
Khaled Hassan

Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

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.eg.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724707465 BIFAO 118 Vivienne G. Callender
9782724707311 El Hawawish Hourig Sourouzian
9782724707571 Catalogue de la statuaire royale de la XIXe dynastie
9782724707151 La vie quotidienne des moines II Olivier Delouis (éd.), Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert (éd.)
9782724706437 Guerre et paix dans le Proche-Orient médiéval (Xe-XVe siècle) Mathieu Eychenne (éd.), Stéphane Pradines (éd.), Abbès Zouache (éd.)
9782724707267 La vaisselle en pierre des reines de Pépy Ier Anne Minault-Gout
9782724707359 Ostraca de Krokodilô II Adam Bülow-Jacobson, Jean-Luc Fournet, Bérangère Redon
9782724707458 Académie hiératique – Ifao Florence Albert (éd.), Annie Gasse (éd.)
Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

KHALED HASSAN

The present paper deals with a group of hieratic ostraca stored in the basement of the 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.

* 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 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.
O. Cairo DeB. No. 518

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

Hieroglyphic transcription of the ostracon.

---

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.  上: It is very faint, but it could be part of the name.

L. 3, a.  上: Perhaps stands for the sign  上,  rather than the sign  上.

L. 4, a.  上: It represents the group  上 in the name of Ỉmn. Compare the same group in the name of Ỉmn-hṭp in l. 9.

L. 6, a.  上: Uncertain form of  上.

L. 7, a.  上: It could stand for the group  上.

Col. 2
L. 3, a.  上: It represents the group  上 in the name of Nb-sny.4

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

Transliteration

Col. 2
Col. 1

1 ḡmy-ṛm-f ṅ ṅ rmṯ
2 ḡry ...
3 ḡ ḡ-ṛ-ṭ
4 Nb-Ỉmn

[1] Nḥt
[3] Nb-sny
[4] ḥm: t2 (?)
Translation

Col. 2

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>Name-list of the men (workmen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>Pakhery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>son of Pairta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>Nebamon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] Nakht
[2] Userhat
[3] Nebseny
[4] total: 12 (?)

Col. 1

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>Djab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>Tjenouna (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>Amenjouy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>Tiouy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9]</td>
<td>Amenhotep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>Mehou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 𓎛𓎕, Nb-Ỉmn

This name has two forms Ỉmn-nb or Nb-Ỉmn. 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. 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. 𓎛𓎕, Dʒb

This name has many variations like 𓎛𓎕𓎕. Perhaps, he is to be identified with the scribe Dʒb who is attested in the visitors’ graffiti written on the walls of the tomb of Antefoker.
L. 6. 𓊎𓊎, 𓊛𓊛 (?)
Maybe this writing stands for the name of the workman 𓊛𓊛, who occurred on hieratic ostraca dated back to the 18th Dynasty, among other names, e.g. Nb-ỉry, H. umiejętn and Nbd.

L. 8. 𓊎𓊎𓊎, Tiwy
This name could be specified for the scribe 𓊎𓊎𓊎 (Teye) who is attested on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut. Possibly, he is the same person who is appearing on an unpublished ostracon from Deir el-Bahri.

L. 9. 𓊎𓊎𓊎, ḏmn-hṭp
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. Another Amenhotep son of Suner, served as chief masons. The henchman Amenhotep was mentioned on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut. Furthermore, this name is mentioned twice on an ostracon that was found in Deir el-Medina but without any titles. It is difficult to determine which one could be identified with the Amenhotep of the present text.

L. 10. 𓊎𓊎, Mb
This name could be identified with the mason Mb, who is attested on an ostracon from Assasif with other masons such as Mnw, Msyw, P2-idn, Nfr-Hʿyw. He is also described as a mason on an ostracon found in the Temple of Hatshepsut and dating to year 49 of Tuthmosis III. Furthermore, he is mentioned on two other ostraca from Deir el-Medina dated to the same period.

L. 11. 𓊎𓊎𓊎, bšȝ
This name could be identified with the workman Bšȝ 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 bṛty, “mason”.

