



BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 115 (2016), p. 179-230

Khaled Hassan

Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

Conditions d'utilisation

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

Conditions of Use

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

Dernières publications

9782724711615	<i>Le temple de Dendara X. Les chapelles osiriennes</i>	Sylvie Cauville, Oussama Bassiouni, Matjaž Kažnik, Bernard Lenthéric
9782724711707	????? ?????????? ??????? ???? ?? ???????	Omar Jamal Mohamed Ali, Ali al-Sayyid Abdelatif
9782724711462	<i>La tombe et le Sab?l oubliés</i>	Georges Castel, Maha Meebed-Castel, Hamza Abdelaziz Badr
9782724710588	<i>Les inscriptions rupestres du Ouadi Hammamat I</i>	Vincent Morel
9782724711523	<i>Bulletin de liaison de la céramique égyptienne 34</i>	Sylvie Marchand (éd.)
9782724711400	<i>Islam and Fraternity: Impact and Prospects of the Abu Dhabi Declaration</i>	Emmanuel Pisani (éd.), Michel Younès (éd.), Alessandro Ferrari (éd.)
9782724710922	<i>Athribis X</i>	Sandra Lippert
9782724710939	<i>Bagawat</i>	Gérard Roquet, Victor Ghica

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 *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. 518²

[pl. 1, fig. 1-2]

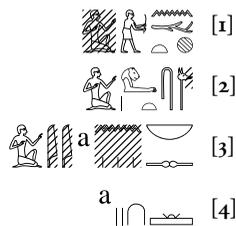
Description

<i>Provenance:</i>	Deir el-Bahri
<i>Dimensions:</i>	H. 13 cm; W. 7.5 cm
<i>Material:</i>	Limestone
<i>Date:</i>	New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
<i>Current location:</i>	Egyptian Museum of Cairo

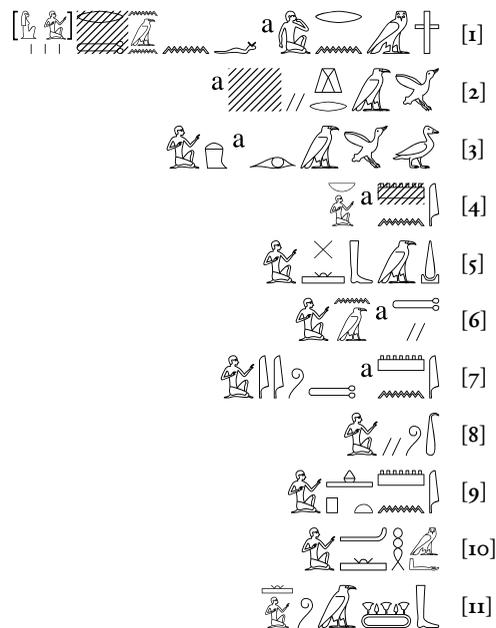
This ostracon is written in black ink on one side only. The text is complete in two columns. The first one consists of eleven lines, starting with the heading. The second column consists of four lines only. The ink is faint in some places; nevertheless the handwriting is neat and readable in most of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

Hieroglyphic Transcription

Col. 2



Col. 1



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

make a classification of the whole ostraca that are housed in the basements of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo, and does not relate to the entry or the temporary

numbers of the museum's registers. It is worth mentioning that these ostraca are not recorded in the registers of the Cairo Museum.

Palaeographical Remarks

Col. 1

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

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

L. 4, a.  : It represents the group  in the name of $\dot{I}mn$. Compare the same group in the name of $\dot{I}mn-h\dot{t}p$ in l. 9.

L. 6, a.  : Uncertain form of .

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

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

- [1] $N\dot{h}t$
- [2] $Wsr-h\dot{z}t$
- [3] $Nb-sny$
- [4] $dmd: 12 (?)$

Col. 1

- [1] $\dot{I}my-rn\dot{z}fn\dot{z} n rm\dot{t}$
- [2] $P\dot{z} hry \dots$
- [3] $s\dot{z} P\dot{z}-ir-t\dot{z}$
- [4] $Nb-\dot{I}mn$
- [5] $D\dot{z}b$
- [6] $\dot{T}nwn\dot{z} (?)$
- [7] $\dot{I}mn-\dot{T}wy$
- [8] $\dot{T}wy$
- [9] $\dot{I}mn-h\dot{t}p$
- [10] $M\dot{h}$
- [11] $B\dot{s}\dot{z}$

³ MEGALLY 1971, pl. XVI, j.

⁴ MEGALLY 1971, pl. XLI, i.

Translation

Col. 2

- [1] *Nakht*
 [2] *Userhat*
 [3] *Nebsey*
 [4] *total: 12 (?)*

Col. 1

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

Commentary

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

Col. 1

L. 4. , *Nb-Imn*

This name has two forms *Imn-nb* or *Nb-Imn*.⁵ 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.⁶ This name also appears on an ostracon, alongside the serfs “*mrw*”, dated to year 10 of Tuthmosis III and found in the second court of Hatshepsut’s Temple.⁷ Nebamon also occurred on two ostraca without titles; one came from Gurna,⁸ and the other from Deir el-Medina.⁹ It is difficult to determine which one of the previous names could be identified with our Nebamon.

L. 5. , *D3b*

This name has many variations like .¹⁰ Perhaps, he is to be identified with the scribe *D3b* who is attested in the visitors’ graffiti written on the walls of the tomb of Antefoker.¹¹

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 r.

⁹ GRANDET 2006a, pp. 95-96; GRANDET 2006b, p. 7, no. 10001.

¹⁰ RANKE, *PVI*, p. 405-1.

¹¹ DAVIES, GARDINER 1920, pp. 306,

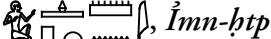
307; RAGAZZOLI 2013.

L. 6. , *Tnwn3* (?)

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

L. 8. , *Twy*

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

L. 9. , *Imn-htp*

This was a common name during the first half of the 18th Dynasty, where many individuals bore the same name, such as the scribe Amenhotep who is attested on two hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Bahri.¹⁵ Another Amenhotep son of Suner, served as chief masons.¹⁶ The henchman¹⁷ Amenhotep was mentioned on an ostrakon found in the tomb of Senmut.¹⁸ Furthermore, this name is mentioned twice on a ostrakon that was found in Deir el-Medina but without any titles.¹⁹ It is difficult to determine which one could be identified with the Amenhotep of the present text.

L. 10. , *Mb*

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

L. 11. , *Bš*

This name could be identified with the workman *Bš* 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 *hrtj*, “mason”.²³

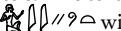
Col. 2

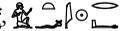
L. 1. , *Nbt*

This name could be identified with the foreman *Nbt*. He is attested on an ostrakon 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 Djaserou under the direction of Nakht: 8 men.”²⁴ If he was the same person, the present text could possibly be dated to an earlier period when *Nbt* had not yet been promoted to foreman.

¹² ČERNÝ 1935.

¹³ HAYES 1960, pl. XXIII, no. 130.

¹⁴ This unpublished ostrakon 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  and .

¹⁵ HAYES 1960, pl. X, no. 6 rt.; GOEDICKE, WENTE 1962, pl. LXXXVI, no. 38.

¹⁶ ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XXII, 1.

¹⁷ This is the translation of the title *šms* by HAYES 1960, pp. 24–87.

¹⁸ HAYES 1960, pl. XVIII, 87.

¹⁹ GRANDET 2006b, no. 10002.

²⁰ RÖMER 2008, p. 614.

²¹ HAYES 1960, pl. XVII, no. 58; HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, no. 21 rt.

²² ČERNÝ 1935; GRANDET 2006b, p. 6, no. 10001.

²³ HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, no. 63, 5, pl. XIV, no. 69, pl. XV, no. 73, pl. XV, p. 74-75.

²⁴ HAYES 1960, p. 32, pl. IX.

L. 2. , *Wsr-h3t*

Maybe, this name could be identified with the mason *Wsr-h3t* who occurred with the mason *Mh* on an ostracon found in the tomb of Senmut.²⁵

L. 3. , *Nb-sny*

This name has been written in many forms  /  / ²⁶ in addition to . At least five individuals bearing this name are attested during the first half of the 18th Dynasty.²⁷ 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 *H3t*.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

<i>Provenance:</i>	Deir el-Bahri
<i>Dimensions:</i>	H. 11 cm; W. 7.5 cm
<i>Material:</i>	Limestone
<i>Date:</i>	New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
<i>Current location:</i>	Egyptian Museum of Cairo

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

²⁵ HAYES 1960, pl. XVII, no. 85.

²⁶ RANKE, *PNI*, pp. 186-14.

²⁷ He occurred on an unpublished ostracon from Deir el-Bahri, (it belongs to the group of Rasha Isaac), with other workmen such as: *Imm-m-h3.t*, *Imm-P3 Qn*, *Dhwty*.

²⁸ ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XVI, 6.

²⁹ ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XLVI, 1.

³⁰ HAGEN 2011, p. 23, no. E GA.6124.1943, pl. 22 rt.

³¹ P. Louvre E. 3226 is one of the longest surviving 18th Dynasty administrative papyri; it consists of 61 pages. It recorded the movement of two cargo ships traveling along the Nile Valley and dealing in dates and grain (QUIRK 2001, s.v. "The Administrative Texts", p. 25).

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

³² MEGALLY 1977, p. 95.

³³ GOLÉNISCHEFF 1993, col 13, no. 150.

- 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  which was often used to indicate a repetition of the above word or phrase *ditto*. This repetition sign has many other forms such as ³⁹, ⁴⁰, ⁴¹, ⁴² and sometimes the sign ⁴³ was used as well. c. The second half of this line is problematic. However, a few traces suggest that the first group could be read as .
- 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 *h3.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

Recto	Verso
[1] [...] 8 šm[w ...]	[1] [...] T3wy (?)
[2] Stb s3 P(3)-n-t3-km	[2] [...] P3 Sn (s3) H'
[3] n wn i3 Mw (s3) Sn=i-rs	[3] dmd io ... (?)
[4] Sn=i-nfr (s3) P(3)-[n-t3 ...]	
[5] 'b3 (s3) [...] '3 (?)	
[6] Imn-htp (s3) [...] s3 P3-sr	
[7] Mb (s3) P3-sr	
[8] Imn-m-h3.t [...] r (?)	
[9] Imn-htp (s3) '3 [...]	
[10] Qn-Imn	

³⁸ HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, 63 rt. 5, 64 rt. 5, XIV, 69, 3.

