
HAZZAN (Khaled)

Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

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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.¹ Their topics vary between lists of names, distribution of beer in wām-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.

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

* 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.
O. Cairo DeB. No. 518²

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. 2</th>
<th>Col. 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic Transcription" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic Transcription" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. ...: Perhaps stands for the sign Scar, rather than the sign 4.

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

L. 6, a. ...: Uncertain form of 4.

L. 7, a. ...: It could stands for the group 4.

Col. 2
L. 3, a. ...: It represents the group 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 Col. 1
[1] Ỉmy-rns ê n rmṯ
[2] Pȝ bry ...
[3] sȝ Pȝ-r-tȝ
[4] Nb-İmn
[5] Dšb
[6] Tnwȝ (?)
[7] İmn-Twy
[8] Tiwy
[9] İmn-btp
[10] Mb

Translation

Col. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. 1</th>
<th>Name-list of the men (workmen)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td><em>Nakht</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td><em>Userhat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td><em>Nebeny</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>total: 12 (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Col. 1 | Pakhery                      |
|        | *son of Pairta*               |
|        | *Nebamon*                     |
|        | *Djab*                        |
|        | *Tjenouna (?)*                |
|        | *Amentjouy*                   |
|        | *Tomu*                        |
|        | *Amenhotep*                   |
|        | *Mehou*                       |
|        | *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. [\(\text{N} \text{b-}\text{I} \text{mn}\)]

This name has two forms *I\(\text{m}n\)-\(\text{n}\)b* or *N\(\text{b-}\text{I} \text{mn}\).* 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. 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. [\(\text{Dj} \text{b}\)]

This name has many variations like *Djeb* or *Djeb*. Perhaps, he is to be identified with the scribe *Djeb* who is attested in the visitors’ graffiti written on the walls of the tomb of Antefoker.

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5 Ranke, PVI, pp. 29, 14; 183, 10.  
6 Hayes 1942, pl. XV, no. 70.  
7 Hayes 1960, pl. IX, no. 2.  
8 Goedicke, Wente 1962, pl. LXXXVII, no. 56 rt.  
9 Grandet 2006a, pp. 95-96; Grandet 2006b, p. 7, no. 10001.  
10 Ranke, PVI, p. 405-1.  
L. 6. 𓊀𓊀𓊀, 𓊁𓊁𓊁(?)

Maybe this writing stands for the name of the workman 𓊁𓊁𓊁, who occurred on hieratic ostraca dated back to the 18th Dynasty,\(^\text{12}\) among other names, e.g. Nb-ỉry, H.ỉnw, and Nbd.

L. 8. 𓊀𓊀𓊀, 𓊇𓊇

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

L. 9. 𓊀𓊀𓊀, ḫmn-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.\(^\text{15}\) Another Amenhotep son of Suner, served as chief masons.\(^\text{16}\) The henchman\(^\text{17}\) Amenhotep was mentioned on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut.\(^\text{18}\) Furthermore, this name is mentioned twice on a ostracon that was found in Deir el-Medina but without any titles.\(^\text{19}\) It is difficult to determine which one could be identified with the Amenhotep of the present text.

L. 10. 𓊀𓊀𓊀, ḫb

This name could be identified with the mason ḫb, who is attested on an ostracon from Assasif with other masons such as Mnw, Msỉw, Pȝ-ỉdnh, Nfr-Ḫʿyw.\(^\text{20}\) He is also described as a mason on an ostracon found in the Temple of Hathepsut and dating to year 49 of Tuthmosis III.\(^\text{21}\) Furthermore, he is mentioned on two other ostraca from Deir el-Medina dated to the same period.\(^\text{22}\)

L. 11. 𓊀𓊀𓊀, ḫst

This name could be identified with the workman ḫst 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 ḫnty, “mason.”\(^\text{23}\)

Col. 2
L. 1. 𓊀𓊀𓊀, ḫhr

This name could be identified with the foreman ḫhr. 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.”\(^\text{24}\) If he was the same person, the present text could possibly be dated to an earlier period when ḫhr had not yet been promoted to foreman.