Col. 2
L. 1. 𓊎𓊎𓊎, Nḥṭ
This name could be identified with the foreman Nḥṭ. 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.” If he was the same person, the present text could possibly be dated to an earlier period when Nḥṭ had not yet been promoted to foreman.
L. 2. 𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁, Wsr-hȝt

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

L. 3. 𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁, Nb-sny

This name has been written in many forms 𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁 in addition to 𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁𓊁. At least five individuals bearing this name are attested during the first half of the 18th Dynasty.26 This name is mentioned alongside other 18th Dynasty workmen on an ostracon found at Deir el-Medina, but without any titles.28 The herdsman Nebseny appeared with another herdsman on an ostracon dated to year 46 of Tuthmosis III.29 Another Nebseny occurred on an ostracon found at Abydos dated back to the 18th Dynasty.30 Furthermore, two names are mentioned on papyrus Louvre E. 3226,31 one of them holds the title šs.32 In later times, this name is attested on papyri dating back to Amenhotep II with his son Hȝt.33 It is worth noting that any identification of Nebseny of the present ostracon with any of the previous mentioned individuals is uncertain.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 407

[PL. 2, FIG. 3-6]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri
Dimensions: H. 11 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.
Hieroglyphic Transcription

Recto

Verso

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. \( \text{ȝbd} \): it could represent \( \text{ȝbd} \) 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 \( \text{ȝbd} \) “month four,” because the form of this group in the date is different from the present shape. The usual writing is \( \text{ȝbd} \).34

L. 2, a. \( \text{ȝb} \): Despite the faintness of the lower part of the sign, it is likely to represent the animal of Seth \( \text{ȝb} \). It seems that the scribe overstated in his writing for the animal’s tail, as the usual form of the animal is \( \text{ȝb} \).36

L. 3, a. \( \text{ȝb} \): Based on the remaining traces, one could restore the word to read \( \text{ȝb} \). This form is similar to the handwriting of P. Louvre E. 3226.37

---

34 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, nos. 62-1, 63
35 Grandet 2010, nos. 10145, 10173, 10176, 10179 rt., 10780 vs., 10200, 10201 rt.
36 Möller 1927b, 144.
37 Megally 1971, pl. XLIX, L.
L. 4, a. 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 \(\text{ditto}\) which was often used to indicate a repetition of the above word or phrase \(\text{ditto}\). This repetition sign has many other forms such as \(\text{ditto}\),\(^{39}\) \(\text{ditto}\),\(^{40}\) \(\text{ditto}\),\(^{41}\) \(\text{ditto}\),\(^{42}\) and sometimes the sign \(\text{ditto}\)\(^{43}\) 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 \(\text{ditto}\).

L. 5, a. The second half of this line is difficult to transcribe, but the three final signs \(\text{ditto}\) could be \(\text{ditto}\).

L. 6, a. \(\text{ditto}\): Very rubbed traces, therefore it is difficult to recognize. c. \(\text{ditto}\): It could represent \(\text{ditto}\), although the back of the sign is rubbed (compare the same sign in l. 7). The sign below could represent \(\text{ditto}\), as a determinative of the name, which is possibly written underneath due to insufficient space at the end of the line.

L. 8, a. \(\text{ditto}\): It represents the group \(\text{ditto}\), however, there is an unusual sign above \(\text{ditto}\) that is still inexplicable. b. \(\text{ditto}\): This ligature suggests \(\text{ditto}\), which represents the last part of a father’s name. However, there are no noticeable traces before it.

L. 9, a. \(\text{ditto}\): Reading of this group suggests \(\text{ditto}\), while the last few signs of the line are very faint. Unfortunately, the traces are not enough readable to transcribe them.

Verso
L. 1, a. \(\text{ditto}\): Perhaps stands for \(\text{ditto}\), however, the lower part of the sign is still inexplicable.

L. 3, a. \(\text{ditto}\): The reading of it escapes me.

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1] (\ldots) 8 śm[w \ldots]</td>
<td>[1] (\ldots) Tȝwy (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4] Sn=i-nfr (ṣ) P(ȝ)-[n-tȝ \ldots]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5] ‘ḥȝ (ṣ) [\ldots] ḫ (? )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6] Imn-hṭp (ṣ) [\ldots] ḫ Pȝ-sr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8] Imn-m-hȝ.t [\ldots] ḫ (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9] Imn-hṭp (ṣ) ḫ [\ldots]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[10] Qn-Imn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{38}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, 63 rt. 5, 64 rt. 5, XIV, 69, 3.

\(^{39}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 14 rt. 2-tt.

\(^{40}\) Grandet 2006b, no. 883 rt.

\(^{41}\) Grandet 2003, nos. 899, 906, 911 rt.

\(^{42}\) Grandet 2003, no. 899 rt.