³⁹ HAYES 1960, pl. XI, no. 14 rt. 2-II.

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
- [3] Absent: Mou son of Senires
- [4] Seninofer son of Paenta
- [5] Āba son of [...] Āa (?)
- [6] Amenhotep son [...] son of Paser
- [7] Mehouson of Paser
- [8] Amenemhat [...]r (?)
- [9] Amenhotep son of Āa [...]
- [10] Qenamem

Verso

- [1] [...] Taouy (?)
- [2] [...] Paseson 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

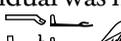
L. 2. , *Stb*

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=i-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=i-nfr*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 , *hr ȝꜥ*.⁴⁸ He is also attested on another ostrakon from the same tomb holding the title *tꜣw.w*, “shorer”.⁴⁹

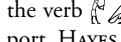
⁴⁴ A similar list dated to the 18th Dynasty has been published by ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XVI, 5. Most of the names are accompanied with the names of their fathers. However, one or two names are inscribed in the names of their mothers, while a few names are still without second name.

⁴⁵ MEGALLY 1971, p. 163. Another Senires lived at the time of Amenhotep I and Tuthmosis I, holding the title *ḥꜣty-ꜣm nꜣwt rꜣyt, imy-r šnwty*: HELCK 1958-1975, p. 523-3.

⁴⁶ It is worth noting that this name is different from Sennofer, who occurred in P. Louvre E. 3226. Sennofer of P. Louvre E. 3226 is mentioned holding the title *imy-r sꜣwt*, “Chief of the grain treasury”. MEGALLY 1977, p. 280. This man kept his position until year 32 of Tuthmosis III, and many years under Queen Hatshepsut. MEGALLY 1977, pp. 280-281. For more information cf. HELCK 1958-1975, pp. 348-351.

⁴⁷ HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, nos. 63 rt. 5, 64 rt. 5, XIV, 65-2 66 rt. 6, 69-3.

⁴⁸ According to Hayes, the word *ȝꜥ* 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” *ȝꜥ* and prior to their being “faced” or “overlaid” *dgr* with plaster. HAYES 1960, p. 31.

⁴⁹ HAYES 1960, pl. XIV, no. 69-3.  *tꜣw.w*: shorer, derived from the verb  stay, shore-up, support, HAYES 1960, p. 40.

L. 5. , 'b3⁵⁰

This name could be identified with the workman 'b3, who is attested on two necropolis journals ostraca along with well known 18th Dynasty workmen.⁵¹ It is worth noting that 'b3 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. , P3-sr

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

L. 8. , *Imn-m-h3.t*

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

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

L. 10. , *Qn-Imn*

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

Verso

L. 1. , [...] *T3wy*

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

L. 2. , *H'*

Could be identified with the mason who occurred on an ostracon found at Deir el-Bahri dated back to the first half of the 18th Dynasty.⁶⁰

⁵⁰ RANKE, *PVI*, p. 60-1. This name may seem like the Semitic names, which occurred in the ostraca of the 18th Dynasty, ALBRIGHT 1954, pp. 225-229. For more information about the Semitic names cf. ALBRIGHT 1954, no. 4, pp. 222-223; HAYES 1955, pp. 92-98; HOCH 1994; HAYES 1960, p. 41.

⁵¹ ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XX, 5-1; ČERNÝ 1935, 1.

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.

⁶⁰ HAYES 1960, pl. XIII, 20-7.

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

O. Cairo DeB. No. 495

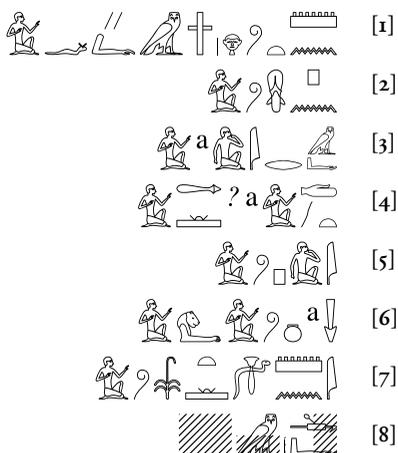
[PL. 3, FIG. 7-8]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri
Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 7 cm
Material: Limestone
Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

The ostrakon 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 ostrakon 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

⁶¹ MEGALLY 1971, pl. I, g.

L. 4.  : Uncertain reading for  *drt?*

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

Transliteration

[1] *Mnt.w-hr-wnmy=f*

[2] *P3-n-tbw*

[3] *Mry*

[4] *Dr.t(?)-'3*

[5] *Ipw*

[6] *Tn.w(?)-h3.t*

[7] *Imn-w3d-sw*

[8] *W^r-m[...]*

Translation

[1] *Montoherwenmyef*

[2] *Paentjebou*

[3] *Mery*

[4] *Djert(?)âa*

[5] *Ipou*

[6] *Senou(?)hat*

[7] *Amenwadjesou*

[8] *Wâuem[...]*

Commentary

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

L. 1.  //   , *Mnt.w-hr-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.⁶² However, the section *hr-wnmy=f* occurred as a second part in the name of *P3-R'-hr-wnmy=f* dated to Ramesside Period as well.⁶³

L. 2.    , *P3-n-tbw*

This name is mentioned once again on a funeral cone along with the title *imy-r pr*.⁶⁴ However, it must be different person from our individual.

⁶² RÖMER 2014, p. 213.

⁶⁴ SPIEGELBERG, NEWBERRY 1908,

⁶³ LOPEZ 1984, pl. 181, no. 57559.

p. 36, pl. 25; RANKE, *PNI*, p. 112-7.

L. 5. , *Ipw*

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



[1] *Rnp.t sp 5 <irp n> 't n.t h.t*

[2] *Ipw s3 3hy*

[1] *Year 5 [wine of] orchards*

[2] *Ipou son of Akhy*

O. Cairo DeB. No. 475

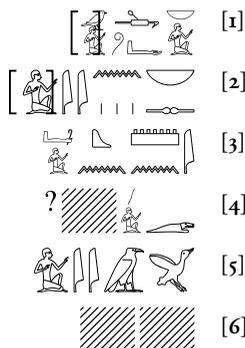
[PL. 3, FIG. 9-10]

Description

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri
Dimensions: H. 6.5 cm; W. 5.5 cm
Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

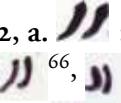
Limestone ostrakon inscribed in black ink on one side only with six lines. The handwriting is large, thick and bold. The text is incomplete on the left side and the lower part of the ostrakon is broken, therefore many signs are missing.

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, ⁶⁶, ⁶⁷ (cf. l. 5 too).
- L. 3, a.  : One could conclude that the group is identical with the group of the P. Louvre E. 3226, e.g. , ⁶⁸.
- L. 4, a.  : The transcription of this group is difficult to give.

Transliteration

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

Translation

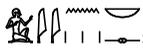
- [1] *Nebouaou*
 [2] *Nebseny*
 [3] *Qenamem*
 [4] *Sobekmes ... (?)*
 [5] *Pay*
 [6] [...] *tr.*

Commentary

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

L. 1.  , *Nb-w'.w*

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

L. 2.  , *Nb-sny*
 cf. ostrakon no. 518, col. 2, l. 3.

⁶⁶ MEGALLY 1971, pl. XLVII, k.

⁶⁷ MEGALLY 1971, pl. XL, c.

⁶⁸ MEGALLY 1971, pl. XX, e.

⁶⁹ HAYES 1960, pl. X, 9 rt. 9.

⁷⁰ HAYES 1960, p. 34.

Palaeographical Remarks

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

Transliteration

- [1] *Dḥwty-nfr*
- [2] *Ḳmn-ḥtp*
- [3] *Rwn ... (?)*

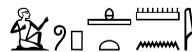
Translation

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

Commentary

L. 1. , *Dḥwty-nfr*

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

L. 2. , *Ḳmn-ḥtp*

This name could be identified with the draughtsman Amenhotep, who is attested together with Djehutynefer, who was himself mentioned on an unpublished ostrakon now stored in the basement of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 435

[PL. 4, FIG. I3-I4]

Description

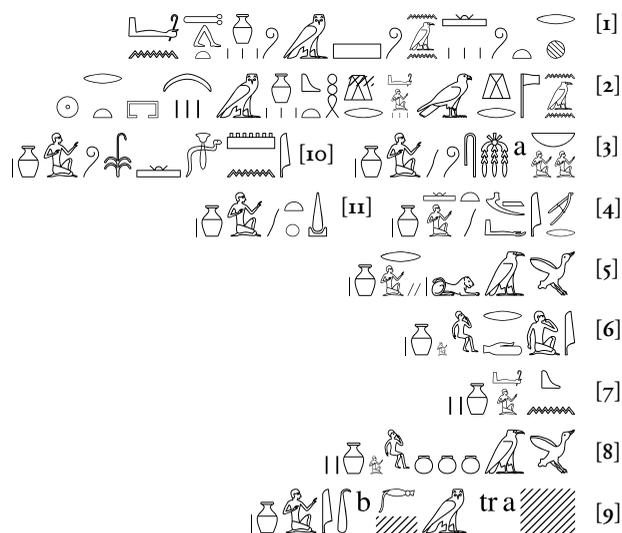
<i>Provenance:</i>	Deir el-Bahri
<i>Dimensions:</i>	H. 12.5 cm; W. 10 cm
<i>Colour:</i>	Dark brown
<i>Date:</i>	New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
<i>Current location:</i>	Egyptian Museum of Cairo

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 ostrakon such as , . It is worth noting that there are two draughtsmen with the same name as

Djehutynefer that were mentioned on the later ostrakon. This ostrakon belongs to the group of Mrs. Rasha Isaac.

Hieroglyphic Transcription



Palaeographical Remarks

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

L. 3, a. : This word is determined by two seated men. Normally, the determinative is a man and a woman. Perhaps, the scribe forgot to add the diacritic mark for the second sign.

L. 9, a. It is a much effaced sign that is very difficult to recognize. b. : The upper part could represent , however the lower sign is still illegible.