\(^\text{12}\) Černý 1935.
\(^\text{13}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XXIII, no. 130.
\(^\text{14}\) 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 ḫmntb and ḫmrw.
\(^\text{15}\) Hayes 1960, pl. X, no. 6 rt.; Goe- dicke, Wente 1962, pl. LXXXVI, no. 38.
\(^\text{16}\) Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. XXII, 1.
\(^\text{17}\) This is the translation of the title ḫmr by Hayes 1960, pp. 24–87.
\(^\text{18}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XVIII, 87.
\(^\text{19}\) Grandet 2006b, no. 10002.
\(^\text{21}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 38; Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 rt.
\(^\text{22}\) Černý 1935; Grandet 2006b, p. 6, no.10001.
\(^\text{23}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 63, 5, pl. XIV, no. 69, pl. XV, no. 73, pl. XV, p. 74-75.
\(^\text{24}\) Hayes 1960, p. 32, pl. IX.
L. 2. 𓂂𓂂𓊳𓂪𓎪𓎩, Wṣr-ḥȝt

Maybe, this name could be identified with the mason Wṣr-ḥȝt who occurred with the mason Mḥ on an ostracan found in the tomb of Senmut.25

L. 3. 𓊳𓎩𓎪𓎩𓊳𓎩, Nb-sny

This name has been written in many forms 𓊳𓎩𓎪𓎩𓊳𓎩 in addition to 𓊳𓎩𓎪𓎩𓊳𓎩. 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 ostracan found at Deir el-Medina, but without any titles.28 The herdsman Nebseny appeared with another herdsmen on an ostracan dated to year 46 of Tuthmosis III.29 Another Nebseny occurred on an ostracan 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 šš.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 ostracan with any of the previous mentioned individuals is uncertain.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 407

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 ostracan 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.

26 Ranke, PN I, pp. 186-14.
27 He occurred on an unpublished ostracan from Deir el-Bahri, (it belongs to the group of Rasha Isaac), with other workmen such as ỉmn-m-ḥȝ.t, ỉmn-Pȝ Qu, Ỉḥwty.
28 Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. XVI, 6.
29 Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. XLVI, 1.
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).
32 Megally 1971, p. 3.
33 Golénischeff 1993, col 13, no. 150.
Hieroglyphic Transcription

Recto | Verso
---|---
[1] | [1]
[2] | [2]
[3] | [3]
[4] | [4]
[5] | [5]
[6] | [6]
[7] | [7]
[8] | [8]
[9] | [9]
[10] | [10]

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 $\text{ȝbd}$ 35

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

L. 3, a. $\text{ḥbd}$: Based on the remaining traces, one could restore the word to read $\text{ḥbd}$ . This form is similar to the handwriting of P. Louvre E. 3226 $\text{ḥbd}$.37

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34 Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, nos. 62-1, 63
35 Grandet 2010, nos. 10145, 10173, 10176, 10179, 10178, 10200, 10201
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.\textsuperscript{38} b. It represents the repetition sign ≈ which was often used to indicate a repetition of the above word or phrase \textit{ditto}. This repetition sign has many other forms such as ≈,\textsuperscript{39} ≈,\textsuperscript{40} ≈,\textsuperscript{41} ≈,\textsuperscript{42} and sometimes the sign ≈\textsuperscript{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 ≈.

L. 5, a. The second half of this line is difficult to transcribe, but the three final signs could be ≈.

L. 6, a. ≈: Very rubbed traces, therefore it is difficult to recognize. c. ≈: it could represent ≈, although the back of the sign is rubbed (compare the same sign in l. 7). The sign below could represent ≈, 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 ≈, however, there is an unusual sign above ḫȝ.\textit{t} that is still inexplicable. b. ≈ This ligature suggests ≈, 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.

