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Publishing and Studying a Group of Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri

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Abstract: This paper publishes and studies a Group of Hieratic Ostraca stored now in the basement of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo. These ostraca are written in black ink and contain administrative texts. These ostraca were perhaps uncovered by Winlock at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahri during the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum. According to the paleography and the topics of the texts written on these ostraca, they are probably to be dated from the first half of the 18th Dynasty.

Keywords: Hieratic – Ostraca – Deir el-Bahri – Egyptian Museum of Cairo - 18th Dynasty.

نشر ودراسة مجموعة من الشقافات الهيراطيقية من الدير البحري

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الملخص: تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية لنشر ودراسة مجموعة من الشقافات الهيراطيقية المحفوظة الآن ببدروم المتحف المصرى بالقاهرة. هذه الشقافات مكتوبة بالحبر الأسود وتحتوى على نصوص إدارية، وقد تم العثور عليها في معبد حتشبسوت بالدير البحرى بواسطة Winlock أثناء حفائر متحف المتروبوليتان ووفقًا للناحية الخطية وموضوعات النصوص المسجلة على هذه الشقافات ربما تُؤرِّخ هذه الشقافات المجموعة بالنصف الأول من عصر الأسرة الثامنة عشر.

الكلمات الدالة: هيراطيقي - شقافة - الدير البحري - المتحف المصري بالقاهرة - الأسرة الثامنة عشر.

Introduction:

This paper publishes and studies a group of Hieratic Ostraca stored now in the basement of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo¹. The available data concerning the provenance of these ostraca in the museum's registers are very few.

These ostraca are preserved inside a box found in Corridor SS.9 in the basement. It contained a large group of ostraca written in different scripts such as Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic, and Greek. In this box, we found only a small piece of paper written on it "Ostraca Hatty(?) N.E Court Naville dump". According to this paper along with an ostracon found in this box and published by Hayes² and he mentioned that this ostracon came from the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir El-Bahari. These ostraca were perhaps uncovered during the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum by Winlock at Deir El-Bahri ³.

1- HO.Cairo 409

Description

Material: Limestone

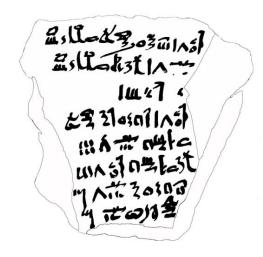
Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 12 cm

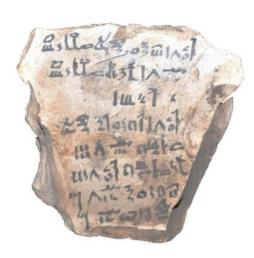
Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

This ostracon is written in black ink on both sides. The recto consists of eight lines while the verso consists of one line only. The right part of the ostracon is broken therefore some signs are missing in the third line of Recto and in the beginning of the first line of verso, but ink is well preserved. The handwriting is clear and readable.



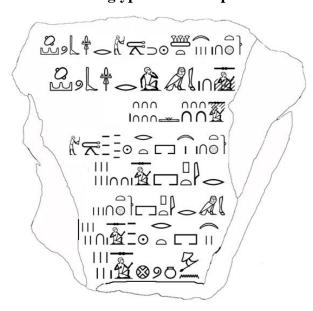


¹ These ostraca are part of my PhD thesis that finished in 2017.

² William Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": *JEA* 46 (1960): 30-31, No.1, pls. IX-IX A.

³ Herbert Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1942).

Hieroglyphic Transcription



Verso



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration

Recto Verso

2- s 11 wḥm r 3bw

3-[s] 50 dmd 61

4- rnpt-sp 11 3bd 1 prt sw 7 iţi

5- r Ipt s 26

6- whm r Ipt rnpt-sp 13

7- 3bd 2 prt sw 3 s 15

8- hnw s 5

Translation

Recto

- 1- Year 11, the third month of Akhet season, day 10, take to Elephantine
- 2-11 men, again to Elephantine
- 3-50 [men], total 61
- 4- Year 11, the first month of Peret season, day 7, take
- 5- to Thebes 26 men
- 6- again to Thebes, in year 13
- 7- The second month of Peret season, day 3, 15 men
- 8- Gebel- es- Silsilah 5 men

Verso

1- total 112 men

Paleographical Remarks:

Recto:

L.8: An unusual shape of the sign: its usual forms are 2^4 or 2^5 . Thus, the way the sign appeared might have resulted from the scribe's writing the upper part of the sign according to the first form and the lower part of the sign according to the second form.

Verso:

L.1: \wedge :It might represent the remaining traces of the sign $\wedge \lozenge$.

Commentary:

Recto:

L.1: *3bw*: The name of this city was written in several ways; some of them were $\[\]$, $\[\]$, $\[\]$, $\[\]$, $\[\]$, $\[\]$, $\[\]$. Although the word $\[\]$ *bw* was written mainly with the sign $\[\]$, in this text it was written with the sign $\[\]$.

L.2: *whm*: It is an adverb derived from the verb *whm* which means to repeat. This adverb means again. This adverb refers to the repetition of an operation mentioned before it is used. The use of the adverbial *whm* started from the Eighteenth Dynasty⁷. It

¹ George Möller, Hieratische Paläographie, Die Ägyptische, Buchschrift in Ihrer Entwicklung von der 5. Dyn. Bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit, II, (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1965), 52, no.578.

² Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 48, no.485.

³ Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphics*, (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 502.

⁴ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 10, no.112.

⁵ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 10, no.112.

⁶ Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, Vol. I, (Le Caire : Institut français d'archéologie orientale ,1925-1931), 3.

⁷ Mounir Megally, Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe dynastie : d'après le papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre, BdE 71, (Le Caire : Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1977), 25.

is a frequent term used in the administrative and accounting documents in the new kingdom. This adverb explains how the administrative or computational transaction that comes after it is part of a continuous and homogeneous series of other former transactions. Among the uses of this adverb was in administrative texts for the sake of brevity and non-repetition of what was mentioned before it¹, or it was used when a change occurred in the text, whether in the date, place, or in the type of material received². In this text, the adverb whm was used twice: the first at the beginning of the text for brevity to avoid repeating the date and the verb denoting the operation performed iti and to change the required number of workers who were taken to Elephantine, whereas the second time it was used with the whole unabbreviated date only to change the date of the operation required as well as change the number of workers who go to Thebes.

L.3: *dmd:* It is a verb used with the meaning of collecting or uniting³, it used as a statistical term to mean the total. The term had been used since the Old Kingdom in various forms such as (3), (3), these forms were used in the Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom but in two different ways:

- 2- The determinative was using separated, as in this text, to denote the whole word. This form was very commonly used as a kind of abbreviation in the new kingdom⁴. Moreover, this abbreviated form was often used for the word when written in the middle of the line, unlike the full form, which was often written at the beginning of the line⁵. Indeed, the word was written in the abbreviated form on this ostracon because it was in the middle of the text.