Transliteration

[1] *rḥ.t n3 n wšm.w iḥi (i)n*

[2] *n3 n Hr.tyw-nṯr ḥr ḥ(n)k.t m 3bd 3 pr.t*

[3] *Nb-ms.w wšm*

I

[10] *Ḥmn-w3d-sw wšm*

I

[4] *Mrī-M3'.t wšm*

I

[11] *Wd3.t-Ms wšm*

I

[5] *P3-rwry wšm*

I

[6] *Ḥrd wšm*

I

[7] *Qn wšm*

2

[8] *P3-nw.w-nw wšm*

2

[9] *[...]m-Mḥty wšm*

I

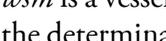
Translation

[1] <i>List of the wšm-vessels that taken by</i>			
[2] <i>The masons with beer in the third month of Peret season</i>			
[3] <i>Nebmesou wšm</i>	I	[10] <i>Amenwadjsou wšm</i>	I
[4] <i>Merymaât wšm</i>	I	[11] <i>Wdjatmose wšm</i>	I
[5] <i>Paroury wšm</i>	I		
[6] <i>Ired wšm</i>	I		
[7] <i>Qen wšm</i>	2		
[8] <i>Panonou wšm</i>	2		
[9] <i>[...]emmety wšm</i>	I		

Commentary

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

L. 1. , *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 ⁸¹. Then, throughout the New Kingdom, its regular writing was ⁸² or ⁸³. With some exceptions like ⁸⁴. The regular determinative of *wšm* is a vessel without handle, but in later times, especially in the texts of the 25th Dynasty, the determinative is representing a *situla* with a movable handle ⁸⁵. This kind of vessel was a high-walled vessel with a neck and a wide opening,⁸⁶ generally made of metal (silver or bronze).⁸⁷ However, in some cases it was made of gold.⁸⁸ J. Janssen mentioned that the *wšm* is quite small which agrees with its price. A clear price of bronze *wšm* is dated to the late 19th Dynasty, when its value equalled two *deben*, so J. Janssen concluded that while its exact value is uncertain, it remains fairly low.⁸⁹

L. 2. , *Hr.ty.w-ntr*

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

⁷⁸ SPALINGER 2000, p. 315.

⁷⁹ The *wšm* is close in shape to other measurements which were used also for beer like *qby*, *stt*, *ḫb*.

محمد صلاح بن محمد محمد أحمد، المكايل والموازين في مصر القديمة، رسالة ماجستير، غير منشورة، كلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٨٩، ص ٦٦.

⁸⁰ *Wb* I, 374-2; HANNIG 1995, p. 21.

⁸¹ *Wb* I, 374; GARDINER 1957, p. 474.

⁸² *Wb* I, 374.

⁸³ HAYES 1960, pl. XIX, no. 94.

⁸⁴ ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. LXXX-VI, 1 rt. This ostrakon is dated to the late 19th and early 20th Dynasty.

⁸⁵ *Wb* I, 374; JANSSEN 1975, p. 426.

⁸⁶ POMMERENING 2005, p. 186.

⁸⁷ *Wb* I, 374.

⁸⁸ محمد صلاح، المكايل والموازين في مصر القديمة، ص ٦٧.

⁸⁹ JANSSEN 1975, p. 426.

⁹⁰ ČERNÝ 1929, p. 245; *Wb* III, 394-14; HAYES 1960, p. 38; HANNIG 1995, p. 643; LESKO 2002a, p. 388.

⁹¹ ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 251.

⁹² MEGALLY 1981, p. 310; *Wb* III, 394-14.

mentioned frequently on the ostraca of Deir el-Medina.⁹³ M. Megally justified this rarity for the type of documents, which recorded *Hr.ty-ntr* in Deir el-Medina. *Hr.tyw-ntr* is mainly written on reports on papyrus, but not on ordinary daily-life ostraca.⁹⁴ Furthermore, this rarity may have resulted from the fact that masons were considered in general as workmen among the crew of the tomb builders. So they were described in the documents as *rmt-ist*, and when they had a specific mission related only to them or had rations and rewards, they were described as *Hr.ty-ntr*. 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.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.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.⁹⁷

As J. Černý 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.⁹⁸ That is why one can find more than one mason during the reign of Ramesses II adopting the title *Hr.ty-ntr*, among the other “servants in the place of truth⁹⁹.” Another possibility is that they were sent to quarry stones for the construction of the Theban sanctuaries in the sandstone-quarries at Gebel Silsila.¹⁰⁰ M. Bierbrier added that the talent of the workmen could be used for the benefit of other members of the royal family and it is certain that the craftsmen were employed to construct the highly decorated tombs of the royal wives and princes in the Valley of the Queens, such as the famous tomb of queen Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II. This fact can also be applied to the masons.¹⁰¹

Number of the masons

On one hand the number of masons among the crew was not stable. The variation in their numbers relates to the progress of the work in the royal tomb. The larger numbers meant that the work was beginning. On the other hand the small number indicates that the royal tomb had been completed or on its way of being completed so fewer workmen were required.¹⁰² In the field of work, the masons were under the authority of the vizier; this is referred to on an ostrakon dated to King Tuthmosis III, when the masons worked under the direction of the vizier Rekhmere.¹⁰³ According to a hieratic ostrakon dated to the 18th Dynasty, the masons were put under the direct control of the , “chief of masons”.¹⁰⁴

93 ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 251.

94 MEGALLY 1981, p. 310.

95 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 39.

96 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 46; ČERNÝ 1973b, p. 17.

97 MEGALLY 1981, p. 310.

98 ČERNÝ 1973a, pp. 254-255.

99 ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 255; one can numerate many of them, e.g. 

Karo: servant in the place of truth, mason of Amon in the southern city *Hr.ty-ntr n imn m Ip.t ryl.t*;  Pashed: mason of Amon in Karnak; for more examples cf. ČERNÝ 1973a, p. 254.

100 ČERNÝ 1973a, pp. 254-255.

101 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 54.

102 BIERBRIER 1982, p. 27.

103 HAYES 1960, p. 46, pl. XIII, no. 20.

104 ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XXII, rt.1 and vs.1. Among the work-force of the masons, we can find non-Egyptian masons e.g.  *Hr.ty-ntr nbwy ti-r-k3-i3*, Nubian mason “Trka” Cf. HAYES 1960, p. 32, pl. IX, 4.

L. 3. , *Nb-msw*

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

L. 7. , *Qn*

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

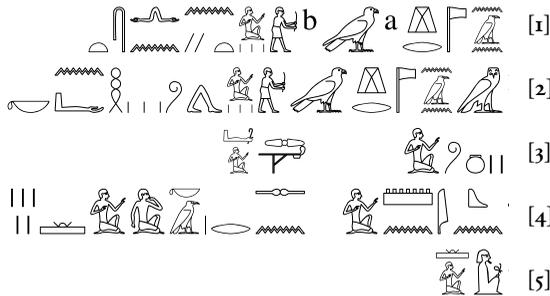
O. Cairo DeB. No. 488

[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 ,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. 5¹⁰⁷ 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.¹¹⁰ Occasionally, this sign was written with a point over the head of the buzzard,¹¹¹ or added behind its back.¹¹²

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

										
Ostrakon no. 488										
Ily, Louvre E. 3226	 pl. I, a.	 pl. II, b.	 pl. III, l.	 pl. XIII, g.	 pl. XIX, h.	 pl. XV, b	 pl. XLIV, a	 pl. XX,e	 pl. XXX VII, f.	 pl. XXX VII, l.

Transliteration

- [1] *N3 n hr.tyw-ntr nty nn s.t*
 [2] *m n3 n hr.tyw-ntr iw.w hn^c=k*
 [3] *Snw* [6] *Nht-Mnw*
 [4] *Qn-Imn* [7] *Snrk3 dmd 5*
 [5] *s3w*

Translation

- [1] *The masons who have not been*
 [2] *with the masons who have come with you*
 [3] *Senou* [6] *Menounakht*
 [4] *Qenamem* [7] *Senrka total: 5*
 [5] *Saou*

Commentary

This ostrakon 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 ostrakon didn't pay attention to recording the date and didn't use any heading line, as well as not being interested in writing any notes in red.¹¹³ Presumably, most documents of this kind were considered temporary records, and would be recopied as permanent registers on papyrus.

¹¹⁰ MEGALLY 1971, pl. VI, b.

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

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

of the bird, it is attested for the first time during the Middle Kingdom, in P. Brooklyn no. 351446, and continued to be in use until the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. The first example of this

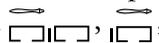
point during the 18th Dynasty is dated to Queen Hatshepsut, and it was also found on an ostrakon uncovered in the tomb of Senmut. MEGALLY 1981, p. 295.

¹¹³ MEGALLY 1981, p. 298.

L. 1. , *Īm.w*¹²⁴

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

L. 2. , *Pr-ꜥ3*

It seems that, in this case, this term points to the royal palace rather than the pharaoh. *Pr-ꜥ3* 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 , adding the sign  as determinative.¹²⁶

O. Cairo DeB. No. 448

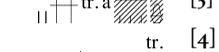
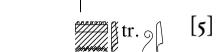
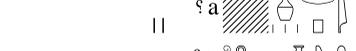
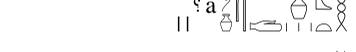
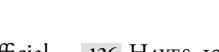
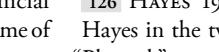
[PL. 6, FIG. 19-22]

Description

- Provenance:* Deir el-Bahri
- Dimensions:* H. 12 cm; W. 7.5 cm
- Material:* Potsherd
- Date:* New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
- Current location:* Egyptian Museum of Cairo

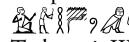
The ostrakon is inscribed in black ink on both sides. The recto is written in nine lines, including the heading on the first two lines. The text is complete; however the ink is frequently faint in some parts. The verso, which consists of eleven lines, is incomplete. Most of the signs are wiped out especially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

Hieroglyphic Transcription

Recto	Verso
 [1]	 [1]
 [2]	 [2]
 [3]	 [3]
 [4]	 [4]
 [5]	 [5]
 [6]	 [6]
 [7]	 [7]
 [8]	 [8]
 [9]	 [9]
	 [10]
	 [11]

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  *Īm.w-ndh* in the time of Tuthmosis III. NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007, p. 32.

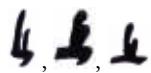
¹²⁶ HAYES 1960, pl. XI, no. 14 rt. Hayes in the two cases translated it as “Pharaoh”, p. 41.

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 , 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 :

	 Ostrakon. 448.	 HAYES 1960, pl. IX, 9rt.	 MEGALLY 1971, pl. XVI, K. 6.
	 MÖLLER 1927b, 383		

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

L. 7. a. The second part of this line escapes me.

L. 8. a. I am not confident in my reading for this group as *ds*, because the sign is written here in an odd form, and the whole word is written in an uncommon arrangement.

Verso

L. 1. a. Faint traces probably refer to a name.

L. 3. a. This line is very faint. However, based on the visible traces, one could read the first and the last group, while the middle group is difficult to understand.

