

Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393

An example of necropolis administration in marks

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This paper is related to the topic of one of the first modules worked on for the project *Alt-ägyptische Kursivschriften*: administrative hieratic from the 19th and 20th dynasties. It is thanks to this project that I met Ursula Verhoeven in the summer of 2015. I am grateful for the fact that she allowed me to work on the Ramesside corpus for several years. While working on this material I regularly came into contact with material of an earlier project: the ostraca with workmen's identity marks from Deir el-Medina dating to the same period.¹ Although not (fully) hieratic, they are closely related to the Ramesside administration in the village. Among the sources collected for the AKU project was ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634, a duty roster composed with workmen's as well as further marks. It was included in the earlier project on the marks and features in several publications,² but a correct facsimile was never made. By the time López published his facsimiles of the ostraca from the *Museo Egizio* Turin,³ the workmen's marks were not known yet, thus his facsimiles contain several errors of interpretation through no fault of his own. The purpose of this paper is to provide a correct facsimile and discussion of the ostrakon in its Ramesside administrative context.

1 Duty roster

Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 is a limestone ostrakon measuring circa 9.5 × 11.5 cm. Seen from the *recto*, it is broken off on the right side upper and lower corners as well as chipped off on the left side. On the *verso*, we miss the upper half of the first visible entry, the day-numbers on the right, and pieces chipped off in the lower right and left corners.

¹ The project 'Symbolizing Identity. Identity marks and their relation to writing in New Kingdom Egypt' was funded by The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and carried out at Leiden University between 2011 and 2015. Project leader was B. J. J. Haring.

² Moezel 2016; Soliman 2016; Soliman 2018; Soliman 2021.

³ López 1978–1984 (4 volumes). O. Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 is published in López 1978–1984, 3: 30, tav. 127, 127a.



Fig. 1: Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 *recto* (left) and *verso* (right). Photos: N. Dell'Acquila, F. Taverni © Museo Egizio Turin

The ostracon is inscribed with black ink on the *recto* and with black and red ink on the *verso*. The *recto* has six lines with (day) numbers, marks and numerals. One mark and remains of entries separated from the other entries by a curved line in the lower left corner are written perpendicular to the main entries. The *verso* shows (remains of) four lines with marks and numerals. Although it is fragmentary, the ostracon records part of the so-called *wrš* duty roster from year 2 of the reign of Ramesses IV: it records the sequence of workmen on duty for days 10 to 15 (*recto*) and days 29 to 30 (*verso*). More precisely, the ostracon has been dated to the second month of *peret* on the basis of an analogy with the hieratic ostracon Ashmolean Museum 131.⁴ More on this follows further below.

The entries are built up as follows: the sign || for *sw* ('day'), day-number, and mark for the respective workman on duty. Then follows either a hieratic number, a mark for a product that was delivered on that day, or a mark for the person who delivered the product. These deliverers were members of the outside service agency (the *smd.t*), which was installed to provide the workmen's crew in Deir el-Medina with victuals and essential materials such as firewood and water. In a number of ostraca with workmen's marks they feature with a personal identity mark as well.⁵

⁴ Soliman 2016, 198.

⁵ This group of marks' ostraca recording the duty roster and deliveries from dynasty 20 was commented upon in Soliman 2021.

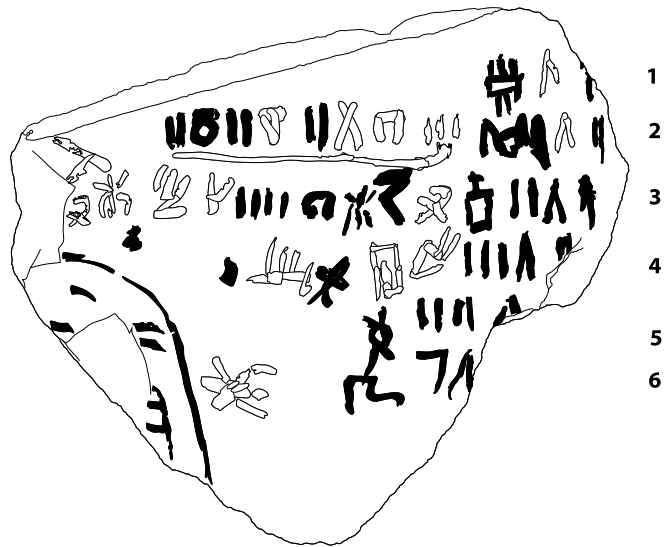


Fig. 2a: Facsimile of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 *recto* by KvdM

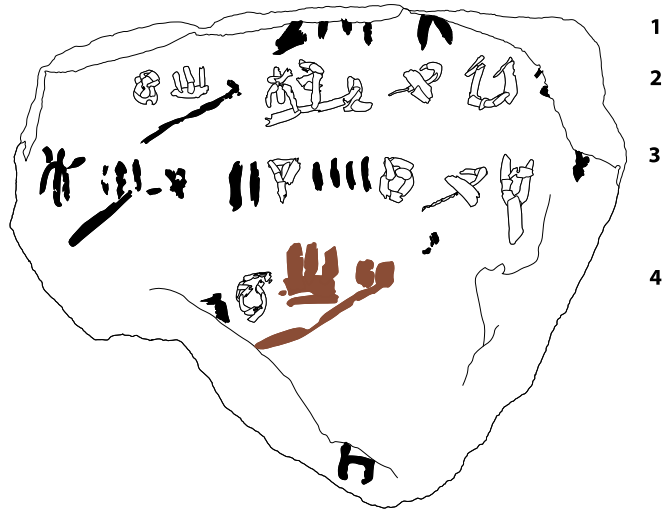



Fig. 2b: Facsimile of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 *verso* by KvdM

It was not possible to draw the lines of composition in every case. Therefore, some marks and numerals are represented in black facsimile, whereas those that do show separate strokes are given in outline. The surface of the ostracon is uneven and rough in some places; this leads to jagged lines in some marks and numerals. The interpretation of the text is as follows:

Recto

1. Day 10: Harshire.
2. Day 11: Iyerniutef: 600; *psn*-loaves 32; dates 2; *ds*-jars 2.
3. Day 12: Nebnakht: wood 9, Ptahmose; *psn*-loaves 4; *bi.t*-loaves 6; Ptahmose, wood
////.
4. Day 13: Wesekhnemtet: ; fish 3000.
5. Day 14: Pentaweret.
6. Day 15: Nakhemmut.
Perpendicular: Ptahmose.
Separated by a curved line in the lower left corner are remains of presumably hieratic numbers.