L.4: *rnpt-sp 11 3bd 1 prt sw 7:* The date in the middle of the text was usually written in an abbreviated way, i.e., the month and day or day only⁶. However, in this part of the text, the whole date representing the same year mentioned earlier was written, as it might indicate the beginning of another mission related to the workers going to Thebes and not to Elephantine, so the scribe wrote the date in its complete form.

L.6-7: *rnpt-sp 13 3bd 2 prt sw 3*: With *whm*, the abbreviated form of the date had to be used. However, the full date was written here despite its being in the middle of the

¹ Mounir Megally, *Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre*, BdE 72, (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale ,1977), 67.

محمد شريف حسن، "مجموعة من البرديات الهيراطيقية الأدارية في المتحف المصري، دراسة لغوية مقارنة"، (رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، قسم الآثار المصرية القديمة، كلية الآثار، جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٨٩)، ١٢٨.

³ Leonard Lesko., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, Vol.IV, (Berkeley: B.C. Scribe Publications, 1989), 134.

⁴ Megally, Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration, 46-47.

⁵ Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration*, 46-47.

⁶ Megally, Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre, 99.

text and coming after the term whm, which is not often followed by the date. In this part of the text, the full date was written because of a change of the year, as well as the month and the day.

L.8: *hnw*: The name of this place was written in several ways, such as $\bigcirc \mathcal{F}$, $\bigcirc \mathcal{F}_1$, $\bigcirc \mathcal{F}_2$, $\bigcirc \mathcal{F}_3$, $\bigcirc \mathcal{F}_3$, $\bigcirc \mathcal{F}_4$.

Gebel- es- Silsilah is the modern name of a place located about 90 miles south of Luxor and 40 miles north of Aswan⁵ representing the area of sandstone quarries located between Edfu and Kom Ombo⁶.

Verso:

L.1: *dmd sm3*: *dmd* was written here in the complete form because it came at the beginning of a line. "*dmd sm3*" was a term that had been used since the Old Kingdom and sometimes continued to be used in the Eighteenth Dynasty⁷. The scribe used this term"*dmd sm3* "and did not use *dmd* only because he gave the total sum of the number of people in the whole text. i.e., the total of all the numbers mentioned in the text.

L.2: 112: We note here that the mentioned total number was incorrect, as it was supposed to be 107, but 112 what was written, so it could be that the scribe may have mistakenly added the last number of Gebel- es- Silsilah twice.

2- HO.Cairo 447

Description

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H. 7.5 cm; W. 9 cm

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

¹ Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne, To-chemâ: la Haute-Égypte*, Vol.II, (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1961), 36.

² Wallis Budge, an Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary: With an Index of English Words, King List and Geographic List with Indexes, List of Hieroglyphic Characters, Coptic and Semitic Alphabets, etc., Vol. II, (London: John Murray, 1920), 1029.

³ Heinrich Brugsch, Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte contenant par ordre alphabétique la nomenclature comparée des noms propres géographiques qui se rencontrent sur les monuments et dans les papyrus notamment les noms des préfectures et de leurs chefs-lieux, des temples et sanctuaires, des villes, bourgs, (Leipzig: librairie J.C. Hinrichs, 1879), 579.

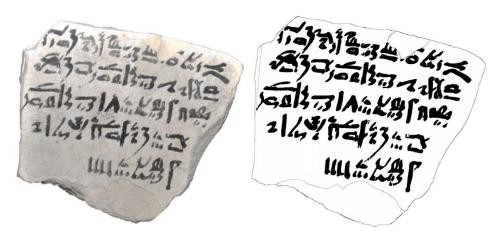
⁴ Ricardo Caminos, *Gebel Es-Silsilah. The Shrines*, ASE 31, (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1963), 1.

⁵ Caminos, Gebel Es-Silsilah, The Shrines, 1.

⁶ Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques, Vol. IV, 197.

⁷ Megally, Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre, 66.

This ostracon is written in black ink on one side only.it consists of five lines. the middle of the upper part of the ostracon as well as the left part are broken, therefore many signs are missing in the first line of the ostracon. ink is well preserved. the handwriting is clear and readable.



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration

- 1- b3k n hrw pn nty grḥw m Dsrw
- 2- $\langle ith \rangle$ inr n mi 7 nty hr dkr m h
- 3-3hty hrtyw-ntr 11 nty hr dkr
- 4- m t3 itrt nbt w
- 5- hrtyw-ntr 4

Translation

- 1- Work of this day which Finished in Djeseru
- 2- <hauling> stone of mi 7, those who covered with plaster the horizontal
- 3- hill 11masons, those who covered with plaster
- 4- in every shrine in the district
- 5-4 masons

Paleographical Remarks:

L.2: \blacksquare : Although the sign is more similar to the sign \triangle , by comparing this text with the text written on the ostracon no.O.MMA 17 found in the area of Deir El-Bahari and dated back to the reign of King Thutmose III¹, we find that according to the position of the sign in the text, it represents \square .

Comparing the forms of the signs written in this ostracon with the ones in ostracon no. O.MMA 4found in the area of Deir El-Bahari and dated back to the reign of King Thutmose III, we find that the signs are very similar, as if they were for the same scribe²

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Signs	HO.Cairo 447	O.MMA 4
	E ₁ ×	丛文
ı ⊙	ó	ia
	#	TT
// <u>~</u>	73	73
9	554	-
	7	12
ΙŶ	13	12
77	2	7
	#.K#F	- LINT

¹ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": pl. XII.

² Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 32-33, pl. IX.

Commentary:

L.1: *b3k:* It is a common word frequently appearing on ostraca that means work, project, or production.

L.2: Dsrw: The name **Dsrw** is the abbreviated name of **Dsr-dsrw**, the name of the temple of Queen Hatshepsut ¹, which in turn is the abbreviated name of the temple whose full name is hwt-ntr ^c3t nt hhw m rnpwt hwt **Dsr-dsrw** Imn ². This abbreviated

name *Dsrw* appeared on ostraca from Deir al-Bahari with determinatives or such as ostracon no. O.MMA 4 ³ ostracon no.HO.Cairo 488 ⁴, and it also appeared on other ostraca such as ostracon O.MMA 2 ⁵cnd ostracon no.HO.Cairo 432 ⁶as *Dsr-dsrw*.