L. 5. a. The last three signs could be restored as *Imm*.

L. 8. a. : It could represent the sign , where it is written in the form of middle hieratic.¹²⁷

L. 11. a. The whole line is wiped except for a few traces at the very end that could be part of a number.

¹²⁷ MÖLLER 1927a, 467.

Transliteration

Recto	Verso
[1] <i>snn iny(.t) r Dsr.w</i>	[1] <i>tr. ... tr.</i>
[2] <i>m t3 Hw.t (C3-hpr-n-Rc) m3c-[hrw]</i>	[2] <i>wdn.t</i> 1
[3] <i>t-wmt</i> 1000	[3] <i>t ... tr. h3r</i> 2
[4] <i>wdn.t</i> 10	[4] <i>tr. ...</i> 1
[5] <i>s'y.t srf h3r</i> 11	[5] <i>Iw... tr. Imn</i>
[6] <i>dqr.w dnt.t</i> 30	[6] <i>wdn.t</i> 1
[7] <i>irp ...</i> 2	[7] <i>'qw h3r</i> 2
[8] <i>h(n)q.t ds (?)</i> 2	[8] <i>Grgz-k-pr</i>
[9] <i>ihw</i> 2	[9] <i>wdn.t</i> 1
	[10] <i>'qw h3r</i> 2
	[11] <i>... tr.</i>

Translation

Recto	Verso
[1] <i>List of what is brought to the Djoserou-temple</i>	[1] <i>tr. ... tr.</i>
[2] <i>From the temple of (Aakheperenra) justified</i>	[2] <i>wdnt-bread</i> 1
[3] <i>Thick bread</i> 1000	[3] <i>Bread...tr.</i> 2 <i>Khar</i>
[4] <i>wdnt-bread</i> 10	[4] <i>tr. ...</i> 1
[5] <i>Fresh Sayt-cake</i> 11 <i>Khar</i>	[5] <i>Iou... tr. Amon</i>
[6] <i>Fruits dnit-baskets</i> 30	[6] <i>wdnt-Bread</i> 1
[7] <i>Wine ...</i> 2	[7] <i>Bread</i> 2 <i>Khar</i>
[8] <i>Beer des (?)</i> 2	[8] <i>Geregekper</i>
[9] <i>Cattle</i> 2	[9] <i>wdnt-bread</i> 1
	[10] <i>Bread</i> 2 <i>Khar</i>
	[11] <i>... tr.</i>

Commentary

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

Recto

L. I. , *Iny(.t)*

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

L. 2.     , *Hw.t C³-hpr-n-R^c*

The temple of Tuthmosis II, which is located to the north of Medinet Habu,¹²⁸ was called *Šsp.t-^cnb* or *Hw.t Šsp.t-^cnb*,¹²⁹ “Chapel of life”.¹³⁰ This ostrakon clarified the economic role that was played by temples throughout the New Kingdom. Through the 18th Dynasty documents, as well as in the Ramesside Period inscriptions, it has been revealed that the temple was a self-sufficient economic unit,¹³¹ powerful enough to meet its own requirements and contribute to the offering-cult in the great temple of Amon at Karnak. In addition to its support to other institutions like the community of workmen at Deir el-Medina,¹³² it also supported other temples under construction. It is worth noting that the temple was considered to be a kind of economic organization that contained a productive workshop called *šn^c*, which was responsible for the production of their requirements.¹³³

L. 3.     , *t-wm.t*

The total number of names of bread that occurred throughout the New Kingdom texts was about 97, of which almost 50 are attested for the first time while the others are known from earlier periods.¹³⁴ The loaves varied in size, shape (oval, round, conical), decoration, and also had special flavours.¹³⁵ The word *t* refers to bread in general,¹³⁶ while sometimes it was preceded by adjectives – more than 20 – forming new types of bread. Sometimes these names of bread describe their shape, size, colour or their ingredient, e.g. *t-^c*, “great bread”; *t-nfr*, “good bread”; *t-hd*, “white bread”; *t-n-it*, “barley bread.”¹³⁷ Probably the very uncommon name *t-wm.t*, that means “thick bread”¹³⁸ is used to describe the size or the shape of the bread. Presumably, this thick-bread is similar to the well-known bread called “Eish ash-Shams” and still eaten in Upper Egypt.

L. 4.     *wdn.t*

This term occurs on some ostraca from Deir el-Bahri precinct, relating to the Djoser-Djeserou and its builders.¹³⁹ This word is written in several forms   ,¹⁴⁰     ,¹⁴¹     ,¹⁴²     .¹⁴³ Maybe, the name refers to the typical offering bread.¹⁴⁴ The shape of this loaf is uncertain; perhaps it was a small object, probably a roll rather than a loaf.¹⁴⁵

128 MEYER 1980.

129 HARING 1997, p. 419; PM II, p. 456; Lu. GABOLDE, Ma. GABOLDE 1989, p. 137.

130 WILKINSON 2005, p. 191.

131 HARING 1997, p. 3.

132 HARING 1997, p. 256.

133 JANSSEN 1979, p. 515. For more information about Sna, its administrative organization, employees, products, cf. PENDLEBURY 1951, p. 171, no. 233; BAKIR 1947, p. 41; DANIEL 1990, p. 43-60; *Urk IV*, 742-743; MEGALLY 1977, p. 77; IKRAM 1995.

134 خالد حسن عبد العزيز، بطاقات الأواني الحجرية والفخارية في الدولة الحديثة، رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، كلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة، ٢٠١٠، ص ١٣٨-١٤٣. إيمان محمد المهدي، الخبز في مصر القديمة، القاهرة، ٢٠٠٩، ص ١٩.

135 SAMUEL 2001, s.v. “Bread”, p. 198; DAVID 1999.

136 محمد شريف عبده حسن، مجموعة من البرديات الهيراطيقية الإدارية في المتحف المصري، دراسته لغوية حضارية مقارنة، رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، كلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٨٩، ص ١٩٦.

137 إيمان محمد، الخبز في مصر القديمة، ص ١٨.

138 *Wb I*, 306-9; *FCD*, p. 60; LESKO 2002a, p. 100.

139 HAYES 1960, pl. X, no. 10; Hayes translated it as “offerings”; HAYES 1960, pp. 36-37.

140 HAYES 1960, pl. X, no. 10.

141 HAYES 1960, pl. XI, no. 9 rt.

142 JANSSEN 1995.

143 *Wb I*, 393-1.

144 JANSSEN 1995, p. 30.

145 JANSSEN 1995, p. 30.

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

Hieroglyphic Transliteration



Palaeographical remarks

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

Transliteration

- [1] [...]... (?)
- [2] [...]... *n3 n ih(.w)* [...] 5
- [3] [...]... *pr imy-r htm* ... 5
- [4] [...]... (?) *n (C3-hpr-n-R') ir* 4
- [5] [...] *nsw.t]-bity (C3-hpr-n-R') dmd* 5 [...]

¹⁵⁶ ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957, pl. XXX-VI, 2.

¹⁵⁷ HAYES 1960, pl. X, no. 6 rt.

¹⁵⁸ *Wb* V, 106-10.

Translation

- [1] [...]... (?)
 [2] [...]... *the cattle* [...] 5
 [3] [...]... *House of the overseer of the treasures* ... 5
 [4] [...]... (?) of (Āakheperenrâ) *that is* 4
 [5] [...] *King of upper* and lower Egypt (Āakheperenrâ), *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 ostrakon of Deir el-Bahri, with other officials, e.g. *imy-r pr t3w*, 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. , *ʿ3-hpr-n-Rʿ*

The royal name *ʿ3-hpr-n-Rʿ*, “Tuthmosis II”, is almost not attested in Deir el-Bahri except in ostrakon no. 448 (pl. 5, 6, fig. 17-20) of the current paper.

O. Cairo DeB. No. 482

[PL. 7, FIG. 25–26]

Description

<i>Provenance:</i>	Deir el-Bahri
<i>Diameter:</i>	9.5 cm
<i>Base:</i>	4.5 cm
<i>Material:</i>	Pottery
<i>Colour:</i>	Red
<i>Date:</i>	New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty
<i>Current location:</i>	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.

¹⁶² HAYES 1960, p. 34, pl. X, no. 6 rt.,

¹⁶⁰ HAYES 1960, p. 41, 42, pl. XI, no. 14.

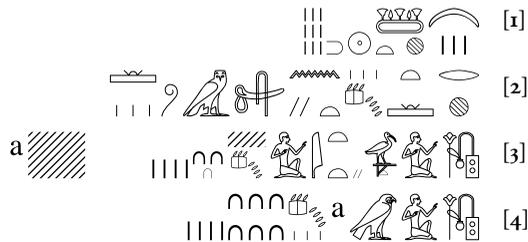
pl. XI, no. 14.

¹⁶¹ HAYES 1960, p. 35, pl. X, no. 8.

¹⁶³ HAYES 1960, pl. XI, no. 14.

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

Hieroglyphic Transliteration



Palaeographical Remarks

L. 3, a. At the end of this line, a few signs are faint and difficult to read. Possibly they relate to the scribe Djehwty-Tety or it may also give the reason why his amount of barley is less than that of the scribe Hori.

L. 4, a. : Abbreviated and unusual writing for the name Hor(i).¹⁶⁴ There are no details at all except the two legs. It is worth noting that the name is written without any determinative.

Transliteration

- [1] *3bd 3 3h.t sw 19*
 [2] *rh.t it nty ssm.w*
 [3] *sš Djhwtj-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. , *Djhwtj-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 (*Hr-nfr*), cf. GRANDET 2010, no. 10125.

L. 4. , Hr(i)

Maybe this name is identified with the scribe Hori who is attested on an ostracon from the tomb of Senmut.¹⁶⁵ He is also mentioned on an ostracon found in Gurna dated to the 18th Dynasty together with the workman *Imn-nb*.¹⁶⁶

O. Cairo DeB. No. 486

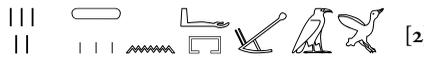
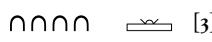
[PL. 8, FIG. 27-30]

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

Recto	Verso
 [1]	 [1]
 [2]	 [2]
 [3]	 [3]

Transliteration:

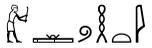
Recto	Verso
[1] <i>sfh p3 h3</i> 22	[1] <i>Snfr</i> 5
[2] <i>sšm Nb-iry</i> 4	[2] <i>p3 šn' n 'q.w</i> 5
[3] <i>n3 n h3y.w</i> 4	[3] <i>dmd</i> 40

¹⁶⁵ HAYES 1960, pl. XVII, no. 83-6.