\(^{43}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XI, 14 rt. 13-15, 14 vs. 2–4; Hayes 1960, pl. XVIII, no. 82, 3-8; Grandet 2003, no. 754.
Translation

Recto
[1] […] 8 Shemou seas[on …]
[2] Seth son of Paentakm
[4] Seninofer son of Paenta
[5] Āba son of […] Āa (?)
[8] Amenemhat […]r (?)
[9] Amenhotep son of Āa […]
[10] Qenamen

Verso
[1] […] Taouy (?)
[2] […] Pasen son of Khaâ
[3] Total 10 … (?)

Commentary

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

Recto

L. 2. Stḥ
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.

L. 3. Sn⸗ỉ-rs
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

L. 4. Sn⸗ỉ-nfr
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, ḥr ȝʿʿ.48 He is also attested on another ostracon from the same tomb holding the title tȝw.w, “shorer”.49

44 A similar list dated to the 18th Dynasty has been published by ČERNY, Gardiner 1957, pl. XVI, 5. Most of the names are accompanied 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.


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 iny-ḏḥ-s宇, “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.


48 According to Hayes, the word ȝʿʿ 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” šʿd and prior to their being “faced” or “overlaid” dqr with plaster. Hayes 1960, p. 31.

L. 5. 𓊚𓊝𓊺𓊝, 𓊛𓊝𓊩
This name could be identified with the workman 𓊛𓊝, who is attested on two necropolis journals ostraca along with well known 18th Dynasty workmen. It is worth noting that 𓊛𓊝 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. 𓊚𓊝𓊺𓊝, 𓊝𓊝𓊩𓊝𓊝
This name could be identified with the individual Paser who occurred on an ostraca dated to the 18th Dynasty found at Gurna with other workmen such as Ḥwrỉ, Ỉmn-nb and Ỉmn-ms. However, it is uncertain whether he is the same Paser who occurs as the father of Mehou in the next line.

L. 8. 𓊚𓊝𓊺𓊝𓊚, Ỉmn- h3t
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 ostraca at Deir el-Bahri holding the title 𓏕𓏚𓊰 n Ỉmn, “the skipper of Amon”.
2. Another Amenemhat occurs as 𓏕𓏚𓊰, “Reis” on an ostraca from Deir el-Bahri. He might be the same man who is attested on two ostraca from the tomb of Senmut, where he is mentioned as a supervisor of many of the workmen.
3. The servant sḏm 𓊳 who appears on an ostraca dated to year 16 of Tuthmosis III.
4. The mason who is attested on an ostraca dated to year 49 of Tuthmosis III.
5. The workman who appeared on an ostraca from West Thebes with other workmen without any title.

L. 10. 𓊚𓊝𓊝𓊝𓊝𓊝, Qn-Ỉmn
This name is attested on many 18th Dynasty ostraca. Cf. ostraca no. 488, pl. 5, fig. 15-16.

Verso
L. 1. [...] 𓊚𓊝𓊝, [...]Tȝwy
It could be part of a name, but the reading is uncertain.

L. 2. 𓊚𓊝𓊝𓊝𓊝, Ḥc
Could be identified with the mason who occurred on an ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri dated back to the first half of the 18th Dynasty.

51 Černý, Gardiner 1935, pl. XX, 5-1; Černý 1935, t.
52 Goedicke, Wente 1962, 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.
56 Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 84, XIX, 93 rt.
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.
L. 3. 𓋃: 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. 𓋃: Despite the lack of sufficient details, it may represent the sign 𓋃. 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 ḫrt?  
L. 6. : It is likely to read as sn, but the above stroke is unusual.

Transliteration

1. Mnt. w-ḥr-wnmy?f  
2. Pȝ-n-ṯbw  
3. Mry  
4. Dr.t(?)-ṣ  
5. ḫw  
6. Ṭn.w(?)-ḥw.t  
7. ḫmn-wḏ-sw  
8. Wr-m[…]

Translation

1. Montoherwenmyef  
2. Paentjebou  
3. Mery  
4. Djert(?)-āa  
5. ḫw  
6. Senou(?)-hat  
7. Amenwadjesou  
8. Wāuem[…]

Commentary

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

L. 1. ḫrt, Mnt. w-ḥr-wnmy?f  
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. However, the section ḥr-wny?f occurred as a second part in the name of Pȝ-Rʿ-ḥr-wny?f dated to Ramesside Period as well.

L. 2. ḫw, Pȝ-n-ṯbw  
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.  
63 Lopez 1984, pl. 181, no. 57539.  
64 Spiegelberg, Newberry 1908, p. 36, pl. 25; Ranke, PN I, p. 112-7.
L. 5. 