Verso

1. [Day 28] ////.
2. [Day 29⁶]: Penanuqet: wood 250, Ptahmose; 100, Pades.
3. [Day 30]: Khaemwaset: wood; *ds*-jars 4; dates 2; wood 300, Ptahmose
4. //// 250; *ds*-jars ////

2 Ductus and palaeography

Ostracon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 is part of a group of ostraca that record the *wrš* duty roster with workmen's marks between year 28 of Ramesses III and year 6 of Ramesses IV. They all show a ductus of a person that was not (fully) literate. The ostracon in question shows no hieratic text and the marks that were used generally have a pictorial appearance. Dippings are visible, except in the lower part on the *recto* where the paint has generally faded. The intervals at which the brush was dipped differ depending on whether the scribe wrote many simple numerical units or more complex marks. Below are gathered some palaeographical remarks per sort of information: hieratic signs and numerals; marks for workmen; marks for *smd.t*-personnel; and marks for products.

⁶ The day-numbers 29 and 30 have not been preserved. On the basis of the duty roster it is, however, clear that Penanuqet and Khaemwaset were on watch on days 29 and 30. A further hint is the link to O. Ash. Mus. 131, which in *verso* lines 4 and 5 documents the same amounts of wood brought by two wood-carriers of the *smd.t*, Ptahmose and Pades, represented on O. Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 with a mark. Further data on O. Ash. Mus. 131 and the Turin ostracon do, however, not correlate (see below).

2.1 Hieratic signs and numerals

As designation for *sw* ('day') the hieratogram *s* (𓂏) was used at the start of each entry, rather than the logogram ☉, which was common in hieratic documents listing days. The following table lists the samples on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 as well as examples from contemporary necropolis administration. Where this has been documented in the AKU database, cotexts have been given.





























Table 1: The hieratogram *s* on O. Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 compared to samples from contemporary necropolis administration

57393	Contemporary necropolis administration							
rt 1	8290 ⁷ (<i>wsf</i>)	8299 (<i>wsf</i>)	9008 (<i>wsf</i>)	9034 (<i>smh.j</i>)	9066 (<i>wsf</i>)	9097	9135	9136
rt 2	9168	9169	14606	14660 (<i>smh.j</i>)	15423 (<i>psn</i>)	15424 (<i>psn</i>)	16941 (<i>smj</i>)	23209 (<i>smh.j</i>)
rt 3	23318 (<i>psn</i>)	23319 (<i>psn</i>)	23320 (<i>psn</i>)	23321 (<i>psn</i>)	23476 (<i>Ms</i>)	23552 (<i>Nb-smn</i>)	28868 (<i>R^c-ms-sw</i>)	29802 (<i>Wsr-ḥ.t</i>)
	From the marks' ostrakon Berlin P. 12625 in the word <i>sw</i> , 'day'							
rt 4	23553	23554	23555	23557	23558	23559	23560	

⁷ Numbers refer to Hieratogram IDs in the AKU Database internal to the project. Those that have been published in AKU-PAL can be found by filtering on code S29 and Dynasty 20. The same is valid for the following palaeographic tables: the hieratograms that have been published can be found by filtering on code and date. Only a selection could be presented in the tables here. This selection is arbitrary. If a hieratogram is not yet found in AKU-PAL, it has at least been released for online publication and will appear in a future update.

The form of the folded cloth (S29) is a simple one. There is little that can go wrong, whether a hieroglyphic or a hieratic model is followed. Although ostracon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 only shows two complete examples, it seems that our scribe was at least familiar with the sign and its phonetic value in the word *sw*.

Table 2: Hieratic numerals on O. Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 compared to samples from contemporary necropolis administration








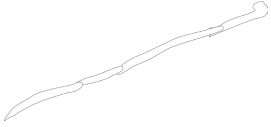


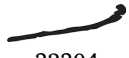
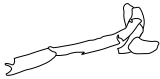

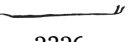



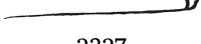


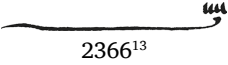
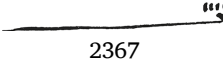






57393	Value	Contemporary necropolis administration							
 rt 6	5								
		2153 ⁸	2154	2155	2161	2979	2989	3391	3573
 rt 3	6								
		2184	2874	2875	2970	2991	3072	3334	3336
 rt 3	9								
		2235	2236	3004	3073	3337	3376	3377	3460
 rt 1	10								
 rt 2									
 rt 3									
 rt 4									
 rt 6									
			15425	23785	27929	28926	28927	29367	29478
 rt 2	30								
		2680	2806	2807	3048	3074	3338	3378	Wim. ⁹
 vs 2	50								
		2679	3339	Wim. ¹⁰	Wim.				

⁸ Numbers refer to Sign Group IDs in the AKU Database internal to the project. Sign groups have not yet been published in AKU-PAL. The selections here are arbitrary.

⁹ This hieratogram comes from Wimmer 1995, 438 (years 22–32 of Ramesses III).

¹⁰ This and the next hieratogram come from Wimmer 1995, 440 (years 12–22 of Ramesses III).

Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393

57393	Value	Contemporary necropolis administration				
 vs 4	90	 Wim. ¹¹	 2319 ¹²	 2320	 2321	
 vs 2	100	 23495	 28024	 32159	 32161	 32304
 vs 2	200	 2325	 2326	 3075	 3343	
 vs 4		 2327			 3344	
 rt 2	600	 2366 ¹³	 2367			
 rt 4	3000	 2509 ¹⁴	 2510	 2512	 2513	 2513

The hieratic numerals on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 are generally written correctly (table 2). The number ‘9’ in *recto* line 3 is less cursive than most of its contemporary examples. Its closest parallel is ID 2236, a hieratogram written by Scribe A on an ostrakon recording absence and presence from year 26 of Ramesses III.¹⁵ The number ‘200’ on the *verso* in line 2 comes across as a mistake. The scribe started with two ticks common in writing ‘200’ in hieratic. He prolonged the second tick, but then added a stroke to the right rather than the tail to the left, which was drawn last. If interpreted correctly, I have no explanation for the form. Two numbers are composed differently than samples from contemporary hieratic necropolis administration. First the number ‘30’: the hieratic examples generally consist of an element in the bottom (right) and an element in the upper (left). The first element can have the form of an open triangle (basically the form for ‘10’), a

¹¹ This hieratogram comes from Wimmer 1995, 443 (years 12–21 of Ramesses III).

¹² This and the following two hieratograms come from P. BM EA 9999, a text related to temple affairs from Thebes dating to the reign of Ramesses IV. See Möller 1927, no. 631.

¹³ This and the following hieratogram come from P. BM EA 9999. See Möller 1927, no. 639.