L.2: *ith*: When comparing the ostracon under study with ostracon no. MMA 17, dating back to the reign of King Thutmose III from Deir El-Bahari⁷, I added this verb even though it is not found in the text because I found that the two texts are related to hauling the Mi stone.

L.2: *inr n mi*: The mi stone is blocks of stones, intended for building specific parts of buildings, but it is unknown what type of buildings it is used for. By comparing it with other types of stones, such as the red stone *inr n tms* and stone of roofs *inr n k3pw*⁸, we knew that it is used to build specific parts of buildings. The text on ostracon no. O.MMA 16 showed that these stones were massive to the extent that forming six blocks of mi stone required the work of fifteen persons from masons for a whole day⁹.

L.2:*dkr*: It is a word that comes in the sense of covered with plaster or plastering ¹⁰. After the masons cut the tomb in the rock and polish the walls and ceiling, the tomb is completed by drawing withoutlines, chisel engraving and filling the halls with colors.

¹ Jaroslav Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BdE 50, 3e èd., (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2004), 94.

² Ben Haring, Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes, EgUit 12, (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1997), 420.

³ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 32-33, pl.IX.

⁴ Khaled Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri", *BIFAO* 115 (2015): 198-200, pl.5.

⁵ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 31-32, No.2, pl. IX.

⁶ Khaled Hassan, "A Visitor's Hieratic Ostracon Concerning the Temple of Deir el-Bahri", *BIFAO* 113(2014):183-191.

⁷ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 44-45, pl.XII.

⁸ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 44-45.

⁹ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 43-44, No.16, pl. XII.

¹⁰ Rainer Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: 2800-950 v. Chr.: die Sprache der Pharaonen, (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philpp Von Zabern, 2006), 1061, no.39296.

The stage of covering the surfaces with a thin layer of plaster for decoration and engraving on it afterwards precedes these three steps¹.

L.2-3: b^c 3bty :Originally, the word b^c means to rise or to shine, but when it comes with the word 3bty, it means the horizontal hill². Likewise, when the word b^c comes with the determenative π itmeansahill³. Therefore, I preferred to translate this word as the horizontal hill. The expression "horizontal hill" was written in several forms b^c , b^c , b^c . Spiegelberg believes that this place represents the temple of of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari⁶, while Gauthier believes that it represents just part of the temple of Hatshepsut⁷, the horizontal hill may constitute part of the temple of Deir el-BahariAccording to what is mentioned in this text which mention the horizontal hill as a part of the work inside the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. Another possibility is that this place may represent what is wider and larger than the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari may represent the Deir el-Bahari area as a whole, depending on a text mention:



Dsr-dsrw hry-ib h^c-3ht

Djeser-Djeseru, which is in midest of the horizontal hill⁸.

3- HO.Cairo 441

Description

Material: pottery

Dimensions: H 9 cm; W. 15.5 cm

Thickness: 1:1.2 cm

Color: Red

Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

¹ Jaroslav Černý, *The Valley of the Kings*, BdE 61, (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1973), 1973), 33-35.

² Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch ,630, no.22882.

³ Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Äegyptischen Sprache*, III,6 Bde, (Berlin und Leipzig 2: Akademie Verlag ,1957), 239, no.3.

⁴ Gauthier., Dictionnaire des noms géographiques, Vol. IV, 166.

⁵ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, Volume II, MMAEE 3, (New York: The Gilliss Press, 1923), 79, No.8.

⁶ Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Die Northampton Stele", RT 22 (1900): 123.

⁷ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, Vol. IV, 166.

⁸ Percy Newberry, "Extracts from my Notebooks", *PSBA* 24(1902): 248.

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

pottery ostracon inscribed in black ink on one side only with only one line. The ink is faint in some parts of it.



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration

1- hry prw m3wt

Translation

1- New chief of sailors

Paleographical Remarks:

L.1: : It might represent the remaining traces of the signs | | |

Commentary:

L.1: 'prw: The word was written in several ways, for example [0,0], [0,0], which means to supply or to provide, a meaning that may refer to the providing of the necessary tools and supplies³.

The 'prw may have been entrusted with performing some rituals of praise and welcoming the king⁴ as mentioned in one of the texts from the temple of Deir El-Bahari.

Bahari.

irt hnw n 'prw wi3 n nswt '3-hpr-n-R'

Praising by sailors of the boat of the king Aakheperenra

The title of chief of sailors often came with the title imy-r 'prw or hrp 'prw

4- HO.Cairo 499

Description

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H. 20 cm; W. 17 cm

Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

This ostracon is written in black ink on both sides. the Recto consists of three columns. The first one consists of fourteen lines. The second column consists of fifteen lines. The third one consists of seven lines only. The right part of the Recto is broken therefore some signs are missing in the first column. There are also some faint signs on the Recto. The Verso consists of eight lines.

³ Jones, "The Nature of the Hieroglyph ", *JEA* 75 (1989): 245-246.

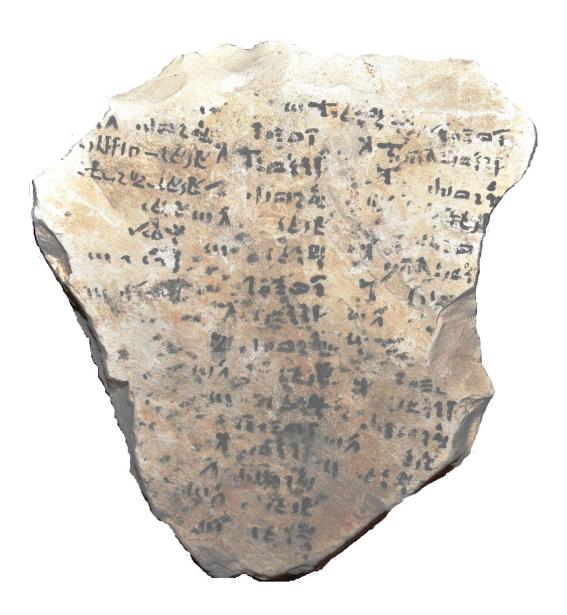
ً هشام همت عبد المطلب، البحارة في مصر القديمة، (القاهرة: المؤسسة الدولية للكتاب، ٢٠٢٠)، ٨٣-٨٢ .

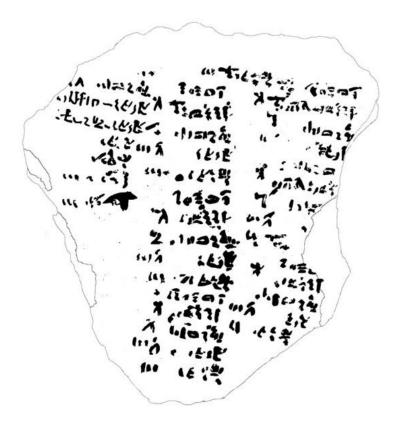
¹ Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der Äegyptischen Sprache, I, 181, no.6-8.

