

INTEGRATING HIERATIC AND MARKS DATA FOR THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF DEIR EL-MEDINA WORKMEN IN THE EARLY TO MID 20TH DYNASTY

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By far the largest single body of data available for the study of pharaonic Egypt is associated with the work gang, housed in the village at Deir el-Medina, who excavated and decorated the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens in the New Kingdom. Research into the prosopography of the workmen and other individuals connected with the village remains a significant component in the processing, sorting, relative dating and understanding of this material. The work of the Leiden group on the marks ostraca from Deir el-Medina has opened up important new avenues of research, notably for the period from the later reign of Ramesses III through into the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. Not only has the group confirmed and extended the original work of Ben Haring on the workmen's marks,¹ including the first complete readings of marks ostraca,² they have also assembled a large body of previously uninvestigated data in a database currently in development. My paper here draws on this database, which I have been able to access through the kind offices of the Leiden group, and has the aim of integrating examples of this new body of data with the existing hieratic source material for this period in order to establish in greater detail the prosopography of the workmen of Deir el-Medina. The key methodological tool I use is the ordered roster sequence for this period.³

CHANGES TO THE ROSTER SEQUENCE IN YEAR 30 OF RAMESSES III

The hieratic Turnus material from regnal year 24 of Ramesses III to regnal year 2 of Ramesses IV provides some of the most detailed evidence for the composition of the right side of the work gang during this period, not least through the presentation of the ordered cycle of workmen serving on day-watch duty (*wrš*).⁴ However, this information is not evenly spread over the period, with regnal years 28, 29 and 30 of Ramesses III being particularly poorly represented in the material. Fortunately, the material being assembled by the Leiden marks group includes a rich body of material dating to regnal year 30, a period of significant change on the right side of the gang which can now be investigated for the first time in real detail and which will form the focus of this paper.

¹ B. Haring, 'Towards Decoding the Workmen's Funny Signs', *GM* 178 (2000), 45–58.

² See most recently B. Haring and D. Soliman, Reading Twentieth Dynasty Ostraca with Workmen's Marks', in B. Haring, O. Kaper, and R. van Walsem (eds), *The Workman's Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EU 28; Leiden, 2014), 73–93.

³ In particular as deployed in M. Collier, 'The Right Side of the Gang in Years 1 to 2 of Ramesses IV', in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 1–20. This work draws on the approach to ordered listings developed in M. Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca* (EU 18; Leiden, 2004).

⁴ See, conveniently, *The Deir el-Medina Database* (<http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>) 'Turnus Lists' link.

O. IFAO ONL 297 + 301 + Strasbourg H 10

O. IFAO ONL 297 + 301 + Strasbourg H 10⁵ dates to the first months of regnal year 30 of Ramesses III, II *Shemu* days 1–15 on the recto and III *Shemu* days 1–15 on the verso (the verso displays an explicit regnal year 30).⁶ The listing is as follows, given in the order as found on the original ostracon but organized around the roster sequence:⁷

roster	name	mark	II <i>Shemu</i>	III <i>Shemu</i>	III <i>Shemu</i>
R1	Neferher	𓆎		[18]	day 7
R2	Meryre	𓆎		[19]	day 8
R3	Nesamun	𓆎	day 1	[20]	day 9
R4	Huynefer	𓆎	day 2	[21]	day 10
R5	Khaemnun	𓆎	day 3	[22]	day 11
R6	[Neferhotep]	𓆎	(day 4)	[23]	(day 12)
R7	Penanuqe	𓆎	day 5	[24]	day 13
R8	Khaemwese	𓆎	day 6	[25]	day 14
R9	Nakhtmin	𓆎	day 7	[26]	day 15
R10	[Reshpetref]	𓆎	(day 8)	[27]	
R11	Amenemope	𓆎	day 9	[28]	
R12	Mose	𓆎	day 10	[29]	
R13	Menna	𓆎	day 11	[30]	
R14	Nekhemmut	𓆎	day 12	day 1	
R15	Horisheru	𓆎	day 13	day 2	
R16	Iyernutef	𓆎	day 14	day 3	
R17	Hori	𓆎	day 15	day 4	
R18	Pentaweret	𓆎	[16]	day 5	
R19	Anuynakht	𓆎	[17]	day 6	

All 19 slots for workmen of the right are attested, although the names of Neferhotep and Reshpetref are not clear on the available images for the recto and the name of Neferhotep is not preserved on the surviving entry on the verso (this presents no problems; both are attested before and after this date in their respective slots).

⁵ O. IFAO ONL 297 and 301 are unpublished, like the other IFAO ONL ostraca referred to here. They have been integrated into the *Workmen's Marks Database* through the kind agreement of IFAO.

⁶ The dates for ostraca in this paper are all taken directly from the Leiden *Workmen's Marks* database (although I have crosschecked them against the Turnus data) as are all the joins between individual ostraca. The database in its current form does not ordinarily include information down to individual days and workmen and so I bear responsibility for the particular identification of workmen and assignment of specific days, and thus any errors in this regard, although I have liaised with the Leiden group on occasion.

⁷ For the organization of the listing with Neferher as R1 see Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 2–3. The idealized marks used in the tables are drawn from Haring and Soliman, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*.

As will be discussed more fully below, this ostrakon provides the last explicitly attested day of service on the day watch for R4 Huynefer currently known: on III *Shemu* 10 of regnal year 30 of Ramesses III.