¹⁴ This and the following four hieratograms come from P. BM EA 9999. See Möller 1927, no. 643.

¹⁵ For an interpretation of this ostrakon, see Moezel 2022, 32–33, 69. For Scribe A, see Moezel 2022, 148–154.

curved stroke, or a diagonal T; the second element is a dot or stroke, with two exceptions (3048, 3074) showing a more elaborate form. In comparison, the scribe of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 rendered a simpler form, i.e., a cross. Second, the number ‘50’ on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 consists of a ‘z’-form and a horizontal stroke, whereas examples from hieratic documents show a ‘3’-form or two horizontal strokes on top of a vertical base.




One notices small details in comparing, first, the hieratograms for ‘10’ with the hieratogram for ‘30’ on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634: in the samples for ‘10’ the leftmost diagonal stroke was drawn over the rightmost diagonal stroke in all examples where this could be clearly seen, whereas in drawing the numeral ‘30’ the rightmost stroke was drawn over the leftmost stroke. Perhaps this difference in composition could signify that our scribe did consider the number ‘30’ a different sign than ‘10’ from a cognitive point of view, even though his hieratograms are very much alike. A second detail is the red ink on the *verso* of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634: only the number ‘290’ in line 4 was written in red. It was written over an earlier entry in black that was washed out. Perhaps, the scribe had made a mistake, although I cannot link the remains of paint to another number.¹⁶ The red color may indicate a correction; at least it does not seem to be a total.

Overall, it seems that our scribe had experience with and felt confident in writing hieratic numerals.

2.2 Marks for workmen

The workmen on duty are given with their workmen’s mark in the precise sequence of the duty roster known from regnal year 2 of Ramesses IV. Comparing the marks to samples from hieratic administration (table 3) may seem unfit, since the marks have their own tradition—in many cases built around pictorial or hieroglyphic models—and the scribe of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 followed this tradition. Nevertheless, his ductus in writing the marks may at least hint at a degree of familiarity, experience, or confidence with (cursive) writing.

Table 3: Workmen’s marks compared to hieratograms from contemporary necropolis administration
































57393	Workman	Contemporary necropolis administration	
	Harshire		
rt 1		M. II ¹⁷	M. II ¹⁸

¹⁶ A curve as in the bottom of the hieratogram for ‘1000’ (M12) may be recognizable, but the vertical stroke belonging to that hieratogram was not there.

¹⁷ This hieratogram comes from Möller 1927, 38 note 2.

¹⁸ From Möller 1927, 38 (dynasty 21).

Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393

57393	Workman	Contemporary necropolis administration						
	Iyerniutef							
rt 2		8698 ¹⁹	9278	9279				
	Nebnakht							
rt 3		34836 (<i>Knm</i>)	11720 ²⁰					
	Wesekhmetet							
rt 4		23108 (<i>idn</i>)	23525 (<i>dng</i>)	10110 ²¹	10111	10112	Wim. ²²	Wim.
	Pentaweret							
rt 5		_23						
	Nakhemmut							
rt 6		10236 ²⁴	8728 ²⁵	9542	9543	9544	11037	
	Penanuqet							
vs 2		23521 (<i>Ks</i>)	23522 (<i>Pn-nk.t</i>)	23820 (<i>Ks</i>)	28947 (<i>Ks</i>)	34818 (<i>kbs</i>)	34819 (<i>kbs</i>)	34820 (<i>kbs</i>)

¹⁹ This and the following two hieratograms come from P. BM EA 9999, a text relating to temple affairs from Thebes dating to the reign of Ramesses IV.

²⁰ This ID represents a hieratogram from P. BM EA 10053, a legal text from the reign of Ramesses IX.









²¹ IDs 10110–10112 are hieratograms from P. BM EA 10221, a legal text from the reign of Ramesses IX.








²² This and the next hieratogram come from Wimmer 1995, 106 (years 22–32 of Ramesses III).

²³ So far, I have no examples from administrative documents dating to the reigns of Ramesses III–IV.

²⁴ This example comes from Pierpont Morgan Library, Amh. Egy. Pap. 6, a juridical text from the reign of Ramesses IX.

²⁵ These and the following four hieratograms come from P. BM EA 9999, a text relating to temple affairs from Thebes dating to the reign of Ramesses IV.

57393	Workman	Contemporary necropolis administration						
	Khaemwaset							
vs 3		23074 (<i>ḥ</i>)	23075 (<i>ḥ</i>)	23076 (<i>ḥ</i>)	23535 ²⁶ (<i>H̄-m- W̄s.t</i>)	28866 (<i>ḥ</i>)	Wim. ²⁷	Wim.







Overall, the marks have a pictorial appearance, and therefore resemble hieroglyphs rather than hieratograms. For the mark  (S28) of Harshire (*Hr-šrj* (i)) we hardly have hieratic parallels. Obviously, this mark was inspired by the hieroglyph , the form of which the scribe was familiar with, although presumably only as a workmen's mark or a symbol rather than as a sign of writing. The mark  (*Ḥ*, S23) of Iyerniutef (*Iy-r-njw.t-f* (iii)) is clearly of a hieroglyphic form as well. This form is generally seen for this workman's mark in both dynasties 19 and 20. As a sign of writing it does occur in contemporary hieratic documents, but not frequently. The mark  (*Ḥ*, O28) of Nebnakht (*Nb-nḥt* (iv)) also has a hieroglyphic appearance on ostracon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634. There are very few hieratic examples from documentary texts. As a workman's mark, it may reveal hieratic influence, for instance in the examples  (O. Cairo JE 96529, dynasty 20) and  (O. Turin CGT 57523, dynasty 20), something we do not see here. The mark  of Wesekhnetet is to be interpreted as a cursive or hieratic form of the walking legs (*Ḥ*, D54), but in most occurrences, among which is our specimen, confusion seems to have arisen with the hieratic sign for the ox's ear (*Ḥ*, F21). The carrier of the mark is, however, known as *Wsh-nmt.t* (i). Among other examples of the mark, we do occasionally find cursive or hieratic forms of *Ḥ*. An identification as D54 thus seems to be in order. I do not know when and why the confusion arose, nor can I answer the question whether in fact it was a confusion or perhaps some metaphorical reference to the carrier of the mark. Wimmer in his palaeography documents three forms for *Ḥ* D54 that relate to *Ḥ* F21 as well²⁸; the confusion also occurred in writing. The scribe of ostracon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 rendered the mark of Wesekhnetet in a form that was perhaps not as hieratic as examples of *Ḥ* from hieratic documents dating to dynasty 20, but cursive it certainly is; that is, he knew and recognized this mark as a cursive rather than as a hieroglyphic form.



