Employment and Labour Relations in the Theban Necropolis in the Ramesside Period, by C.J. Eyre, The Queen's College.

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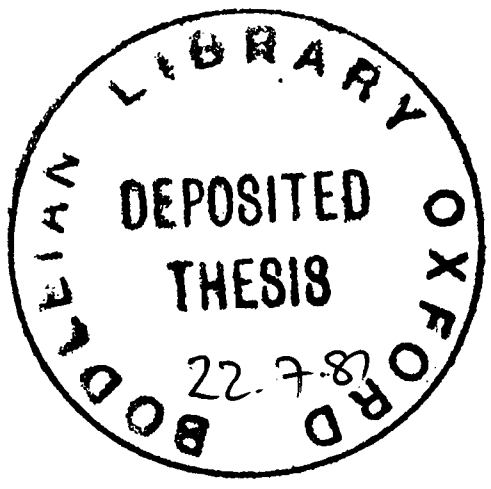
The text deals essentially with the workmen employed on the construction of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties in Egypt. Material from other sites and periods is used freely, but only for comparative purposes. Attention is paid, wherever possible, to placing this workforce within the context of Egyptian society as a whole, and to relating their behaviour and events concerning them to general historical developments in Egypt during the Ramesside period.

The first chapter contains a survey of the documents preserved from the village of Deir el Medina, where the workmen lived, and from the sites where they worked, with attempts to classify these documents, to discuss their purpose, their use, their authorship, and the light they throw on Egyptian documentary practices in general. The following two chapters discuss the relationship between the workmen and the king, as their employer, as the head of state, and as the object of worship in the workmen's village. Succeeding chapters discuss the relationship between the workmen and the vizier, the high priest of Amon, and the local mayors, with particular attention paid to important individual officials and to changes in these relationships during the course of the period under discussion. Then evidence is collected for a discussion of the way in which workmen were recruited, and so far as possible, of the way they were punished and dismissed. This is followed by a description of the way in which the work on the tombs and the work of local supply and service staff was controlled. The final two chapters contain a collection of references to labour troubles at Deir el Medina during the Twentieth Dynasty, and an attempt to draw wider conclusions from these about the nature of employment on that site.

Employment and Labour Relations in the Theban Necropolis in the Ramesside Period

by

C.J. Eyre



Doctoral Thesis
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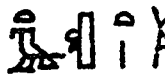
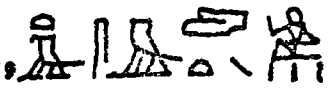
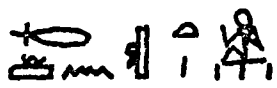
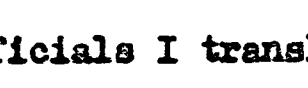
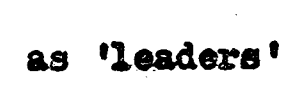
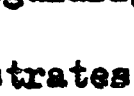
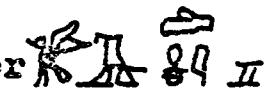
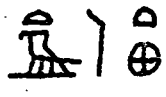
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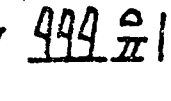
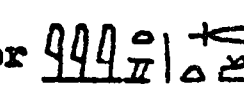
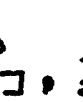
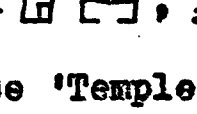
Preface.

Underlying the purpose of this work has been a desire to continue and expand on the publications of Professor Jaroslav Černý, particularly his posthumous works, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, and The Valley of the Kings, towards a fuller understanding of the functioning and organisation of the workforce engaged on building royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and living isolated in their own village at Deir el Medina. The limitations imposed by the format of a doctoral thesis have meant that many facets of the subject have had to be taken as understood, or omitted, for lack of space. The following chapters concentrate on the external relations of the workforce with their employers, and the ways in which they were controlled and overseen. As a necessary preliminary to this, a long first chapter discusses the preserved documents dealing with the workforce, attempting to place them in their specific contexts, and within the wider context of Egyptian administrative practices as a whole. At all times the attempt has been made to treat of the workmen of Deir el Medina as people of their time, and wherever possible to place whatever facet of their life is discussed within the wider context of Egyptian social organisation as a whole, and specifically of the Ramesside period.

Particularly regretable has been the necessity to omit an argued attempt to fit the workforce of Deir el Medina into a structured picture of New Kingdom society as a whole. On a more detailed level, it has been impossible to include a discussion of the way in which payments to the workmen were organised, and to examine the sources from which these payments came. It has only been possible to examine the relations between the workforce and the most important officials under whose control they came. Detailed consideration of their dealings with

local minor officials has been omitted. It has also been impossible to give proper consideration to many aspects of the work organisation (especially their absences from work and the control of the tools and equipment used by the workmen) that would have been in place here.

The space has likewise not been available to give proper discussion to many of the 'technical' terms used, and particularly the names used in the documents for parts of the Theban necropolis. As, in some cases, my understanding of the organisation and my use of terminology differs from that of Černý, the reader is asked to bear the following in mind. By 'the Tomb' I mean the phrase , p3 ḥr, used to refer to the organisation or institution for which the men worked. The physical royal tomb, or others tombs referred to by this word, I translate as 'the tomb'. The workforce, , t3 ist, I refer to as 'the crew', and the people employed locally to provide for their needs, , t3 smdt, I refer to as their 'service-staff'. Their own officials, the , ꜣ n ist, I refer to as their 'foremen'. Of other terms for the local officials I translate , ḥꜣwtyw or ḥntyw, as 'leaders' and , rwdw, as 'controllers'. For the word , srw, regularly used of groups of officials, I use the convenient term 'magistrates'. For the local usage of the word , niwt, 'town', to refer to Thebes I use the literal translation with capital letter, 'Town', the usage being familiar in English in reference to the capital, London. Locally at Deir el Medina, I conventionally use the translation 'the village' for , p3 dmi, and 'the settlement' for , t3 whꜥt, although it is probable that both terms referred to the village of Deir el Medina itself.  (), p3 ḥtm (n p3 ḥr), the administrative centre of the Tomb, I refer to as 'the gatehouse (of the Tomb)', and visualize as a building at or near the entrance to the village of Deir el Medina. The

word , inbt, I take to refer to a guardpost rather like the modern ghaffir's hut. Other terms are, of necessity, used more loosely. , t3 int, 'the valley', was clearly used to refer to any, and not one particular valley in the necropolis. Similarly , sht, or , sht '3t, 'the (Great) Field', although usually referring to the Valley of the Kings, seems actually to have been used in many cases in a generalised sense for the place of work. Where necessary, in reference to temples, I distinguish between , pr, 'House' and , hwt, 'Mansion'. If no distinction seems relevant I freely use 'Temple' for both words. Finally, for the problematic title , sš n t3(?), I use a conventional translation, 'accounts scribe'.

Finally some explanation must be given of the use I have made of unpublished texts. Only about half of the texts known to have been preserved from the Tomb, from Deir el Medina, Medinet Habu and the Valleys of the Kings and the Queens, have as yet been published. The examination of the scattered and unpublished texts, not all of which are accessible, would not have been a practical proposition for the present purpose. Indeed, it is only the availability of preliminary copies of the vast majority of such unpublished texts, made by Professor Černý and now available for consultation in the archives of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, that makes any such project as that undertaken here feasible. The preliminary nature of many of these copies is only too evident; many date to the early years of Černý's career. If used for detail, collation with the original is highly desirable, but has only rarely been possible for me. Moreover, as such copies are not to hand for the reader, I have tried to use such unpublished texts to a minimum, and essentially only when satisfactory published texts cannot be quoted as evidence, or the quotation is

essential for the making of a point. I have also used Černý's copies of texts that are only published in unsatisfactory form. This means largely the early collection of Cairo ostraca published by Daressy, but sometimes also ostraca from the Michaelides collection, and occasional ostraca published in isolated articles. Wherever I have used such a copy I give the references to the Černý Mss, in the Griffith Institute. Without those copies, the following chapters would contain many more gaps and misunderstandings.

I. The Documentation of the Tomb.

It is a truism to say that history begins with writing. Writing, of course, begins with simple economic records. The successful long term development of a country, in both political and economic spheres, depends to a large extent on the development of its bureaucratic structures and accounting procedures.[1] Among the first historical records preserved in Egyptian texts are the notices of the national counts of cattle and other property, that were so prominently used in the formulae making up year names, the earliest dating system in Egypt.[2] It is hardly an accident that Egyptian tomb relief effectively begins with portraits of a scribe; the wooden reliefs from the tomb of Hesire.[3] By the New Kingdom it is perhaps useful to classify Egypt as a feudal bureaucracy, a society in which large scale land tenure and wealth went with service in the centralized bureaucracy,[4] and not with nobility and military service. In so far as there was a nobility, it was a nobility of officials (srw)[5] that was not in principle, if often in practice, hereditary. The writer of the wisdom text 'The Maxims of Ani' remarked that 'his office has no children',[6] but it was the normally expressed expectation of an Egyptian official that he would hand his offices on to his son.[7] The immensely popular educational texts of the New Kingdom, the 'Satire on the Trades',[8] and similar short texts in the same vein,[9] urged the student to apply himself to the matter of becoming a scribe for the material superiority it would bring him over any other trade. He would become an 'official' (sr), and would not have to 'work'.[10] The bureaucratic mentality is thus displayed to the utmost effect, with no attempt at a wider, moral self-justification.[11]

When dealing with any bureaucracy it is often difficult to divine what precisely the purpose of any particular text may have been. One may, indeed, occasionally suspect that certain texts were an end in

themselves, rather than a means to an end.[12] It must constantly be borne in mind that a bureaucracy will tend to develop, from its own weight, to the point where everything is recorded in writing as a matter of course, even if no specific use is visualized for a particular entry. In many texts, particularly brief notes or memoranda and letters, the scribe simply does not feel any need to provide explanatory context to what he is recording. Also, lists of figures and calculations will rarely provide full explanations of what they refer to.[13] Even the records of business or legal transactions tend, in Egyptian texts, to be highly abbreviated. They record the essential oaths and agreements, but rarely any of the background, and in cases involving disputes it is extremely rare for any judgement to be recorded. Many elements of any individual affair will always remain obscure. Even with official registers, daybooks, long-term accounts, or records of inspections, the formulae used are highly abbreviated, and the explanatory material necessary to the modern reader is simply not provided.[14] It is therefore necessary to make some attempt to classify types of document, and to understand the reasons for the composition of individual texts, in their administrative context, if the textual material dealing with the Tomb is to be used with any sophistication for the description of life and customs at Deir el Medina. It is unlikely that a complete picture can ever be given, for it is impossible to make proper allowance for the accidents of preservation. Some types of text are disproportionately well preserved, and other particularly important classes of document are preserved only in a few tiny fragments, if at all. It is only possible just to touch on such important matters as historical developments in the recording procedures of the Tomb, and the idiosyncracies of individual scribes. However, some attempt is necessary to make classifications of the texts as a prerequisite, indeed as the very basis to the discussion of their contents.