¹⁶⁶ GOEDICKE, WENTE 1962, pl. LXXXVII, no. 56 rt.

Palaeographical Remarks

L. 1, a.  : Presumably stands for ꜥꜥ.

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

Transliteration

[1] <i>in.w bšz ḥzr [...]</i>	
[2] <i>Sz.w</i>	3
[3] <i>Imn-m-mr=f</i>	2
[4] <i>Sn-mn</i>	2
[5] <i>Trt</i>	15
[6] <i>Itḥ (?) ḥzr</i>	5
[7] [...]	3

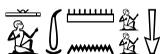
Translation

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

Commentary

L. 2. , *s3.w*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 *Tirt*, which belongs to a kind of plant, don't have determinatives in contrast with the other names.

L. 4. , *Sn-mn*¹⁷³

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

L. 6. , *itḥ*

The meaning of this word is problematic.

¹⁷¹ Maybe translated as "Amen among his servants".

¹⁷² RANKE, *PN I*, p. 285-9.

¹⁷³ RANKE, *PN I*, p. 308-22.

¹⁷⁴ HAYES 1960, pl. XVII, no. 85.

¹⁷⁵ HAYES 1960, p. 23.

Bibliography

- ALBRIGHT 1954
Albright, W.F., “Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.”, *JAOS* 74,4, 1954, pp. 222–233.
- BAKIR 1947
Bakir, A., *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, ASAE 45, Cairo, 1947.
- BIERBRIER 1982
Bierbrier, M., *The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaohs*, Cairo, 1982.
- BRUYÈRE 1929
Bruyère, B., “Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1928)”, in P. Jouquet (ed.), *Fouilles de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, année 1928*, FIFAO 6,2, Cairo, 1929.
- ČERNÝ 1929
Černý, J., “Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)”, *JEA* 15, 1929, pp. 243–258.
- ČERNÝ 1935
Černý, J., *Ostraca hiératiques*, CGC 25501-25832, Cairo, 1935.
- ČERNÝ 1973a
Černý, J., *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BiEtud 50, Cairo, 1973.
- ČERNÝ 1973b
Černý, J., *The Valley of the Kings*, BiEtud 61, Cairo, 1973.
- ČERNÝ, GARDINER 1957
Černý, J., Gardiner, A., *Hieratic Ostraca I*, Oxford, 1957.
- CHARPENTIER 1981
Charpentier, G., *Recueil des matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l’Égypte antique*, Paris, 1981.
- DAVIES, GARDINER 1920
Davies, N.G., Gardiner, A., *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I, and of his Wife, Senet (no. 60)*, TTS 2, London, 1920.
- DANIEL 1990
Daniel, P., “Die Sna-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches”, *ZÄS* 117, 1990, pp. 43–60.
- DAVID 1999
David, R. *Handbook to life in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 1999, p. 288.
- DONKER VAN HEEL, HARING 2003
Donker Van Heel, K., Haring, B., *Writing in a Workmen’s Village, Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina*, EgUit 16, Leiden, 2003.
- ERMAN 1911
Erman, A., *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen, aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenschiff*, ASGW I, Berlin, 1911.
- LU. GABOLDE, Ma. GABOLDE 1989
Gabolde, L., Gabolde, M., “Les Temples ‘mémoires’ de Thoutmosis II et Toutankhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques)”, *BIFAO* 89, 1989, pp. 127–178.
- GARDINER 1957
Gardiner, A.H., *Ancient Egyptian Grammar*, 1927, 3rd ed., London, 1957.
- GERMER 2001, s.v. “Fruits”, p. 564
Germer, R., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, s.v. “Fruits”, vol. I, p. 564, London, 2001.
- GOEDICKE, Wente 1962
Goedicke, H., Wente, E., *Ostraka Michaelides*, Wiesbaden, 1962.
- GOLÉNISCHEFF 1993
Golénischeff, W., *Les transcriptions des papyrus hiératiques nos 1116 A (verso) et 1116 B (verso) de L’Ermitage impérial à St-Petersbourg*, San Antonio, 1993.
- GRANDET 2003
Grandet, P., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh IX, nos 831-1000*, DFIFAO 41, Cairo, 2003.
- GRANDET 2006a
Grandet, P., “KY JNR ŠRJ, un autre petit caillou, ostraca hiératiques documentaires inédits de L’IFAO”, in A. Dorn, T. Hoffmann, (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. socio-historical embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, AegHelv 19, Bâle, Genève, 2006, pp. 93–1205.

- GRANDET 2006b
Grandet, P., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh X, n^{os} 10001-10123*, DFIFAO 46, Cairo, 2006.
- GRANDET 2010
Grandet, P., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh XI, n^{os} 10124-10275*, DFIFAO 48, Cairo, 2010.
- HAGEN 2011
Hagen, F., *New Kingdom Ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Leiden, 2011.
- HANNIG 1995
Hannig, R., *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch. Die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950) v. Chr.*, Mainz, 1995.
- HARING 1997
Haring, B.J.J., *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, EgUit 12, Leiden, 1997.
- HASSAN 2013
Hassan, KH., "A Visitor's Hieratic Ostrakon Concerning the Temple of Deir el-Bahri", *BIFAO* 113, 2013, pp. 183–191.
- HAYES 1942
Hayes, W., *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mût (No. 71) at Thebes*, New York, 1942.
- HAYES 1955
Hayes, W., *A papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)*, Brooklyn, 1955.
- HAYES 1960
Hayes, W., "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dêr El-Bahri", *JEA* 46, 1960, pp. 29–52.
- HELCK 1958-1975
Helck, W., *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, PdÄ 3-3a, Leiden, Köln, 1958-1975.
- Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 1911
- Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung. Dritter Band. Schriftstücke der VI Dynastie aus Elephantine, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, Ostraka*, Leipzig, 1911.
- HOCH 1994
Hoch, J.E., *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton, 1994.
- LOPEZ 1984
Lopez, J., *Ostraca Ieratici*, CMT, Serie seconda-
Collezioni, 3,4, N.57450-57568, Tabelle lignee
N.58001-58007, Milan, 1984.
- IKRAM 1995
Ikram, S., *Choice cuts: 𓆎𓆏 Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*, OLA 69, Leuven, 1995.
- JANSSEN 1975
Janssen, J., *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*, Leiden, 1975.
- JANSSEN 1979
Janssen, J., "The Role of the Temple in Egyptian Economy during the New Kingdom", in E. Lipinski (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II*, OLA 6, Leuven, 1979.
- JANSSEN 1995
Janssen, J., "The Daily Bread. A Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet", *BES* 13, 1997, pp. 15–38.
- LESKO 2002a
Lesko, L., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, 2nd ed., Berkeley, 2002.
- LESKO 2002b
Lesko, L., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II*, 2nd ed., Berkeley, 2002.
- MEGALLY 1971
Megally, M., *Considérations sur les variations et la transformation des formes hiératiques du papyrus; E. 3226 du Louvre*, BiEtud 49, Cairo, 1971.
- MEGALLY 1977
Megally, M., *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIII^e dynastie*, BiEtud 71, Cairo, 1977.
- MEGALLY 1981
Megally, M., "Un intéressant ostracon de la XVIII^e dynastie de Thèbes", *BIFAO* 81, 1981, pp. 293–312.
- MEYER 1980
Meyer, Ch., *LÄ VI*, 1980, col. 539, s.v. "Thutmosis II".

- MÖLLER 1911
Möller, G., *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1911, pl. XXX, P 10614.
- MÖLLER 1927a
Möller, G., *Hieratische Paläographie I*, Leipzig, 1927.
- MÖLLER 1927b
Möller, G., *Hieratische Paläographie II*, Leipzig, 1927.
- NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007
Navrátilová, H., *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara*, The Visitors' Graffiti 1, Prague, 2007.
- PENDLEBURY 1951
Pendlebury, J.D.S., *The City of Akhnaten*, Part III, *the Central City and the Official Quarters (The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the Season 1926-1927 and 1931-1936)*, ExcMem 44, London, 1951.
- POMMERENING 2005
Pommerening, T., *Die altägyptischen Hohlmaße*, BSAK 10, Hamburg, 2005.
- QUIRK 2001, s.v. "The Administrative Texts", p. 25
Quirk, St., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, s.v. "The administrative texts", vol. I, Oxford, 2001, p. 25.
- RAGAZZOLI 2013
Ragazzoli, C.C.D., "The Social Creation of a Scribal Place: The Visitors' Inscriptions in the Tomb Attributed to Antefiqer (TT 60) (With Newly Recorded Graffiti)", *SAK* 42, 2013, pp. 269–323.
- RÖMER 2008
Römer, M., "Die ostraka DAI – Assasif 55 und 56 – dokumente der Bauarbeiten in Deir El-Bahri unter Thutmosis III", in E.M. Engel, V. Müller, H. Hartung (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand, Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Drayer*, Menes 5, Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 613–625.
- RÖMER 2014
Römer, M., "Miszellen zu den Ostraka der 18. Dynastie aus Deir el-Bahri und dem Asasif", in B.J.J. Haring, E.O. Kaper, R. van Walsem (eds.), *The Workman's Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée*, EgUit 28, Leiden, 2014, pp. 211–216.
- SAMUEL 2001, s.v. "Bread", p. 198
Samuel, D., *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, s.v. "Bread", vol. I, Oxford, 2001, p. 198.
- SPALINGER 2000
Spalinger, A., "Medinet Habu and Deir el-Medina Combined", in R.J. Demarée, A. Egberts (ed.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD*, EgUit 14, Leiden, 2000.
- SPIEGELBERG, NEWBERRY 1908
Spiegelberg, W., Newberry, P., *Report on some excavations in the Theban Necropolis During the Winter of 1898-9*, London, 1908.
- WILKINSON 2005
Wilkinson, R., *The Complete Temples of ancient Egypt*, Cairo, 2005, p. 191.
- WINLOCK 1942
Winlock, H., *Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931*, New York, 1942.