² Hannig., Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch, 150, no.5097

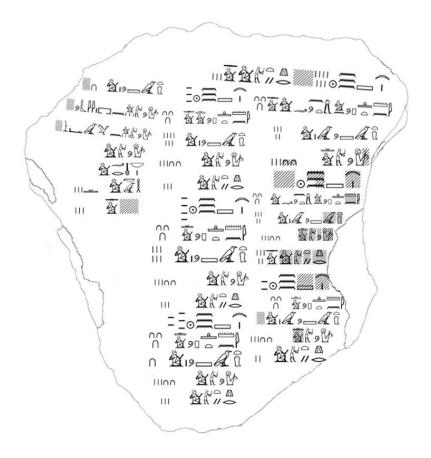
⁵ Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der älteren riches*, IV, (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buch hand lung,1903), 309, 12.

Recto

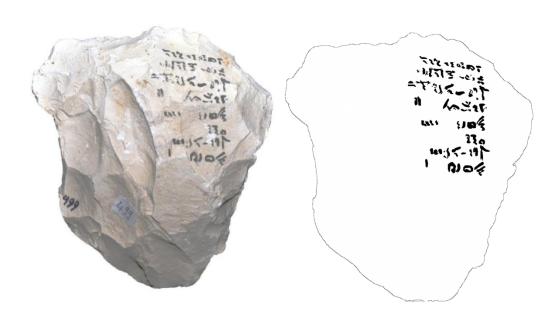




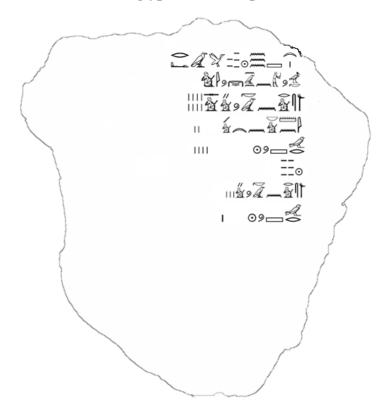
Hieroglyphic Transcription



Verso



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration

Recto

Col. I

1-3bd 1 šmw sw 7 [] <u>h</u> rtyw s 3
2- Imn-htp n Intf s 30

Col.II

1-3bd 1 šmw sw 3

Col.III

- 1- T3šw10[..]
- 2- s3w n pr Ybw[..]
- 3- s3w n p3 ^c-rsy [..]
- 4- s3w
- 5- Nb-nfr
- 6- hk3 dmd 3
- 7- [.....] *s 3*

Verso

- 1-3bd 1 šmw sw 5 p3 r-c
- 2-*b*3*k*w *n n*3 *n nb*y
- 3-Wsr n K3wy s 8
- 4-Imn-nb n I'h-ms 2
- 5-wršw 4
- 6-hrw 6
- 7-Wsr n K3wy 3
- 8- wršw 1

Translation

Recto

Col.I

- 1- First month of Shemou season, day 7 [..] masons, 3 men
- 2- Amenhotep son of Intef 30 men
- 3- Tashou 5
- 4- guards [2]3
- 5- [First month] of Shemou season, day [...]

- 6- [Amen]hotep son of Intef 30
- 7- Tashou 5
- 8-[guards] 23
- 9- [masons] 5 men
- 10- [First month] of Shemou season, day 2
- 11- Amenhotep 30
- 12- Tashou [....]
- 13- guards 23
- 14- masons 2

Col.II

- 1- First month of Shemou season, day 3
- 2- Amenhotep 30 men
- 3- Tashou 7
- 4- guards 23
- 5- masons 3
- 6- First month of Shemou season, day 4
- 7- Amenhotep 30
- 8- Tashou 6
- 9- guards 23
- 10- masons 3
- 11- First month of Shemou season, day 5
- 12- Amenhotep 30
- 13- Tashou 10
- 14- guards 23
- 15- masons 3

Col.III

- 1- Tashou 10
- 2- guard of Temple Ybw[..]
- 3- guard of southern province
- 4- guards
- 5- Nebnefer
- 6- Heka total 3
- 7- [...] 3 men

Verso

- 1- First month of Shemou season, day 5
- 2- the work in progress of goldsmiths
- 3- Weser son of Kawy 8 men
- .4- Amenneb son of Aahmes2
- 5- watchmen 4
- 6- day 6
- 7- Weser son of Kawy 3
- 8- watchman 1

Paleographical Remarks:

Recto

Col.I

- **L.2:** A reading of the sign $\frac{1}{2}$ that is sometimes used as a genitival adjective to replace the word $\frac{1}{2}$ son. This use of the sign was common in texts containing lists of names such as ostracon no. HO.Cairo $\frac{1}{2}$ and ostracon no. O.Leipzig $\frac{2}{2}$.
 - L.3: The sign represents but is an addition to the name
- L.5: According to its position in the text, the signs represent the remains
- L.7: from the remains of the signs and the order of the words in a text, it represents
- L.8: •: from the order of the words in a text, it represents the remains of the word $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
 - **L.11:** $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\bullet}$: Unusual form of the word $\stackrel{\triangle}{\Box}$.
 - **L.14:** $\stackrel{\text{\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ensuremath}\ensuremath}\ensuremath{\fill}\ens$
- **L.14:** A very abbreviated and unusual form of the sign //, but it continued to be used in this way throughout the text.

¹ Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri": 184-189, pl.2.

² Jaroslav Černý, Alan Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Vol.1, (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 5, pl. XVI, No.5.

Col.II:

L.2: • : A very abbreviated and unusual form of the sign = .

L.4: • More similar to the sign 9, but it represents the determinative of the name **B**.

L.6: It may indicate the number 4 or the number 5, but here it may be the number 4, because all the numbers of days in this column are written in a horizontal way, and tracing the previous and subsequent dates shows they must represent the number 4.

L.12: ≰ :A very abbreviated and unusual form of the sign□ . **Verso:**

L.5: sunusual form of the sign.

L.5: Unusual form of \odot but according to its position in the word it represents \odot .

L.8: ?:A close form of □ but it represents ⊙.

Commentary:

Recto:

Col.I:

L.1: 3bd 1 šmw sw 7: The scribe wrote the full date here, and did not only write the day, as he did on the verso when the date was repeated, Becouse it is the beginning of the text, so the scribe wrote the date in more detail and continued in the same way throughout the text on the recto.