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

\[\text{Rnp.t sp 5 <i rp n> ‘t n.t h.t} \]
\[\text{Ḫpw 5 ȝh} \]

[1] Year 5 [wine of] orchards
[2] Ipou son of Akhy

O. Cairo DeB. No. 475

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. : The handwriting of the group is similar to the forms of P. Louvre E. 3226, (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. .

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

Transliteration

[1] Nb-wʿ.w
[2] Nb-sny
[3] Qn-Imn
[4] Sbk-ms ... (?)
[5] Pȝy

Translation

[1] Nebouaou
[2] Nebeny
[3] Qenamen
[4] Sobekmes ... (?)
[5] Pay

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.

L. 1. Nb-wʿ.w

This name is mentioned on an ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri holding the title imy-r ihw, “the overseer of the cattle.” He might have been involved with other workmen, individuals, and institutions in the construction of Hatshepsut’s temple.

L. 2. Nb-sny

cf. ostracon no. 518, col. 2, l. 3.

66 Megally 1971, pl. XLVII, k. 67 Megally 1971, pl. XL, c. 68 Megally 1971, pl. XX, c. 69 Hayes 1960, pl. X, 9 rt. 9. 70 Hayes 1960, p. 34.
L. 3. 𓊬𓊯𓊢𓊞, Qn-ỉmn

Sometimes, this name is inscribed in another variant 𓊨𓊯𓊟, ỉmn-qn.71 This individual is mentioned as a mason on an ostracon from Deir el-Bahri dating to year 49 of Tuthmosis III.72 The same name is written on an ostracon dated to the 18th Dynasty, and recording a message sent from him to the workman Ḥry-ms, discussing about masons.73 Qn-ỉmn 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-ỉmn of ḧsw (?)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.

L. 4. 𓊤𓊯𓊱𓊢𓊢, Sbk-ms […]

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

L. 5. 𓊯𓊯𓊯𓊯𓊯𓊬, Pȝy

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-12]

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

[1] 𓊨𓊯𓊟, Qn-ỉmn
[2] 𓊯𓊯𓊱𓊯𓊯, Sbk-ms
[3] 𓊯𓊯𓊯𓊯𓊯𓊬, Pȝy

[71] Ranke, PN I, p. 334.
[73] Möller 1911, pl. XXX, P 10614.
[74] Hayes 1960, pl. XXI, no. 121.
[76] Hayes 1960, pl. XII, 17 vs. 7.
Palaeographical Remarks

L. 3, a. The sign after 𓊀 is still too vague to be transcribed.

Transliteration

[1] ḅḥwty-nfr
[2] Ḫmn-htp
[3] Ṣwn ... (?)

Translation

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

Commentary

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

L. 2. Ḫmn-htp
This name could be identified with the draughtsman Amenhotep, who is attested together 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

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 ḅḥwty-nfr. It 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 $\text{fm}$, however the lower sign is still illegible.

Transliteration

1. \(\text{hr} \text{n} \text{n wšm} \text{w iti (l)n}\)
2. \(\text{n} \text{n hr.tyw-ntr br h(n)k.t m nb bd 3 pr.t}\)
3. \(\text{Nb} \text{-ms.w wšm} \text{1}\)
4. \(\text{Mr} \text{-M.t wšm} \text{1}\)
5. \(\text{Pr -rwry wšm} \text{1}\)
6. \(\text{Ird wšm} \text{1}\)
7. \(\text{Qn wšm} \text{2}\)
8. \(\text{Pr-ngw-ng wšm} \text{2}\)
9. \(\text{[...]} \text{m-Mḥty wšm} \text{1}\)
10. \(\text{Imn-wṣd-sw wšm} \text{1}\)
11. \(\text{Wḏc.t-Ms wšm} \text{1}\)
### Translation

[1] List of the \textit{wšm}-vessels that taken by
[2] The masons with beer in the third month of Peret season
[3] \textit{Nebmesou wšm} 1  
[4] \textit{Merymaât wšm} 1  
[5] \textit{Paroury wšm} 1  
[6] \textit{Ired wšm} 1  
[7] \textit{Qen wšm} 2  
[8] \textit{Panonou wšm} 2  
[9] \textit{[...]emmehy wšm} 1  