The mark of Pentaweret (*Pn-tj-wr.t* (iv)) only had a tradition as a workmen's mark in the necropolis administration from the reigns of Ramesses III and IV. It is presumably to be identified with *Ḥ* (R24). One example of that sign from a literary source dating to dynasty 21 can be found in Möller 1927, 49. As a sign of writing, *Ḥ* is known in horizontal

²⁶ This hieratogram from O. Berlin P. 12625 is in fact the workman's mark for the same Khaemwaset.

²⁷ This and the following hieratogram come from Wimmer 1995, 265 (years 12–21 and 22–32 of Ramesses III).

²⁸ Wimmer 1995, 84 (graphic development D).

position, whereas the workman's mark could be horizontally as well as vertically outlined. This is common for marks.²⁹ The mark  of Nakhemmut (*Nḥ-m-mwt* (ii)) is hieroglyphic in form in conformity to the mark's tradition: none of the examples of the workman's mark betrays hieratic influence. It was hieroglyphic or pictorial in nature, so also in the rendering by our scribe. The mark  was carried by Penanuqet (*Pn-nḳ.t* (iii)), who had inherited it from his father Kasa (*Ks* (v)/(vi)). As a workman's mark,  (D28) has cursive/hieratic as well as more hieroglyphic or pictorial occurrences. The scribe of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 seems to have followed a cursive model:  shows elements for both hands, but the form of the hands is no longer recognizable. Several examples from contemporary hieratic necropolis administration, here all dating between year 24 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses IV, show curves for the hands, almost hieroglyphic in examples 23820 and 34820. It is noticeable that the scribe of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 apparently needed many more strokes to draw the mark; this may have been due to material factors (uneven writing surface, bad or old brush). The final workman's mark seen on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634, , was carried by Khaemwaset (*Ḥ-m-Ws.t* (iii)). As a workman's mark, the form had a hieroglyphic or pictorial model (, P6); none of its occurrences shows influence from cursive writing.



































Overall, the workmen's marks on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 count two marks with cursive influence. The mark  for Wesekhnemtet had a cursive tradition, which our scribe followed. The only case in which our scribe followed a cursive model whereas the mark's tradition included hieroglyphic samples is  for Penanuqet, but this is a small detail and hardly relevant for a sign that as workman's mark and as hieratogram shows much variation in the spectrum between hieroglyphic and hieratic. Overall, we hardly find indication of skill in cursive writing on this ostrakon.




2.3 Marks for *smd.t*-personnel

Marks for members of the external service agency are not generally common on marks' ostraca, but they do occur within the group of ostraca with the *wrš* roster in marks (table 4).









²⁹ Moezel 2016, 5–39.


Table 4: Marks for *smd.t*-personnel compared to hieratograms from contemporary necropolis administration

57393	Man	Contemporary necropolis administration							
 rt 3 rt 3 rt	Ptahmose (wood- cutter)	 16985 (<i>Sbk-ms</i>)	 23528 (<i>Ms</i>)	 28849 (<i>R-ms-sw</i>)	 28953 (<i>Ms</i>)	 29491 (<i>Ms</i>)			
 vs 2 vs 3		 32774 (<i>Hnm.w-ms</i>)	 33225 (<i>Mr.y-ms</i>)	 35734 (<i>Ms</i>)	 35735 (<i>Ms</i>)	Wim. ³⁰			
 vs 2	Pades (wood- cutter)	 10269	 10270	 17165 (<i>hnk.t</i>)	 17166 (<i>ds</i>)	 23474 (<i>ds</i>)	 23475 (<i>ds</i>)	 24227 (<i>ds</i>)	 32338 (<i>kmi</i>)
		 15318 (<i>šzp</i>)	 17011 (<i>šzp</i>)	 17103 (<i>pn</i>)	 23272 (<i>Imn-htp</i>)	 24123 (<i>Imn-htp</i>)	 27406 (<i>Pn-t-wr.t</i>)	 29642 (<i>pn</i>)	 34837 (<i>Knn</i>)
 rt 4	A fisher- man	 16938 (<i>hrw</i>)	 16939 (<i>hrw</i>)	 17097 (<i>hrw</i>)	 17098 (<i>hrw</i>)	 29440 (<i>hrw</i>)			

The mark for the woodcutter Ptahmose, as rendered by our scribe, is modelled on the hieroglyph  (F31) rather than on hieratic examples from writing. In all its five occurrences it shows all three protuberances of the foxes' skins. One example on the *recto* is turned 90 degrees counterclockwise, which, as was mentioned, does not occur on hieratic ostraca, but is unproblematic on marks' ostraca or for marks in general. The mark for Pades consists of two elements:  *p* (□, Q3) and  *ds* (⊖, W22). In most cases, we find the mark for this woodcutter consisting of the *ds*-jar alone. It may be that the scribe added □ *p* to



³⁰ This hieratogram comes from Wimmer 1995, 115 (reign of Ramesses IV).



distinguish Pades' mark from the product 'ds-jar', for which he also used $\bar{\theta}$ (W22). López interpreted  as the numeral '60', which would lead to the interpretation '160 (units) of wood (from) Pades'. Reasons for taking  and  together as one mark are, first, the occurrence of this combined mark for the woodcutter Pades also on a few other ostraca (e.g. O. Ash. Mus. 1083) as well as second, the analogy to the '100 (units of) wood (from) Pades' on ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131 *verso* line 4. In *verso* line 4 on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 another *ds-jar* is seen, preceded by a form resembling $\square p$. Here, however, we are not supposed to read the combined mark  ; rather, we read the number '90' preceding the *ds-jar*. This is suggested by the red color with which also the numeral '200' directly preceding the numeral '90' is written, as well as clarification of the second line underneath  in DStretch. As for the palaeography, the form of  follows a pictorial model, most probably the actual jar, which the scribe handled daily.³¹ Most hieratograms from contemporary necropolis administration show a cursive or hieratic form with a tick on top. Two examples from P. Abbott (IDs 10269 and 10270) from the reign of Ramesses IX show a hieratic form without the tick. The form of  p (Q3) on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 was modelled on the hieroglyph that the scribe must have known with its value p as the first sound of Pades' name. Texts in hieratic may also feature this hieroglyphic or pictorial look, but more cursive examples occur as well.





The mark following that of the workman Wesekhnetet is still somewhat problematic. We expect the mark of a fisherman, since the entry records the delivery of '3000 fish'. We know some marks for fishermen, but none seem to be compatible with the form  we see on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634. López seems to have interpreted the remains of paint correctly: clarification in DStretch shows \square . The form of the mark displays unfamiliarity with (hieratic) writing: the mark is drawn as if read from left to right rather than in its hieratic orientation.