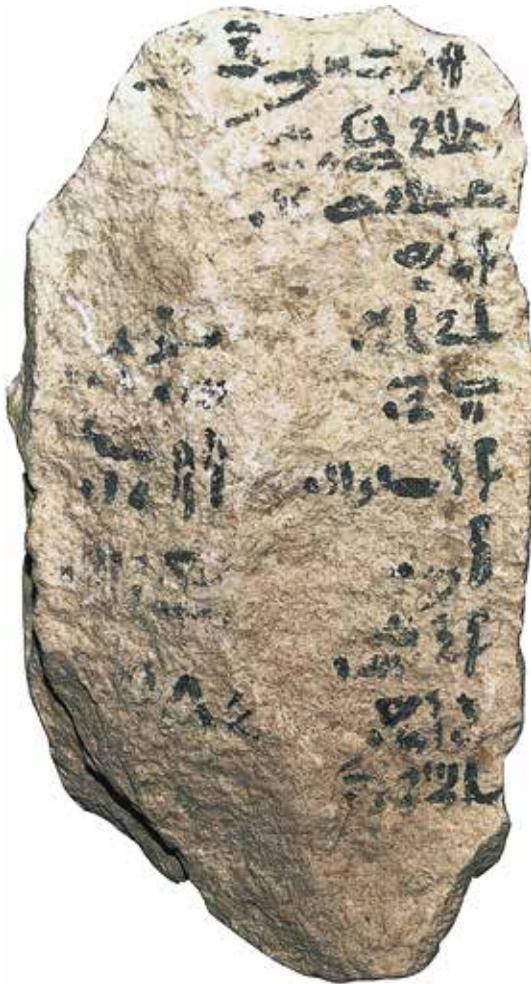


FIG. 1. Ostrakon no. 518.

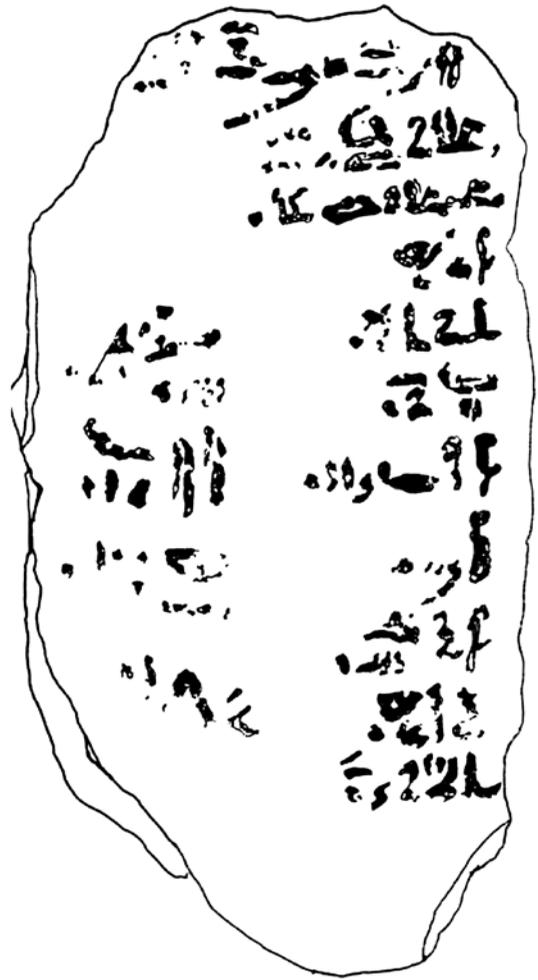


FIG. 2. Ostrakon no. 518. Facsimile drawing.

Pl. I¹⁷⁷

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

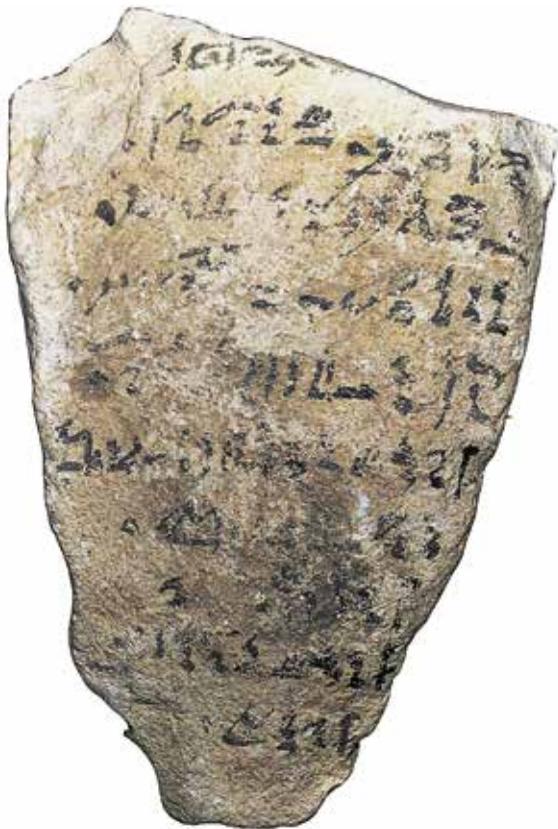


FIG. 3. Ostrakon no. 407 rt.



FIG. 4. Ostrakon no. 407 vs.

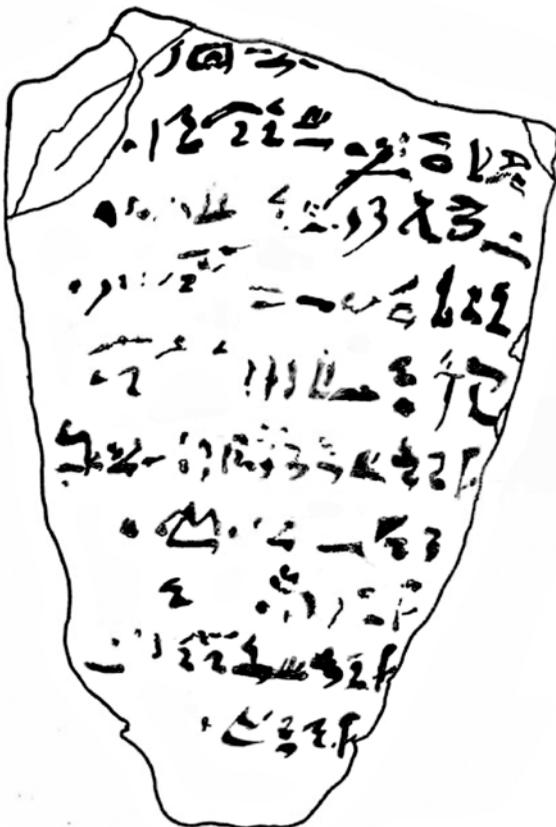


FIG. 5. Ostrakon no. 407 rt. Facsimile drawing.



FIG. 6. Ostrakon no. 407 vs. Facsimile drawing.

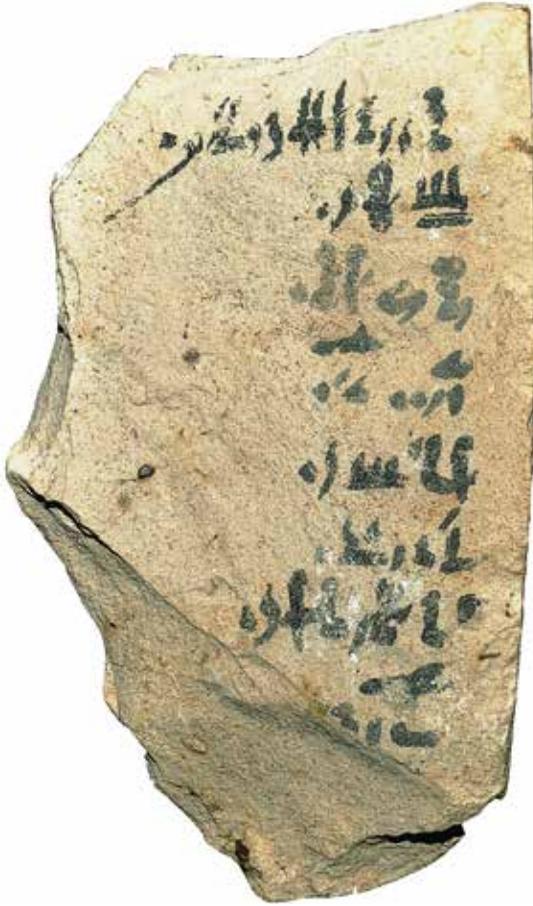


FIG. 7. Ostrakon no. 495.

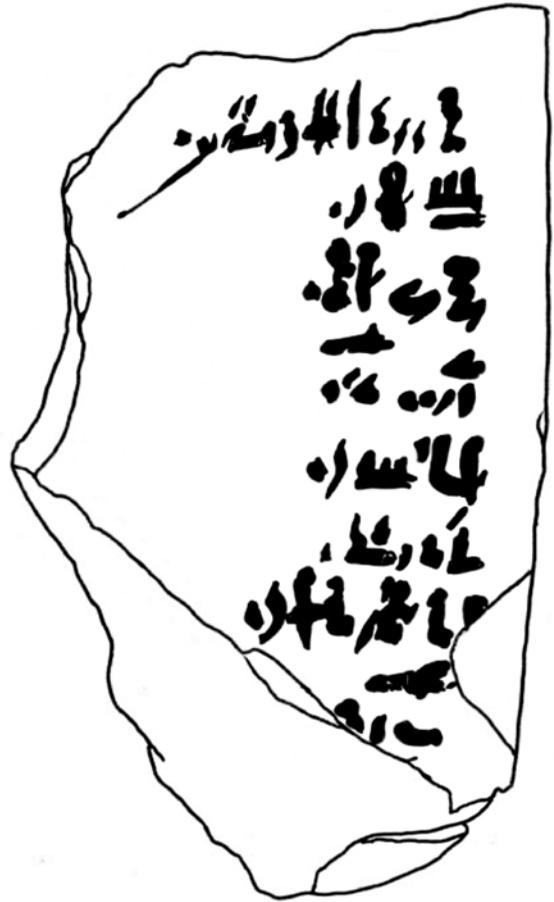


FIG. 8. Facsimile drawing.

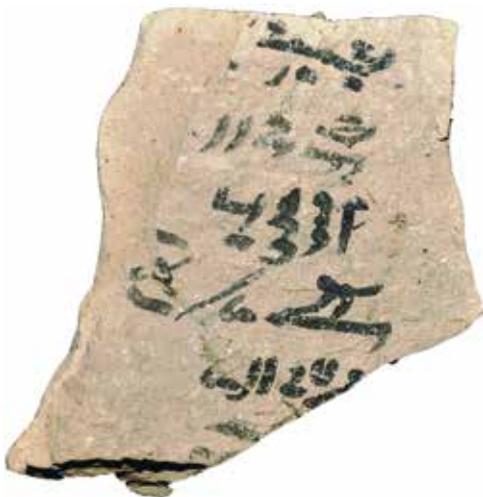


FIG. 9. Ostrakon no. 475.