The unique value, indeed the very possibility of studying the administration of the Tomb, the administration of the workmen employed to excavate the tombs of the kings and royal family in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, lies in the remarkably full preservation of certain types of its documents, and the possibility of studying them in conjunction with the archaeological material from those sites. This essentially means the day to day disposable records written on ostraca, fragments of stone or discarded pottery.[15] It should be stressed immediately that, however vivid a picture these ostraca may provide, it will of necessity be incomplete and unbalanced.[16] As preserved these documents form the equivalent of the waste-paper basket of the Tomb, and rarely include official documents that are demonstrably part of permanent archives. Even rarer still are texts from the offices of state, with reference to the administration of the Tomb, that might indicate its position in the organisation of the state as a whole.

The main sites at which provenanced ostraca concerned with the Tomb have been found[17] are the village of Deir el Medina, the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. Some ostraca were found in or near private tombs at Deir el Medina, but tombs and houses on this site are so closely intermingled that it is not really possible to distinguish them as separate sites. The area was, anyway, so disordered that any precise provenances would often be unreliable.[18] The majority of ostraca now in museum collections were acquired by purchase, and are not provenanced, or sometimes are said vaguely to have come from Thebes. In almost all cases they have come from Deir el Medina and its associated worksites.

From earlier than the reign of Ramesses II series of documents of the Tomb have not been preserved in sufficiently large quantity to allow of any attempt to give a coherent picture of the administration there. It is unclear whether this reflects a difference in the methods

of control. Admittedly the Eighteenth Dynasty levels of the village of Deir el Medina have not been fully explored, and await further excavation,[19] but this is not true of the tombs and worksites of that period. Although it is reasonable to expect that the continuous occupation and working of the sites would have led to the destruction of a greater proportion of the earlier texts, this would not seem to account fully for the discrepancy. Ostraca of the Nineteenth Dynasty are, indeed considerably less common than those of the Twentieth Dynasty. They consist mostly of scattered and chance examples, and a small number of unified groups from the end of the dynasty.[20] Even so, the vagaries of survival do not seem to explain fully the extreme rarity of Eighteenth Dynasty texts.

In this context it is worth noting that the cutting techniques of the Eighteenth Dynasty workers seem in general to have produced smaller chippings, less suitable for use as writing ostraca.[21] It is perhaps more valid to note the predominance of Ramesside graffiti in the Theban mountain, over those of earlier periods.[22] Most interesting is a comparison of the dating of figured ostraca with that of the hieratic ostraca. The earliest royal name to appear on pictorial ostraca from the Tomb is that of Ramesses III, and the commonest that of Ramesses IV.[23] Although earlier figured ostraca are to be found,[24] they are rare before the early Twentieth Dynasty. At that date, when hieratic ostraca are also at their most common, figured ostraca become suddenly very numerous.[25] Although these observations do not completely outweigh the fact that ostraca, both hieratic and figured, are common from the neighbouring works at Deir el Bahari during the Eighteenth Dynasty,[26] it seems quite likely that the status and administrative control of the works of the Royal Tomb in the Eighteenth Dynasty were rather different from what was standard practice in the Ramesside period. However, it is important to note that even within these later dynasties different types of document,

on both ostraca and papyri, may have been preserved in number from one short period, and be rare, or not exist at all, from another. Such variations are not likely to depend on the chances of preservation alone, but at least in part to reflect differing recording procedures at different dates.[27] To what extent such variation might depend more on the energy and interests of the individual scribe than the needs of the administration as a whole is a matter for interesting speculation. Ostraca again become rare at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty,[28] when the workforce of the Tomb had abandoned the village of Deir el Medina, with its readily available stones for writing, and were living in the temple precinct at Medinet Habu.

It is relatively easy to understand how the ostraca from the Theban necropolis should have survived so well in the dry desert, little endangered by rain or human habitation. Less clear is the reason why ostraca were used in such quantities at all. The obvious solution is that papyrus was expensive at this date, and was therefore saved for use in special, important, and archive documents.[29] This may have been a real factor at a later date, when Coptic and Demotic ostraca are rather more widely distributed through the country, but it does not provide a wholly satisfactory explanation in the Ramesside period. Evidence for the price of papyrus in the Ramesside period is sparse,[30] but sufficient to give a rough guide. In a ship's log[31] it was recorded that fifty rolls of papyrus were exchanged for twenty mss-garments. The normal Ramesside price for a mss-garment was 5 deben of copper,[32] and so the price of a roll of papyrus should have been 2 deben. Two unpublished ostraca from Deir el Medina[33] quote prices of the same range; a roll for ½ sniw of silver (equivalent to 2 deben of copper), and two rolls for 4 deben of copper. Presuming that these were standard rolls of twenty sheets of papyrus, the price was not apparently very high, but doubtless sufficient to encourage the private

user, and particularly the schoolboy,[34] to prefer the use of a free ostracon. Examples of the extravagent use of papyrus for Demotic documents are taken to imply that papyrus remained a relatively cheap commodity at later periods,[35] but it is noteworthy that among the texts found by the E.E.S. at Saqqara, important letters were written on broad sheets, with good margins, whereas private letters were written on narrow slips, economically torn off rolls.[36]

Information about the actual price of papyrus in the Graeco-Roman period is little better than that for the Ramesside period, but so far as such evidence is available the picture is rather similar. Although papyrus was not then in absolute terms expensive, yet, as with almost any commodity, it would normally have been beyond the pocket of the ordinary workman. A roll cost him the equivalent of about two days' wages.[37] A similar type of calculation, although rather artificial in its comparisons, would suggest that papyrus was about twice as expensive for the workman at Deir el Medina, who it must be remembered was a workman paid at a higher than minimum, craftsman's rate. The workman's monthly payment of 5½ khar of grain[38] was valued, at the standard notional equivalence of 1 khar to 2 deben of copper,[39] at a mere 11 deben a month. Even allowing that a workman only actually worked between twenty and twenty-five days a month for this payment, a roll of papyrus cost him at least four days work. This calculation does not allow for the fact that the workman received other payments above his grain rations, but it still seems that he had to work longer for his roll of papyrus than his later equivalent. Admittedly the sum of 2 deben seems small in the context of the commodity transactions recorded among the workmen at Deir el Medina, but the very reason that the transactions wererecorded was because they involved sums that were relatively high for the workmen. One may reasonably presume that papyrus was too expensive and essentially unnecessary a commodity

to appear in the normal budget of a workman, or even minor official, at Deir el Medina.[40] The only reference known to me telling of what a workman there paid to have a document written comes from one of the texts related to the Will of Naunakhte.[41] The price paid was a box, probably the equivalent of 2 or 3 deben,[42] but the quantity of writing involved is not known.

There are numerous examples where the writers of letters in Coptic[43] apologized for using a pottery ostracon because they had no papyrus to hand. As yet knowledge of the production and supply of papyrus in the Pharaonic period is defective. In the Graeco-Roman period it may have been a royal monopoly,[44] but information, sparse then, is almost completely lacking for the New Kingdom. A single reference[45] to the supply of papyrus to the Tomb notes the deficit of thirty two rolls, due from Pharaoh, together with a payment of fish and some other commodity. The background to the delivery is unfortunately obscure, but the implication is that papyrus was used quite heavily. Other documents of the New Kingdom provide little more information.[46] For instance, the offering list at Medinet Habu included[47] an annual total of sixty sheets of papyrus - three rolls - but this can in no way represent the annual usage of the temple.[48] Actual rates of usage in Pharaonic Egypt in temple and state administration, can only be guessed at,[49] but in times of prosperity they must have been high.

The custom of using potsherds or flakes of stone as a handy writing material isattested already in isolated examples from the Old[50] and Middle[51] Kingdoms, but it is not until the Eighteenth Dynasty a Thebes that large unified groups of such ostraca are found.[52] The earliest large group of this sort is that connected with the works at Deir el Bahari in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, mostly as yet remaining unpublished.[53] A group of ostraca from the Ramesseum[54] is contemporary

with the surviving ostraca dealing with the Tomb, but is not immediately connected with them. Hieratic ostraca referring to the work on private tombs of the New Kingdom in the Theban area, which might have been of real comparative interest for the actual work in the royal tombs, are too rare to be af any real value.[55]

In comparison to the thousands of ostraca from the Theban necropolis dating to the New Kingdom, it is disappointing how few securely provenanced ostraca dealing with work administration can be attributed to the other contemporary major necropoleis.[56] Admittedly ostraca dealing with private tomb construction at Thebes are also rare. A difference in the organisation of work for private tomb building, rather than the chances of excavation will explain this to a large extent, as it will also the extreme rarity of hieratic ostraca from the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara.[57] However, it is intriguing to note that in the Valley of the Kings a workman drew his rough game board on an ostracon,[58] whereas in the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara a similar board was scratched on the pavement, under the shade of a colonnade.[59] At Amarna, where excavations both in the tombs and the workmen's village[60] have been more extensive than in the New Kingdom cemetary at Saqqara, the rarity of administrative or business ostraca,[61] particularly in connection with the royal tomb, is particularly disappointing, if not particularly surprising in view of the rarity of Eighteenth Dynasty texts from the works on the royal tombs at Thebes. Figured ostraca from Amarna are also rare, and of relatively poor quality, perhaps essentially because of the poor quality of the stone immediately available there.[62] The same observations hold true also for Abydos,[63] and even more so for Saqqara. On the majority of building projects the only suitable flakes of limestone available for writing would have been provided in the smallest of numbers by the process of fine dressing the building stone itself.[64] The Eighteenth Dynasty works at Deir el Bahari, from which large numbers

of hieratic ostraca come, were exceptional in being as well placed for a natural supply of limestone ostraca as the works on the royal tombs. It is also noteworthy that a high proportion of the New Kingdom ostraca from the Ramesseum were written on pottery, not stone;[65] a much higher proportion than among contemporary texts from Deir el Medina.