In order to form a comparison base, the roster sequence from the hieratic sources can be compared as last directly attested in full in regnal year 27 of Ramesses III (IV *Peret*) and confirmed by the partial hieratic evidence from regnal year 28 of Ramesses III (II *Shemu* to IV *Shemu*):

	yr 27 RIII		yr 30 RIII
roster	name	roster	name
R1	Neferher	R1	Neferher
R2	Meryre	R2	Meryre
R3	Irysu > Nesamun	R3	Nesamun
R4	Huynefer	R4	Huynefer
R5	Khaemnun	R5	Khaemnun
R6	Neferhotep	R6	[Neferhotep]
R7	Kasa	R7	Penanuqe
R8	Khaemwese	R8	Khaemwese
R9	Nakhtmin	R9	Nakhtmin
R10	Reshpetref	R10	[Reshpetref]
R11	Amenemope	R11	Amenemope
R12	Mose	R12	Mose
R13	Menna	R13	Menna
R14	Nekhemmut	R14	Nekhemmut
R15	Iyernutef	R15	Horisheru
R16	Pentaweret	R16	Iyernutef
R17	Hori	R17	Hori
R18	Qenna	R18	Pentaweret
R19	Anuynakht	R19	Anuynakht

In getting to the picture as shown early in regnal year 30, there are two changes of personnel which are already known from the hieratic material and a further one which the marks material helps elucidate:

R3 Nesamun replaces R3 Irysu. Irysu is last explicitly attested on the Turnus in the R3 position in the hieratic sources in regnal year 27, IV *Peret* 27.⁸ Nesamun is first explicitly attested in the R3 position in regnal year 28, IV *Shemu* 6 (5 day-watch cycles, or slightly over three months, later),⁹ supported by further attestations in the R3 position in the hieratic

⁸ O. DeM 34 + Heidelberg 567, vso 9. For published sources such as this, text publications can be readily followed up in *The Deir el-Medina Database* <http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>.

⁹ O. DeM 138, rto 3 (explicitly dated to regnal year 28 in rto 1). The same day also occurs in O. DeM 156, rto 7 (again explicitly dated to regnal year 28 in rto 1, although the year date is damaged). The name in the R3 slot on that day was read by Černý as Irysu, but with hatching throughout; cf. M. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und Ihre ökonomische Interpretation*, I: *Die 20. Dynastie* (HÄB 18; Hildesheim, 1983), 26 with n. 2.

sources in regnal year 28, II *Peret* 11 and in the succeeding cycle on day 30.¹⁰ Nesamun took over the mark previously used for Irysu (𐎢), providing additional evidence that Nesamun directly replaced Irysu on the right side of the gang. However, the use of the same mark in the same slot has the consequence that Irysu and Nesamun cannot be distinguished in the marks material for regnal year 28, II *Shemu*,¹¹ nor in other marks material without reference to the hieratic sources. At present the workman Irysu has no known family connections.¹² Nesamun [iii] can now be identified as a son of Hesysunebef (i).¹³ It is thus possible that the transfer of the mark is related to Nesamun taking over Irysu's place on the gang, although there is insufficient data to rule out completely a family connection of some kind (though not a father–son connection).

R7 Penanuqe replaces R7 Kasa. Kasa is last explicitly attested in the hieratic material in IV *Peret* 12 in regnal year 27.¹⁴ There is no direct hieratic evidence for the R7 position during regnal years 28 and 29,¹⁵ but by I *Shemu* 16 at the end of regnal 29 Kasa seems to have been replaced by Penanuqe.¹⁶ Penanuqe takes over Kasa's mark (𐎢) and his position in the same R7 slot on the roster sequence. As a consequence Kasa and Penanuqe too cannot be readily be separated in the marks material without reference to the hieratic sources.¹⁷ Penanuqe has now been firmly identified as the Penanuqe son of Kasa from the unpublished P.

¹⁰ O. DeM 35, rto 2 and 13 (both clear on accompanying photograph), both at the end of the entry for those days. The ostrakon is principally organized around dated deliveries without explicit mention of workmen on day-watch for that day. Aside from Nesamun, the name of Anuynakht appears at the end of the entry for day 27 (rto 11), thus in his expected R19 position.

¹¹ O. IFAO ONL 322 + 324 + 848 + 6484 + Strasbourg H 11, rto (unpublished excepting the Strasbourg fragment), with the mark 𐎢 against II *Shemu* 5.

¹² The name Irysu appears on the right side of the gang in an ordered listing, O. KV 47/4 (provisional number), col. I,3, an published ostrakon from the Basel excavations around KV 47 currently being worked on by Debora Cilli. The ostrakon displays a listing of the right similar to the Group C material datable no earlier than the late reign of Siptah. Cf. Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty ostraca*, 125–127 for other possible early examples of Irysu. It would seem then that Irysu had served on the gang from the latter part of the reign of Siptah through to regnal year 28 of Ramesses III.

¹³ Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 4 & 10, based on treating P. Turin 1891 as an ordered list and thus restoring the R3 entry in rto 11 as '[Nes]amun son of Hesy(su)nebef'. The numberings of individual workmen referred to here follows B. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina. A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community* (EU 13; Leiden, 1999). Where a numbering differs from that suggested by Davies (e.g. in the light of the Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*), this numbering is here placed in square brackets, e.g. Nesamun [iii].

¹⁴ O. DeM 34 + Heidelberg 567, rto 9.

¹⁵ There is, however, an unusual entry preserved for O. DeM 89, which preserves three names against dates: Kasa for III *Shemu* 25, Neferher for III *Shemu* 30 and IV *Shemu* 28 for Reshpetref. These dates work well for regnal year 29 for R1 Neferher and R10 Reshpetref, whereas Kasa occupies the R15 slot instead of the expected Iyernutef. This might be an example of Kasa standing in for his colleague (cf. Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 12 for an example of Kasa possibly standing in for his son Penanuqe).

¹⁶ This is the famous reference in the Turin Strike Papyrus (P. Turin 1880, rto 4,1), which fits the expected day-watch service for Penanuqe (cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, 29). In the hieratic Turnus sources, Penanuqe is first found in R7 in regnal year 30, on IV *Shemu* 21 (O. DeM 145, rto 7).