Verso

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

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

Transliteration

\begin{tabular}{l|l}
\textbf{Recto} & \textbf{Verso} \\
\hline
\hline
\hline
\hline
\hline
[5] ‘b (sȝ) [...] ‘ (?) &
\hline
[6] ʿbn-bt (sȝ) [...] sȝ Pȝ-sr &
\hline
\hline
[8] ʿmn-m-ḥȝ.ḥt [...] ṭf (?) &
\hline
[9] ʿmn-hīp (sȝ) ṭf [...] &
\hline
[10] Qn-ʿmn &
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{38} Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, 63 rt. 5, 64 rt. 5, XIV, 69, 3.
\textsuperscript{39} Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 14 rt. 2-11.
\textsuperscript{40} Grandet 2006b, no. 883 rt.
\textsuperscript{41} Grandet 2003, nos. 899, 906, 911 rt.
\textsuperscript{42} Grandet 2003, no. 899 rt.
\textsuperscript{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.  Suइ-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.  Snइ-i-nfṛ 46

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 ṭwget “shorer”.49

44 A similar list dated to the 18th Dynasty has been published by Černý, 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 ḫmy-r ṭwget, “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” ṣʿd and prior to their being “faced” or “overlaid” ḏqr with plaster. Hayes 1960, p. 31.

49 Hayes 1960, pl. XIV, no. 69-3, ṭwget ṭwget “shorer”, derived from the verb ṭwget ṭwget stay, shore-up, support, Hayes 1960, p. 40.
L. 5. \(\text{ḥb} \) This name could be identified with the workman \(\text{ḥb} \), who is attested on two necropolis journals ostraca along with well known 18th Dynasty workmen. It is worth noting that \(\text{ḥb} \) 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. \(\text{ḥb} \), \(\text{ḥb} \) 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 \(\text{ḥb} \), \(\text{ḥb} \) and \(\text{ḥb} \). However, it is uncertain whether he is the same Paser who occurs as the father of Mehou in the next line.

L. 8. \(\text{ḥb} \) 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 \(\text{ḥb} \), \(\text{ḥb} \) and \(\text{ḥb} \). However, it is uncertain whether he is the same Paser who occurs as the father of Mehou in the next line.

L. 10. \(\text{ḥb} \) This name is attested on many 18th Dynasty ostraca. Cf. ostracon no. 488, pl. 5, fig. 15-16.

Verso
L. 1. \(\text{ḥb} \) It could be part of a name, but the reading is uncertain.

L. 2. \(\text{ḥb} \) 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.


51 Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. XX, 5-1; Černý 1935, i.

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.  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  This form is very close to the form of the P. Louvre E. 3226.61
L. 4. : Uncertain reading for $\text{ḏr}\text{t}$?

L. 6. : It is likely to read as $\text{sn}$, but the above stroke is unusual.

Transliteration

[1] Mnt.$\text{w-ḥr-wmnyf}$
[2] $\text{Pȝ-n-ṭbw}$
[3] $\text{Mr}$
[4] $\text{Dṛ.t(?)-r}$
[5] $\text{Īpw}$
[6] $\text{Tn.w(?)-ḥt}$
[7] $\text{Īmn-wḏ-sw}$
[8] $\text{Wr-ṃ[...]}$

Translation

[1] Montoherwenmyef
[2] Paentjebou
[4] Djert(?)āa
[5] Ipou
[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. $\text{Mnt.w-ḥr-wmnyf}$
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 $\text{ḥr-wmnyf}$ occurred as a second part in the name of $\text{Pȝ-R’-ḥr-wmnyf}$ dated to Ramesside Period as well.63

L. 2. $\text{Pȝ-n-ṭbw}$
This name is mentioned once again on a funeral cone along with the title $\text{imy-r pr}$.64 However, it must be different person from our individual.