Again, the marks for members of the *smd.t* display hieroglyphic or pictorial traditions and hardly hint at knowledge of or confidence in cursive script.




2.4 Marks for products

On the ostraca that record the duty roster in marks from the end of the reign of Ramesses III and the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV we also find marks for the delivered products (table 5). These marks as well were inspired by concrete examples or hieroglyphic models. The mark  for 'dates' must have been an iconic reference to the date as an object, for it does not occur in writing. The marks for *psn*- and *bi.t*-bread are the first signs and sounds of those words: \square (*pr*, O1) for p and \perp (D58) b . Yet both are of a somewhat clumsy form, not what a trained scribe would produce. The mark  still resembles hieratograms from contemporary necropolis administration, yet its outlining is straighter than in a cursive ductus and the vertical strokes are shorter. The hieratic specimens for \perp b can

³¹ Two further examples of the *ds-jar* mark, also in pictorial form, occur in the internal AKU database with IDs 23549 () and 23550 (). They come from the fragment Berlin P. 12625 and indicate the product rather than the man Pades.

be straightforward or quite eccentric, but the form of the mark  has no parallel: the diagonal stroke representing the foot is attached to the vertical stroke representing the leg at a relatively high point. This in itself is also seen in several hieratic examples, yet in those cases the line for the foot always runs downwards. The scribe of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 started in the upper left and attached the line in the middle of the vertical base. When the line for the foot in hieratic examples is started in the upper left, it is attached at a lower point along this vertical base where indeed one expects the foot to be. The manner in which  is composed is seen in all occurrences of this mark for *bit* in the marks' ostraca. If it indeed derived from  *b*, it followed its own graphic tradition from the start. A similar case is the mark  for 'wood'. It also has a fairly consistent form in the marks' ostraca, the composition of which differs from that of hieratograms from contemporary necropolis administration. Some hieratic examples also start with a curl in the upper left running diagonally down to the lower right, but they have a hook or stroke at the lower right end. The mark was consistently started with a hook or curl in the upper left running diagonally down to the lower right, after which a crossing stroke was added through the middle right under the hook/curve.

The last mark of a product we find on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 is the mark  for 'fish'. It shows a more simplistic form than the examples I have thus far analyzed from hieratic necropolis administration. Hieratic forms for fish generally show a large range of variation but often do not show the exact kind of fish. The mark is rather simplified and generalized. These are aspects one would normally ascribe to hieratograms, yet the mark does not compare to hieratograms for fish generally.³²

It was mentioned that ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S.09634 is part of a group of marks' ostraca, all recording the duty roster in the last years of Ramesses III into the first years of the reign of Ramesses IV. An interpretation of this group as a whole, consisting of circa 80 mostly unpublished and fragmentary ostraca, was published by Soliman.³³ Although a palaeographic analysis on the basis of systematic parameters is lacking, the entire group could theoretically have been produced by one man. This man would have been a *smd.t*-scribe (*shꜥ n pꜥ hr n nꜥ smd.t-bnr*, *shꜥ n pꜥ hr n bnr*), in this period tentatively identified as Pentaweret (iii).³⁴ The tasks of *smd.t*-scribes included coordinating the supplies for the workmen at the *htm n pꜥ hr*, the administrative headquarters of Deir el-Medina located on the way out of the wadi between Deir el-Medina and the Ramesseum. As belonging to the outside service personnel, we can imagine this man did not receive a full scribe's training. Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 was indeed written by a man without hieratic training, but with involvement in coordinating deliveries by the *smd.t*. He may have been responsible for introducing the marks for products in his documents; one clue is the consistent graphic appearance of the last three marks just mentioned: ,  and . Our man was not experienced in writing in general, but he did find his way in composing records using hieratic numerals and marks with an overall hieroglyphic or pictorial character.

³² Compare K1 in AKU-PAL or in Möller 1909, 1927/1965, 1936/1965 (vols. 1–3), no. 253.











































³³ Soliman 2018; Soliman 2021.







³⁴ Soliman 2018, 162–166; Soliman 2021, 47–48; for *smd.t*-scribes, see Davies 1999, 125–127, 283; Gabler 2018, 412–435.

Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393

I would like to emphasize that this comparison of the marks to hieratic writing is not meant to show ignorance or inability on the part of our scribe. Rather, this ostrakon and the others in the group show the systematic usage of a different notation system: a different usage of icons and signs that were known from a basic knowledge of hieroglyphic writing developed to efficiently and more universally record these administrative data. Our scribe was confident, or ‘fully literate’, in this notation system.

Table 5: Marks for products compared to samples from contemporary hieratic necropolis administration

57393		Product	Samples from contemporary necropolis administration								
		psn-bread									
rt 2	rt 3		17095	17096 (p ²)	23269 (ps)	23270 (<i>imn-m- ip.t</i>)	23271 (ps)	28899 (pr.t)	28900 (pr- ³)	29640 (pr.t)	
		date(s)	-								
rt 2	vs 3										
			beer								
rt 2	vs 3	vs 4		10269	10270	17165 (<i>hnk.t</i>)	17166 (ds)	23474 (ds)	23475 (ds)	24227 (ds)	32338 (<i>kmi</i>)
		wood									
rt 3	vs 2		24103 (<i>ht</i>)	24104 (<i>ht</i>)	29764 (<i>ht</i>)	32127 (<i>ht</i>)	32129 (<i>ht</i>)				
	vs 3										
vs 3			32130 (<i>ht</i>)	32131 (<i>ht</i>)							
	rt 3	bi.t-bread									
rt 3			15004	16909 (<i>bw</i>)	23264 (<i>bi.t</i>)	23265 (<i>bi.t</i>)	24092 (<i>bi.t</i>)	33222 (<i>sb</i>)	34825 (<i>kbs</i>)	34826 (<i>kbs</i>)	




57393	Product	Samples from contemporary necropolis administration				
	fish					
rt 4		24097 (rm)	32320 (rm)	36256 (dsds)	36354 (rm)	36393 (rm)