¹⁷ The mark 𐎢 appears in the R7 position in regnal year 28, II *Shemu* 9 (O. IFAO ONL 322 + 324 + 848 + 6484 + Strasbourg H 11, rto) and IV *Shemu* 29 in the same year (O. IFAO ONL 338 + 339, rto). From regnal year 29, the mark 𐎢 appears in the R7 position on IV *Akhet* 14 (O. IFAO ONL 305 + 330 + 6208, rto) and I *Peret* 22 (O. IFAO ONL 337, rto).

Turin 2065, vso II,2, suggesting that this is an example of a father being replaced on the gang by his son.¹⁸

R15 Horisheru replaces R18 Qenna. The remaining change requires a little more discussion. Once the other, known replacements are taken into account, then it would seem from the fixed roster of 19 workmen on the right side that Horisheru replaces Qenna on the roster, although not in the same position. In addition, Horisheru (𐎗) does not take over Qenna's mark (𐎗) and so the two can be readily distinguished in the marks sources, both by mark and by position. Qenna appears for the last time explicitly in the hieratic material on IV *Shemu* 2 in regnal year 28 of Ramesses III,¹⁹ whereas Horisheru is first attested explicitly in the marks material in regnal year 29, IV *Akhet* 22,²⁰ and again on I *Peret* 30 of the same regnal year,²¹ both in the R15 position. This correlates with non-Turnus dated documents referring to Horisheru as a draughtsman from regnal year 28²² and 29.²³ Horisheru is the well-known son of the scribe Amennakht (v) son of Ipuy (iv).²⁴ Qenna is more troublesome. On at least two occasions the Turnus record provides the filiation Qenna son of Seba.²⁵ This name with filiation also appears among the names of absentees on the left side in regnal year 24,²⁶ at a period when the name Qenna appears in the R18 slot on the right side.²⁷ In any case, there is no known family relationship between Horisheru and Qenna.

¹⁸ See Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 10–11 for the treatment of P. Turin 2065 as an ordered listing. For the suggestion that Penanuqe should be identified as a son of R7 Kasa on the basis of the shared mark, see already Haring, *GM* 178, 51; for further evidence and discussion, see Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 11–12 on Penanuqe (iii) son of Kasa (vi), where Kasa (vi) designates the workman Kasa from the late Ramesses III Turnus record in Davies, *Who's Who*, 274. I also suggested that Kasa (vi) is the father both of Penanuqe (iii) and of Amennakht (ix) son of Kasa (vi), who joined the gang in the first expansion of the gang in regnal year 1 of Ramesses IV. Amennakht took his own mark (𐎗) when he joined the gang; see Haring and Soliman, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 82.

¹⁹ O. DeM 156, rto 3.

²⁰ O. IFAO ONL 305 + 330 + 6208, rto.

²¹ O. IFAO ONL 337, vso.

²² O. Ashmolean HO 132, rto 5, explicitly dated to regnal year 28 I *Peret* 15; the name of the draughtsman Horisheru appears as one of the two surviving names of witnesses (with Amenemope). Incidentally if Horisheru were on the gang at this time in the R15 position, then his day of service would in fact have been I *Peret* 15, raising the distinct possibility that Horisheru was already on the roster for the right side in the R15 position by this date.

²³ O. Ashmolean HO 185, rto 6: regnal year 29 I *Akhet* 19, again as witness, but not on a day-watch service day; O. DeM 284, rto 5: regnal year 29 II *Akhet* 4, with Menna (who served on day-watch on this day).

²⁴ See, for example, Davies, *Who's Who*, 114–117.

²⁵ O. IFAO 253, rto 1, datable to regnal year 27, IV *Akhet* 10 (but see the *Deir el-Medina Database* comment: 'the determinative of the name *Qnnz* and the filiation denoted by one dot only') and O. Berlin P 12627, rto 9, dated to regnal year 27, II *Peret* 7.

²⁶ O. Turin CG 57039, vso 7, dated to regnal year 24, IV *Shemu* 24 (rto 9 for IV *Shemu* 23 has 'Qenna 2' indicating 2 Qennas on the left, the other being Qenna (iv) son of Ruta (i)) and O. Turin CG 57028, vso 4 and 13, dated to regnal year 24, II *Peret* 13? and 22. It is not clear if there is significance to the fact that Qenna son of Seba is the last named individual in each of these entries. See Davies, *Who's Who*, 266 on Qenna (vii) son of Seba (iv) for further information.

²⁷ For example, O. DeM 164, col. I,3 (epagomenal day 3), an ostrakon explicitly dated to regnal year 24 in col. I,6 (entry for I *Akhet* 1).

So Qenna vacates the R18 slot and is replaced by Horisheru, though not in the same slot on the roster. Horisheru first appears explicitly in the R15 position and it can be seen that to accommodate this Iyernutef goes from R15 to R16 and Pentaweret from R16 to R18, with Hori remaining in R17.

O. Ashmolean HO 1084

The next marks ostrakon in sequence is O. Ashmolean 1084,²⁸ which can be dated to IV *Shemu* in regnal year 30 of Ramesses III and provides the following data:

roster	name	mark	recto	name	mark	verso
R1	[Neferher]			Neferher	𓆎	day 15
R2	[Meryre]			Meryre	𓆏	day 16
R3	[Nesamun]			Nesamun	𓆑	day 17
R4	[Huynefer]			Nekhemmut	𓆒	day 18
R5	[Khaemnun]			Khaemnun	𓆓	day 19
R6	[Neferhotep]			Neferhotep	𓆔	day 20
R7	[Penanuqe]			(Penanuqe)	𓆕	(day 21)
R8	Khaemwese	𓆖	day 3	(Khaemwese)	𓆖	(day 22)
R9	Nakhtmin	𓆗	day 4	Nakhtmin	𓆗	day 23
R10	Reshpetref	𓆘	day 5			
R11	Amenemope	𓆙	day 6			
R12	Mose	𓆚	day 7			
R13	Menna	𓆛	day 8			
R14	Nekhemmut	𓆒	day 9			
R15	Horisheru	𓆜	day 10			
R16	Iyernutef	𓆝	day 11			
R17	Hori	𓆞	day 12			
R18	[Pentaweret]	𓆟	[13]			
R19	[Anuynakht]	𓆠	[14]			

From a comparison with O. IFAO 297 + 301 + Strasbourg H 10, it can be seen that Huynefer no longer appears on day watch and is replaced in the R4 slot by Nekhemmut on IV *Shemu* 18. It is not clear from this ostrakon who replaces him on the gang, although later marks ostraca discussed below indicate that it is Minkhau who takes his place and his mark.