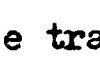
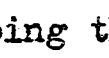
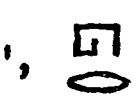
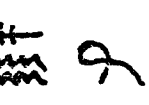
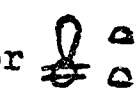
At Deir el Medina itself it is clear that ostraca were not necessarily drafts, but were considered fit for, and regularly used in, at least private archives.[66] It may be that in the Theban necropolis as a whole, and in the works on the royal tombs in particular, special rather unusual factors were at work. The relative isolation of the village of Deir el Medina, and more so of its worksites,[67] which the workforce seem to have occupied day and night during the working week, and the vagaries of the system of provision of materials from the central administration, may often have made the acquisition of papyrus inconvenient,[68] regardless of expense. The Chester Beatty collection of papyri, from Deir el Medina,[69] are almost entirely reused, and in some cases the beginnings and ends of the rolls had been cut away, presumably for use in correspondence. When dealing, as here, with what seems to have been a private library, the only plausible conclusion for such behaviour is that at least occasionally the owner was very short of papyrus.[70]

The most significant factor in the use of ostraca at Thebes was, however, without doubt, the situation of the site and the nature of its working.[71] The Theban rock splits naturally into thin strata, that give ideally shaped pieces for writing, with good surfaces. An infinite variety of size and shape of material would always have been near to hand, in the village of Deir el Medina as well as on the worksites. Pottery was also commonly used as a writing material, both in the village and in the Valley of the Kings. Broken pottery would have been available everywhere, both on necropolis and town sites, but it gives a much poorer writing surface

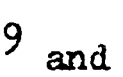
than the limestone flakes of the Theban mountain.[72] It seems most likely that it was the ready availability of suitable limestone flakes, with the additional influence of the artist's habit of practising drawings, sketches and carvings on flakes of stone, that provides the background to the development of the use of hieratic ostraca in the Theban necropolis. It is noteworthy that in other contexts, artists' trial sketches, of types known from Deir el Medina on ostraca, are to be found drawn on tomb walls below the level at which the proper decoration was to be drawn.[73] At other places writing boards, that could easily be washed clean, may have been more important than the preserved examples would indicate, for recording notes that did not need to be kept. School writing exercises provide the most obvious example. In this way they will have served the same purpose as many ostraca from Deir el Medina.[74] It is, indeed, not unlikely that the very availability of the medium of stone ostraca may have influenced the amount of writing and sketching done by the inhabitants of Deir el Medina.[75]

It is unsound to make a direct comparison between Deir el Medina and the Middle Kingdom site of Illahun or with the Old Kingdom mortuary temple of Neferirkare,[76] where numbers of documents preserved on papyrus are equivalent to texts preserved from Deir el Medina on ostraca. They were administratively more important than was Deir el Medina. They were, moreover, closer to the centre of the administration, not isolated and far from the effective capital, as was Deir el Medina in the Ramesside period. As the evidence stands at present, it seems that the Theban necropolis shows the earliest examples of the widespread use of ostraca for writing in a way unique to itself. While this impression may in the long term prove to be valid with respect to the use of ostraca for administrative purposes, it is difficult to believe that it can be correct for private records and archives. Other such private archives from

other town sites are simply not available at present for the Ramesside period.

Whatever his branch of the administration, it was necessary, we are told,[77] for a scribe to consult (ndnd) documents. Records of interest to the state bureaucracy, particularly those concerned with the ownership and disposal of land[78] but also those dealing with other important legal matters,[79] were deposited in record offices,[80] and notably in the office of the vizier[81] or of the relevant state departments.[82] Thus the vizier might order that the record of a legal case be , 'fixed' or 'entered' on a roll of papyrus in the temple of Medinet Habu.[83] A precise translation of  in this context is difficult, but the usage was standard, and the implication clearly that the registration was permanent and safe.[84] Thus, in the Inscription of Mes,[85] reference was made to the facts, and the names of people which were , 'fixed' on the registers. Tuthmosis III similarly talked[86] of the booty from his campaigns being 'fixed' in the daybook of the palace (pr nsw). In a number of records of the juridical proceedings of the people of the Tomb the same document, papyrus or ostracon, was used on widely separated dates for the continuation of the same piece of business, or of matters arising from the original affair, or even for a completely different case involving at least one of the same people.[87] Such texts had clearly been kept as archives of some sort. Papyri may carry headings describing themselves as ,[88] 'letter', ,[89] 'daybook', or [90] or ,[91] 'copy'. The full literal force of these translations should not be stressed. In many cases they carried little more sense than 'protocol', although in other cases reference was clearly made to real copies for archive storage, proper collections of important documents or of accounts that might be needed for later reference.[92] In some cases, however, such archive rolls were made by sticking the relevant texts together, rather than making fair

copies onto a clean roll.[93] What system of archive deposit may have been current at Deir el Medina is unclear.[94]

That the administration of the Tomb kept archives seems self evident, but information about them is sparse. A papyrus text[95] makes reference to grain, due to be collected as payment from the office of the unknown writer. The equally unknown addressees were also required to examine the ancient records of the Tomb in their possession about the dues of the Tomb, and to ensure their delivery as well. Such archives one may presume to have been kept in boxes or pots,[96] in an archive office at the centre of the Tomb administration. As no specific 'place of writings' is mentioned in connection with the Tomb,[97] one might guess that any such records were kept at the gatehouse (p3 htm), or less likely in the warehouse (p3 wd3)[98] of the Tomb. Similarly no official specially connected with the keeping of archives is known among the personnel of the Tomb. There was no 'guardian of writings',[99] and the title , 'accounts scribe', although frequently borne by external officials in contact with the Tomb, is only rarely, and then apparently as some personal flourish, used by a scribe fully employed there. It is reasonable to presume that the administrative scribes of the Tomb were responsible for the writings themselves, as private people kept their own archives.[100] Assumptions about the archives of the Tomb must therefore be treated as valid only in so far as they fit with conclusions which may be drawn from the preserved documents of the Tomb themselves.

The documents, official and private, that have been preserved from Deir el Medina, were written by a relatively limited number of hands,[101] but they are by no means all the work of the main administrative scribes of the Tomb. The authorship and format of individual texts cannot yet be analysed sufficiently accurately[102] to provide safe criteria for conclusions about the nature of the archives of the Tomb. Full consideration

cannot be given here to certain aspects of the documentation of the Tomb that would require a serious and large scale examination of the actual texts. However good a facsimile or photograph may be, it can only rarely prove possible to distinguish the hands of individual scribes[103] without close personal examination of the actual manuscript. Consideration can therefore only rarely be given to the rather important question of the authorship of particular types of document. The close examination of a text, for instance of some form of register covering a considerable period of time, may perhaps give vital information as to the way in which it was written up, whether day by day, or in blocks of some length, or all at once as a fair copy assembled for archive purposes from draft notes. The evidence in such arguments is often confused, sometimes apparently contradictory. Even in a single administrative document covering a long period of time, the scribe or scribes responsible may have changed their practice, in minor ways, for their own differing convenience at different dates.[104] Where different accounts of the same business or legal affair seem to be preserved, perhaps in different hands,[105] they can reasonably be presumed to be records from the private archives of the protagonists in the affair. It is usually from such private business records that the clearest information is available about the actual use of documents. Although no family archive as such has yet been found from the New Kingdom, the contents of many ostraca from Deir el Medina show that it is not unreasonable to project back into the Ramesside period, if in a much less developed form, the custom so well attested in the Late Period of keeping family archives; groups of documents referring to the business and property affairs of the family, kept in some safe place in the home.[106]

Some of the earliest continuous texts preserved from Egypt are tomb inscriptions by which the tomb owner wished to ensure the permanent record of legal arrangements he had made.[107] The importance of being

able to produce the proper documents is well illustrated by the example of Wenamun,[108] who found himself in the greatest of difficulty with the ruler of Byblos through not having his credentials with him. A temple decree of the Second Intermediate Period[109] recording the removal of a priest from his offices includes among the actions taken against him that of removing his documents from the archives. In this case his documents were the records of his rights and dues. Rather similar procedures were standard in Mesopotamia, where illegal transactions were cancelled by the destruction of the tablets recording them.[110] Some types of text from Deir el Medina are receipts of one sort or another, protection against malicious claims after the completion of transactions. The clearest examples are some of the receipts and records of the hire of donkeys, where it was not even thought necessary to quote the names of both parties to the transaction.[111]

It was expected that in any case of dispute a man would produce his documents.[112] It is, however, difficult to define the true evidential value of the documents. The proper procedure seems to be described in an obscure passage in the so-called 'Maxims of Ani'.[113] The son was told to ensure, when he first made offering, that there were witnesses, and also that the man who checked the list recorded him on the papyrus. This would ensure that he would receive the benefits at festival time. The witnesses took precedence, in this case, over the document, and were, one presumes, more important, for in the Ramesside period even documents taken from the vizier's archive might have their validity successfully challenged by the production of witnesses.[114] In Demotic and Greek documents dealing with property transfer there are regularly formulae stipulating that all the connected deeds, and the rights arising from them, be transferred to the buyer, but such clauses do not occur in documents of the Ramesside period. It would seem that such clauses,

as the use of signatures, were developments of ancient practices into fixed forms (perhaps partly under foreign influence), during the Third Intermediate period.[115]

The writer of a letter of the Ramesside period[116] (not however coming from Deir el Medina), told his correspondent to use it as a document authorizing him to act as agent, and to show it to the necessary people. The letter ends with the injunction, 'Look after my letter! It will act as witness for you.' The exact implication of the word mtr, 'witness' is uncertain in the context. In all probability it refers to the agent's use of the text for advice and reference, rather than as a legal document proving the validity of his agency. The author of a short literary text,[117] giving advice to his son, ends with a similar injunction, that the son should keep the text as a 'witness' for himself. Similarly the Maxims of Ani were described by the son to whom they were addressed, as his 'witness'.[118] On the other hand, in the Inscription of Mes, the documents he was to unroll before the vizier as evidence were described as 'witnesses'.[119] The complex system of the use of Demotic documents as legal proofs[120] can reasonably be seen as a systematization of such documentary trends as seen in the New Kingdom.[121]

The use of signatures and seals to authenticate documents does not seem to have been current practice in the Egypt of the New Kingdom.[122] The earliest examples of signatures seem to come in the so-called 'abnormal hieratic' legal documents of the Third Intermediate Period. In these each of the witnesses wrote out the relevant part of the text in his own hand,[123] and the overseeing scribe might call himself 'the witness scribe' (p3 sš mtr).[124] Occasional texts of a very early date in Egyptian history seem to refer to the sealing of documents as a way of authenticating land transactions and endowments.[125] Indeed, Old Kingdom royal decrees were normally noted as having been sealed in the

presence of the King himself.[126] By the Late Period such practices were widespread,[127] but in the New Kingdom Egypt seems to have lagged behind the rest of the Near East in this respect.[128] The regular use of seals for tying up documents, particularly letters,[129] had value as evidence only in so far as it certified that the contents had not been tampered with. It would be difficult to stress sufficiently the importance of seals and sealing to the Egyptian administration[130] (witness the official of the Old Kingdom who listed among his merits, in his tomb autobiography, that once he became a magistrate his official seal never left his person, even when he slept[131]), yet the Egyptians of the New Kingdom seem not to have followed the seemingly obvious practice of using their seals to validate their documents.

Regular practice at Deir el Medina shows itself in the apparent lack of any formal distinction in documentation between an ordinary business transaction and something that in modern terminology would be treated as a case at civil, or even criminal law. The business transaction and the court case were carried out in just the same way, before an oracle or tribunal (<u>qnbt</u>) that might consist of the entire crew, or of a small group of the more influential members if it was a less important matter. It was not normal for the scribe to act alone in recording even business transactions,[132] although a scribe, presumably the writer of the text, was regularly included among the witnesses. It is not clear whether the scribes of the Tomb carried out this task as part of their normal work, or whether they did not normally expect some small payment in return for the exercise of their skill, in private business affairs at least.[133] The function of the tribunals was essentially testimonial, as clearly seen when a tribunal acted as witness to a will.[134] Its influence was strictly speaking evidential and moral rather than judicial, even in cases that would now be thought of as criminal.[135] The tribunal

concentrated on pressurizing the accused to confess, and to pay the penalty. Records of such trials as dealt with matters of no direct interest to the state, the records that form a high proportion of the legal and business texts from Deir el Medina, can be presumed to come from private family archives, and not from a local registry office.

