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950) v.Chr., Mainz, 1995.

Haring 1997

Haring, B.J.J., Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes, EgUit 12, Leiden, 1997.

Hassan 2013

Hassan, KH., "A Visitor's Hieratic Ostracon Concerning the Temple of Deir el-Bahri", *BIFAO* 113, 2013, pp. 183–191.

HAYES 1942

Hayes, W., Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mūt (No. 71) at Thebes, New York, 1942.

HAYES 1955

Hayes, W., A papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446), Brooklyn, 1955.

HAYES 1960

Hayes, W., "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr El-Bahri", *JEA* 46, 1960, pp. 29–52.

HELCK 1958-1975

Helck, W., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, PdÄ 3-3a, Leiden, Köln, 1958-1975.

Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1911

Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung. Dritter Band. Schriftstücke der VI Dynastie aus Elephantine, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, Ostraka, Leipzig, 1911. Носн 1994

Hoch, J.E., Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, Princeton, 1994.

LOPEZ 1984

Lopez, J., *Ostraca Ieratici*, CMT, Serie seconda-Collezioni, 3,4, N.57450-57568, Tabelle lignee N.58001-58007, Milan, 1984.

IKRAM 1995

Ikram, S., Choice cuts: ~ ☐ Meat Production in Ancient Egypt, OLA 69, Leuven, 1995.

Janssen 1975

Janssen, J., Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes, Leiden, 1975.

Janssen 1979

Janssen, J., "The Role of the Temple in Egyptian Economy during the New Kingdom", in E. Lipiniski (ed.), State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II, OLA 6, Leuven, 1979.

Janssen 1995

Janssen, J., "The Daily Bread. A Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet", *BES* 13, 1997, pp. 15–38.

LESKO 2002a

Lesko, L., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, 2nd ed., Berkeley, 2002.

Lesko 2002b

Lesko, L., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II, 2nd ed., Berkeley, 2002.

MEGALLY 1971

Megally, M., Considérations sur les variations et la transformation des formes hiératiques du papyrus; E. 3226 du Louvre, BiEtud 49, Cairo, 1971.

MEGALLY 1977

Megally, M., Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIII^e dynastie, BiEtud 71, Cairo, 1977.

MEGALLY 1981

Megally, M., "Un intéressant ostracon de la XVIIIe dynastie de Thèbes", *BIFAO* 81, 1981, pp. 293–312.

MEYER 1980

Meyer, Ch., LÄVI, 1980, col. 539, s.v. "Thutmosis II".

Möller 1911

Möller, G., *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzif 1911, pl. XXX, P 10614.
MÖLLER 1927a

Möller, G., *Hieratische Paläographie* I, Leipzig, 1927. Möller 1927b

Möller, G., *Hieratische Paläographie* II, Leipzig, 1927. Navrátilová 2007

Navrátilová, H., *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties* XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara, The Visitors' Graffiti 1, Prague, 2007.

PENDLEBURY 1951

Pendlebury, J.D.S., The City of Akhnaten, Part III, the Central City and the Official Quarters (The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the Season 1926-1927 and 1031-1036), ExcMem 44, London, 1951.

Pommerening 2005

Pommerening, T., *Die altägyptischen Hohlmaße*, BSAK 10, Hamburg, 2005.

Quirk, St., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, s.v. "The administrative texts", vol. I, Oxford, 2001, p. 25.

RAGAZZOLI 2013

Ragazzoli, C.C.D., "The Social Creation of a Scribal Place: The Visitors' Inscriptions in the Tomb Attributed to Antefiqer (TT 60) (With Newly Recorded Graffiti)", *SAK* 42, 2013, pp. 269–323. RÖMER 2008

Römer, M., "Die ostraka DAI – Assasif 55 und 56 – dokumente der Bauarbeiten in Deir El-Bahri

unter Thutmosis III", in E.M. Engel, V. Müller, H. Hartung (eds.), Zeichen aus dem Sand, Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Drayer, Menes 5, Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 613–625.

Römer 2014

Römer, M., "Miszellen zu den Ostraka der 18. Dynastie aus Deir el-Bahri und dem Asasif", in B.J.J. Haring, E.O. Kaper, R. van Walsem (eds.), The Workman's Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée, EgUit 28, Leiden, 2014, pp. 211–216.

SAMUEL 2001, s.v. "Bread", p. 198

Samuel, D., *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, s.v. "Bread", vol. I, Oxford, 2001, p. 198.

Spalinger 2000

Spalinger, A., "Medinet Habu and Deir el-Medina Combined", in R.J. Demarée, A. Egberts (ed.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, EgUit 14, Leiden, 2000.