L.4: s3w: there were two different ways of writing this title $(3.3)^{\circ}$ $(3.3)^{\circ}$ $(3.3)^{\circ}$ $(3.3)^{\circ}$ $(3.3)^{\circ}$ $(3.3)^{\circ}$ In most texts, the guard was referred to as a guard only, without specifying whether this guard was the guardian of the tomb or any other facility, but obviously they were the guards of various places in western Thebes. Likewise, in the hieratic texts the chief of the guards hry s3w was often called s3w only. Therefore, when this title is mentioned alone, as in this text, it is difficult to determine the type of the facility that the guard is in charge of. It is also difficult to determine whether this guard was a guard only or a chief of the guards². the guards of the tombs were not members of the gang of workmen, but they were in contact with them and they were received

¹ Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 149.

² Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 150-152.

their salaries of grains at the same time with the workmen ¹. The main task of the guard is to guard the materials used in building tombs and temples and hand them over to workers when required. Copper tools were among the most valuable items placed in the custody of the guard. The guard used to hand these tools to the workers in the presence of the foreman and the scribe who were informed of this event, and sometimes the guard would replace an old tool with a new, sharp one, and give the old tools to a Coopersmith to repair them and the old and new tools would be in his custody. Besides the tools, the guard used to store the oil and fats used to light the wicks, so that he would also hand them over to the workers when needed. In the same way, the guard stored the pigments used in painting, the valuables, the leather sacks, and even the clothes with which the workers were supplied from time to time. And only once was the guard assigned with the door keeper to transport grain to the workers².

Col.III:

L.3: '*-rsy:* This word was written in several ways, such as $\frac{1}{4}$ it is a word referring to Upper Egypt or, more accurately, the south of it, i.e., the area extending south from the first cataract (Lower Nubia)⁵.

L.6: *dmd 3:* This number may represent the sum of the guard *s3w*, Nebnefer *Nb-nfr*, and Heka *hk3*

Verso

L.1-2: p3 r- c b3kw:It is a common word frequently appearing on ostraca that means work, project, or production. When the word r^c is added to b3kw to became r- c b3kw, it gives the meaning of work in progress. This term was usually used to refer to work in the royal tombs, also when this term provided with the definite article p3, it becomes p3 r- c b3kw, referring to the workmen's habitual place of work 6 , and sometimes this expression was abbreviated to p3 b3kw to mean the work 7 .

L.2: *nby*: Workers who converted raw gold into pieces of gold, jewelry, or other pieces of gold used as funerary objects for kings were given this title⁸. The chief staff of the temple supervised gold makers. The priests of the temple took the golden products

¹ Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 251.

² Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 160-161.

³ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, Vol.I, p.153.

⁴ Hermann Junker, *Der Auszung der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*, APAW 1, (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: In Kommission bei Georg Reimer, 1911), 50, No.1.

⁵ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, Vol.I, 153.

⁶ Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 81.

⁷ Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 83.

⁸ Yvonne Markowitz, Peter Lacovara, "Gold", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. II, ed. Donald Redford (Cairo: Oxford university press, 2001), 34-37.

from their production to use in rituals. Perhaps this is the reason for the existence of such a text in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. In addition, the king needed a large amount of gold for funerary objects, and he used it as gifts for his high officials².

- **L.3:** s : This was only written at the beginning of the names to specify that these numbers and the following ones represent the numbers of persons.
- **L.5:** *Wršw*: The word *Wršw* means to stay watchful and was used to describe the guards because they needed to be vigilant in their guarding. This type of guard may have had particular work different from that of the *s3w* guards who appeared on the recto of the ostracon. Since they guarded gold as shown in this text and were among the members of the military system³ that needed a high level of guarding, the *Wršw* guards may have needed to be more vigilant than the cemetery guards.
- **L.6:** *hrw* 6: Only the day was written here, not the whole date, because only the day changed from the previous date. It is noted that the numbers of goldsmiths and guards mentioned on the fifth day were higher than those mentioned on the sixth day. It may be due to the lot of work that had been done on the fifth day, so there was no longer a need for such a large number of workers.

4- HO.Cairo 429

Description

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H. 10 cm; W. 11 cm

Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

Bibliography:

William Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri", *JEA* 46(1960): 30-31, No.1, pls.IX-IX A.

Hayes published this Ostracon, but I will re-publish it, as it was found within this group that will be published in this article. And I will complete some information about this ostracon that Hayes did not mention, such as its measurements, Current location, retranslate it, and Commentary.

This ostracon is written in black ink on one side only it consists of four lines. Several groups in lines 1, 2, and 4 are written over erasures such as the signs $\stackrel{|}{\Box}$ in line 1 and the

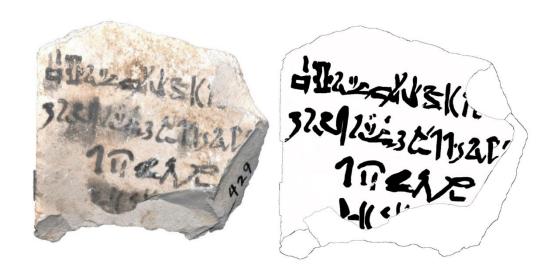
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¹ Erika Feucht," Goldschmiedearbeiten", in *Lexikon Der Ägyptologie* 2, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), 752.

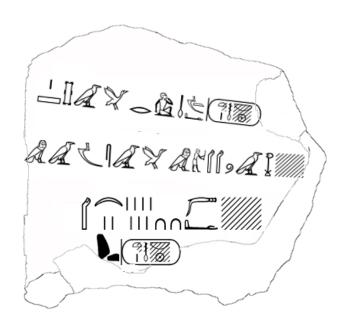
² Feucht," Goldschmiedearbeiten", 752.

³ Raymond Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Organization", JEA 39 (1953): 41.

sign in line 2. The right part of the ostracon is broken therefore some signs are missing. The ink on the remaining part is well preserved.



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration

- 1- [Nb-hpt-R^c] m3^c hrw r p3 inb
- 2- [...]*h*3w m p3 sm3
- 3- [....]mḥ 27 šsp 2 db c 1
- 4- [Nb-hpt-R]

Translation

1- [Nebhepetre], the justified, concerning the wall

- 2- measure with restore
- 3-27 cubits, 2 palms, 1 digit.
- 4- [Nebhepetre]

Paleographical Remarks:

- **L.1:** \dot{i} : remains of signs \dot{i} .
- L.2: : Traces of some signs below the original ones!.
- **L.2:3**: Hayes reading it as ⁹ while according to the hieratic sign in the text¹ I read it \mathcal{A} .
 - **L.2:** * •: It is the remains of previous signs of Д
 - L.3: 4: It may refer to the number...

Commentary:

L.1: *Nb-hpt-R^c*: This title represents the coronation title of King Mentuhotep II, one of the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, and his mortuary temple near the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari.