The demonstration that at least ostraca dealing with private legal matters were kept as archives, at least by private people, shows that one cannot rely on the assumption that administrative ostraca are necessarily the drafts of now lost papyrus journals dealing with the entire administration of the Tomb.[136] To conclude that these administrative ostraca were in general finished texts, and not notes for later compilation into fuller records would be equally unjustified. For the present it should simply be noted that an Eighteenth Dynasty ostracon,[137] recording the division of labour and progress of work on a building site, was cancelled on both sides by a large ⊕ that can hardly mean anything other than that the text had been copied and was no longer needed.[138] However, the lack of information about the precise provenance of the majority of ostraca concerned with the administration of the Tomb complicates the problem of telling just which ostraca may have been deliberately kept, and which were immediately thrown away. Some clearly were not required for long, for they were washed and reused, or simply thrown aside. Even these actions do not, however, imply of themselves that the information thus discarded had, of necessity, been copied up into a more permanent papyrus archive. It does not seem to be possible to trace clearly, with any regularity, among the texts from Deir el Medina, the sorts of clear relationships, the making up of one type of text from another, that are evident between the different parts of the Middle Kingdom accounts papyrus, Papyrus Reisner I.[139]

In considering documents dealing with the administration of the

work itself, one finds that the texts dealing with the actual daily progress are rare.[140] Quite common, however, are texts referring to the commissioning of the work to be done, or the receipt of work done so far. The lack of daily records as to precisely what work was done is perhaps more apparent than real. Where records have been preserved from the works building tombs and temples at Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty, careful stress is laid on precisely where particular men were working, and how much work they did.[141] Indeed, there are ostraca which record work done in the tomb of Senmut in just this fashion.[142] However, it is likely that progress in the excavation of tombs was in general recorded by marks made on the walls of the tomb itself, rather than by lists of measurements on papyrus or ostraca.[143] Occasional examples of graffiti recording the progress of work or incidents in it have indeed been preserved on the walls of tombs, both royal[144] and private.[145] Also, dobs of plaster to hold metal pins, spread at intervals accross the walls of the tomb of Tuthmosis III[146] attest to the constant need for measurement and checking on progress during the process of excavation. An ostracon in the Turin Museum,[147] recording work on a prince's tomb in the Valley of the Queens, gives measurements of 'what was done in year ....', and on the verso it lists the dates of the foundation and completion. Another ostracon from the same source[148] records the measurements of various tombs (hr) as 'what was done in the time of Usermaatre Setepenre'. Thus the records preserved on ostraca and papyri seem to have been concerned essentially with the completion of pieces of work, or the progress over a period of time, rather than the fulfilment of daily quotas and the daily assignment of work for the members of the crew. One may consider, in this context, the plans, with measurements, of two of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings,[149] and the related documents containing measurements of tombs.[150] Doubtless the nature of the work in the royal

tombs, and the relative ease of constant supervision by the foremen made it unnecessary to maintain more detailed daily checks and records of precisely where individuals were working.[151] It is worth noting, however, that a small number of ostraca contain lists of names written specially as lists of those working 'in this place'.[152] For most purposes measurements and surveys as significant areas were completed, supplemented by registers of absentees, would have provided sufficient check on the work.

The most typical class of text referring to work in the tombs is the register of the absences of individual workmen.[153] These texts seem normally to have been kept on the worksites. When provenanced they can almost always be traced to the Valley of the Kings,[154] and they constantly refer to people 'coming' to the work. They were probably written up at the time, on the days when the work was done, for they constantly ignore days off, weekends and holidays. The texts are usually continuous, each entry following immediately after the one before, not filling a line complete to itself. The length of such texts varies widely. Texts covering a complete month are quite common, but some are considerably longer, and some contain only a few days, or even just a single day. The format may also vary quite considerably. The word , 'absent', may be omitted completely, as may the reasons for the absences that normally followed the name of each absentee. Then it is only the basic format of a series of dates followed by names that makes the text recognizable as an absence register. The precise provenance of the ostraca within the Valley of the Kings is now usually lost, although it is clear that many came from the workmen's huts there.[155] It seems natural to presume that they were normally kept in the scribe's hut or office there,[156] but the lack of preserved evidence about these workmen's huts makes any more detailed discussion of the question impossible.

Probably related to these registers are classes of texts in which

a list of men is given, perhaps under the heading of a date, sometimes with no explanatory text at all and sometimes with notes giving reasons for absence.[157] Such texts frequently record a single day,[158] or two days, one on each side of the ostracon.[159] Of course, simple lists of names may have been written up for a variety of reasons unconnected with the administration of the work, and not all texts in this format are absence lists.[160] There are also more complex texts, where such lists of names are given in vertical compartmented groups, the compartments sometimes being dated, and obvious reasons for absence sometimes being given after the names.[161] In all probability these texts are witness to different recording procedures used by different scribes, rather than drafts from which the more tidy looking continuous texts were written up. The practice of covering the entire surface of the ostracon with lists for a number of days, each day divided from the others by irregular lines, although untidy in appearance would prove easier to use for reference than a pile of ostraca with single entries for separate days. Such irregular lines are occasionally also found separating the pages of closely written papyri.[162] The format most obvious to the modern mind for a register, a complete list of the names followed by compartmented columns recording the presence or absence of each person each day, does not occur in the New Kingdom in Egypt. This may be just chance, but as the evidence stands at present, it seems that his type of format, although much used by accountants of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, had been dropped from the accounting procedures of the New Kingdom as unwieldy and space consuming.[163]

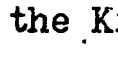
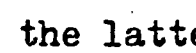
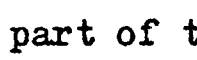
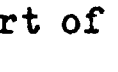
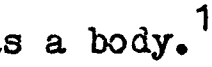
It is not possible to indicate the precise purpose of recording the absentees for each day, or at least to demonstrate any particular use made of the records kept at Deir el Medina. One cannot quote from any of the extant documents from there an example of the punishment of,

or the deduction of salary from a workman who had been absent. In the Middle Kingdom work records preserved in the Reisner Papyri there is a clear correlation between the numbers of days worked and the rations paid, but even there the numbers of days are accounted in a regular, mechanical fashion. They make no allowance for single casual absences, and seem to refer to the numbers of days the men were on the payroll rather than to represent a real calculation from daily checks on attendance.[164] For the Tomb, these registers seem simply to exemplify the close bureaucratic control exercised over the people working there. In any case, absenteeism is unlikely to have been a serious problem at Deir el Medina, where the entire workforce lived together in a very restricted area, and normally worked together in the same place. It is worth noting that a number of careful records are preserved of the detachment of individuals from the normal work, to do such jobs as preparing paints,[165] or gypsum, or doing some specific craftwork.[166]

The format of the registers of absences means that it would have been very tedious to extract various types of information from them. A single large ostracon in the British Museum[167] appears to have been compiled, perhaps from the normal small texts, as a more convenient type of record for reference. It preserves a complete record of the absences of the members of the crew for year 40 (of Ramesses II). The text was compiled by first writing an evenly spaced list of the names of the crewmen. After each man's name the dates of his absences were written in black. The reasons for his absences were then added in red above the dates. After two of the names no absences were recorded at all,[168] whereas a number of those whose absences turned out to have been too frequent could not have them all listed in a single line, and had to have extra sections added wherever there was room, sometimes some distance away from their main entry. It is not possible to exclude

completely the possibility that this text simply represents a different format for the daily accounting, but its size, the length of time covered by its records, and its state of preservation seem to imply that it was a summary, or an archive text, written up at one time.

This text perhaps gives the most complete example of the ordering of the names of the crew. In the absence registers, as in other lists, the names of the crew come, not at random, but in fairly fixed orders. The clearest demonstration of such a set order is that in which the men took their turn on 'watch', as recorded in the daybooks of the Tomb. The changes in this duty roster can be precisely dated in many cases, and the rotas can be followed for considerable spans of time.[169] In the absence of a recognisable alphabetic order,[170] the principle behind any ordering of names within the crew is likely to remain obscure, whether by seniority, or by some mnemonic device, such as by family or position of house within the village, or just by chance. The convenience of such set orders is self-evident.[171]

A further series of work registers preserved among texts from the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, and mostly dating to the latter part of the Nineteenth Dynasty, simply recorded whether or not the crew worked as a body.[172] The basic format consists of a column of dates with abbreviated notes as to whether or not the crew worked. They dates may be preceeded by for days worked and by or for days of absence, or they may be followed by the words  , 'work' or  , 'absent'. These notes are occasionally replaced by variations of the fuller phrases for which they stand; 'the crew came to work', 'the crew were absent', or the like. Occasionally the phrase  or , '(in) this place' appears in the registers, in apposition to  , 'absent'.[173] In such cases it is presumably used as an abbreviation of , 'work in this place'.[174] In

certain composite texts,[175] whose provenance does not seem to be the normal work sites, 'in this place' stands in apposition to both 'work' and 'absent'. In such cases it should be presumed to refer to the place in which the text was written, and to imply something different from a simple 'absence' from work, but yet that some work or duty there prevented the crew working in the normal place, the Valley of the Kings.[176] The simple registers from the worksites only rarely give information beyond the simple fact of whether the crew worked or not. What further information is included from time to time can reasonably be explained as information of importance to the normal progress of the work. Thus tool issues,[177] inspections,[178] or announcements of a change of reign[179] occasionally appear recorded in these texts, and all stand as explanatory material, each representing an interruption in the normal course of the work on the site. Sometimes notes that appear in these contexts are obscure in themselves,[180] but usually they can be seen to represent good reasons for not working.[181] It is doubtless in this way that the intrusion into the work registers of occasional notices of the distribution of grain rations[182] should be explained.

These texts cover, in general, quite lengthy periods. When they have a provenance, at least the purer, more straightforward registers can be traced to the worksites, so they could not have been written up every day. The periods of absence at least must have been written up in blocks when the scribe returned to work on the site, and it is likely that entries on many of the texts may have been made only when there was a change.[183] This impression is reinforced by the fact that entries are often not repeated for each single day, but presumed to be valid for all the following days until the opposite is noted. The relative frequency of mistakes, crossings out and overwritings is likewise inconsistent with the presumption that the texts were regularly written

daily. Again, this cannot safely be taken to mean that the texts as preserved are abstracts from other types of document, rather than running accounts, written up, perhaps from memory, at convenient intervals.[184] Sometimes checkmarks or dots in front of the entries[185] witness to the normal method of checking and totalling,[186] and the texts are prominently interspersed with totals of days worked and days of absence.[187] The fact that preserved texts of this type seem to have been discarded on the worksite seems to imply that they were not of serious archival value, and it seems probable that if any information was required, and was of real, long-term administrative interest, it was the totals and not the specific entries for each day. In this context one may quote a graffito[188] in the small bay to the right of the cachette at Deir el Bahari, which is in the normal format of such a register of days of work and days of absence covering a period from II shemu 6 - 15 of a year 11. Here the scribe has simply kept his running record on the rock face rather than a loose stone. The purpose will have been the same.