This would seem to narrow down the time at which Huynefer leaves the roster sequence. He appears explicitly for the final time on III *Shemu* 10 in the R4 position.²⁹ There

²⁸ Unpublished; recto discussed in Haring and Soliman, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 89–90.

is no record for this position on III *Shemu* 29, but in the next cycle on IV *Shemu* 18, Nekhemmut appears in this slot having previously served on IV *Shemu* 9 in his old R14 position and thereafter is attested regularly in the R4 position. Indeed given that Nekhemmut appears in his previous R14 position in IV *Shemu* 9, immediately before switching to the R4 slot in IV *Shemu* 18, it is at least compatible with the surviving data that Huynefer may well have served on day watch in his expected R4 position on III *Shemu* 29.

O. IFAO ONL 299, rto

Next in sequence comes O. IFAO ONL 299, rto, which provides a partial record of the roster sequence in I *Akhet* of regnal year 30:

roster	name	mark		
R1	Neferher	𓆎		day 18
R2	Meryre	𓆏		day 19
R3	Nesamun	𓆑		day 20
R4	Nekhemmut	𓆒		day 21
R5	Khaemnun	𓆓		day 22
R6	Neferhotep	𓆔		day 23
R7	Penanuqe	𓆕		day 24
R8	Khaemwese	𓆖		day 25
R9	Nakhtmin	𓆗		day 26
R10	Reshpetref	𓆘	day 8	day 27
R11	Amenemope	𓆙	[9]	day 28
R12	[Mose]	𓆚	[10]	
R13	Menna	𓆛	day 11	
R14			[12]	
R15			[13]	
R16			[14]	
R17			[15]	
R18			[16]	
R19	Anuynakht	𓆜	day 17	

This confirms Nekhemmut in the R4 position. Looking ahead to the next ostrakon to be discussed, O. IFAO ONL 299 also provides a further attestation of Meryre in the R2 slot

²⁹ Or rather his mark appears explicitly for the last time (as currently known) in the R4 slot. The mark then reappears in the R17 slot in III *Akhet*. The most straightforward interpretation of this is that the mark 𓆒 was used for Huynefer until he disappears from the roster sequence (vacating R4) and was taken over by Minkhau who replaced him on the gang, but first occupied the R17 position. The possibility that either Huynefer moved position before being replaced or that Minkhau replaced Huynefer in R4 earlier before being moved to R17 remains, but is less likely.

which he had occupied since he replaced his father on the gang by, at the latest, regnal year 27 II *Akhet* 16.³⁰

O. IFAO ONL 336 + 6299 + 6300, rto

This important ostrakon provides data from regnal year 30, III *Akhet*; the year date is explicitly given in O. IFAO ONL 336, col. I,1. The individual days are scattered somewhat over the ostrakon but can be brought into sequence as follows:

roster	name	mark	day	day
R1	Neferher	𓆎		[15]
R2	Amenemope	𓆏		day 16
R3	Nesamun	𓆑		day 17
R4	Nekhemmut	𓆒		day 18
R5	Khaemnun	𓆓		day 19
R6	Neferhotep	𓆔	day 1	(day 20)
R7	Penanuqe	𓆕	day 2	day 21
R8	Khaemwese	𓆖	day 3	day 22
R9	Nakhtmin	𓆗	day 4	day 23
R10	Reshpetref	𓆘	day 5	[24]
R11	Meryre	𓆙	day 6	day 25
R12	Mose	𓆚	day 7	day 26
R13	Menna	𓆛	day 8	day 27
R14	Hori	𓆜	day 9	day 28
R15	Horisheri	𓆝	day 10	day 29
R16	Iyernutef	𓆞	day 11	day 30?
R17	Minkhau	𓆟	day 12	
R18	[Pentaweret]	𓆠	[13]	
R19	[Anuynakht]	𓆡	[14]	

Note:

By considerable fortune, the top of the mark for Minkhau is preserved in the damaged line O. IFAO ONL 6300, col. I,9 (= O. IFAO ONL 336 + 6299 + 6300, col. I,13). The identification is clear from other examples of this mark.

The data from this ostrakon (III *Akhet*) can be compared with that from O. Ashmolean HO 1084 (IV *Shemu*) and O. IFAO ONL 299 (I *Akhet*). It is clear that a number of significant

³⁰ O. DeM 167, rto 6. See Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 19–20 and the concluding section to this paper for discussion of this workman and his mark.

changes have taken place on the gang, perhaps related to the replacement of Huynefer by Minkhau on the gang:

As discussed above, Huynefer's last attested date of day-watch service in R4 is III *Shemu* 10. By IV *Shemu* 18 he has been replaced by Nekhemmut in the R4 position. Nekhemmut was already a serving member of the gang, previously to be found in the R14 position on the roster, and so moved from this position to take Huynefer's roster slot. Huynefer was replaced on the gang by Minkhau, who is first explicitly attested on day-watch on III *Akhet* 12 in the R17 position, but may have joined the gang as early as IV *Shemu*. The R17 position had previously been that of Hori, who has been moved to Nekhemmut's old R14 position. Horisher (R15), Iyernutef (R16) and Pentaweret (R18) remain in their positions on the roster. Further evidence that Minkhau replaced Huynefer on the gang may be seen in the fact that Minkhau took over the mark previously used for Huynefer (𓆎).