L.1: *inb:* It is a word derived from the verb *inb*, which means to enclose or to wall in, and is used to denote most kinds of walls, whether the walls with small stones used for building private homes, the stone walls of temples, or the huge stones used in building the huge enclosure-walls around towns or temples². *inb* is mostly used to refer to the massive enclosure-walls surrounding temples or the walls of the temple itself³.

L.2: h3w: Hayes translated this word as plumb-line, but I think this word is the verb to measure for the following reasons: When the word comes with these determinatives and in this form, it means to measure or the measurement⁴, while the word with the meaning of plumb-line is written like this 9 10^{15} , and in the next line in the text, measurements related to lengths such as cubit, palm, and digit "mh ssp db^c" are mentioned. It is then natural that this verb is the verb that means to measure.

L.2: *sm3*: Hayes translated this word as sacrificial, citing the Berlin dictionary⁶, but I think the word means restoration or to restore, for the following reasons: The word that

¹ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 17, no.196.

² Patricia Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, (London: Kegan Paul International, 1984), 261-264.

³ Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 263.

⁴ Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der Äegyptischen Sprache, III, 223, no.4-19.

⁵ Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, Vol. II, 156.

⁶ Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der Äegyptischen Sprache, IV, 126, no.3.

Hayes relied on in the Berlin dictionary is sm3wy, not sm3, which takes a different determenative. When consulting dictionaries, we find that using the word in this way can mean renewal or restoration¹, especially since the text talks about a wall and its measurements. The translation of the word as offerings or to sacrificial results in its being meaningless and having no interpretable meaningEspecially withmeasurements related to lengths after the word. Also, the word wall inb at the beginning of the text makes it more likely to be interpreted as restoration of the wall, while in Hayes' translation; the presence of the word wall *inb* does not give an interpretable meaning.

L.3:m: For the ancient Egyptians, the cubit was one of the measures of length, which represented about 20.6 inches, equivalent to about 52.3 centimeters. The cubit represented about 7 palms².

L.3: Sep: Because the cubit represents 7 palms, the palm is about 7.5 centimeters.

L.3: db^c: Four digit represent the palm, so the digit is about 1.8 centimeters⁴.

L.3:mh ssp db^c: It indicates the measures for lengths known to the ancient Egyptians, and it is used as in this text in a consecutive manner in this order. And its function tomeasuring small objects, such as walls, stelae, shrines ⁵.

6- HO.Cairo 405

Description

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H. 7.5 cm: W. 6 cm

Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

This ostracon is written in black ink on both sides. The recto consists of four lines while the verso consists of only one line. The ink is faint in some places, such as fourth line on Recto.

¹ Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, Vol. III, 48.

² Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 199.

³ Francis Llewellyn Griffith, "Weights and Measures", *PSBA* 14 (1892): 404.

⁴ Griffith, "Weights and Measures", 404.

⁵ Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 199.

Recto



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Verso



Hieroglyphic Transcription



1- Dsrw

Transliteration

Recto Verso

1-sw 19 340

2- sw 10 560

3- sw 10 560 dmd 1450

4- <u>d</u>3t 550

Translation

Recto

1- day 19, 340

2- day 10 560

3- day 10 560, total 1450

4- remainder 550

Verso

1-Djeseru

Paleographical Remarks:

Recto:

L.1-2: \triangle : There is an overlap between the number 999 and the number \triangle .

Commentary:

Recto

- **L.2:** *sw10: the* presence of the date that refers to the tenth day after the nineteenth day in the first line may indicate a change in the month, as this date may represent the tenth day of the following month of the nineteenth day.
 - **L.2:** sw 10 560: the research will reveal how its repetition was by mistake.
- **L.3:** *dmd:* This term is used here not for the sum, which is its usual use but to mean the total of what must be received for the temple. it is in its abbreviated form because it is written in the middle of the line.
- **L.4: 1450:** We think the scribe may have made a mistake in calculating the number 1450, while the correct number should be 340 + 560 + 560 = 1460. In fact, I think the scribe did not err in this; rather, he erred in repeating *hrw 10 560* for the following reasons: If the two numbers 340 and 560 are added, the result will be 900, which represents the result of what has been delivered to the temple, and the total that must be delivered is 1450, as mentioned in the text, so the remainder = what must be delivered what has been delivered = 1450-900 = 550, which is what the scribe actually wrote.
- **L.5:** *d3t*: It is a term that means the remainder¹, and it is the most common term for indicating this word in the new kingdom in general and in the Eighteenth Dynasty in particular². This term is one of the oldest arithmetic terms in ancient Egypt. the use of this term goes back to the Eleventh Dynasty and may go back to the old kingdom. The term appears on a small fragment of a papyrus from Abusir dating to the Old Kingdom³

In the new kingdom, this term had several uses, such as:

- 1- It is used to refer to things that remain unreceived. The scribe used to make this in different ways:
- the quantity of the total number of things must be received is preceded by the term total dmd, then the quantity of what has been delivered is preceded by the term delivered iw, and the quantity of what remains is preceded by the term remainder d3t.
- the quantity preceded by the term delivered iw then the quantity preceded by the term remainder $\underline{d}3t$
- the quantity preceded by the term total $dm\underline{d}$ then the quantity preceded by the term remainder $d3t^4$.
 - 2- This term is use to give us the final result for the remainder of all calculations⁵.

² Megally, Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre, 69.

¹ Megally, Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration, 62.

³ Megally, Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre, 69.

⁴ Megally, Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre, 75.

⁵ Megally, Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre, 76.

3- The term was used to indicate the opening balance; it is often used here in the middle of the accounts to indicate what is left, which is considered in turn the opening balance for a new accounting¹.

In this ostracon, the term was used to denote remained and unreceived things.

Verso:

L.1: *Dsrw*: It might have been written on the verso of the ostracon because there was more than one budget for more than one place, and to distinguish each one of them, the scribe wrote the name on the verso.