A final important group of texts which, so far as they can be provenanced, come from the Valley of the Kings, are the remarkably full records of the issue and use of lamp wicks in the work in the tombs.[189] A relationship between these texts, recording the use of the wicks, and the work registers, is evident. The lengthy texts dealing with wicks are common for the Nineteenth Dynasty, but are considerably rarer for the Twentieth,[190] an observation that also holds true for the work registers in their purest form. In one case an ostracon actually contains a record of the use of wicks on one side, and a contemporary work register on the other.[191] As with the work registers and the registers of absences, texts recording the use of wicks vary greatly in length, from periods of a month or more down to a single day. The conclusion that large texts were copied up from the briefest of notes

made at the time[192] is, as usual, a natural presumption difficult to document. As a specific example it is possible to quote a small ostracon[193] noting only the issue and use of wicks on III akhet 27 of a sixth regnal year. By chance a long term register for the same period has been preserved, that records the same issue and use with slightly different phraseology.[194] As the registers of absentees ignore days on which the crew did not work, so the registers of wicks simply ignore the days on which no wicks were used. Although it cannot always be taken as absolutely certain that if wicks were not used work was not done, there is a clear presumption that this was so. Indeed, in a few cases this was expressly noted, ostraca listing as alternatives for different days either the usage of wicks or 'absence'.[195] The patterns of absences indicated by the normal registers of wick usage fit well with those shown by the work registers and the registers of absentees, so providing a useful supplement to them.

As with the work registers, the essential matter at issue in the lists of wick usage seems to have been the overall totals rather than the daily usage. The issues from the warehouse, sufficient for only a few days ahead, were carefully noted.[196] At times the daily usage seems to have been regulated to a strict maximum,[197] but occasional wide variations indicate that the true picture of the hours worked and the places and the control of the work was more varied and complex than the format of the records. Why precisely the simple but detailed records of daily wick usage, and likewise the simple recording of whether or not the crew worked, should have become rarer and more perfunctory in the Twentieth Dynasty can only be guessed at. Perhaps less value was attached to the wicks,[198] or perhaps the detailed daily records in special texts came to be regarded by later scribes as a bureaucratic extravagance not worth the effort, when the matter for which they were really responsible was the overall totals for extended periods.

A brief survey of the documents preserved from the area of the village of Deir el Medina shows a clear difference in content from those found on the worksites. There are necessarily exceptions and overlaps, and the picture is complicated by texts that cannot be fully understood, or seem to be composite versions of more than one type of document, not fitting into the rather crude, if real categories into which the texts are classified here. As a general division it seems valid to say that the texts from the worksites are concerned with the administration of the work itself. The administrative records concerned with the details of delivery of supplies, payments and the general business of the Tomb were usually found in the area of the village of Deir el Medina, or later at Medinet Habu. Such arguments about the provenance of types of document even in themselves throw light on life at Deir el Medina. For instance, of the large number of ostraca containing questions to oracles, only two seem to have come from the Valley of the Kings, and both of these seem to have been concerned with matters of cult.[199] The precise provenance of many of the other questions is unrecorded, but over half of the preserved total are known to have come from the debris in and around the so-called 'Grand Puits',[200] to the north of the village, near where the remains of the small cult chapels of the Ramesside period are to be found.[201] It seems clear that the provenance of these texts gives a good indication of the area in which the oracles were usually given.

The distinction between types of hieratic ostracon found at the village of Deir el Medina and those found in the Valley of the Kings is parallel to distinctions in the types of figured ostraca from these two sites. Those from the Valley of the Kings show a relatively small range of subjects,[202] being generally restricted to subjects connected with the decoration of the tombs themselves,[203] or being definable as

votive objects,[204] often bearing representations connected with kings or gods.[205] The occasional groups of figured ostraca found in the context of tomb works elsewhere tend to fit into these same categories;[206] trial pieces or layouts,[207] and votive objects or stelae.[208] Ostraca from the village of Deir el Medina are more varied, both in material and content.[209] The notable additional types not found in the Valley of the Kings are connected with house decoration and with childbirth and fertility, are genre scenes and illustrations of stories (particularly the so-called 'Tiergeschichte'[210]), or contain motifs familiar from private tombs.[211] Ostraca directly connected with royal tombs and with temple scenes, quite common from the Valley of the Kings, are exceedingly rare in the material from the village.[212]

The precise locations of finds of the various classes of ostraca within the valley of Deir el Medina cannot be accurately traced with sufficient frequency to be of real use in the discussion here.[213] Many certainly come from the rubbish heaps, both to the north[214] and the south[215] of the village. The area most productive of ostraca was by far the so-called 'Grand Puits' and its surrounding heaps of debris.[216] The ostraca probably found their way there as the result of a clearance of the area between the village and the 'Grand Puits' in the Ptolemaic period, when building was in progress on the Hathor temple.[217] Other finds of documents in that general area, to the north of the village, were frequent. For instance, the majority of papyri found by the French excavations came from there.[218] This led the excavator to speculate that it was here that the scribes lived,[219] although it would be a better conclusion that it was somewhere in this area that they worked. Furthermore, caches of ostraca were found among the chapels to the north of the village;[220] votive ostraca in some quantity, but also a cache of food accounts from the time of Sethi II. There seems no reason to

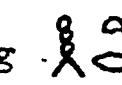
doubt that the administrative centre of the Tomb was situated somewhere in this area,[221] but that the site was too disturbed in antiquity for the excavators to be able to recognize it, or for the precise provenance of the ostraca to be of any help.

The main point of overlap in the contents of documents found in the area of the village with those found on the worksites concerns the supply of materials for the work. Thus issues of the wicks[222] and the oils in which to burn them,[223] or of tools necessary for the work, may be recorded on an ostracon from the worksite as a necessary part of, or interruption in the work. Other texts from the village may refer to the administration there of the same commodities. The announcement of the arrival of a commission of inspection, or a letter from the vizier for instance, may be recorded in documents from either or both sites as seemed most relevant.[224] Such matters as the distribution of grain rations may be mentioned in one of the typical registers from the worksite, but details of the distribution do not normally appear on texts from there.[225] The provenance of texts giving lists of food deliveries and distributions is more normally found to be the village itself.[226] This division is not, however, as clear as one might expect. Texts of most types are occasionally recorded as having been found in the Valley of the Kings, from those recording the delivery of foodstuffs from the temples,[227] and the sharing out of (offering) bread,[228] through the accounts for fishermen[229] and woodcutters[230] to the occasional text dealing with a private business transaction.[231] Such documents are difficult to account for. No doubt urgent business might have been recorded during a convenient break in the work. Nevertheless, it is difficult to visualize payments, commodity deliveries or the like, being made in the Valley of the Kings rather than at the village.[232] It seems preferable to treat some of the texts as strays,[233] or notes that for

some unknown reason the scribe made on the worksite, or took up to work with him. In truth the detailed operation of the administration of the Tomb will have been considerably more complex and varied in detail than the preserved documents can reveal.

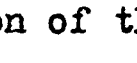
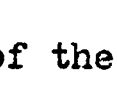
Of the texts recording the distribution of payments[234] among the workmen, those describing the distribution of the grain rations, the most important wage commodity, are common. Texts recording issues of oil and fats are not rare, but it is often impossible to tell whether they refer to payments of food or to issues of fuel for the lamps. Although there are huge numbers of texts referring to the delivery of other staple commodities to the administration of the Tomb - vegetables, fish, wood and clothing - accounts of their distribution among the workmen are rare indeed. The difference in the relative value of these payments may partly account for this. The grain rations formed the basic wages. The quantity due to each workman was a fixed sum, the monthly salary being easily calculable from the preserved records of the payments.[235] Often such a text will record the month for which the payment was due, and a high proportion of texts record supplementary payments, making up an earlier small payment to the full quantity due. With commodities other than grain, references to regular monthly payments are not found, and it has proved impossible to calculate with any degree of confidence the quantities received by individual workmen, even in the case of the fish, where it seems that for some periods the records of their deliveries have been preserved in their entirity.[236] This distinction between the payment of grain (or its derivatives, bread and beer) and the payment of other commodities is central to all Egyptian documentation of wages. Where lists of the payments to workforces are preserved, particularly in inscriptions concerning quarrying and mining operations, the payment of bread and beer is in fixed ratios, but the payment of other commodities

is either not mentioned, or referred to only in general terms.[237] In this context it is worthwhile to note that equivalent documents dealing with ration distributions from Ancient Mesopotamia show the same imbalance. The grain distributions are fully recorded, the distributions of cloth and oil less so, and the distributions of vegetables, fish and other commodities are only very rarely recorded.[238]

Payments to the members of the crew, other than the grain rations, were subsumed under the heading , htr, 'dues',[239] and were spoken of, whenever a time period was mentioned, as annual payments. Here may lie another reason for the rarity of documents dealing with their distribution. With items such as clothing, shoes, oils, meat and whatever else may have been, like the grain rations, delivered from the central administration, but unlike the grain rations, at more or less irregular intervals, there may have been no need for records to be kept with details of the issues to individual workers. Unless it were necessary to keep detailed records of partial deficiencies, later to be made up to the full quantities due to each man, the recording of individual receipts would be superfluous. Only the receipt by the Tomb as an institution would be of administrative interest. If the quantities of such commodities were not paid as a fixed sum, but as a sort of bonus, the manner in which they were recorded can be easily understood.

The other classes of commodity paid to the crew form a different group within the dues. The vegetables, fish, firewood and pottery required by the crew were produced locally by workmen employed as their 'service-staff' (smdt).[240] The deliveries of the service-staff were recorded, often in great detail, and it is quite clear that specific quantities were required from each man for each ten day week.[241] Again, the only plausible explanation for the extreme rarity of texts dealing with the distribution of these commodities seems to lie in the presumption

that the deliveries were regarded as revenues due to each side of the crew (to which they were always noted as due), rather than to each individual workman. The deficits were therefore accounted for the group, and each individual presumably received his share of what was available, rather than a set sum each week.

The division of the crew into two sides (), each under the control of a foreman and sometimes[242] with its own scribe, was basic to the administrative structure of the Tomb, and to the documentation of its activities.[243] The suggestion that the two sides worked separately on the opposite walls of the tomb they were digging is not more than a guess that could be substantiated or dismissed only with the greatest of difficulty.[244] For some parts of the work, such as the actual decoration,[245] such a division would have been sensible and efficient, but for others, such as the actual cutting of the passages and chambers it would have been inconvenient. In fact the organisation of the crew into these two groups fits well into standard practice for work organisation in Egypt, rather than being a purely local system. The word used for the workforce of the Tomb, , ist, 'crew', 'boat's crew',[246] was only rarely used of other workforces in the New Kingdom. It was, however, more frequent in this sense at earlier dates, and an apparent naval regime is explicit in certain types of organisation in Egypt from the earliest periods.[247] Presumably this organisational model seemed particularly natural for a building workforce, or a quarrying expedition, because the necessary transport depended entirely on boats. An order of Sethi I arranging the personnel for a quarrying expedition to Gebel Silsila[248] specifically included '[boats] with [their] crews to row the monuments'. The image of a disciplined workforce in Egypt would naturally be a boat's crew, from the nature of the country and the necessity of river transport for anything. The division of boats' crews into watches, named after

the two sides of the boat, is natural to all naval organisation, and useful for more purposes than the mere definition of which side of the boat an individual rowed on. From the Old Kingdom one may find the stoneworkers on the pyramids divided into two sides. Quarrying expeditions were run to a naval type of organisation; their workforces were organised as crews (<u>'pr</u>) with special names, compounded with the name of the ruling king and added epithets. In the Old Kingdom these crews, and similarly bodies of priests, are found divided into four or five watches, named after different parts of a ship. Even these watches tended to be divided into two.[249] For comparison to this dual organisation of the crew at Deir el Medina, it should be noted that an ostracon from Abydos, recording work on the temple of Sethi I there, tells of the unloading and dragging of stone for the temple by the left (side).[250] Workmen on the tomb of Senmut were likewise divided into two groups, each under a 'chief' (<u>hry</u>).[251] It is likely that such a division was normal for building projects.