### Commentary

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

**L. 1.** \textit{\(\text{wšm}\)}

The \textit{wšm}-vessel was generally employed as storage for beer,\textsuperscript{78} and later it was particularly used as a beer measurement.\textsuperscript{79} This vessel first appeared in the 18th Dynasty,\textsuperscript{80} in the form \(\text{r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r}\).\textsuperscript{81} Then, throughout the New Kingdom, its regular writing was \(\text{r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r}\) or \(\text{r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r}\).\textsuperscript{82} With some exceptions like \(\text{r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}r}\).\textsuperscript{83} The regular determinative of \textit{wšm} is a vessel without handle, but in later times, especially in the texts of the 25th Dynasty, the determinative is representing a \textit{situla} with a movable handle.\textsuperscript{85} This kind of vessel was a high-walled vessel with a neck and a wide opening,\textsuperscript{86} generally made of metal (silver or bronze).\textsuperscript{87} However, in some cases it was made of gold.\textsuperscript{88} J. Janssen mentioned that the \textit{wšm} is quite small which agrees with its price. A clear price of bronze \textit{wšm} is dated to the late 19th Dynasty, when its value equalled two \textit{deben}, so J. Janssen concluded that while its exact value is uncertain, it remains fairly low.\textsuperscript{89}

**L. 2.** \textit{\(\text{Hr.tyw-nṯr}\)}

\textit{Hr.tyw-nṯr} is the complete form of the abbreviated title \textit{Hr.ty}, which means “masons”.\textsuperscript{90} This title is a \textit{nisbe} form of the old expression \textit{Hr.t-nṯr}, “god’s underground” or “necropolis.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{92} J. Černý considered \textit{Hr.tyw-nṯr} as a rare title, because it was not

\textsuperscript{78} Spalinger 2000, p. 315.

\textsuperscript{79} The \textit{wšm} is close in shape to other measurements which were used also for beer like \textit{qby}, \textit{stt}, \textit{ṯȝb}.

\textsuperscript{80} Wb I, 374-2; Hannig 1995, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{81} Wb I, 374; Gardiner 1957, p. 474.

\textsuperscript{82} Wb I, 374.

\textsuperscript{83} Hayes 1960, pl. XIX, no. 94.

\textsuperscript{84} Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. LXXX-VI, 1 rt. This ostracon is dated to the late 19th and early 20th Dynasty.

\textsuperscript{85} Wb I, 374; Janssen 1975, p. 426.

\textsuperscript{86} Pommerning 2005, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{87} Wb I, 374.

\textsuperscript{88} Muhammad Salah, Al-kakilim wa al-ma'arajim fii Misr al-Aqada, hadith, 1982, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{89} Wb III, 394-14.

\textsuperscript{90} Černý 1929, p. 245; Wb III, 394-14; Hayes 1960, p. 38; Hannig 1995, p. 643; Lesko 2002a, p. 388.

\textsuperscript{91} Černý 1973a, p. 251.

\textsuperscript{92} Megally 1981, p. 310; Wb III, 394-14.
mentioned frequently on the ostraca of Deir el-Medina. M. Megally justified this rarity for the type of documents, which recorded \textit{Hr.ty-nṯr} in Deir el-Medina. \textit{Hr.tyw-nṯr} is mainly written on reports on papyrus, but not on ordinary daily-life ostraca. 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 \textit{rmt-ḥst}, and when they had a specific mission related only to them or had rations and rewards, they were described as \textit{Hr.ty-nṯr}. 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. That is why one can find more than one mason during the reign of Ramesses II adopting the title \textit{Hr.ty-nṯr}, among the other “servants in the place of truth.” Another possibility is that they were sent to quarry stones for the construction of the Theban sanctuaries in the sandstone-quarries at Gebel Silsila. 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.

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 ostraco dated to King Tuthmosis III, when the masons worked under the direction of the vizier Rekhmere. According to a hieratic ostraco dated to the 18th Dynasty, the masons were put under the direct control of the \textit{Hr.ty-nṯr n ṭỉ-r-kȝ-ỉȝ}, “chief of masons.”

\begin{footnotes}
\item[93] Černý 1973a, p. 251.
\item[95] Bierbrier 1982, p. 39.
\item[96] Bierbrier 1982, p. 46; Černý 1973b, p. 17.
\item[98] Černý 1973a, pp. 254-255.
\item[99] Černý 1973a, p. 255; one can numerate many of them, e.g. Karo: servant in the place of truth, son of Amon in the southern city \textit{Hr.ty-nṯr n İm n ṭỉ-r-kȝ-ỉȝ}.
\item[100] Bierbrier 1982, p. 46; Černý 1973b, p. 17.
\item[102] Černý 1973a, pp. 254-255.
\item[103] Černý 1973a, pp. 254-255.
\item[104] Černý, Gardiner 1937, pl. XXII, rt.1 and vs.1. Among the work-force of the masons, we can find non-Egyptian masons e.g. \textit{Hr.ty-nṯr n ṭỉ-r-kȝ-ỉȝ}, “Nubian mason “Trka” Cf. Hayes 1960, p. 32, pl. IX, 4.
\end{footnotes}
L. 3. ḫrt pr, Nb-msw
This individual is mentioned in a very brief text found in the tomb of Senmut.¹⁰⁵