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62 Römer 2014, p. 213.
63 Lopez 1984, pl. 181, no. 57559.
64 Spiegelberg, Newberry 1908, p. 36, pl. 25; Ranke, PN I, p. 112-7.
L. 5. Ỉpw

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

\[ Rnp.t sp 5 <irp n> 't n.t h.t \]
\[ Ỉpw sȝ ḫy \]

[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

\[ \text{Hieroglyphic Transcription} \]

[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

\[\begin{align*}
[1] & \text{Nb-\textit{w}.w} \\
[2] & \text{Nb-\textit{sny}} \\
[3] & \text{Qn-\textit{Imn}} \\
[4] & \text{Sbk-\textit{ms} \ldots (?)} \\
[5] & \text{P\textit{2y}} \\
[6] & \text{[\ldots] tr.}
\end{align*}\]

Translation

\[\begin{align*}
[1] & \text{Nebouaou} \\
[2] & \text{Nebeny} \\
[3] & \text{Qenamen} \\
[4] & \text{Sobekmes \ldots (?)} \\
[5] & \text{Pay} \\
[6] & \text{[\ldots] tr.}
\end{align*}\]

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-\textit{w}.w

This name is mentioned on an ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri holding the title \textit{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-\textit{sny}

cf. ostracon no. 518, col. 2, l. 3.
Sometimes, this name is inscribed in another variant, ḫmn-qn. This individual is mentioned as a mason on an ostraca from Deir el-Bahri dating to year 49 of Tuthmosis III. The same name is written on an ostraca dated to the 18th Dynasty, and recording a message sent from him to the workman Ḥry-ms, discussing about masons. Qn-Ỉmn is mentioned on another ostraca from the tomb of Senmut without any titles, in addition to a hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Bahri, where he is referred to as Qn-Ỉmn of thsw (?). Following what is mentioned above, one could identify him with the mason who appears on the ostraca 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 ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri and dated to the 18th Dynasty.

**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] [2] [3]
Palaeographical Remarks
L. 3, a. The sign after \( \text{ḥwty-nfr} \) is still too vague to be transcribed.

Transliteration
1. \( \text{ḥwty-nfr} \)
2. \( \text{ỉmn-ḥtp} \)
3. \( \text{Run} \ldots (?) \)

Translation
1. \( \text{Djehutynofer} \)
2. \( \text{Amenhotep} \)
3. \( \text{Roun} \ldots (?) \)

Commentary
L. 1. \( \text{ḥwty-nfr} \)
This name is mentioned twice on an unpublished ostracon along with the title \( \text{sš-qd} \). However, it was not commonly used among the published ostraca dated to the first half of the 18th Dynasty.

L. 2. \( \text{ỉmn-ḥtp} \)
This name could be identified with the draughtsman Amenhotep, who is attested together with Djehutynofer, 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.

Footnote:
77 Some draughtsmen were mentioned on this ostracon such as \( \text{sš-qd} \), \( \text{sš-qd} \). 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

Hieroglyphic transcription of the ostraca from Deir el-Bahri.

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. 𓊳𓊱: 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. 𓊳𓊱: The upper part could represent 𓊳𓊱, however the lower sign is still illegible.

Transliteration

[1] ṭḥ. n j n wšm. w ḫt (i)n
[2] n j n ḫḥ tyw-ntr ḫr h(n)k.t m jbd 3 pr.t
[3] Nb-ms.w wšm 1
[4] Mrỉ-Mȝʿ.t wšm 1
[5] Pȝ-ruwy wšm 1
[6] ḫrd wšm 1
[7] Qn wšm 2
[8] Pȝ-nw.w-nw wšm 2
[9] [. . ]m-Mḥty wšm 1
[10] ḫmn-wḏ-d-sw wšm 1
Translation

[1] List of the wšm-vessels that taken by
[2] The masons with beer in the third month of Peret season

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nebmesou wšm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Merymaät wšm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paroury wšm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ired wšm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Qen wšm</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Panonou wšm</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[…]emmehy wšm</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commentary

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

L. 1. 𓊰𓊱𓊸𓊱𓊰, wšm

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 𓊰𓊬𓊱𓊱𓊰.\(^81\) Then, throughout the New Kingdom, its regular writing was 𓊰𓊬𓊱𓊱𓊰 or 𓊰𓊪𓊵𓊳𓊱.\(^82\) With some exceptions like 𓊰𓊬𓊱𓊼𓊱𓊰.\(^83\) 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 𓊰𓊼𓊱𓊰.\(^84\) This kind of vessel was a high-walled vessel with a neck and a wide opening,\(^85\) generally made of metal (silver or bronze).\(^86\) However, in some cases it was made of gold.\(^87\) 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.\(^88\)