Spiegelberg, Newberry 1908

Spiegelberg, W., Newberry, P., Report on some excavations in the Theban Necropolis During the Winter of 1898-9, London, 1908.

Wilkinson 2005

Wilkinson, R., *The Complete Temples of ancient Egypt*, Cairo, 2005, p. 191.

WINLOCK 1942

Winlock, H., Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931, New York, 1942.





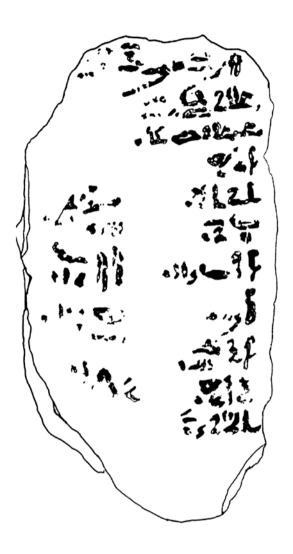


Fig. 2. Ostracon no. 518. Facsimile drawing.

Pl. 1¹⁷⁷

177 The photographer is Mr. Sameh Abd el-Mohsen (© Egyptian Museum of Cairo), and the facsimile drawn by the author.



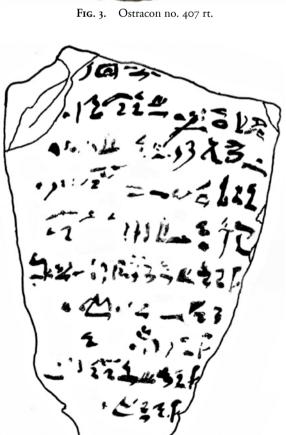


Fig. 5. Ostracon no. 407 rt. Facsimile drawing.



Fig. 4. Ostracon no. 407 vs.



Fig. 6. Ostracon no. 407 vs. Facsimile drawing.

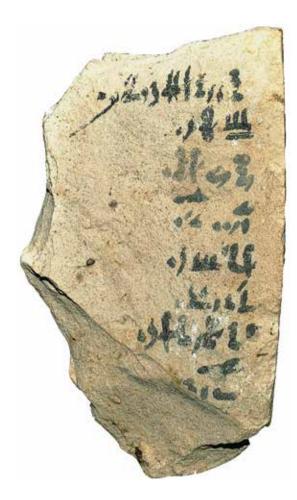


Fig. 7. Ostracon no. 495.

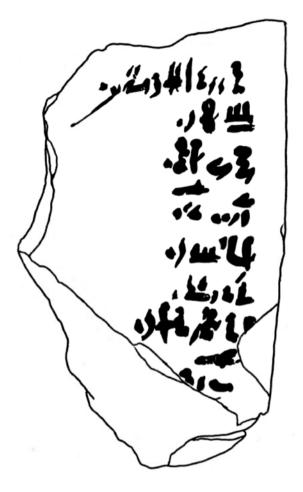


Fig. 8. Facsimile drawing.



Fig. 9. Ostracon no. 475.



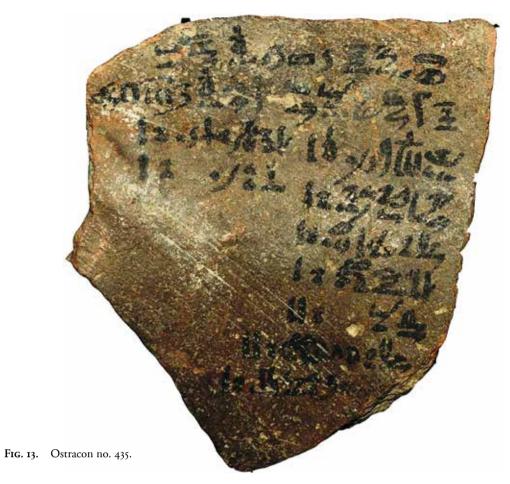
Fig. 10. Facsimile drawing.

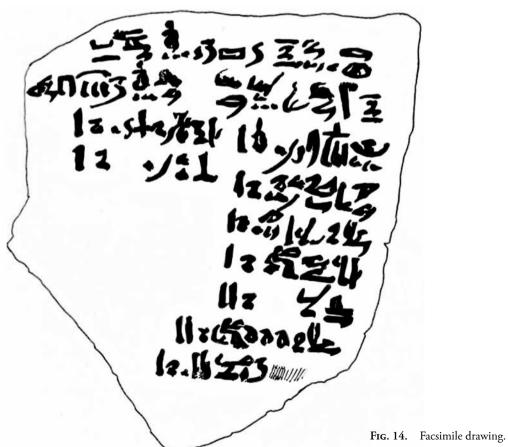


Fig. 11. Ostracon no. 528.