L. 7. ḫtpr, Qn
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 ḫt,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 ostraca¹⁰⁹ and papyri, such

¹⁰⁵ Hayes 1960, pl. IX, 45.
¹⁰⁶ Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 vs. 5.
¹⁰⁷ Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. LVI, no. 5.
¹⁰⁸ Gardiner 1957, p. 467.
¹⁰⁹ Möller 1927b, 191; Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 rt.; Hayes 1960, pl. XIV, nos. 68, 69, 74, 75.
as P. Louvre E. 3226 dated to the same time. Occasionally, this sign was written with a point over the head of the buzzard, or added behind its back.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ostracon no. 488</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image13.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image14.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lly, Louvre E. 3226</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image15.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image16.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image17.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image18.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image19.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image20.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image21.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image22.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image23.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image24.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image25.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image26.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image27.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image28.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration

[1] Nȝ[n] ḫryw-nṯr nṯy nn s.t
[2] m nȝ[n] ḫryw-nṯr ỉw.w ḥḥnʿ⸗k
[3] Snw
[4] Qn-Ỉmn
[5] ṣw
[7] Snrk: dmḏ 5

Translation

[1] The masons who have not been
[2] with the masons who have come with you
[3] Senou
[4] Qenamen
[5] Saou
[7] Senrka total: 5

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. 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.
L. 2. \( n \cdot n h n t w-ntr \cdot i w.w \ h n'k \)

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. \( \text{Šnw} \)

This name is written in variant forms \( / \text{Šnw}/ \text{šnw}/ \text{Šn.w}/ \text{śnw} \).\(^{115}\) 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 \( \text{šnw} \).\(^{116}\) 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. \( Qn-\text{Imn} \)

cf. ostracon no. 475, l. 3 (pl. 3, fig. 9-10).

L. 6. \( \text{Nḥt-Mnw} \)

This name is mentioned in the P. Louvre E. 3226.\(^{118}\)

L. 7. \( \text{Snrkȝ} \)

It is clear that this is a Nubian name.\(^{119}\) 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.\(^{120}\)

O. Cairo DeB. No. 404

[PL. 5, FIG. 17-18]

Description

\begin{itemize}
  \item **Provenance:** Deir el-Bahri
  \item **Dimensions:** H. 4.5 cm; W. 5 cm
  \item **Date:** New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
  \item **Current location:** Egyptian Museum of Cairo
\end{itemize}

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, p. 143.
\(^{115}\) Ranke, *PN* I, p. 310, 21.
\(^{116}\) Hayes 1960, p. 47, pl. XIII, no. 21
\(^{117}\) Černý 1935, rt.13.
\(^{118}\) Megally 1971, pl. XLVII, f.
\(^{119}\) Erman 1911, p. 57, k-6; Ranke, *PN* I, p. 297.
\(^{120}\) Römer 2014, p. 214.
\(^{121}\) 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 $\ldots$

L. 4.a.  Perhaps stands for the repeating sign for the above word $dn\dot{t}$.

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>$\text{L}m.w\ n\ p\text{z}$</td>
<td>$Pr-\dot{\text{r}}\ wdn\ h\dot{b}r\ 1$</td>
<td>$\dot{q}.\ w\ dn\dot{t}(t)$</td>
<td>$[\ldots]tr.\ [\ldots] tr.$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>Yamou to the</td>
<td>Royal Palace (i.e. Great House), wdnt-bread: 1 khar.</td>
<td>Bread: dint-basket 1 [...]</td>
<td>[...]tr. [...] tr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. IVERSH , Ḥm.w
The official Yamou was known as an overseer of the Treasury at the time of Amenophis I. 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. PTR-ʿȝ , Pr-ʿȝ
It seems that, in this case, this term points to the royal palace rather than the pharaoh. Pr-ʿȝ 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 Ṣḥwpt, Ṣḥwpt, adding the sign Ṣḥu as determinative.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>[4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>[5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>[6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[7]</td>
<td>[7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8]</td>
<td>[8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9]</td>
<td>[9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[10]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[11]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

124 Ranke, PNI, 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 Ḥm.w-ndoḥ in the time of Tuthmosis III. Navrátilová 2007, p. 32.
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. \(\text{[\ldots]}\): It stands for \(\text{[\ldots]}\), 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 \(\text{[\ldots]}\):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The writing technique of this sign \(\text{[\ldots]}\) is different from the sign \(\text{[\ldots]}\). 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 \(\text{[\ldots]}\), 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 \(\text{[\ldots]}\).