7- HO.Cairo 460

Description

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H. 7.5 cm; W. 7.5 cm

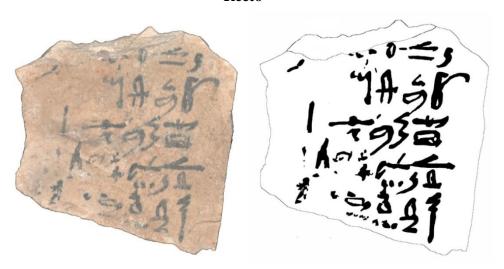
Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

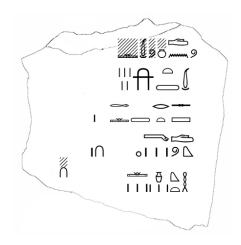
This ostracon is written in black ink on both sides. The recto consists of five lines while the verso consists of four lines. The ink is faint in many places, such as all lines on verso

Recto

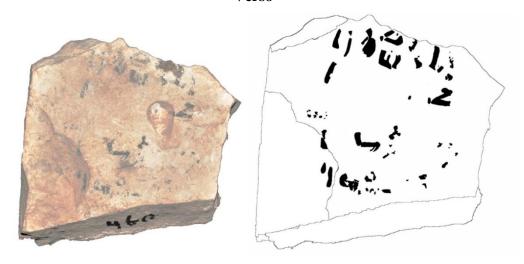


Hieroglyphic Transcription

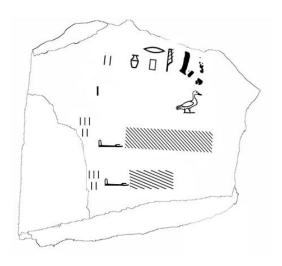
¹ Megally, Notions de comptabilité à propos du papyrus E. 3226 du Musée du Louvre, 77.



Verso



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration

 Recto
 Verso

 1-wdnw [...]
 1- [......] irp 2

2- wdnt h3r 5

2-3pd 1

3- sšrt '3 1

3- [.....] *5*

4- dkrw 11

4- [......] 5

5- hnkt 10

Translation

Recto

- 1-offerings [...]
- 2- wdnt-bread 5 khar.
- 3- large sšrt- bread 1
- 4- fruits 11
- 5- beer 10

Verso

- 1- [...] wine 2
- 2- bird 1
- 3- [....] 5
- 4- [....] 5

Paleographical Remarks:

Recto:

L.4: \longrightarrow :Resembles more the sign \bigcirc , but according to the word, it represents \bigcirc .

L.5: :It might represent the remaining traces of the number

Commentary:

Recto:

L.1: *wdnw*: This word, which means offerings, was written in more than one way, such as $1 - \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2} =$

L.2: *wdnt*: This word was written in the same form on several ostraca from Deir el-Bahari, such as ostracon no. O.MMA 10^3 and ostracon no. HO.Cairo 448, ostracon no.HO.Cairo 404^4 It may mean *wdnt* bread and not offerings, as the scribe mentioned the

¹ Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der Äegyptischen Sprache, 1, 393-1.

² Hayes," A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": pls. X-IX, No. 9-10.

³ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 36-37.

⁴ Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri": 200-206, pls, 5-6.

word offerings in the previous line, and this type of bread was probably small and a roll rather than a loaf ¹.

L.2:*h3r*:It is one of the most important measures used by the ancient Egyptians ², and it was mainly used in measuring grains ³, dates, salt, and fish, as well as in estimating the quantities of water ⁴, and sometimes it was used in weighing the gypsum used in cladding the walls of the tombs of the Valley of the Kings ⁵.

L.3: *sšrt*: This word was sometimes abbreviated \implies to also mean bread⁶. The word was first used in the Middle Kingdom and was commonly used to mean bread in the new Kingdom⁷. On ostracon no. O.CGC 25624, we find the term *sšt n it*⁸to indicate that this round-shaped bread⁹ was made from barley¹⁰.

¹ Janet Janssen, "The Daily Bread a Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet", *BES* 13(1997): 30.

² Griffith, "Weights and Measures": 421.

³ Jaroslav Černý, "Prices and Wages in Egypt in the Ramesside Period", *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 1 (1954): 914.

[ُ] محمد صلاح الخولى، " *المكابيل والموازين في مصر القديمة"*، (رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، قسم الأثار المصرية، كلية الأثار، جامعة القاهرة ، ۱۹۸۰)، ٥٤.

⁵ Černý, *The Valley of the Kings*, 37.

⁶ Janssen, "The Daily Bread a Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet": 22.

⁸ Jaroslav Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques, CGC (Nr. 25501-25832)*, (Le Caire : Institut français d'archéologie orientale ,1935), 41-42, pl. 63.

⁹ Janssen, "The Daily Bread a Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet": 23.

¹⁰ Janssen, "The Daily Bread a Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet": 23.

[&]quot; محمد شريف حسن، "مجموعة من البرديات الهير اطيقية الأدارية في المتحف المصري"، ١٧٤-١٧٥.

¹² Gérard Charpentier, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique*, (Paris : Trismégiste, 1981), 852, No. 1463.

¹³ Renate Gerner, "Fruits", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol.I, ed. Donald Redford (Cairo: Oxford university press, 2001), 564.

¹ محمد شريف حسن، "مجموعة من البرديات الهير اطيقية الأدارية في المتحف المصرى"، ١٧٤.

L.5: hnkt: The verb hnk is the origin of the word hnkt, and for the ancient Egyptians, it meant "the liquid," which was his main drink¹. Bread and beer were the most important items of a diet in ancient Egypt. Hence, the deceased wished to be provided with them in the afterlife², so they were included in the lists of offerings. Beer is a popular drink that differs from wine in that it is cheap and is considered an essential diet item³. The hnkt was measured in several ways, such as the measure of hnw, the measure of ds, and others.

Verso:

L.1: 3pd: The word 3pd referred to birds in general without distinguishing the type of bird⁴, and in very few cases the word 3pd referred to ducks⁵.

For the ancient Egyptians, birds were cheap commodities included in the lists of offerings⁶.

8- HO.Cairo 490

Description

Material: pottery

Dimensions: H 10.5 cm; W. 12 cm

Thickness: .8: 2 cm Color: light brown

Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

This ostracon is written in black ink on one side only. The ostracon consists of three columns. The first one consists of five lines. The second column consists of eight lines. The third column consists of two lines. There is an overlap between the first column and the second column. The ink is well preserved.

¹ Wolfgang Helck, *Das Bier im Alten Ägypten*, (Berlin: Gesellschaft für die Geschichte und Bibliographie des Brauwesens E. V. Institut für Gärungsgewerbe und Biotechnologie, 1971), 15.

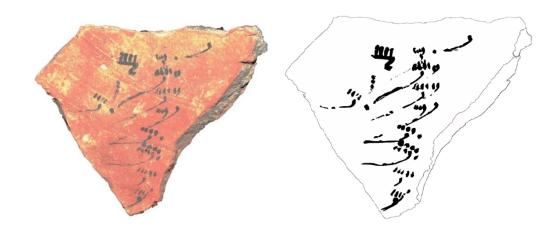
 $^{^{2}}$ Jac Janssen, "Prolegomena to the Study of Egypt's Economic History during the New Kingdom", $S\ddot{A}K$ 3(1975): 164.