FIG. 10. Facsimile drawing.



FIG. 11. Ostracon no. 528.



FIG. 12. Facsimile drawing.

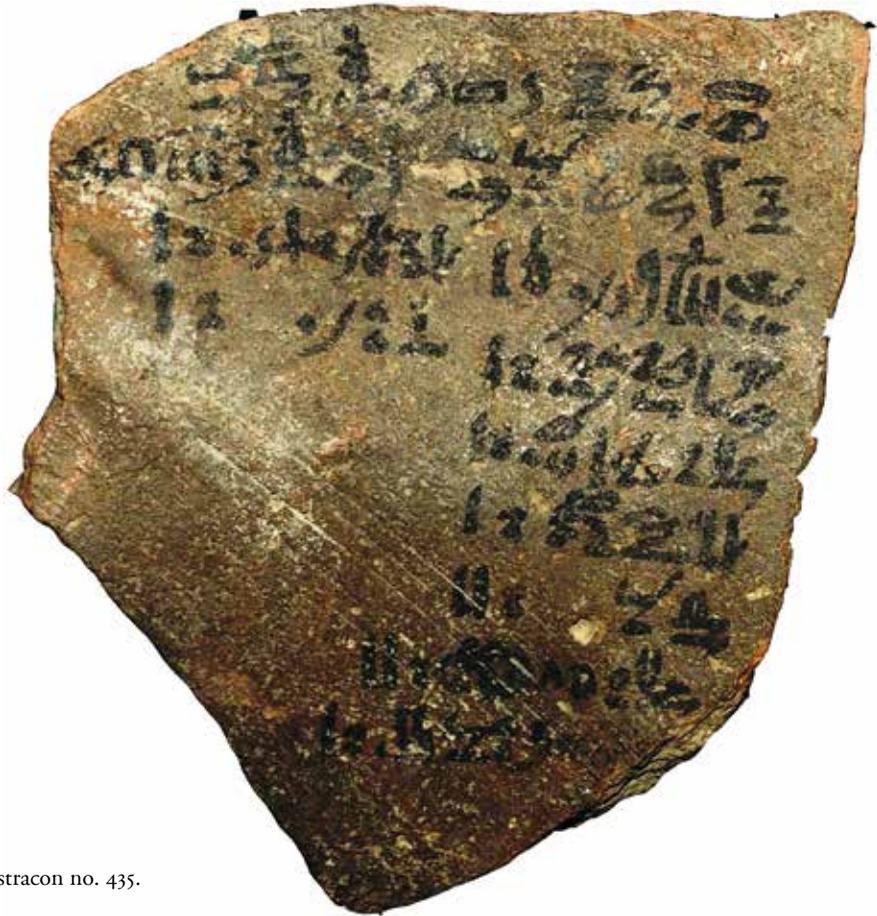


FIG. 13. Ostracon no. 435.

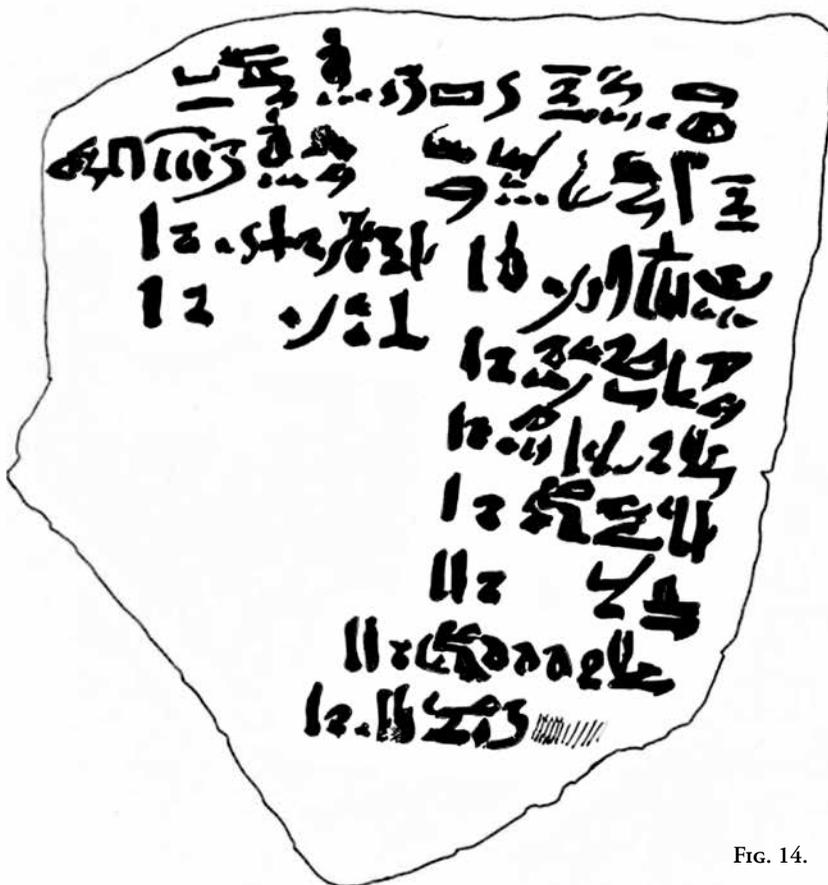


FIG. 14. Facsimile drawing.



FIG. 15. Ostrakon no. 488.

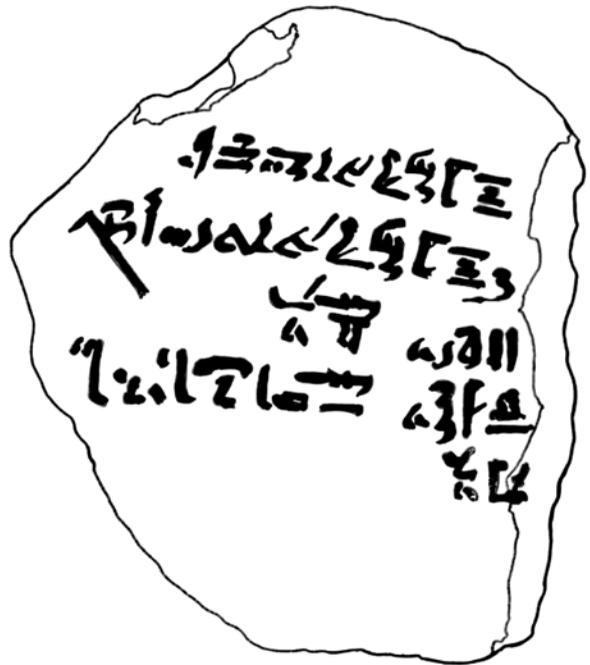


FIG. 16. Facsimile drawing.



FIG. 17. Ostrakon no. 404.



FIG. 18. Facsimile drawing.

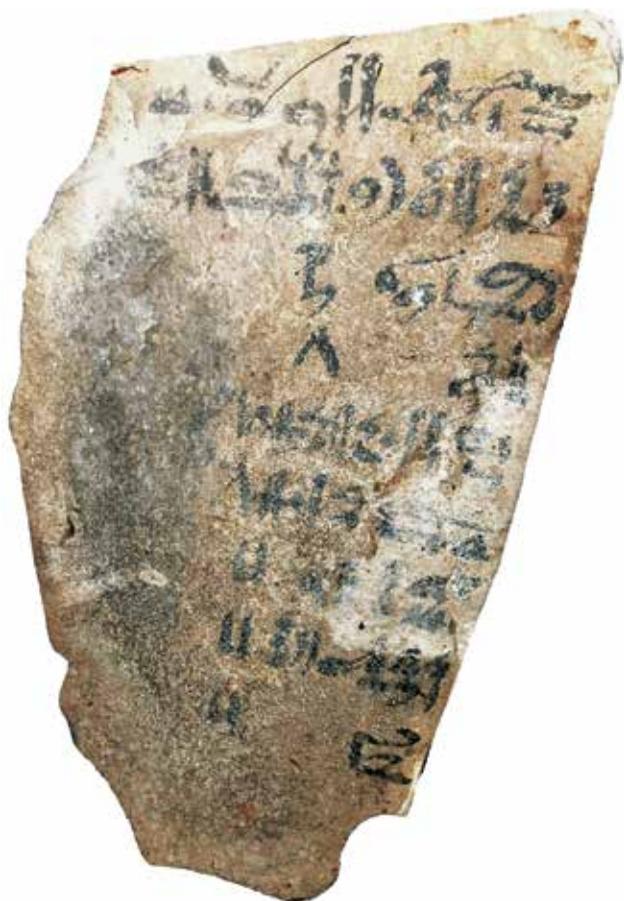


FIG. 19. Ostrakon no. 448 rt.



FIG. 20. Ostrakon no. 448 vs.

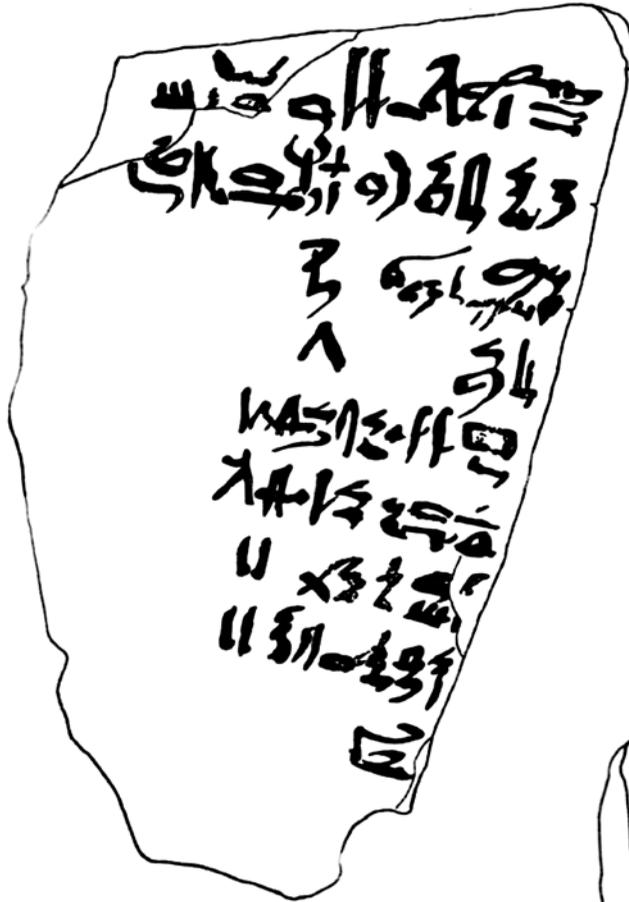


FIG. 21. Ostrakon no. 448 rt. Facsimile drawing.