Fig. 12. Facsimile drawing.







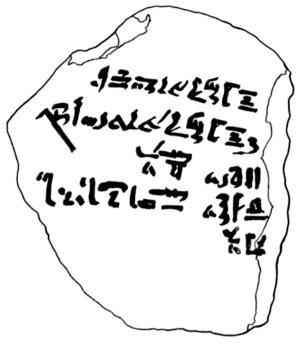


Fig. 15. Ostracon no. 488.

Fig. 16. Facsimile drawing.



Fig. 17. Ostracon no. 404.



Fig. 18. Facsimile drawing.



Fig. 19. Ostracon no. 448 rt.



Fig. 20. Ostracon no. 448 vs.

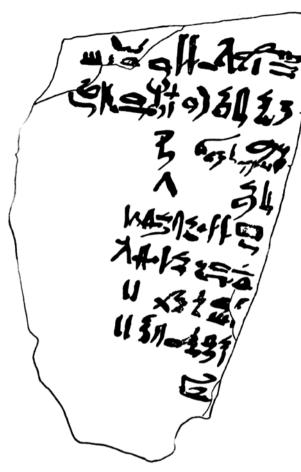


Fig. 21. Ostracon no. 448 rt. Facsimile drawing.

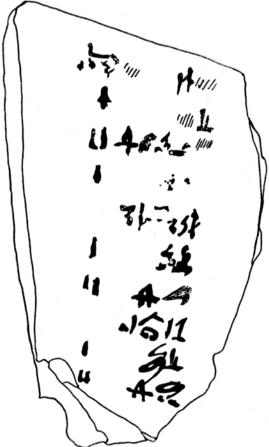


Fig. 22. Ostracon no. 448 vs. Facsimile drawing.

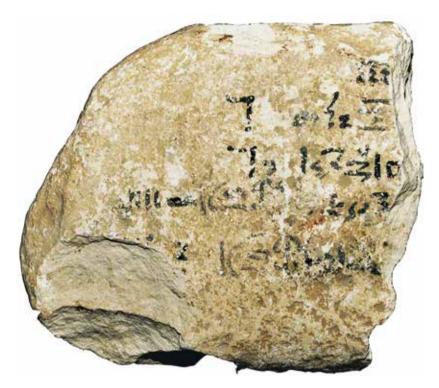


Fig. 23. Ostracon no. 384.

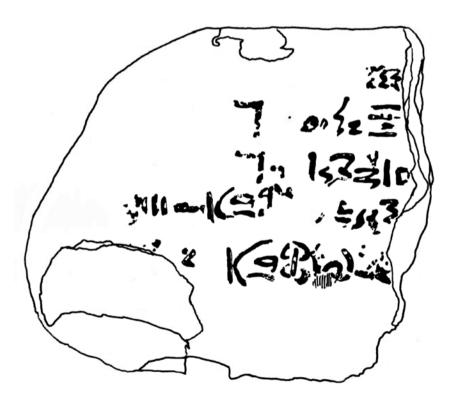


Fig. 24. Facsimile drawing.



Fig. 25. Ostracon no. 482.



Fig. 26. Facsimile drawing.



Fig. 27. Ostracon no. 486 rt.



Fig. 28. Ostracon no. 486 vs.



Fig. 29. Ostracon no. 486 rt. Facsimile drawing.

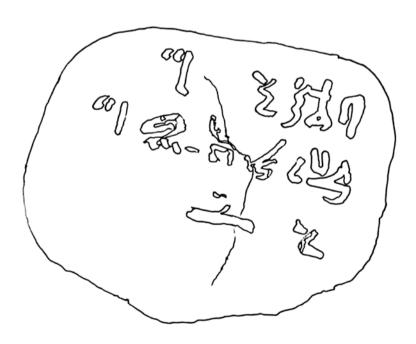


Fig. 30. Ostracon no. 486 vs. Facsimile drawing.

PL. 8



Fig. 31. Ostracon no. 434.

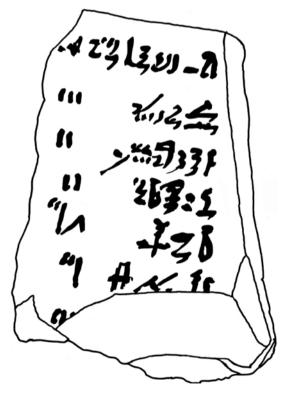


Fig. 32. Facsimile drawing.