L. 2. 𓊰𓊲𓊱𓊶𓊳, Hr.tyw-nṯr

Hr.tyw-nṯr 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-nṯr, “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.tyw-nṯr as a rare title, because it was not

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\(^78\) Spalinger 2000, p. 315.
\(^79\) The wšm is close in shape to other measurements which were used also for beer like ḏḏḥy, ṣṯt, 𓊪𓊴𓊵.
\(^80\) hadde nḥb mnd nḥb ḏḏḥy, ṣṯt, 𓊪𓊴𓊵.
\(^81\) hade nḥb nḥb ḏḏḥy, ṣṯt, 𓊪𓊴𓊵.
\(^82\) wbd I, 374; Gardiner 1957, p. 474.
\(^83\) wbd I, 374.
\(^84\) Hayes 1960, pl. XIX, no. 94.
\(^85\) Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. LXXXVI, 1 rt. This ostraca is dated to the late 19th and early 20th Dynasty.
\(^86\) wbd I, 374; Janssen 1975, p. 426.
\(^87\) Pommerninger 2005, p. 186.
\(^88\) wbd I, 374.
\(^89\) wbd I, 374; Gardiner 1957, p. 474.
\(^90\) Černý 1929, p. 245; Wb III, 394-14.
\(^91\) Černý 1929a, p. 245.
mentioned frequently on the ostraca of Deir el-Medina.\textsuperscript{93} 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.\textsuperscript{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 \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.\textsuperscript{95} 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.\textsuperscript{96} 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.\textsuperscript{97}

As J. \v{C}erný mentioned, 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.\textsuperscript{98} 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”.\textsuperscript{99} Another possibility is that they were sent to quarry stones for the construction of the Theban sanctuaries in the sandstone-quarries at Gebel Silsila.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{102} 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.\textsuperscript{103} According to a hieratic ostracon dated to the 18th Dynasty, the masons were put under the direct control of the \textit{ḥmr \textcircled{p}} \textit{ḥmr \textcircled{p}}, “chief of masons”.\textsuperscript{104}
L. 3. $\text{ Nb-msw }$
This individual is mentioned in a very brief text found in the tomb of Senmut.\textsuperscript{105}

L. 7. $\text{ Qn }$
This name is attested among another masons on an ostracon dated to year 49 of Tuthmosis III found at Deir el-Bahri.\textsuperscript{106}

O. Cairo DeB. No. 488

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. $\text{ }$: This ligature is the same as that found on an ostracon dated to year 43 of Tuthmosis III.\textsuperscript{107} b. $\text{ }$: This sign which represents the long-legged buzzard $\text{ }$,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{109} and papyri, such

\textsuperscript{105} Hayes 1960, pl. IX, 45.
\textsuperscript{106} Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 vs. 5.
\textsuperscript{107} Černý, Gardiner 1957, pl. LVI, no. 5.
\textsuperscript{108} Gardiner 1957, p. 467.
\textsuperscript{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>
<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>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Transliteration**

1. (1) Nȝ n hr.tyw-nṯr nty nn s.t
2. m nȝ n hr.tyw-nṯr iw.w ḥnʿ⸗k
3. Snw
4. Qn-Ỉmn
5. ȝw

**Translation**

1. The masons who have not been with the masons who have come with you
2. Senou
3. Qenamen
4. 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. Presumably, most documents of this kind were considered temporary records, and would be recopied as permanent registers on papyrus.
L. 2. $n\, n\, hntyw-nfr\, iw.w\, hwnk$

The information about absence from or presence at work in the royal tombs is often included in the necropolis journal. 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. $Snw$

This name is written in variant forms. Maybe this individual can be identified with the mason who occurs on an ostraca dated to year 49 of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri, in the form of $\underline{\text{S}}\text{n}$w. Perhaps he is also the same person who is mentioned on an ostraca from Deir el-Medina dated to the 18th Dynasty among other workmen.