In many such cases, particularly for the Old Kingdom, it would be plausible to argue that sailors were in fact much employed as workforces on public works, and that this explains the liking for a naval type of organisation in such contexts. Another example of the dual and parallel organisation of a workforce is provided by the accounts of some date workers, preserved on a papyrus of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[252] This text was effectively a daybook, written up continuously,[253] with the accounts for one part of the workforce under the control of one scribe written on the recto, the accounts for the other division of the workforce under another scribe being written on the verso. A single scribe seems to have written the day's entries for both sides, although it seems that more than one scribe worked on the text at different periods.[254] In this case documentary analysis reveals much of the basic organisation

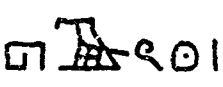
of the workforce,[255] although it cannot fully explain it. This dual organisation was by no means unusual at the time, for another papyrus of similar date[256] seems to have been a simultaneous record of the work of two parallel groups of merchants, the records of one group being written on the recto and the records of the other on the verso.

Although occasional examples of absence registers from the Tomb follow this practice, documents recording the affairs of the right and left sides of the crew separately on the recto and verso,[257] it was not a particularly common format there. Internal ordering of the entries in the text, and where necessary the explicit addition of a note attributing business to the left or right seems to have served most documentary needs.[258] However, for most organisational purposes a strict division was maintained between the two sides of the crew. Texts show that the equipment necessary for the work, chisels,[259] wicks for the lamps,[260] and the leather baskets,[261] were administered by side. Similarly the documents witness to separate accounting of the payments made to the two sides of the crew. The division of the crew itself into two sides was parallel to a similar division of their service-staff. A number of texts show that the two different sides of the service-staff were under the charge of particular scribes in the same way as the two sides of the crew were usually controlled by their foremen.[262] The destination of each consignment of food or goods from the service staff, whether to right or left, was normally noted in the daybook entry telling of its receipt. All other payments to the crew seem to have been split by side in the same way.[263] Even the small payments of cakes, dates and beer from the Theban temples were carefully recorded as due to one side or other of the crew.[264] The deliveries of commodities such as these were not normally written up separately for each side.[265] They were all delivered to one place, and normally recorded there in the daybooks[266] rather than in separate

accounts of their own. Occasionally, however, it is possible to see that one representative from each side of the crew was concerned with their receipt,[267] rather than the normal single man on watch, provided from among the crew on a rota.[268] Exceptionally among classes of document from the Tomb, ostraca recording the distribution of the grain rations, the most important of the payments to the crew, tell only of the payments to a single side.[269] Any deeper influence the division into sides may have had on the life of the ordinary crewman, and the way in which the division was carried through, is virtually undocumented, although a thorough analysis of the personal careers of large numbers of the individual workmen will eventually provide more precise information.[270]

It is only rarely that texts from Deir el Medina mention the place at which rations were paid, or deliveries to the Tomb received. Usually the place mentioned is 'the gatehouse of the Tomb' (p3 htm n p3 hr).[271] The 'warehouse' (wd3) in which materials were stored, and 'the granary of the Tomb' were closely connected, if not part of the same structure. This, the administrative centre of the Tomb, is the probable source of the large number of administrative records found in the area north of the village of Deir el Medina, and from its name is likely to have been part of, or close to the entrance to the village. Here presumably sat the 'gatekeeper' (iry '3), and also the 'guardian' (s3w), the official in charge of the warehouse. Here[272] will have been written up the diaries and receipts that make up the daybook of the Tomb.

The term , 'daybook', occurs occasionally in texts of the New Kingdom,[273] but often it seems to have lost any connotation of being a diary, for it was used as a heading for legal documents and deeds. The Will of Naunakhte,[274] for instance, bore such a heading,

as did a set of legal records dated between years 21 and 24 of Ramesses III, which bore the title[275] 'the daybook of the tomb (), which the guardian X dictated(?)'. Daybooks in the proper sense of the word were kept as records of the financial transactions of an institution. Tuthmosis III quoted[276] entries in the daybook of the palace as verification of the lists of booty he included in his annals inscribed in the temple of Karnak. Similarly, in the story of Wenamun,[277] when the prince of Byblos discovered that no payment had been brought for him, he sent for the 'daybook rolls' () of his predecessors, to quote the quantities received in the past for similar services. Some of the Middle Kingdom texts from Illahun are the remains of copies made into the daybooks of the mortuary temple of Sesostris II. Thus the famous announcement to the priesthood of the date of the heliacal rising of Sothis was coupled with the order that this information be copied up in the 'daybook' of the temple, and it is this copy that has been preserved.[278]

The term daybook will be used here, in the contexts of the documents of the Tomb, to refer to the long series of ostraca recording the daily receipts of the Tomb. The series is best preserved from the first half of the Twentieth Dynasty, but some examples illustrate brief periods in the Nineteenth. Many examples of these texts remain unpublished, and some of the gaps in the known series will eventually be filled, but already it is possible to reconstruct in detail the daily receipts of certain commodities for long periods, sometimes for complete years, with only small lacunae.[279] The model text records, for each day of the month, firstly the name of the man on watch, a strict rota being maintained. Then come notices of any deliveries made. These were especially the deliveries of the service-staff, the fishermen, woodcutters and potters, whose deficits or failures to deliver on time might also be noted. Also

regularly included were notices of the delivery of small quantities of foodstuffs, bread, beer and dates, presumably from temple offerings. Other events of administrative interest were noted from time to time; the distribution of the grain rations, the arrival of a letter from an external official, or the like. The internal ordering of the day's entries was not fixed, and presumably recorded the order in which the deliveries were made and the events happened. The standard division of these ostraca into monthly units was clearly an administrative convenience for reference purposes,[280] but required a suitable sized piece of stone or pottery, and was not always maintained. As with all Egyptian documents, the normal format is subject to wide variations depending on the particular piece of writing material ready to hand. Some such daybook ostraca cover only a few days, and others considerably more than a month.

Indications within the format of the daybook ostraca point towards the conclusion that they were written up each day as the recorded events actually happened,[281] although such a view does not exclude the possibility that occasionally a small number of days might have been written up at one time, should the scribe perhaps have been temporarily engaged on some other business. Normally the entries do not each begin a new line, but tend to follow on immediately the previous one ended. Such a format would have been inconvenient if the text were being copied up from other sources. Moreover, the internal ordering of the receipts varies from day to day in the same text; again a good indication that the texts were not written up from separate draft documents for each type of commodity. The name of the duty man was sometimes omitted, and then perhaps added later above the line, but similar mistakes are not found for the deliveries from the service-staff. It is likely that the mistakes over the names of the men on duty are to be explained by

carelessness in making the day's first entry. Were these mistakes the result of carelessness in copying from other types of text, such additions should have been common for other types of entry as well.

Texts do exist that simply list, in chronological order, all the deliveries of a particular commodity, made by a group of men over a particular period.[282] Such relatively rare records may have been kept in parallel with, or perhaps were abstracted from the fuller daybooks. Rather more frequently preserved are a class of text in which the deliveries made by members of the service staff were recorded against the tenth day of each week, the day by which such deliveries should have been made.[283] Account was kept, in such texts, of unpaid deficits, and notes were later added when these deficits had been made up. It is quite clear from the daybooks that the deliveries were made throughout the week as convenient, in part, by the members of the service-staff. It is not clear whether such weekly accounts represent audits made each weekend, when the crew would have been home from work, or made at long intervals, to check that the right quantities had been delivered over a number of months. In either case it is plausible to see the daybooks as the source from which the figures were taken.

These accounts of work done by members of the service staff provide valuable material for comparison of the methods by which work was 'commissioned' (šḫn), controlled, and finally 'received' (šsp), valid for comparison when considering the work of the crew proper as well.[284] A particularly valuable example of this type contains the accounts of the woodcutter Sary,[285] over the period of a complete year. The initial entry tells that he was commissioned to work at a particular rate. Then his deliveries for every tenth day were recorded.[286] In many cases he was initially in deficit, and the record of his late delivery was added to the entry. The only entries not dated to the

final day of the week are two notes of deficits, one of which is the final summing up, and a note in the middle of the text that 'one wrote'.[287] Related entries occur from time to time in the daybook, where it might be noted of a particular member of the service-staff that 'one wrote for him'.[288] Similar entries in other types of document[289] merely indicate that written report was made of the business in which the person or people were involved. In reference to the deliveries of the service-staff it most probably records the periodical accounting of the due quantities of work for which the individual had been commissioned. It may well be that the account of Sary discussed here represents one such periodical accounting, in which case it was probably written up in two sections on the two days of accounting, rather than being written up each weekend, each tenth day. It is also possible that the entry 'one wrote' here referred to the transfer, at that date, of the significant totals to a more wide-ranging accounts document.

A fuller entry in one of the papyrus journals of the reign of Ramesses IX[290] tells that the scribe Horisheri 'wrote' for the fisherman Qeniherkhepeshef in the office ('t) of the scribe Wennefer. The following entries record the fisherman's accounts in brief terms for a four month period. Horisheri was then the administrative scribe of the Tomb. Wennefer was presumably the same man attested in documents of the reign of Ramesses IX as scribe in charge of the right side of the service-staff.[291] Clear evidence in the form of categorical statements that specific scribes were in control of the service-staff is not forthcoming before the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty, although it may be presumed that this was so.[292] The functions performed by certain of the better known 'scribes of the Tomb' of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties would seem to show that such was their real area of responsibility. It is quite clear from the accounts of the payment

of the grain rations to the crew proper that for the greater part of these dynasties there was only one main administrative scribe attached to the crew, and paid with them, half from the account of each side. This was the scribe who, together with the two foremen, comprised the group known as the 'leaders (h(n)tyw) of the Tomb'.[293] This administrive scribe was never the sole bearer of the title 'scribe of the Tomb'. Often the number of contemporary scribes with this title adds up to a total too high to be accounted for even with allowance made for one or two scribes controlling the service staff.[294] The functions of some of these scribes can simply not be accounted for. Those distinctions that can be made between the functions of different scribes must, however, be taken into account when considering the recording procedures of the Tomb.