The family connections of Minkhau are not, as yet, entirely clear. The ostraca material provides no example with a filiation. From the monumental evidence,³¹ it would seem that his father was named Hori, but which Hori is not yet clear. As such, Davies gave this Hori a separate number as Hori (iii). Now, the workman Hori (ii) son of Huynefer (xi) is the workman attested as R14 Hori in this period, and his father Huynefer (xi) is the workman who disappears from the Turnus record at this time.³² Huynefer (xi) had been a workman since the early reign of Siptah in the late Nineteenth Dynasty,³³ whereas his son, Hori (ii) is attested from at least regnal year 10 of Ramesses III.³⁴ There is thus a real possibility that Minkhau is a son of Hori (ii) and the grandson of Huynefer (xi) (so in the Davies numbering, he would be Minkhau (i) son of Hori (iii)=(ii)). If this were to turn out to be a correct identification, then Minkhau would replace his grandfather on the gang, and this would provide a further instance of the transfer of a mark within the same family. It is also interesting in this connection that whilst Minkhau does not replace Huynefer directly in the R4 slot on the roster, he does switch places between R14 and R17 with Hori (possibly his father) over the first few months of his day-watch service (as discussed below).

This ostrakon also provides the earliest direct attestation of the well-known switch of position between Meryre (R2 > R11) with his uncle Amenemope (R11 > R12) currently known.³⁵ For Amenemope appearing in the in R2 position, the first direct hieratic evidence is explicitly recorded for regnal year 31, II *Akhet* 23³⁶ and possibly even earlier in the damaged entry for I *Akhet* 15.³⁷ For Meryre in R11, the first direct hieratic evidence is from IV *Akhet*

³¹ Davies, *Who's Who*, 26. See his chart 23 for Minkhau's suggested brothers. If, as suggested here, Hori (iii) = Hori (ii), then Huynefer (x) would seem to be another brother who later joined the gang.

³² Davies, *Who's Who*, 19.




³³ And so would be the same individual as Davies's Huynefer (viii) and possibly also Davies's Huynefer (ix) son of Tjia'a (i); see Davies, *Who's Who*, 18. For the late Nineteenth Dynasty evidence, see Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*, 134.

³⁴ See Davies, *Who's Who*, 18 on Hori (ii). The name Hori son of Huynefer occurs in O. Michaelides 1, rto 4 dated to regnal year 10, undoubtedly of Ramesses III, and with explicit title as *rmt-ist* in O. Michaelides 2, rto 2 dated to regnal year 16 of Ramesses III, attestations which are entirely compatible with a workman who had a son ready to take his position on the gang in regnal year 30.

³⁵ For the family relationship of Meryre (vi) son of Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v) and Amenemope (vi) son of Meryre (v), see recently Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *A Workman's Progress*, 19–20.

³⁶ O. DeM 155, vso 3.

³⁷ O. DeM 170, 3.

10 in regnal year 31.³⁸ The marks ostraca evidence now allows for a closer dating. Of the two, the last explicit attestation in their previous position currently known is now the attestation of  Meryre in R2 on I *Akhet* 19 in regnal year 30 of Ramesses III.³⁹ As can be seen from O. IFAO 336 + 6299 + 6302, by III *Akhet* 6 of the same regnal year (3 cycles later)  Meryre is explicitly attested in the R11 position and by III *Akhet* 16  Amenemope is explicitly attested in the R2 position. So the switch happened in regnal year 30 between I *Akhet* 19 and III *Akhet* 6.⁴⁰

O. IFAO ONL 298 + 326

This ostrakon provides data from IV *Akhet* and reinforces evidence from the previous ostrakon:



roster	name	mark		outside	name	mark	inside	
R1	Neferher			day 4	Neferher			day 23
R2	Amenemope			day 5	Amenemope			day 24
R3	Nesamun			day 6	Nesamun			day 25
R4	(Nekhemmut)			(day 7)	Nekhemmut			day 26
R5	(Khaemnun)			(day 8)	Khaemnun			day 27
R6	(Neferhotep)			(day 9)				
R7	Penanuqe			day 10				
R8	Khaemwese			day 11				
R9	Nakhtmin			day 12				
R10	Reshpetref			day 13				
R11	Meryre			day 14				
R12	Mose			day 15				
R13					Menna		day 16	
R14					Hori		day 17	
R15					Horisheru		day 18	
R16					Iyernutef		day 19	
R17	Minkhau		day 1		(Hori?)		day 20	
R18	Pentaweret		day 2		Pentaweret		day 21	
R19	Anuynakht		day 3		Anuynakht		day 22	

Nekhemmut is further attested in the R4 position, as is the switch of Meryre (R2 > R11) and Amenemope (R11 > R2). The new member of the gang Minkhau is attested once more in the

³⁸ O. DeM 157, rto 5.




















³⁹ O. IFAO ONL 299, discussed above.

⁴⁰ The discussion in Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 19 needs updating accordingly.

R17 position on day 1. On day 20, however, in an entry otherwise entirely written in red (as is the remainder of the text surviving on the inside of the ostrakon) his expected entry has no red mark, although there are traces of an erased  in black.⁴¹ Hori's mark  already occurs earlier (written in red) in R14.

O. IFAO ONL 331 + 333 + Strasbourg H 59

This ostrakon provides data from the following month, I *Peret*, in regnal year 30 of Ramesses III (the year date written across the join between O. IFAO ONL 333 and O. Strasbourg H 59).

roster	name	mark	day	day
R1	Neferher			day 12
R2	Amenemope			day 13
R3	Nesamun			day 14
R4	Nekhemmut			day 15
R5	Khaemnun			day 16
R6	Neferhotep			[17]
R7	Penanuqe			[18]
R8	Khaemwese			day 19
R9	Nakhtmin		day 1	day 20
R10	Reshpetref		day 2	day 21
R11	Meryre		day 3	
R12	Mose		day 4	
R13	Menna		day 5	
R14	Minkhau		day 6	
R15	Horisheru		day 7	
R16	Iyernutef		day 8	
R17	Hori		day 9	
R18	[see discussion]		day 10	
R19	Anuynakht		day 11	

As can be seen, Minkhau (R17 > R14) switches with Hori (R14 > R17), who thus reverts to his previous position (R17).