L. 4. $Qn-Imn$

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

L. 6. $Nht-Mnw$

This name is mentioned in the P. Louvre E. 3226.

L. 7. $Snkȝ$

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

O. Cairo DeB. No. 404

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri
Dimensions: H. 4.5 cm; W. 5 cm
Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

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

![Hieroglyphs]

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. ![Glyph]: It could represent 𓊇𓊇. 

L. 4.a. ![Glyph]: Perhaps stands for the repeating sign for the above word 𓊇𓊇𓊇. 

Transliteration
[1] ḫm.w n pꜣ
[2] Pr-ʿȝ wdn ḫr r
[3] ṣ.w dnr(t) [1]

Translation:
[1] Yamou to the
[2] Royal Palace (i.e. Great House), wdnt-bread: 1 khar.
[3] Bread: dnt-basket 1 […]

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. 𓊕 𓊢𓊣𓊡, ḫm.w\textsuperscript{124}
The official Yamou was known as an overseer of the Treasury at the time of Amenophis I.\textsuperscript{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. 𓊑𓊑𓊑𓊑, Pr-‘ȝ
It seems that, in this case, this term points to the royal palace rather than the pharaoh. Pr-‘ȝ 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 𓊑𓊑𓊑𓊑, 𓊑𓊑, adding the sign 𓊑 as determinative.\textsuperscript{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: Potsherds
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

Recto

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

Verso

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

\textsuperscript{124} Ranke, PNI, pp. 25-14.
\textsuperscript{125} Helck 1958-1975, pp. 345, 466. It is worth noting that this name is entered as apart in the name of the official ḫm.w-ndḥ in the time of Tuthmosis III. Navrátilová 2007, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{126} Hayes 1960, pl. XI, no. 14 rt. Hayes in the two cases translated it as "Pharaoh", p. 41.
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. It stands for ꞌ, 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 ꞌ:

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

The writing technique of this sign ꞌ is different from the sign ꞌ. 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 ḫmn.

L. 8. a. ꞌ: It could represent the sign ꞌ, 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] \textit{snn iny(t)} \text{r} \text{Dsr.w}</td>
<td>[1] \text{tr.} \ldots \text{tr.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] \text{m t} \text{Hw.t C'j-hpr-n-R' m2'-[hrw]}</td>
<td>[2] \text{wdn.t}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] \text{t-wmt} \text{1000}</td>
<td>[3] \text{t} \ldots \text{tr. hwr}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4] \text{wdn.t} \text{10}</td>
<td>[4] \text{tr.} \ldots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5] \text{sr} \text{t srf hwr} \text{11}</td>
<td>[5] \text{lw} \ldots \text{tr. Imn}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6] \text{dqr.w dn} \text{t} \text{30}</td>
<td>[6] \text{wdn.t}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[7] \text{trp} \ldots</td>
<td>[7] \text{qw hwr}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8] \text{h(n)q.t ds (?)} \text{2}</td>
<td>[8] \text{Grge-k-pr}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9] \text{ihw} \text{2}</td>
<td>[9] \text{wdn.t}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{[10] qw hwr}</td>
<td>\text{1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{[11]} \ldots \text{tr.}</td>
<td>\text{2 Khar}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1] \textit{List of what is brought to the Djeserou-temple}</td>
<td>[1] \text{tr.} \ldots \text{tr.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] \textit{From the temple of ( \text{Aakheperenn\textbf{\textit{r}}}) \text{ justified} \text{bread}</td>
<td>[2] \text{wdnt-bread}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] \textit{Thick bread} \text{1000}</td>
<td>[3] \text{Bread} \ldots \text{tr.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4] \text{wdnt-bread} \text{10}</td>
<td>[4] \text{tr.} \ldots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5] \textit{Fresh Sayt-cake} \text{11 Khar}</td>
<td>[5] \text{Iouu} \ldots \text{tr. Amon}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6] \textit{Fruits dn} \text{t-baskets} \text{30}</td>
<td>[6] \text{wdnt-Bread}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[7] \textit{Wine} \ldots</td>
<td>[7] \text{Bread}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8] \textit{Beer des (?)} \text{2}</td>
<td>[8] \text{Geregekper}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9] \textit{Cattle} \text{2}</td>
<td>[9] \text{wdnt-bread}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{[10] Bread}</td>
<td>\text{2 Khar}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{[12]} \ldots \text{tr.}</td>
<td>\text{1}</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. \text{\textbf{\textit{p}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{i}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{n}}} \text{\textit{y}(t)}