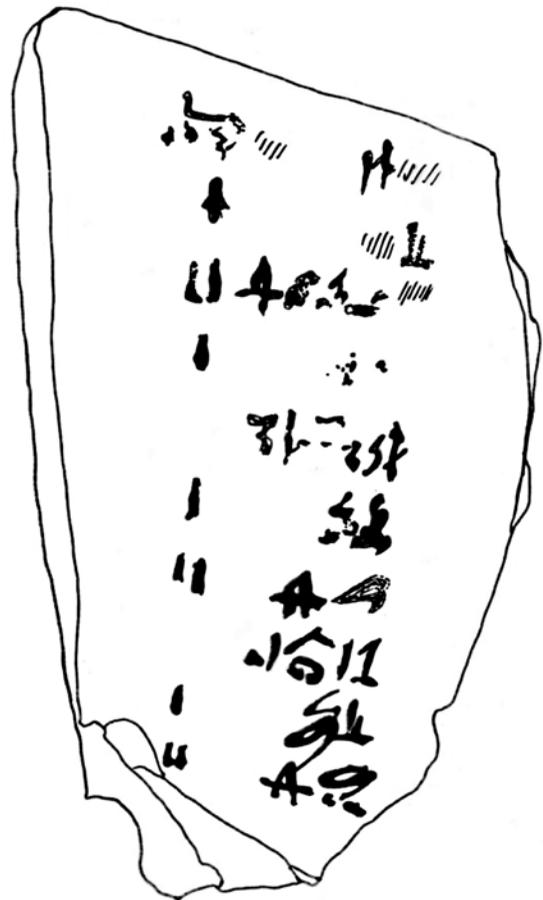


FIG. 22. Ostrakon no. 448 vs. Facsimile drawing.

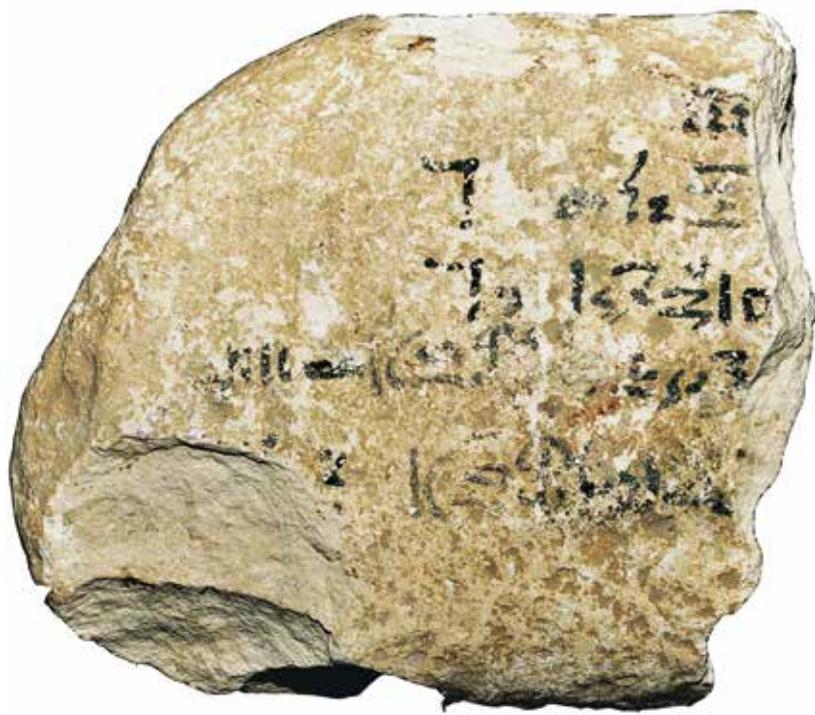


FIG. 23. Ostracon no. 384.

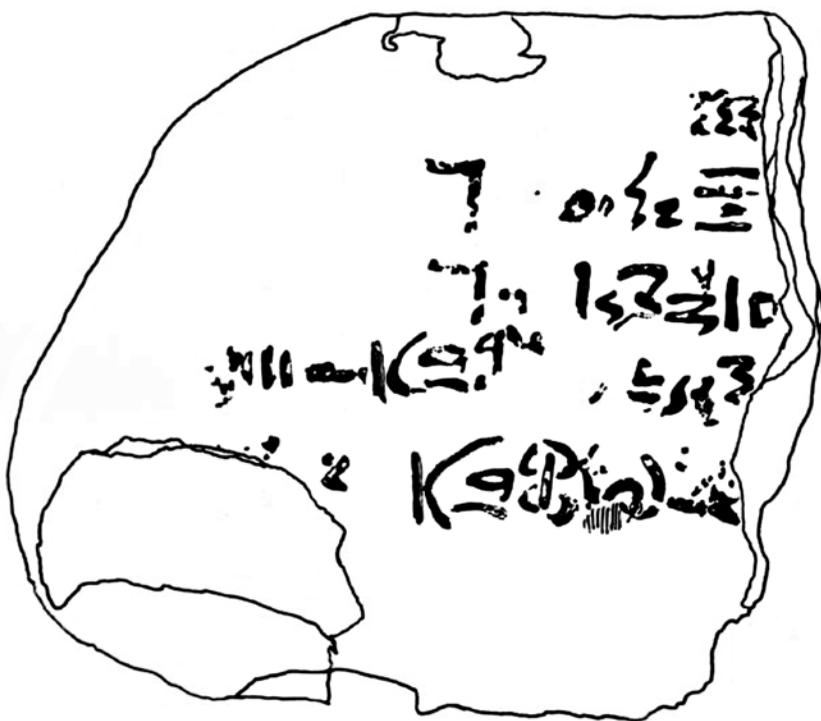


FIG. 24. Facsimile drawing.



FIG. 25. Ostracon no. 482.



FIG. 26. Facsimile drawing.



FIG. 27. Ostrakon no. 486 rt.



FIG. 28. Ostrakon no. 486 vs.



FIG. 29. Ostrakon no. 486 rt. Facsimile drawing.

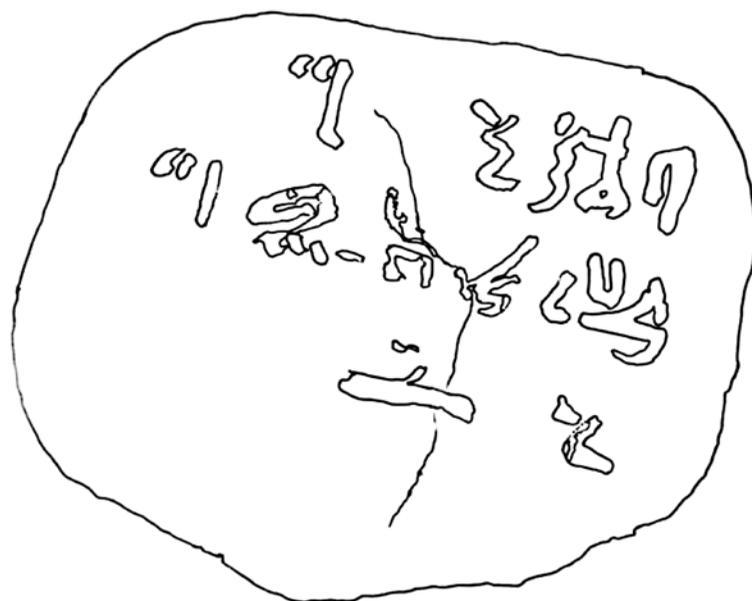


FIG. 30. Ostrakon no. 486 vs. Facsimile drawing.

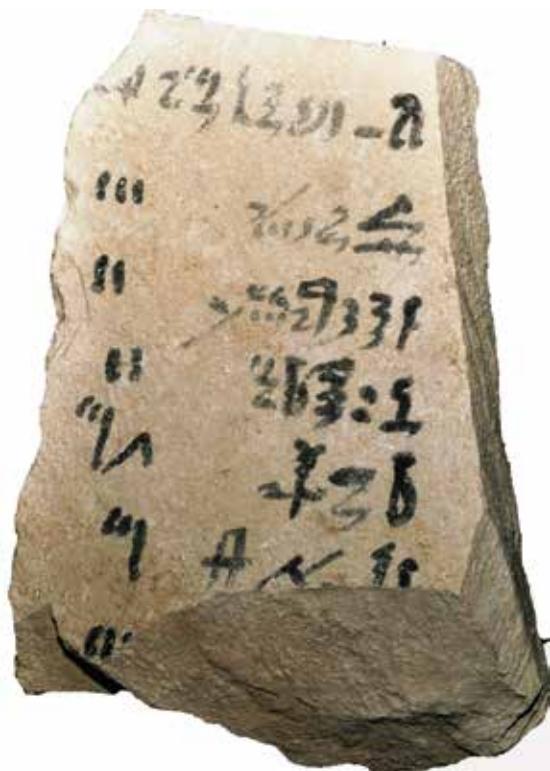


FIG. 31. Ostracon no. 434.

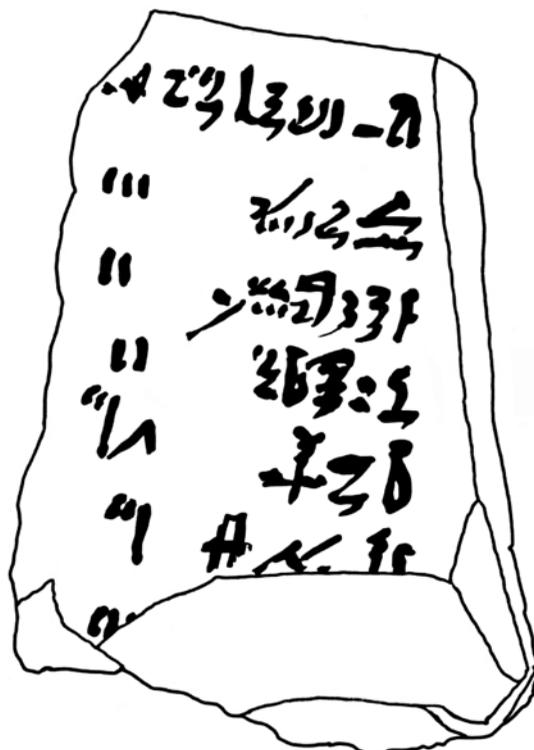


FIG. 32. Facsimile drawing.