⁴¹ Daniel Soliman, pc 13 December 2013, informs me that the mark for Hori was indeed noted down initially, but was erased and in the process the *s* of *s(w)* 21 in the following day entry was also erased. Hori is recorded in R14 here, but he had, of course, occupied the R17 position previously and was to return there soon (see O. IFAO ONL 331 + 333 + Strasbourg H 59 discussed next), if not already on IV *Akhet* 20.

It is, however, the R18 position which is of particular interest. The workman's mark which appears for day 10 (R18 position) does not seem to be that for Pentaweret.⁴² Indeed Pentaweret is no longer attested on the day-watch after this date, raising the possibility that R18 Pentaweret disappears from the roster sequence after his last explicit appearance in IV *Akhet* 21 and before the completion of the next cycle in I *Peret* 10. Most certainly, as will be seen below, by III *Peret* Pentaweret has definitely disappeared from the roster sequence and is replaced by Iryaa.

The mark which appears again day 10 looks rather more like the mark of Khaemnun (𐀓) than the mark for Iryaa (𐀓). If Iryaa is not intended, then there is the possibility that his father,⁴³ Khaemnun, took his intended place.

O. IFAO ONL 340

O. IFAO ONL 340 covers III *Peret* into IV *Peret* in regnal year 30 of Ramesses III:

roster	name	mark	III <i>Peret</i>	III <i>Peret</i>	IV <i>Peret</i>
R1	Neferher	𐀈		day 9	(day 28)
R2	Amenemope	𐀓		day 10	day 29
R3	Nesamun	𐀓		day 11	day 30
R4	Nekhemmut	𐀓		day 12	day 1
R5	Khaemnun	𐀓		day 13	day 2
R6	Neferhotep	𐀓		day 14	day 3
R7	Penanuqe	𐀓		day 15	day 4
R8	Khaemwese	𐀓		day 16	
R9	Nakhtmin	𐀓		day 17	
R10	Reshpetref	𐀓		day 18	
R11	Meryre	𐀓		day 19	
R12	Mose	𐀓		day 20	
R13	Menna	𐀓		day 21	
R14	Minkhau	𐀓		day 22	
R15	Horisheri	𐀓	day 4	day 23	
R16	Iyernutef	𐀓	day 5	day 24	
R17	Hori	𐀓	day 6	day 25	
R18	Iryaa	𐀓	day 7	day 26	
R19	Anuynakht	𐀓	day 8	day 27	


⁴² Pentaweret's sign is usually a flat sign with a three-pronged top, more like 𐀓. The workman's mark for day 10 has the 3-pronged top, but no horizontal flat base. Instead it has a long downward stroke, as in the mark for Khaemnun (𐀓).

⁴³ For the relationship, see Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *A Workman's Progress*, 14–15.

Iryaa now definitely appears in R18, replacing Pentaweret. Iryaa takes his own mark and does not take over the mark from Pentaweret. Pentaweret is unfortunately another workman with no known family connections at present,⁴⁴ although there seems to be little grounds for postulating a family connection in this instance.




THE ROSTER IN REGNAL YEAR 31

During regnal year 31, the key change to the roster for the right side of the gang was the transfer of R13 Menna to the left side of the gang and his replacement on the right side of the gang by Userhat (previously a workman on the left side of the gang).⁴⁵ By considerable good fortune we have direct evidence for this transfer on III *Akhet* 14,⁴⁶ Menna also being directly attested in the R13 position on II *Akhet* 15⁴⁷ (there is no evidence currently for the date on next cycle, III *Akhet* 4). Hori moves from the R17 position to the R13 position vacated by Menna. The first direct attestation of Hori in the R13 position is from the marks ostrakon O. IFAO ONL 296 + 321 + 327 + 334, which records Hori, in the last surviving entry in column I, on day 12 (= IV *Akhet* 12), and also the overlapping hieratic source O. DeM 157, rto 8, where, in the badly damaged entry for IV *Akhet* 12, Černý read the name Hori based on the traces.

The first unequivocal occurrence of Userhat in the R14 position is in the marks ostrakon O. IFAO 691 + 6236 where Userhat is recorded on day watch for I *Peret* 21 (and regularly thereafter). Userhat is recorded in the marks material with his own mark ⁴⁸

The further impact for this transfer is that Minkhau moves from R14 to R15, Iryaa from R18 to R16, Horisheru from R15 to R17 and Iyernutef from R16 to R18.⁴⁹

The resulting order is the order found on the marks ostrakon O. Berlin P 12625, central to Ben Haring's original discussion of the workmen's marks from this period and also deployed in tabular form in Haring and Soliman's recent paper on the marks ostraca.⁵⁰ O. Berlin P 12625 has now been joined with O. IFAO ONL 300 by the Leiden group and the composite ostrakon shows day-watch service from III *Peret* to IV *Peret* in regnal year 31 of Ramesses III:

roster	name	mark	day	day	day	day
R1	Neferher			day 5	day 24	day 13
R2	Amenemope			day 6	day 25	day 14
R3	Nesamun			day 7	day 26	day 15

⁴⁴ He doesn't seem to be a ready match for any of the Pentawerets discussed in Davies, *Who's Who* and may provisionally be assigned a new number as Pentaweret [xii].

⁴⁵ See Davies, *Who's Who*, 42–43 for evidence for this workman. The name Userhat appears in the regnal year 24 absentee records as a member of the left side of the gang. On the identification of this Userhat as Userhat son of Aanakht, see Collier, in Haring et al., *Workman's Progress*, 14.