⁷ مها سمير عبد السلام القناوي، "زراعة الكروم وصناعة النبيذ في مصر القديمة (العصر الفرعوني)"، (رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، قسم الأثار المصرية القديمة، كلية الآثار، جامعة القاهرة ، ١٩٨٨)، ١١٩.

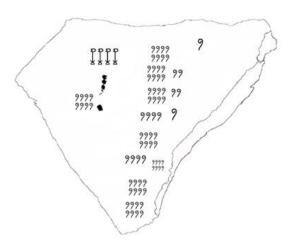
⁴ Jac Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 178.

⁵ Alan Gardiner, "Champollion and the Biliteral Signs", JEA 38 (1952): 128.

⁶ Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period, 178.



Hieroglyphic Transcription



Transliteration and Translation:

Col.I	Col.II	Col.III
100	800	
200	800	4000
200	800	
100	400	800
	800	
800	400	
	800	
	800	

Paleographical Remarks:

Col.I, Col.II:

L.2: : The numbers 200 and 800 overlap

L.3: : The numbers 200 and 800 overlap

L.4: : The numbers 100 and 400 overlap

L.6: : The numbers 800 and 400 overlap noting, that the first number 800 is written very abbreviated, because the scribe may have relied on this part of the sign common to the two numbers.

Commentary:

This ostracon represents an exercise of writing some numbers, and it is possible that there were such exercises in writing numbers¹. The presence of the ostracon in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari because in the New Kingdom we have few indications to the existence of schools in or near the Deir el-Bahari temple².

9- HO.Cairo 458

Description

Material: limestone

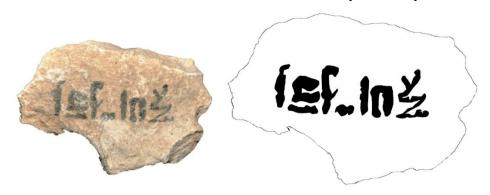
Dimensions: H 4 cm; W. 6 cm

Provenance: Deir El-Bahri

Date: New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty

Current location: Egyptian Museum of Cairo

Limestone ostracon inscribed in black ink on one side only with only one line.



Hieroglyphic Transcription

¹ Georges Daressy, *Ostraca*, CGC (Nos 25001- 25383), (Le Caire :Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1901), 84, No.25331.

² Hans Fischer-Elfert, "Education", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol.I, ed. Donald Redford (Cairo: Oxford university press, 2001), 441.



Transliteration:

1- imy-r pr n Imn

Translation:

1- Steward of Amun

Commentary:

L.1: *imy-r pr*: The title Steward *imy-r pr* was a title held by officials bearing important titles; for example, vizier Hori was Steward of the Temple of King Saptah. This title was rarely mentioned in the ostraca and papyrus. This might be due to these stewards having highest echelons, and the supervision of the temple was only under their responsibility, and most of them were responsible for the royal palace while staying at the residence or elsewhere. As stewards of the temple, they were responsible for the fields around the temples and personnel

Throughout the country, not only for the people and resources in the immediate surroundings

of the temple 1 . They did not necessarily have a direct presence in the temple with the workers, and thus writing this title in the administrative documents related to work in the temple was not common. Another reason could be that they were written on papyrus with a different title the superior of the house $^{\circ}$ 3 $^{\circ}$ 1 $^{\circ}$ 2 $^{\circ}$ 3 $^{\circ}$ 3 $^{\circ}$ 4 Twentieth Dynasty, with the exchange of the two titles starting from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards $^{\circ}$ 2

In Haring's opinion, the titles Steward imy-r pr and the superior of the house \Im n prrefer to one title with the same function³, whereas Gardiner views the title of the superior of the house \Im n pras only an updated way of writing the title of the steward imy-r pr⁴, while Helck believes that the title superior of the house \Im n prwas used in

² Haring, *Divine Households*, 226.

¹ Haring, *Divine Households*, 226.

³ Haring, *Divine Households*, 225.

⁴ Alan Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, *Commentary*, Vol. II, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), 131 (&52), 134 (&66).

cases where personal names were not written¹. Graefe proposes that the title superior of the house $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$ was less in status than the title Steward imy- $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$, and that there was no conclusive opinion of whether the two titles always referred to the same function and position or not.

Dating:

According to the personal names and paleography, these ostraca are probably to be dated from the first half of the 18th Dynasty. The following table shows comparison between the ostraca which are under study and other ostraca and papyrus from the 18th Dynasty.

G/M	Ostraca under study	Other ostraca and papyrus from 18th Dynasty
G29+V31+Z7+A24/211+200B+15	HO. Cairo 447	O.MMA 4 ³
D45+D21+Z7 / 107+91+200B	HO. Cairo 447	O.MMA 4 ⁴ HO. Cairo 448 ⁵
 	HO. Cairo 447	O.MMA 4 ⁶
R8+T28+D21+Z4+A24+A1+Z2/ 547+397+91+560+15+33+561	HO. Cairo 447	O.MMA 4 7
 620	HO.Cairo 499 HO.Cairo 409	HO.Cairo 488 ¹ HO.Cairo

¹ Wolfgang Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, PdÄ3.3, (Lieden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 102-103.

² ErhartGraefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, Vol.II, Analyse und Indices, ÄA 37, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), 31-32.

³ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 32-33, pl. IX.

⁴ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 32-33, pl. IX.

⁵ Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri": 202-206, pl.6.

⁶ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 32-33, pl. IX.

⁷ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 32-33, pl. IX.

	HO.Cairo 460	384 ² O.MMA 4 ³
<u>YoYoY</u> ∴ M8+X1/ 274+575: LX	3 HO.Cairo 409	3 Louvre E. 3226 ⁴
F25/ 162	1 HO.Cairo 409	L 5
G41+G1/ 221+192	425 HO.Cairo 429	Louvre E. 3226 ⁶
N18/ 330	HO.Cairo 460	9 9 HO.Cairo 448 ⁷
M17+Y5+N35+R4+X1+Q3/283+540 +331+552+388	HO.Cairo 499	437 HO.Cairo 407 ⁸

¹ Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri": 198-200, pl.5.

² Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri": 206-208, pl.7.

³ Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Der El-Bahri": 32-33, pl. IX.

⁴ Mounir Megally, Considérations sur les variations et la transformation des formes hiératiques du papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre, BdE XLIX, (Le Caire : Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1971), pl. XLV.

⁵ Möller, Hieratische Paläographie, I, 15, no.162, II, 14, no.162.

⁶ Megally, Considérations sur les variations et la transformation des formes hiératiques du papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre, pl. VI.

⁷ Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri": 202-206, pl.6.

⁸ Hassan, "Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca from Deir el-Bahri": 184-189, pl.2.

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