L. 8. a. \(\text{[\ldots]}\): It could represent the sign \(\text{[\ldots]}\), 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1] swn īny.(t) r Ɖsr.w</td>
<td>[1] tr. ... tr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] m ṭ Hw.t Ǧ-hpr-n-R̃ mɔ-[ḥrw]</td>
<td>[2] wdn.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4] wdn.t</td>
<td>[4] tr. ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8] b(n)q.t ds (?)</td>
<td>[8] Grg⁻k-pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[10] ʾqw ḫr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2 Khar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Khar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 Khar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[10] Bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Khar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 1. ḫī ḫī, īny.(t)

For this verb refers to movements, it was highly used by the administrative vocabulary and, as such, in delivery account formulae.
The temple of Tuthmosis II, which is located to the north of Medinet Habu, was called Ṣsp.t-ʿnḫ or Ḥw.t Ṣsp.t-ʿnḫ, “Chapel of life.” 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, 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, 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 šnʿ, which was responsible for the production of their requirements.

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. The loaves varied in size, shape (oval, round, conical), decoration, and also had special flavours. The word t refers to bread in general, 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-ʿȝ, “great bread”; t-nfr, “good bread”; t-ḥḏ, “white bread”; t-n-ỉt, “barley bread.” Probably the very uncommon name t-wm.t, that means “thick bread” 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.

This term occurs on some ostraca from Deir el-Bahri precinct, relating to the Djeser-Djeserou and its builders. This word is written in several forms, maybe, the name refers to the typical offering bread. The shape of this loaf is uncertain; perhaps it was a small object, probably a roll rather than a loaf.

131 Haring 1997, p. 3.
136 Mail 1902a, p. 100.
137 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 10; Hayes translated it as “offerings”; Hayes 1960, pp. 36-37.
138 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 10.
139 Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 9 rt.
140 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 9 rt.
141 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 9 rt.
142 Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 9 rt.
143 Wb, 306-9; FCD, p. 60; Lesko 2002a, p. 100.
144 Wb, 393-1.
This kind of cake was one of the most important and popular foods mentioned through the ancient Egyptian texts. The word Šʿy.t is attested for the first time in the tomb of Khâbausoker at Saqqara (3rd Dynasty, Old Kingdom), and continued to be used until the end of the New Kingdom. 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.

Adjective meaning “warm.” When it comes with cake, it could simply mean “fresh cake.”

Fruits were an important part of the ancient Egyptian diet along with the cereal products, and vegetables. The word ḏqr.w, “fruits”, is attested for the first time in New Kingdom texts.

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 occurs on an ostraca uncovered inside the temple itself. According to W. Hayes, the foregoing list would be recopied onto a permanent register, e.g. papyrus, and duplicated in the temple records. At the same time, it is an indication that the temple was operating and receiving offerings from Hatshepsut’s officials and their families.

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

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

References:
149 Haring IV, 195, 6–7; FCD, p. 314.
147 Grandet 2003, no. 938; Grandet 2010, no. 10205 vs.
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.
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**

```
[1] [ ] [ ]
[2] [ ] [ ]
[3] [ ] [ ]
[4] [ ] [ ]
[5] [ ] [ ]
```

**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. [ ]: 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. Černý, 1957, pl. XXX-VI, 2.

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 kȝmw, “gardener”.

**Transliteration**

[1] […]…(!?)
[2] […]… nȝ nȝh(.w) […] 5
[3] […]… pr imy-r htm … 5
[4] […]…(!?) nȝ-bpr-n-Rˁ ir 4
[5] […]… nsw.t-bity nȝ-bpr-n-Rˁ dmḏ 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.  pr imy-r htm

As far as I know, this term is used in one 18th Dynasty ostraca of Deir el-Bahri, with other officials, e.g. imy-r pr ḥtb, in a list of contributions to the temple of Hatshepsut.161 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.162 It has been noted that the highest amount of supplies in these lists belonged only to the overseer of the treasure.163

L. 5. ʿȝ-ḥpr-n-Rʿ

The royal name ʿȝ-ḥpr-n-Rʿ, “Tuthmosis II”, is almost not attested in Deir el-Bahri except in ostraca 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
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

![Hieroglyphic symbols]

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 Djehwtpty-Tety or it may also give the reason why his amount of barely is less than that of the scribe Hori.