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

---

**powers** (www.tcpdf.org)

**BIFAO 115 (2015), p. 179-230**

**HASSAN (Khaled)**

Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

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**BIFAO en ligne**

http://www.ifao.egnet.net
The temple of Tuthmosis II, which is located to the north of Medinet Habu,128 was called \( \text{Ssp.} \ t\-\text{nh} \) or \( \text{Huwt} \ \text{Ssp.} \ t\-\text{nh} \),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 \( s\-\nu \), which was responsible for the production of their requirements.133

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. \( t\-\text{hhr} \), “great bread”; \( t\-\text{nfr} \), “good bread”; \( t\-\text{hfd} \), “white bread”; \( t\-\nu\-\text{nt} \), “barley bread.”137 Probably the very uncommon name \( t\-\text{wm.t} \), 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.

This term occurs on some ostraca from Deir el-Bahri precinct, relating to the Djeser-Djeserou and its builders.139 This word is written in several forms \( \text{wdn.t} \).140 Maybe, the name refers to the typical offering bread.141 The shape of this loaf is uncertain; perhaps it was a small object, probably a roll rather than a loaf.142

131 Haring 1997, p. 3.
137 Wb I, 306-9; FCD, p. 60; Lesko 2002a, p. 100.
139 Hayês 1960, pl. X, no. 10.
140 Hayês 1960, pl. X, no. 9 rt.
141 Hayês 1960, pl. X, no. 9 rt.
143 Wb I, 391-1.
L. 5. 𓊧𓅱, šʿy.t
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),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

L. 5. 𓊧𓅱, srf
Adjective meaning “warm.” When it comes with cake, it could simply mean “fresh cake”.149

L. 6. 𓊧𓅱, ḏqr.w
Fruits were an important part of the ancient Egyptian diet along with the cereal products, and vegetables.150 The word ḏqr.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 occurs on an ostraca 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

L. 8. 𓊧𓅱𓊩, Grgṣk pr
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

[PL. 7, FIG. 23-24]