It was only exceedingly rarely that an Egyptian text deliberately recorded the name of its author or writer.[295] Even such notices as do occur are to be found rather as colophons to literary pieces, or in the dedication of votive pieces,[296] rather than as indications of the writer of a document. Attempts to ascertain the authorship of individual texts on purely palaeographic grounds may, in the long term prove successful with documents from Deir el Medina, but so far this can only be done with isolated scribes.[297] Similarly, in the long term, a careful analysis of style and a precise analysis of grammatical usage may provide important clues to authorship.[298] For instance, a very plausible attempt has been made to distinguish between scribes using variations in the brief formulae by which the distribution of the grain rations was announced.[299] If the conclusion reached be valid, that the phrase p3 dit diw, 'the giving of grain rations' ceased to be used in year 28 of RamessesIII, this might well be connected with the rise to prominence in the administration of the scribe Hori,[300] and certain conclusions

would then follow about the divisions of responsibility among the scribes. Hori was apparently the scribe responsible for the work of the service-staff, and was certainly concerned very closely with the supervision of deliveries to the Tomb, often being spoken of even in connection with distributions of the grain rations, although not as a recipient. For a period of several years at the end of the reign of Ramesses III, and through the reign of Ramesses IV, indeed the best documented period in the history of the Tomb, Hori appeared in close contact and frequently acting in parallel with the administrative scribe Amonnakhte. In a small number of cases Amonnakhte was expressly recorded as the writer of a text, and in many more his authorship is indicated by internal evidence.[301] The clearest example is found in the Turin Strike Papyrus, where there is a sudden switch from the third to the first person in a passage recording his actions. In other cases his prominence in the action, or in the list of witnesses, seems a reasonable guide. Such texts are, however, mostly concerned with legal affairs, or are some of the more rarely preserved types of administrative document. As yet a sufficiently sophisticated analysis of all these various elements does not seem possible, whereby one might define accurately which of the documents preserved from this period were written by Amonnakhte, which by Hori, and which by the other scribes whoses names are known.[302]

It has been argued above that the series of ostraca described as the 'daybook' was composed as a necessary day to day account of the receipts of the Tomb, and that although probably kept and used for reference, it was the original account and not a fair copy put together from other drafts. However, the daybooks give every appearance of regular writing, and each text seems to be in a single hand. They can hardly have been written up daily by the man on duty, although his duty must have consisted, at least in part, in the checking and receipt of

the various commodities noted in the daybook.[303] Nor is it conceivable that either the 'gatekeeper' or the 'guardian' should have kept such records and yet not laid claim to the title 'scribe'. The main administrative scribe of the Tomb one expects to have been concerned with the control of the work of the crew, among whose number he counted. During the working week it is hardly likely that he could have been responsible for both registers written in the Valley of the Kings and daybooks and commodity receipts written at the site of the village of Deir el Medina. As a natural division one might expect the work records to have been kept in the hand of the main administrative scribe, and the daily receipts recorded at the gatehouse to be written in the hand of some other scribe, most probably the scribe in charge of the service-staff. The meagre and confused evidence as yet available does not permit such a clean and simple deduction to stand. In the one case where the hand of the administrative scribe can be recognised with some ease, that of Qeniherkhepeshef, it is quite clear that the contemporary work registers were not written by him.[304] There are, moreover, difficulties in defining what degree of responsibility the main administrative scribes also held over the work of the service-staff. In the present state of knowledge it does not seem possible to follow this line of enquiry, however promising at first sight, to any real solutions.

In general the daybook was not concerned with the work of the crew. Similarly, the pattern of dates for which it recorded deliveries differs fundamentally from the patterns of days worked by the crew. The days on which the crew did not work were those on which other business was most frequent. Occasionally a daybook might record that the crew were working, or more often that they were absent from work. If the general interpretation here adopted for the purpose of the daybook be correct,

such entries will have been made, not for the purpose of recording the progress of the work, but because on a specific occasion they were of administrative interest to the man actually composing the daybook. This view is supported by a daybook entry such as 'They were here, and grain rations were given to them'.[305] A note was later added above the first line of that same text to the effect that 'they worked'. This was probably added because over the following days there was a halt in the work as a result of some official business that was also noted in the daybook in the very briefest of terms. At the end of this period, a few days later, it was again noted that 'they worked'.[306] If the crew were absent from the work it would be natural for them to be present in the village of Deir el Medina, and their presence or absence from there, when some irregularity or unusual business was involved, would naturally be of interest to the official who was always there, composing the daybook.

It becomes clear that all such observations in connection with types and format of documents from Deir el Medina can only give a partial and simplistic picture, for they depend on the types of text that happen to be preserved in sufficient quantity to fit into a model for the administration. For instance, there is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum a fragment of an unusual type of papyrus text, dating to the late Nineteenth Dynasty.[307] It seems to have been a register of deliveries of the 'dues' - the work of various groups of workers in the service-staff - received by the crew.[308] Individual entries there are well comparable with matters otherwise documented on ostraca, but the range is rather wider than that normally to be found on a single ostracon. It can only be a matter of pure guesswork, whether this text was a compilation as permanent record from more limited notes on ostraca, or whether for some reason papyrus was being used at that time for types

of record otherwise kept on ostraca. A small fragment of papyrus in the Turin Museum[309] preserves the remains of a sort of daybook from the very last days of the reign of Ramesses III. The normal daybook on an ostracon has by chance been preserved for the same days.[310] The papyrus records firstly that the crew were 'absent' on III shemu 11, 'working' on III shemu 15, but '(in) this place' on III shemu 12 - 14 and again on III shemu 16. In the late Nineteenth Dynasty III shemu 11 was an ordinary working day,[311] but in the reign of Ramesses X it is attested as the date of a festival of Amonhotep.[312] Here perhaps might lie one of the distinctions between the entries 'absent' and '(in) this place'.[313] The reference to 'this place' is likely to refer to the place in which the papyrus was written, presumably the administrative centre of the Tomb, the 'gatehouse', and to indicate that the crew were there, but not on holiday as they had been on day 11. The final entry preserved in the text records '(in) this place', followed by a note that a messenger had arrived and announced to the crew that Ramesses III was dead, and that Ramesses IV now sat on the throne. The crew then spent the day 'rejoicing'. The only other entries in the papyrus refer to deliveries of beer, dates and cakes, probably from temple offerings. The contemporary daybook ostracon is in the normal format, recording the names of the men on duty, deliveries of fish and firewood, and also deliveries of bread, beer and dates. It also preserves the briefest of notes that on III shemu 16, 'One said that the falcon had flown to heaven', that is, the king had died. Where the two texts seem to overlap, in recording the deliveries of bread, beer and dates, they do not agree precisely. The papyrus records a delivery on day 16 that is not noted in the ostracon. The obscurity of the relationship between these two texts is a telling demonstration that any conclusions drawn from the documents about the administrative procedures of the Tomb

must remain crude and tentative, full of uncertainties.

So far the documents discussed here have been almost exclusively ostraca of the Nineteenth and the first half of the Twentieth Dynasty. Administrative papyri of this date are extremely rare from the Tomb. From the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the situation is precisely the reverse. Ostraca become quite rare, and the basic documentation preserved consists of the papyrus journals preserved in tne Turin Museum, the 'Giornale'.[314] In trying to relate information about the administration of the Tomb late in the Twentieth Dynasty to that from the earlier part of the Ramesside period a basic problem is at issue; whether the differences in the style and type of documentation preserved is genuinely a reflection of administrative differences, or whether chance has simply preserved different fragments of the whole, and that each type of document should be presumed to have existed at all dates. Arguments have been put forward above for treating some of the differences in the preserved documentation of the Tomb as reflections of genuine developments in the documentary procedures, and attempts will be made below to trace, if only in rough outline, parallel developments in other administrative procedures in the Tomb. The attempt to draw conclusions of this sort must however be recognised as tentative, and essentially as an argument from silence that new finds in the soil or in museum collections may drastically alter in its particular conclusions.

At some date late in the Twentieth Dynasty the village of Deir el Medina was abandoned, and from then on the crew seem to have lived in the compound of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The administrative business of the Tomb was then carried on at Medinet Habu, and no longer at 'the gatehouse of the Tomb', which ceased to be mentioned in the texts. Thus, in year 17 of Ramesses XI a gift of

bread, beer and meat, given by the vizier and by the overseer of the treasury, was recorded as being handed over to the crew in 'the great wsht-court' at Medinet Habu.[315] No certain evidence seems to be preserved as to the precise provenance, within the Theban area, of the numerous papyri of the late Twentieth Dynasty concerning or mentioning the people of the Tomb. If one includes the administrative papyri,[316] the numerous letters,[317] and the Tomb Robbery papyri, all of which seem to have come onto the antiquities market at about the same time, it is not unlikely that they represent the remains of an archive from Medinet Habu itself.[318] The list of documents checked and recorded in the Ambras papyrus includes not only Tomb Robbery papyri, but also some 'memoranda of the Mansion of Usermaatre Meryamon in the House of Amon',[319] that is the temple of Medinet Habu. Furthermore, a papyrus in Turin[320] records a trial before the 'tribunal' (qnbt) of Medinet Habu, among the witnesses to which were the officials of the crew. The text ends with the note[321] that the vizier required the decision to be recorded on a roll of papyrus in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meryamon, with a copy being made for the 'Great Tribunal of Town'. It is likely that the preserved copy was that copied onto the roll at Medinet Habu.[322] Perhaps a partial explanation for the relative rarity of papyri dealing with the affairs of the Tomb before the end of the Twentieth Dynasty is to be seen in an unusually vigorous disposal or washing for reuse of the papyri considered out of date, when the crew moved to Medinet Habu, and presumably took what archives they felt important with them.

This move made by the crew from Deir el Medina to Medinet Habu may indeed have meant that papyrus was more readily available to them, and ostraca considerably less so, than had been the case in the desert wadi. As with the ostraca of the daybook, so with the journals on

papyrus, certain internal considerations seem to indicate that they were daily compositions, or at least running accounts, rather than fair copies written up from drafts. However, the format and content of these papyri are considerably different from those of the ostraca. They concern themselves with a wider range of activities. They include information about the day to day progress of the work, as well as the financial arrangements and the deliveries of the service-staff. It appears in essence that they are a fusion of the old style daybooks with the old style work registers, classes of document no longer attested at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. To this fusion were added numerous jottings and accounts that one might, at an earlier date, expect to have found written on ostraca. The 'Giornale' no longer included the regular series of names of people on watch, and perhaps the system had by then been abandoned. Particularly noticeable are the notes concerning the presence of groups of Meshwesh or Libu as causes for the absence of the crew from work. The concern of the administration about such people, and the effects of their presence on the work and administration of the Tomb is most vividly brought forward by cases where the scribe noted that 'the crew were absent, although there were no desert-people'.[323] Whether or not the incursions of these people are to be regarded as a cause for the abandonment of the village of Deir el Medina, they can reasonably be seen as causing a change of attitude in the crew to working in the isolated desert wadis. If it is right to assume that the workmen often remained on the worksite overnight,[324] there is little likelihood that they would have continued to do so with the constant threat of marauding desert-people. They would then presumably go up to and return from work in a group when required. It is plausible to expect that under such circumstances documents would less often have been made and kept on the worksite.