3 Administrative context

The conclusion from the previous paragraph implies that ostracum Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 and similar documents served an internal administration. The palaeography shows a hand untrained in cursive writing, the layout shows entries written perpendicular to the main lines, as well as presumably numbers and further remains of paint set apart by a curved line. To the reader acquainted with hieratic duty rosters and deliveries, the entries on ostracum Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 may appear very selective. This all gives the ostracum an informal character, that of a memo, a *Zettel*, or *aide-mémoire*. Perpendicular writing is not seen in hieratic ostraca with duty rosters. Those written by Scribe B³⁵, for instance, may contain entries that were squeezed in between other entries, or even short squeezed-in columns, but turning the ostracum itself was something a true hieratic scribe did not do. The data on such a memo may have been taken over by a professional or Senior Scribe, to include in a record for an ‘external’ or ‘official’ administration, although the purpose and degree of officiality of such an ‘external’ administration remains unclear. It has been argued that it indeed seems plausible to assume that hieratic ostraca with duty rosters and deliveries were written after consultation of similar ostraca composed in workmen’s marks.³⁶ For the final years of Ramesses III and the first years of Ramesses IV we have ostraca that document duty rosters and deliveries in marks as well as ostraca that document the same information in hieratic. Within this group there are instances of the exact same deliveries recorded both in marks and hieratic. Additionally, we find purely hieratic texts to which workman’s marks and amounts were added in the margins as if they were notes for the scribe to remember and process in his report (e.g. O. DeM 32), as well as marks’ ostraca recording duty roster and deliveries in a hand that was clearly untrained in hieratic, to which, however, notes in perfect hieratic writing were added. An example of the latter is the joined ostracum consisting of fragments Berlin P. 12625 and

³⁵ Moezel 2022, 155–162.

³⁶ Soliman 2018, 172.

IFAO ONL 300.³⁷ This piece is a duty roster with deliveries composed in marks. It dates to months III and IV of *peret* in year 31 of Ramesses III. Different hands or handwritings can be distinguished: the entries for days 1 to 10 on the *recto* of fragment IFAO ONL 300 show neat and fairly large marks and numerals in a hand that was familiar with cursive writing. The entry for day 10 (*recto* line 10) even shows that this scribe usually entered days using the Gardiner-sign \odot N5 instead of the hieratogram *s*, for he mistakenly entered a hieratogram  here. Behind a number of these neat, cursive entries notes in purely hieratic writing were added, clearly by a hand trained in hieratic script. In the entry for day 11 a clear change is seen in the way the number ‘10’ is written:  versus the cursive  in the entry for day 10 (compare the examples in table 2 above). From here on all entries—that is those for days 11 to 14 on the *recto* and all days through to the end of the month as well as the first six days of the next month on the *verso* and on both sides of fragment Berlin P. 12625—have a clumsier appearance, although they are not completely without cursive elements. No hieratic notes were written behind these entries, and several entries were written in red and squeezed in between columns or written perpendicular to other entries. This second hand could be our *smd.t*-scribe Pentaweret (iii) again: the palaeography of several marks, among which



Berlin P. 12625 *verso*, entry ‘day 5’



Berlin P. 12625 *verso*, entry ‘day 1’



IFAO ONL 300 *verso*, entry ‘day 25’



IFAO ONL 300 *verso*, entry ‘day 30’

coincides with what we see in the tables above. Yet if so, his hand shows a slightly more cursive style in several other marks on the joined piece Berlin P. 12625 + IFAO ONL 300, among which are:



IFAO ONL 300, *verso* 2



IFAO ONL 300, *verso* 4

Back to the entries for days 1 to 10: the hieratic notes added to some of these day-entries were clearly written by a hand confident in writing hieratic, perhaps indeed the same as the hand that actually wrote the start of day-entries 1 to 10. This, however, leads to a couple of questions. First, in some cases the entries were added after a small space was left open following the start of the entry. This may mean that the hieratic note was added at a

³⁷ Only the fragment O. Berlin P. 12625 has been published with photo: “Deir el-Medine Online.” 2009. https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/show_pic.php?bild=%2Fproj%2FHODFG%2FOstrakaBerlinkorr3%2Fb12625-as.jpg&inventar_nr=Berlin+P+12625&seite=AS. This fragment was in fact key for the decipherment of the workmen’s marks, see Haring 2000, 45–58. The joined ostrakon Berlin P. 12625 + IFAO ONL 300 was discussed in Soliman 2018, 165, but I would like to touch upon a few small details here.

later moment, or by a different hand. One entry (day 8 in line 8 on the *recto* of fragment IFAO ONL 300) shows particularly well that the hieratic note was added with a new dip of paint and was clearly written in smaller hieratograms than the start of the entry. The latter is also seen in other entries with added notes. Again, this may mean that the notes were added at a later moment in time, or by a different hand. The entry for day 4, however, shows how the scribe in one go went from a start in relatively large marks and numerals to more and more cursive forms in smaller hieratograms until he wrote the delivery of *bi.t*-bread with *b* in a purely hieratic hand. We must thus indeed reckon with the fact that all entries from days 1 to 10 in their entirety were recorded by a hieratic scribe. This leads to the question: why would a perfectly trained and experienced scribe start the ostrakon in marks, using *s* for *sw* 'day' instead of \odot (N5) for all but his last entry, or the unique mark for 'wood' (\curvearrowright , fragment IFAO ONL 300 *recto* line 10) instead of a more hieratic form for \curvearrowleft (M3)? He closely followed the marking system.

It is hardly helpful to discuss the palaeography of an unpublished ostrakon that has not been facsimiled and systematically compared to contemporary hieratograms yet. But the fact remains that ostrakon Berlin P. 12625 + IFAO ONL 300 shows a cooperation of scribes with different degrees of literacy, one certainly a hieratically trained scribe, one certainly not, but all hands were acquainted with the marking system. What was the purpose of this document, especially if it was indeed started with day 1 by a hieratic scribe? Did he not have a *smd.t*-scribe available for the first 10 days? Then why did he not write in hieratic? Did he do this for the comprehension of the *smd.t*-scribe, who was to continue the document later on? However it may be, the ostrakon was a memo recording exactly the sort of data also recorded on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634, giving selected deliveries. It belongs to the same category as ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634, but shows how close the hieratic and marks' administration and their scribes collaborated. The data in marks were processed and combined with further gathered data by the/a(?) hieratic scribe responsible for an elaborate report with necropolis administration: the data for the first 19 days of month III of *peret* on ostrakon Berlin P. 12625 + IFAO ONL 300 were also recorded among entries on the purely hieratic ostrakon DeM 37.³⁸

Clearly, the *smd.t*-branch and the hieratic-branch of documenting duty rosters and deliveries did not function independently, but professional or Senior Scribes cooperated with *smd.t*-scribes. Yet the exact nature and degree of this cooperation is still somewhat unclear. The cases in which the entries on ostraca written in marks and hieratic ostraca correspond exactly (delivery, amount, details) are few. More often, there are discrepancies in deliveries, amounts and details: sometimes the marks' ostraca give data or amounts that do not occur in the hieratic texts, more often do we find amounts and details in the hieratic texts that are not recorded in the version with marks.³⁹ The latter may not be a problem: hieratic records are often more complete documents than the records with marks, hence the suggestion above that they could have been composed on the basis of memos with selected data. They mention more details, such as the destination of a delivery for the right or left side of the crew. This, as Soliman suggested, may not yet have been determined

³⁸ Soliman 2018, 167–168 compares the data.