⁴⁶ O. Prague H 14, rto 13.

⁴⁷ O. DeM 155, rto 14 and also the marks ostrakon O. Ashmolean HO 941.

⁴⁸ For an early discussion of Userhat's mark, see Haring *GM* 178, 57–58.

⁴⁹ All first explicitly attested in IV *Akhet* (days 14–17 respectively): O. DeM 157, rto 11–14. Minkhau is last attested in R14 on III *Akhet* 5, 10 days before the transfer of Menna and Userhat: O. Prague H 14, rto 4.

⁵⁰ Haring and Soliman, in Haring et al., *Workman's Progress*, 82. See also their update on p. 81.

R4	Nekhemmut	𓂏		day 8	day 27	day 16
R5	Khaemnun	𓂏		day 9	day 28	day 17
R6	Neferhotep	𓂏		day 10	day 29	day 18
R7	Penanuqe	𓂏		day 11	day 30	day 19
R8	Khaemwese	𓂏		day 12	day 1	day 20
R9	Nakhtmin	𓂏		day 13	day 2	day 21
R10	Reshpetref	𓂏		day 14	day 3	day 22
R11	Meryre	𓂏		day 15	day 4	day 23
R12	Mose	𓂏		day 16	day 5	day 24
R13	Hori	𓂏		day 17	day 6	day 25
R14	Userhat	𓂏		day 18	[7]	day 26
R15	Minkhau	𓂏		day 19	day 8	
R16	Iryaa	𓂏	day 1	day 20		
R17	Horisheru	𓂏	day 2	day 21		
R18	Iyernutef	𓂏	day 3	day 22		
R19	Anuynakht	𓂏	day 4	day 23		

Notes:

- i) III *Peret* days 16–20 are in red.
- ii) III *Peret* 21 is in black and positioned at the bottom left corner of O. Berlin P 12652. The mark for Horisheru is damaged, but seems clear enough.
- iii) IV *Peret* days 24–26 are in red and perpendicular to the main text. There are two day entries in black also perpendicular to the main text but upside down in relation to the entries in red. These appear to be alternative entries for days 24 and day 25.

CONCLUSION

I hope to have shown that, amongst other important research issues, the marks ostraca can make a significant contribution to our understanding of the prosopography of the work gang at Deir el-Medina. In particular, the marks material fills in a major gap of our knowledge for regnal year 30 of Ramesses III, a year with significant changes to the right side of the gang.

The period of the Turnus records from the reign of Ramesses III, from regnal year 24 to 32 was a period in which the strength of the day-watch roster on the right side of the gang stood at 19 throughout. As such any changes to personnel involved direct one-for-one replacement. With the data from regnal year 30, we are now in a position to individuate nearly all, or perhaps all,⁵¹ the replacements and the transfer which occurred during this period. The

⁵¹ The residual case dates to the start of the period of question and concerns the R9 position. In regnal year 24, the only attestation for the R9 position is III *Peret* 18 and displays the name Khaemope (O. DeM 173, 4). In regnal year 25 and thereafter the workman Nakhtmin regularly appears in this position. The mark which is used for Nakhtmin, 𓂏, appears in the same position (R9-equivalent, immediately after Khaemwese and immediately before R10 Reshpetref) in the marks material identified by Haring and Soliman, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 78–80 as dating before

roster sequence from regnal year 24 is mostly preserved in the record (and completely for the succeeding regnal year 25)⁵² and can be compared to the roster sequence for the latter part of regnal year through to the end of the reign of Ramesses III in his regnal year 32:


	yr 24 RIII			yrs 31–32 RIII	
roster	name		roster	name	
R1	Neferher		R1	Neferher	
R2	Neferhotep		R2	Amenemope	
R3	Irysu		R3	Nesamun	
R4	Huynefer		R4	Nekhemmut	
R5	Khaemnun		R5	Khaemnun	
R6	Meryre		R6	Neferhotep	
R7	Kasa		R7	Penanuqe	
R8	[Khaemwese]		R8	Khaemwese	
R9	Khaemope		R9	Nakhtmin	
R10	[Reshpetref]		R10	Reshpetref	
R11	Amenemope		R11	Meryre	
R12	Mose		R12	Mose	
R13	Menna		R13	Hori	
R14	Nekhemmut		R14	Userhat	
R15	Iyernutef		R15	Minkhau	
R16	Pentaweret		R16	Iryaa	
R17	Hori		R17	Horisheru	
R18	Qenna		R18	Iyernutef	
R19	Anuynakht		R19	Anuynakht	

regnal year 24. If this mark represents Khaemope, then this would appear to be an example of a transfer of mark, possibly as a case of direct replacement. However, the name Nakhtmin appears in the regnal year 24 Valley of the Queens absentee record for II *Akhet* 8 as an absentee from the right side of the gang, thus before III *Peret* 18 (O. Turin 57026, vso 9; the initial year date in rto 1 is damaged, but can be no higher than regnal year 24, the date of the other ostraca with absentee lists). In addition the name Nakhtmin appears in O. Turin CG57047, vso 2, 3 and 8 dated in rto 1 to regnal year 22 (cf. Davies, *Who's Who*, 239–243 on individuating workmen with the name Nakhtmin). The name Khaemope is a tricky one in the Valley of the Queens material. For O. Turin 57026, rto 10 López records Černý's original transcription of the name Khaemope, which has question marks against every sign of the name, among the names absent from the left side of the gang on II *Akhet* 3 but in a section which apparently can no longer be read; see J. López, *Ostraca ieratici. Fascicolo 1: n. 57001–57092* (CMET III.1; Milan, 1978), pl. 15. The other instance of the name Khaemope in this material is also open to doubt: O. Turin CG57046, vso 6. In his transcription (López, *Ostraca ieratici*, pl. 29), López reads the name Khaemope as an absentee of the left side, again with multiple question marks. The accompanying facsimile indicates little other than the initial Kha-component. As such it is not clear as yet that the case of Khaemope and Nakhtmin in R9 is an example of a replacement of personnel. If this case is put to one side, then all the certain replacements of personnel in this period can now be accounted for.