L. 4, a. The abbreviated and unusual writing for the name Hor(i). There are no details at all except the two legs. It is worth noting that the name is written without any determinative.

Transliteration

1. śbd ṣḥ. t sw 19
2. ṣḥ. t it nty ṣṣm. w
3. ś ḫwyty-Tty it 34 …(?)
4. ś Ḥr(i) it 64

Translation

1. The third month, Akhet season, day 19
2. Amount of barley which is delivered (distributed) (to)
3. Scribe Djehwtptytet: 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.

L. 3. ḫwyty-Tty
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 Ḫmn-nb.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 486

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Hieroglyphs" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Hieroglyphs" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Hieroglyphs" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Hieroglyphs" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Hieroglyphs" /></td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Hieroglyphs" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

References:

166 Goedicke, Wente 1962, pl. LXXXVII, no. 56 rt.
Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

L. 1. [ IMAGE ] sfb pȝ ḫȝ 167
This expression is different from the known sfb n ḫȝ, “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.

L. 2. [ IMAGE ], sšm
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.

n | ḫȝ , nb-ỉr(y)
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. [ IMAGE ] nȝ n ḫȝy.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, the word ḫȝ that is determined by [ IMAGE ] means “hall” Wb III, 221-18. So that it could refer to “building” rather than “tool or chisel”.

168 Černý 1935; Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. XX, 5.

Verso

L. 1. 𓊳𓏺𓊱 𓊳𓏺, Snfr
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 𓊳𓏺 𓊳𓏺 instead of the sign 𓊳𓏺.170

L. 2. 𓊳𓏺 𓊳𓏺 𓊳𓏺 𓊳𓏺, pȝ šnʿ n ʿqw
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

L. 1, a. 
Presumably stands for ḫ.

L. 6, a.  Perhaps the broken part could be restored, with more caution, as ṭỉn.w bšȝ ḫȝr [...]. However it is still an uncertain reading.

Transliteration

Transliteration

Translation

Translation

Commentary

L. 2. ḫỉn.w bšȝ ḫȝr [...]
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 Tỉrt, which belongs to a kind of plant, don’t have determinatives in contrast with the other names.

L. 4. ṭỉn.w  bšȝ ḫȝr [...], Sn-mn
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 Mḥ and Wsr-ḥȝ.t. Presumably, this individual could be considered as Senmut’s brother.

L. 6. ṭỉn.w bšȝ ḫȝr [...], ỉth
The meaning of this word is problematic.

171 Maybe translated as “Amen among his servants”.
173 Ranke, PNI, p. 308-22.
174 Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 85.
175 Hayes 1960, p. 23.
Bibliography

Albright 1954

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

Černý 1929

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

Černý 1973a

Černý 1973b

Černý, GARDINER 1957

Charpentier 1981

Davies, GARDINER 1920

Daniel 1990

David 1999

Donker Van Heel, HARING 2003

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

Gabolde, Gabolde 1989

Gardiner 1957

Germer 2001, s.v. “Fruits”, p. 564

Goedicke, Wente 1962

Golénischeff 1993

Grandet 2003

Grandet 2006a
Grandet 2006b

Grandet 2010

Hagen 2011

Hannig 1995

Haring 1997

Hassan 2013

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

Helck 1958-1975

Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1911

Hoch 1994

Lopez 1984

Ikram 1995

Janssen 1975

Janssen 1979

Janssen 1995

Lesko 2002a

Lesko 2002b

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 XVIIIe dynastie, BiEtud 71, Cairo, 1977.

Megally 1981

Meyer 1980
Meyer, Ch., LA VI, 1980, col. 539, s.v. “Thutmose II”.

Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1911
Möller 1911
Möller 1927a
Möller 1927b
Navrátilová 2007
Pendlebury 1951
Pommerening 2005
Ragazzoli 2013
Römer 2008
Römer 2014
Samuel 2001, s.v. “Bread”, p. 198
Spalinger 2000
Spiegelberg, Newberry 1908
Wilkinson 2005
Winlock 1942
Fig. 1. Ostracon no. 518.

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

\textsuperscript{177} The photographer is Mr. Sameh Abd el-Mohsen (© Egyptian Museum of Cairo), and the facsimile drawn by the author.
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. 13. Ostracon no. 435.

Fig. 14. 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.
Fig. 31. Ostracon no. 434.

Fig. 32. Facsimile drawing.