³⁹ Details in Soliman 2018, 169–173.

at the moment the commodities were administered by the *smd.t*-scribe. Alternatively, the distribution of the commodities had in fact to be authorized by the professional scribe. Also, the hieratic records more often identify the members and deliverers of the *smd.t* by name, which may suggest that it was the task of a professional scribe to take care of the administration of the suppliers. The hieratic records furthermore contain brief mention of additional details about absence, activity at the worksite and other events. It seems that the professional scribes were busy men, gathering all sorts of information to include in their hieratic records. They may well have commissioned the *smd.t*-scribes to record selected pieces of information, which they later used to complement their own records of necropolis administration.

Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 allegedly has a hieratic equivalent as well. It was mentioned that the ostrakon was dated on the basis of a correspondence with the hieratic ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131, which is dated to month II of *peret* in year 2 of Ramesses IV. For clarity, the translation of ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131 is given in the Appendix below. The ‘*verso*’ of this ostrakon records for days 19 (an error for 29) and 30 specific amounts of wood delivered by woodcutters Ptahmose and Pades: 250 units by Ptahmose and 100 units by Pades on day 29, and 300 units without indication of the deliverer on day 20. The amounts are the same as found on the *verso* of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 following the marks of Penanuqet and Khaemwaset who, according to the duty roster, served watch on days 29 and 30. The deliverers Ptahmose and Pades are also identified on the Turin ostrakon through their *smd.t*-mark. This could mean that the hieratic scribe of ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131 took over the data recorded by the *smd.t*-scribe Pentaweret (iii) for days 29 and 30 on ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634. Yet, except for these three amounts of wood and the two frequently attested woodcutters Ptahmose and Pades, hardly any other data on the Turin and Ashmolean ostraca correspond. On day 11, for instance, the marks’ ostrakon records in *recto* line 2:

‘Day 11, Iyerniutef: 600, *psn*-loaves 32; dates 2; *ds*-jars 2.’

The hieratic ostrakon records for the same day:

‘Received (from Saroy): wood 250 (units); (from) Tja’o 200 (units); *psn*-loaves 24; *ds*-jars 2; Ptahmose.’

Except for 2 *ds*-jars, none of the deliveries coincide. For day 12, the marks’ ostrakon records in *recto* line 3:

‘Day 12: Nebnakht: wood 9, Ptahmose; *psn*-loaves 4; *bi.t*-loaves 6; Ptahmose, wood
////.’

The hieratic ostracon records for the same day:

‘Again, received (from) Saroy: wood, 250 (units); (from) Ptahmose, 300 (units); (from) Butefgereg: dried *tp.y.t*-fish, 31 *oipe*, makes 6000 (items); *bl.t*-loaves 8; *psn*-loaves 4; left, gypsum $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.’

Only the delivery ‘*psn*-loaves 4’ would correspond. The entries written perpendicular on the marks’ ostracon may relate to the entry for day 12: in the transcription by López we read ‘300’ twice and the mark of Ptahmose. Perhaps this relates to the entry ‘Ptahmose, 300 (units)’ on the hieratic ostracon. However, whereas the mark of Ptahmose on the marks’ ostracon is still clear, the other remains of paint in the perpendicular entry are too faded to make out what was documented exactly and to what it could relate.

The Ashmolean ostracon generally contains many more data than the Turin ostracon: the delivery of gypsum calculated in *khar*, dried fish calculated in *oipe*, *kbw*-jars. The latter seem not be recorded in the marks’ ostraca with duty rosters and deliveries at all, if the mark **Ⓜ** was not used for both kinds of jars and the amounts of *ds*- and *kbw*-jars were not recorded in one entry.⁴⁰ Again, it seems that *smd.t*-scribes were commissioned with selected tasks only. Yet given the general lack of correspondences for all days other than days 29 and 30, we may ask how straightforward the coupling of ostraca Ashmolean Museum 131 and Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 actually is.

Ostracon Ashmolean Museum 131 is a bit problematic itself. In his discussion of the ostracon, Janssen remarked that the ‘*verso*’ is a palimpsest: an account written in red and incompletely washed off was replaced by a second account in black. He writes:

Černý was able to decipher part of the original text on the “*verso*”. Like the “*recto*” it was dated to II *pr.t* 9 and following days, but no year was recorded. It deals with fish deliveries by the same fishermen who also occur on the “*recto*”. Generally, it gives the impression that this earlier text belongs to that one on the “*recto*”. The words “*recto*” and “*verso*” are here placed between inverted commas since the order in which the entries should be read is not clear.⁴¹

I adhere to the inverted commas for the same reason. Apparently, Černý already hesitated on what to call ‘*recto*’ and ‘*verso*’.⁴² He and Gardiner eventually decided on the side that carries the full year date, the current ‘*recto*’. However, Černý noted that the ostracon is incomplete at the top, which could theoretically mean that ‘*verso*’ line 1 is not the first entry and the ‘*verso*’ contained a full year date now lost. The dates generally present a strange image. The later version on the ‘*verso*’ starts with II *pr.t* 28, followed by *sw* 19 (error for 29) and *sw* 30, but then follow in line 6 and 7 the dates II *pr.t* 5 and II *pr.t* 8. That is, lines 1–5 would refer to later days than lines 6–14. Janssen suggests that the first entries on the

⁴⁰ In which case one would like to finish the entry on O. Ashmolean Museum 131 ‘*verso*’ 5 with ‘[*ds*-jars 2, *kbw*-jars] 2’, since the Turin ostracon mentions 4 **Ⓜ**: 2 *ds*-jars and 2 *kbw*-jars together making 4 **Ⓜ**.

⁴¹ Janssen 1997, 131.

⁴² Janssen 1997, 131.

'verso' should perhaps rather be dated to month I of *pr.t* instead of month II. This implies that the 'verso' would be the true 'recto', since the 'verso' then contains dates I *pr.t* 28 to 30 and dates II *pr.t* 5 and 8, and the 'recto' continues with 'Year 2, II *pr.t* 9' to II *pr.t* 13. That the first entry on the 'new verso' then starts with a regnal year should perhaps not be taken too heavily, since the 'new recto' ends with a very elaborate entry recording deliveries, events, deficits, totals as well as an event concerning the Pharaoh on II *pr.t* 8, an overall eventful day.