⁵² See *The Deir el-Medina Database* (<http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>) 'Turnus Lists' link for the data and the sources.

The various replacements of personnel and the one clearly attested transfer are summarized below (the first two draw on recent work and are presented here with sources,⁵³ the remainder summarize in brief information discussed in this paper and the relevant section should be consulted for details and sources):


R6 Meryre (v) replaced by Neferhotep (xii)

In regnal year 24 in the hieratic sources, Meryre (v) son of Amenemope (ix) appears in the R6 position.⁵⁴ By early in regnal year 25, he has been replaced by his grandson Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi).⁵⁵ Neferhotep then appears in this position throughout the remainder of the period. Neferhotep (xii) also took over the mark  from his grandfather Meryre (v).


R2 Neferhotep (xi) replaced by Meryre (vi)

Until regnal year 27, Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v) is found in the R2 position, at least until I *Akhet* 8.⁵⁶ By II *Akhet* 16 he has been replaced in the R2 position by his son Meryre (vi),⁵⁷ who also takes over his mark . In regnal year 30 between I *Akhet* 19 and III *Akhet* 6, Meryre switches positions with his uncle, Amenemope (x) son of Meryre (v), who had occupied the R11 position until this point. For the remainder of the period Meryre (vi) continues in the R11 position and Amenemope (x) continues in the R2 position.

R3 Irysu [i] replaced by Nesamun [iii]

Between regnal year 27, IV *Peret* 27 and regnal year 28, IV *Shemu* 6, Irysu [i] is replaced by Nesamun [iii] son of Hesysunebef (i) in the R3 position. Nesamun also took over the mark  previously used for Irysu. There is currently no known family relationship between the two.

R7 Kasa (vi) replaced by Penanuqe (iii)

Between regnal year 27, IV *Peret* 12 and regnal year 29, I *Shemu* 16, Kasa (vi) is replaced by his son Penanuqe (iii) in the R7 position. Penanuqe also takes over the  mark from his father.

R18 Qenna (vii?) replaced by R15 Horisheru (i)



⁵³ For discussion of the individuation of R2 and R6 Meryre and R2 and R6 Neferhotep here, their positions in the roster sequence, their family relationships and their use of marks, see Collier, in Haring et al. (eds), *Workman's Progress*, 19–20.

⁵⁴ Meryre (v) is attested in regnal year 24 on IV *Akhet* 10 (O. DeM 180, rto 3), IV *Akhet* 29 (O. DeM 163, 9; day-date restored) and III *Peret* 15 (O. DeM 173, 1).


⁵⁵ Neferhotep (xii) is first directly attested in regnal year 25, IV *Shemu* 17 (O. DeM 32, rto 10); so just over 5 months later than the final explicit attestation of Meryre in this position in the preceding regnal year. This Neferhotep is termed there Neferhotep-sheri, 'Neferhotep the younger'; his father Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v) was on the gang at this time in the R2 position. The designation Neferhotep-sheri also occurs for R6 Neferhotep in O. Berlin P 12633, rto 2 datable to regnal year 25, IV *Peret* 19.

⁵⁶ O. DeM 653, vso 8 with Neferhotep in R2.



⁵⁷ O. DeM 167, rto 6 with Meryre in R2

Between regnal year 28, IV *Shemu* 2 and regnal year 29, IV *Akhet* 22,⁵⁸ R18 Qenna (vii?) is replaced by Horisheru (i), the son of the scribe Amennakht (v). Horisheru appears first in the R15 position, but then moves to R17 in regnal year 31, when Menna is transferred to the left and Userhat to the right. Horisheru takes on a different mark  from the mark  used for Qenna. There is currently no known family relationship between the two.


R4 Huynefer (xi) replaced by R17 Minkhau (i)

Between regnal year 30, III *Shemu* 10 and IV *Shemu* 18, Huynefer (xi) is replaced on the gang by Minkhau (i), who may be his grandson (and son of Hori (ii)). Huynefer is replaced in the R4 slot by Nekhemmut (vi), who remains there for the remainder of the period. Minkhau (i) takes over the mark  from Huynefer (xi) and joins the gang initially in R17, but soon swaps with Hori (ii) (his father?) and moves to R14. At the time of the year 31 transfers, Minkhau (i) moves to R15 and Hori (ii) moves to R13 to take the position of Menna (i), when he is transferred to the left.

R18 Pentaweret [xii] replaced by Iryaa [i]

At the start of the period Pentaweret [xii] is attested in the R16 position, but moves to R18 when Qenna is replaced by Horisheru. Between regnal year 30, IV *Akhet* 21 and I *Peret* 10 or III *Peret* 7 or at the latest, Pentaweret is replaced in R18 by Iryaa [i] son of Khaemnun (i). Iryaa takes a different mark  from the mark  used for Pentaweret. There is currently no known family relationship between the two. At the time of the year 31 transfers Iryaa moves to R16.

R13 Menna (i) transferred to the left side and Userhat (i) transferred to the right side

In regnal year 31, III *Akhet* 15, Menna (i) transfers to the left side vacating the R13 position, which is filled by Hori (ii). Userhat (i) transfers to the right side of the gang, with his own mark , taking the R14 position. Minkhau moves from R14 to R15, Iryaa from R18 to R16, Horisheru from R15 to R17 and Iyernutef from R16 to R18. Iyernutef had started the period in R15, but had moved to R16 when Horisheru joined the gang.

⁵⁸ If, as noted earlier, O. Ashmolean HO 132, rto 5, dated to regnal year 28, I *Peret* 15, preserves a record of Horisheru on day-watch, then the date of the personnel change would be between regnal year 28, IV *Shemu* 2 and I *Peret* 15.