146 محمد شريف، مجموعة من الورديات الفرعونية، ص 119: إيان محمد، الخبز في مصر القديمة، ص 35.
147 إيان محمد، الخبز في مصر القديمة، ص 35.
149 Wb IV, 195, 6–7; FCD, p. 314: 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] [...][...] nوث nb(w) [... ]
[3] [...][...] pr imy-r htm ...
[4] [...](?) n_SET-bpr-n-Rを使って ir 4
[5] [... nsw.t]-bity SET-bpr-n-R使って dmd 5 [...]  
```

Palaeographical remarks

L. 1. a. 𓊑: Reading of this part is difficult. However, its position indicates to be a part of a heading.

L. 2. a. 𓊑: The reading of this group escapes me.

L. 3. a. 𓊑: The writing of this title is similar to the 18th Dynasty handwriting especially to Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III, e.g. 𓊑, 𓊑.

L. 4. a. 𓊑: 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] [...][...] nوث nb(w) [... ]
[3] [...][...] pr imy-r htm ...
[4] [...](?) n_SET-bpr-n-R使って ir 4
[5] [... nsw.t]-bity SET-bpr-n-R使って dmd 5 [...]
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, or at least to the preparation of Senmut’s tomb.

L. 3. $\text{pr imy-r htm}$

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 $\text{pr tȝw}$, in a list of contributions to the temple of Hatshepsut. However, the title $\text{imy-r htm}$, “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. $\text{ʿȝ-ḫpr-n-Rʿ}$

The royal name $\text{ʿȝ-ḫpr-n-Rʿ}$, “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

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

159 Hayes 1960, p. 34, pl. X, no. 6.
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 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). There are no details at all except the two legs. It is worth noting that the name is written without any determinative.

Transliteration

1. ȝbd ȝḥ.t sw 19
2. rḥ.t it nty sšm.w
3. sš Dḥwty-Tty it 34 …(?)
4. sš Hr(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.

L. 3. Dḥwty-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.
L. 4. Ḫr(i)

Maybe this name is identified with the scribe Hori who is attested on an ostracon from the tomb of Senmut.\textsuperscript{165} He is also mentioned on an ostracon found in Gurna dated to the 18th Dynasty together with the workman Ḫmn-ḥr\textsuperscript{166}

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

<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>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1] sfḥ pȝ hɔ</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] ssım Nb-hŕy</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] nɔ n hɔỵ.w</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1] Snfr</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] pȝ ỉnʿn ṣ.q.w</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] dmd</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{165} Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 83-6.  \textsuperscript{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 ostraca were not in common use in the published texts dated to the 18th Dynasty, especially those of Deir el-Bahri.

Recto

L. 1. sḫ n pȝ ḫȝ

This expression is different from the known sḫ 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. 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.

L. 3. nȝ n ḫȝy.w

This term means “measurers”, 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 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. 𓊰𓊪𓊪𓊰, 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 $\text{+}$ instead of the sign $\text{।}$.

L. 2. $\text{pȝ} \, \text{šnʿ nʿqw}$
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

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

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{[1]} \\
\text{[2]} \\
\text{[3]} \\
\text{[4]} \\
\text{[5]} \\
\text{[6]} \\
\text{[7]}
\end{array}\]

\[170\, \text{Hayes 1960, pl. XIII, 63 rt.}\]
Palaeographical Remarks

L. 1, a. 𓊕: Presumably stands for ꜜ.

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

Transliteration

1. \[ \text{in.} \ \text{w} \ \text{h₂r} \ [\ldots] \]
2. \[ Sꜜw \]
3. \[ lmₙ-mₚrf \]
4. \[ Sm-ₙ \]
5. \[ Trt \]
6. \[ ḫrt (?) \ h₂r \]
7. \[ [\ldots] \]

Translation

1. Delivery of malted barley, sack [\ldots]
2. Saou
3. Amenemmeref\(^{171}\)
4. Senmen
5. Teret
6. …? sack
7. [\ldots]

Commentary

L. 2. 𓊕𓊖𓊚, Sꜜw\(^{172}\)
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 ḫrt, which belongs to a kind of plant, don’t have determinatives in contrast with the other names.

L. 4. 𓊚𓊚𓊚𓊚, Sn-ₙₚ\(^{173}\)
This name could be identified with the workman Senmenou, who occurs on an ostraca from the tomb of Senmut. He is mentioned with other workmen such as Ḥₚ and Wṣr-h₂t\(^{174}\). Presumably, this individual could be considered as Senmut’s brother\(^{175}\).

L. 6. ꜜ𓊕𓊖𓊕, ḫṭ
The meaning of this word is problematic.

\(^{171}\) Maybe translated as “Amen among his servants”.


\(^{173}\) Ranke, PN I, p. 308-22.

\(^{174}\) Hayes 1960, pl. XVII, no. 85.

\(^{175}\) Hayes 1960, p. 23.
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The photographer is Mr. Sameh Abd el-Mohsen (© Egyptian Museum of Cairo), and the facsimile drawn by the author.
Fig. 3. Ostracon no. 407 rt.

Fig. 4. Ostracon no. 407 vs.

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

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. 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.

Pt. 8
Fig. 31. Ostracon no. 434.

Fig. 32. Facsimile drawing.