What remains strange is the original text on the 'new recto', which, according to Černý, recorded II *pr.t* 9 and following days (without year date), mentioning the same fishermen as on the 'new verso', and which, according to Janssen, generally gives the impression to belong to the text on the 'new verso'. If the latter is so, why would the 'new recto' have been written in red recording the same days as on the 'new verso', namely II *pr.t* 9 and following? And why would the 'new recto' have been subsequently washed off, after which the days before II *pr.t* 9 were recorded in black, namely I *pr.t* 28 to 30? That makes no sense. Either the older text on the 'new recto' is not related to the later text, which means that the ostrakon would have been kept for at least a year, since the dates II *pr.t* 9 and following in the older text would refer to a different year and would coincidentally mention the same fishermen if Černý's reading of the older text is correct. Or we must consider the following: Janssen records for the 'new recto' line 6 (date II *pr.t* 5) that "This line is preceded by a blank space separating what follows from lines 1–5. Moreover, the original red account ended here. Hence it could be that the continuation (in black) starting with II *pr.t* 5, is actually part of the first text."⁴³ Then again, the date II *pr.t* in line 1 of the red version must be an error for I *pr.t*.

For the analogy with ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 this means the following: the entries for days 29 and 30 on its verso may indeed record the same data as on ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131, but they date to I *pr.t* days 29–30. Since the entries for days 10 to 15 on the recto of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 do not coincide with those for days 9 to 13 on the 'new verso' of ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131, it follows that the recto of ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 is indeed its recto, recording days 10 to 15 of I *pr.t*, whereas the 'new verso' of ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131 records days 9 to 13 of II *pr.t*. This would explain the discrepancies between the entries on ostraca Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 and Ashmolean Museum 131 without illuminating anything further on the cooperation between the hieratic scribe and the *smd.t*-scribe. A cooperation would still have been necessary; the hieratic scribe most probably copied the data for days I *pr.t* 29 and 30 onto his hieratic record. He could either interpret the document in marks, or the data were dictated to him by the *smd.t*-scribe.

Reading Janssen, there would be a further possibility, namely that ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131 and ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 are not related. According to Janssen, the former should date not the reign of Ramesses IV, but to the reign of Ramesses VI on the basis of the entry 'II *pr.t* 8 PHARAOH' on the 'new recto' in line 7. A date in the reign of Ramesses IV rests on prosopography, but Janssen did not consider this enough evidence and rather interpreted the entry in line 7 as a clear indication to the accession-day of

⁴³ Janssen 1997, 134 note i.

Ramesses VI, which is known to have had taken place somewhere between I *prt* 28 and II *prt* 11. In this case, the date of this anniversary would be set on II *prt* 8.⁴⁴ If so, ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131 is not related to ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634, since the latter must, on account of the sequence of the workmen's marks, date to the duty roster as known from year 2 of Ramesses IV. The correspondences between the three amounts of wood and the two woodcutters would then be pure coincidence. The problem with this theory is that not all the *smd.t*-suppliers mentioned are encountered after Ramesses IV and the Ashmolean Museum ostrakon is now well embedded in the duty roster system under Ramesses IV.⁴⁵

Although thus certainly contemporaneous, the exact relation between ostraca Ashmolean Museum 131 and Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 and the cooperation between the two scribes remains somewhat uncertain. Nevertheless, we can conclude the following: ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 must date to the *peret*-season in year 2 of Ramesses IV, which is clear from the sequence of the marks and workmen in the duty roster. If we want to make sense of the dates mentioned on ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 131, the correct date may be the first month of *peret*. Ostrakon Turin CGT 57393 S. 09634 acted as a memo, a *Zettel*, or *aide-mémoire* composed by a *smd.t*-scribe, who was commissioned with the recording of selected data: days, the men on watch and the main food-and-fuel deliveries of wood, beer (*ds-jars*), dates and fish. He administered this either in absence or in assistance of a professional or Senior Scribe, who perhaps simultaneously administered other deliveries (partly the 'non-food section' and calculated goods including gypsum in *khar*, dried fish in *oipe*, and *kbw*-jars as a part of, or apart from the delivery of *ds-jars*) and who took care of the general administration of suppliers and the composition of a combined report in hieratic.

Appendix

Translation of O. Ash. Mus. 131. Based on: Janssen 1997, 131–133. Bold text is my addition.

“recto” > ‘new verso’

1. Year 2, II *prt* 9. Received (from)
2. Mentemwia: wood, 300 (units); gypsum, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
3. Day 10. Received (from) Usihenakhte: fish, 32 *oipe*.
4. Day 11. Received (from) Saroy: wood 250 (units); (from) Tja'o: 200 (units);
5. *psn*-loaves, 24; *ds-jars*, 2. Ptahmose.
6. (From) Ptahmose : wood, 600 (units). Left: gypsum, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
7. Day 12. Again, received (from) Saroy: wood, 250 (units); (from) Ptahmose, 300 (units);
8. (from) Butefgerereg: dried *tpyt*-fish, 31 *oipe*, makes 6000 (items)
9. *bit*-loaves, 8; *psn*-loaves, 4. Left: gypsum, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.

⁴⁴ Janssen 1997, 137.

⁴⁵ Compare Gabler 2018 (Index O. Ash. Mus. 131).

10. Day 13. Received (?)
11. (From) Nebmehyt: dried *tpyt*-fish, 30 *oipe*, makes
12. Right: gypsum, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
13. 1 *kbw*-vessel (?).
14. the Granary of Pharaoh

“verso” > ‘new recto’

1. II *prt* 28 (read: I *prt* 28). Right: faggots, 24;
2. gypsum, $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*; *bit*-loaves, 16;
3. *psn*-loaves, 20. Received (from) Usihenakhte: fish, 600 *deben*.
4. Day 19 (read: 29). Free. (From) Ptahmose: wood, 250 (units); (from) Pades, 100 (units).
5. Day 30. Ditto. [Wood,] 300 (units); *ds*-jars, 2; *kbw*-vessels,
6. II *prt* 5. Giving the 3 months of rations to the crew for IV *ꜥht*, II *prt*, and
7. II *prt* 8. PHARAOH.
8. Given to them in the Enclosure of the Necropolis
9. by the deputy of the Granary of Pharaoh Meryptah:
10. 79 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*. Its specification: the captains, 3 *khar*;
11. 61 men, each 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*, makes 76 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*.
12. Total: 79 $\frac{1}{4}$ *khar*. Remainder 290 $\frac{3}{4}$. Their going(?)
13. <to> receive from the Granary of Hapy: 47 *khar*.
14. Total: 348 *khar*.

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