The papyrus journals of the late Twentieth Dynasty seem to reflect changed needs in their changed recording practices.

With certain reservations, therefore, these journals will be treated here as the daily composed record of the administration of the Tomb, made and kept at Medinet Habu. Even so, it must be noted that the format of these texts did not aim at a complete record of the activities of the crew. A 'necropolis journal' of the years 17 and 18 of Ramesses XI[325] preserves a series of records of a different type from that of the 'Giornale'. Although it contained some entries concerned with the issue of <u>smi</u> - oil of some sort[326] - and food, it was essentially concerned with the commissioning of various pieces of work and the detachment of men to do them, the completion of the jobs, and the return of the men. There was no attempt to maintain a daily entry, but simply to follow the theme. The text is to be considered a special record of special types of work, and presumably ran parallel to other types of record, kept in the better known format of the 'Giornale'.

It is clear that these remarks do not describe the full range of texts written by the scribes of the Tomb, nor satisfactorily indicate the temporal range of individual types. The unpublished Papyrus Greg, for instance, is a text of the early Twentieth or late Nineteenth Dynasty,[327] recording the business of the Tomb in the manner and format one might expect of one type of complete composite journal,[328] but it is to the best of my knowledge unique among the preserved texts in its format. The entries, day by day, record firstly whether or not the crew worked, then any issue there may have been of lamp wicks, thirdly the receipt of any bread, beer, or other delicacies from the royal provisions centre (<u>'3 n 'nḫ nsw</u>), and similar receipts from the temples of the west bank at Thebes, and finally any receipts from the service-staff; gypsum, fish, firewood and pottery. Distributions of the grain

rations were noted. Sometimes also the names of men responsible for the receipt of commodities were added. The names varied, and each man was responsible only for the receipts of one side of the crew. Naturally there were not entries of every type every day, but the ordering of the entries for each day was strictly observed, giving the impression of methodical writing up from a collection of draft notes. Although an isolated text, this does seem to be a fair copy, composed from more specialized daily records, and the possibility that a regular, complete and finished administrative diary of this type was normally kept is in no way to be dismissed. The Papyrus Greg has much in common with the later journals on papyrus, in both the range and the limitations of its contents. The differences between them lie in the strictness with which the scribe of the Greg papyrus restricted the content and maintained the order of his text. It appears to have been a fair copy, against the daily written accounts of the 'Giornale', where there was always a tendency to add notes that needed to be made somewhere convenient, but did not belong strictly to the particular text. Even within the range of their entriesnone of the daybooks, the ostraca, the papyrus journals or the Greg papyrus, seem to have concerned themselves seriously with the conduct and the control of the work in detail. Their subject matter was the supply of the Tomb.

There can be no serious hope, and there is no intention here of trying to fit every text dealing with the affairs of the Tomb into a neat category, when the uneven preservation of texts makes it impossible to be sure just which types of record were the most important for the administration, or where the boundaries of individual classification should be drawn. However, the attempt to define such categories at all, and to consider the reasons why particular texts were composed is vital as illumination of the manner in which the crew were administered. An

understanding of why an individual entry was made gives context to the content. So far the description of the documentation of the Tomb has been based on the presumption that at its centre lay a system of diaries, accounts and registers written up daily, to record its business. The purposes to which these diaries, written on papyri or ostraca, were put is more obscure. The practical administration of the Tomb also required many other types of text to function smoothly.

Large numbers of ostraca bear texts that are simply names or numbers, extremely short phrases or abbreviated notes that are far from self-explanatory. Some such ostraca will, for instance, have been lots or oracle questions, texts to be put before the god so that he might make a choice.[329] More often they will have been simple notes, receipts and memoranda. The 'guardian' (s3w) of the Tomb,[330] perhaps with regard to his function he might better be described as the 'storeman', must have been as careful of his receipts as any modern equivalent. A 'model' text, probably used as a school text, contains some relevant material although admittedly it does not refer to the business of the Tomb.[331] The text concerns materials stored in a warehouse (wd3), under the charge of a controller (rwd). At issue was access to the materials stored there, these being listed at great length. In particular the official was addressed about 'your writings which are in your box' and what was 'found' recorded on them.[332]

An ostracon that was, rather surprisingly, found in the Valley of the Kings, preserves a (model?) letter from the guardian of the Tomb to the vizier Hori.[333] More significant are references to the guardian Karoy in letters from the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty.[334] He appears very prominently there with the foremen and scribes among the senders and recipients of letters concerning the administrative business of the Tomb. Within these letters he was much concerned with

copper, and the making of arms to be sent to the general Payankh fighting in the south.[335] In one case a receipt from the scribe Djehutimose was added to the top of a letter he wrote home to his son Butehamon, listing the quantities and weights of weapons that had reached him in Nubia from Karoy.[336] The actions of Karoy were, in this, no more than an extension of his normal functions, controlling the supplies and equipment of the Tomb normally stored in his warehouse. Prominent among the records dealing with such equipment are texts concerning the copper tools used by the workmen. Notices of their issue and exchange are not infrequent in various types of administrative document from the Tomb,[337] but the detailed administration of this type of equipment sometimes required more individual records.

A particular advantage in recording certain transactions on ostraca rather than papyri was that the actual weight of the ostracon could in itself be used as evidence, the ostracon acting as a counterweight for the object exchanged as well as a simple written receipt. Such 'weights'[338] were not unique to Deir el Medina, but examples from elsewhere are rare.[339] In some ways such texts can provide a better illustration of the control of materials and the ways in which transactions were carried out than do more detailed accounts or registers, but from the very abbreviation of the texts written on them there are still many obscurities surrounding their use. In principle such weights are to be considered simply as a type of receipt, equivalent to the frequent ostraca that recorded property of one person that was 'with' (<u>m-di</u>) or 'given' to another. Occasionally they bear fuller, more explanatory statements that make this connection clear.[340] A weight might be entitled  , 'statement',[341] or  , 'memorandum';[342] or it might note that it represented what was to be obtained from,[343] or given to[344] somebody. It might simply also record '(the) deficit

of so-and-so',[345] a debt still due.

Such counterweights were particularly convenient when the payment or debt recorded was a single commodity of some value, and the actual weight was a matter of real importance. The standard measure of weight in the Ramesside period, the deben, was the equivalent of about 91 grams.[346] For normal purposes, however, there was no very accurate standardization,[347] and accurate small fractions of the deben would have been virtually impossible to deal with for everyday transactions. Indeed, accounts from Deir el Medina did not normally use fractions other than the half deben, and preferred to round off to whole numbers weights and values expressed in deben.[348] Within a small community the absolute accuracy of the weights would normally be of little importance, provided that a particular weight was always used for a particular purpose, and comparison with absolute values was not necessary.[349] The lack of standardization is very obvious from a consideration of the fluctuation in size of stones from Deir el Medina that are actually labelled as deben weights.[350] A pedantic adherence to mathematically accurate divisions of weight and value down to small fractions of the deben could have no practical value in many transactions, and would simply have led to disputes over the size of the weight used in others. If some reasonably accurate record of the weight of some particularly valuable object or material were required, it would have been fairly straightforward, and more convenient at Deir el Medina, to find or trim to suitable size[351] a stone to act as an exact counterweight.

The use of such weights at Deir el Medina seems to have been standard for both private and public transactions, and in many cases it is impossible to tell into which category a particular example should be placed. For instance, weights referring to the tools of the workmen are not explicitly connected, by their texts, with the regular issues

to the individual men. It has generally been assumed[352] that there was a system whereby a counterweight was kept by the guardian in the site office as receipt for each tool issued. Such a practice, plausible as it may seem, cannot be documented. The few weights for tools which contain any text explaining their purpose, refer to work done by a coppersmith.[353] In some examples the fuller explanations seem to have been given because one sort of tool was being converted into another.[354] Also, in a few cases, the tools recorded on weights were said to be blunt,[355] and one may justifiably presume that they had been taken out of commission for reworking. However, the vast majority of weights for copper[356] carry merely the name of the tool or object, perhaps with the addition of a date and the name of the person or the side of the crew to which it belonged. As an alternative explanation for the use of such counterweights one may suggest that they represent in large part the tools handed over for reworking by the coppersmiths, and not tools handed out for work on the site. This would seem to explain better the concern about the precise weights of metal, and fit better with the existence of numerous weights recording other types of metal object.[357] One other unusually full entry on a tool weight should be noted.[358] This was the weight of the '<u>'nt</u>-tool of Neferhotep, given to the scribe Ramose'. Such a text demonstrates well the impossibility of distinguishing among weights dealing with official and those dealing with private transactions, for this could as well have been a private loan as the surrender of an official tool to one of the officials of the Tomb.

Weights as receipts for the other commodities that were issued from the warehouse for the work occur in much smaller quantities. There are weights for the azurite or blue frit[359] that was used for blue paint. One text expressly represented a weight of pigments issued for grinding,[360]

and so perhaps these weights record the quantities issued for preparation, rather than issued for actual immediate use in the decoration of the tombs. It is also likely that the weights recording receipts of thread and (old) clothes[361] represent quantities of material issued for making the wicks for the lamps used by the workmen.[362] This view is supported by the fact that these weights are occasionally connected with women's names.[363] There is clear evidence that such materials were issued to the members of the crew for this very purpose.[364] One weight does indeed record that 'It will be required as wicks from Duau',[365] and perhaps the small number of weights recording wicks themselves[366] are really recording the same thing as those of thread and materials, simply speaking of the finished product expected rather than the raw materials.

There would be no justification for treating the weights referring to cloth and thread as recording the issue of payments for the people of the Tomb. The only wage commodity for which such weights are preserved in any quantity is fish. Large, regular shaped weights have been preserved,[367] all from the village itself or from the area just to the north and around the 'Grand Puits', recording quantities of fish. These weights usually recorded the name of a type of fish, and in two cases[368] noted that they were weights of one or the other side of the crew. The quality of these weights implies that they were regularly used, not random pieces for a single use, and it is probable that they represent quantities regularly due. Unfortunately their inscriptions do not make clear what payments they represented, or what relationship they bore to the regular deliveries from the fishermen. When the actual weight of these objects has been recorded it is not particularly high;[369] a weight of <u>šdḥ</u>-fish for the right side was 3,250gms, two weights of fish  were 1,190gms and 1,235gms, and a weight of fresh <u>snḏ</u>-fish was 1,026gms. The quantities of fish delivered to the side as a whole were

far too high for weights of such size to be of any use in measuring them, and the likelihood is that they represent quantities issued to the individual workmen over a specific period. For the best documented period, the end of the reign of Ramesses III, a figure of between 8 and 9 kilos a month per man is the best available estimate of the quantities received by each workman.[370] The weights preserved, representing single types of fish, might be taken to represent only part of the whole issue. The receipt weights for fish[371] are even more difficult to analyse. Many have brief explanatory notes in their entries, but the lack of information about the identities or professions of the people mentioned stands in the way of forming any serious conclusions. A fish weight might represent 'what is to be given to'[372] somebody, or 'what is to be got from'[373] somebody, it might list what one person gave to another,[374] or list one person's deficit with another.[375] Fish were sometimes said to be 'in the possession of'[376] somebody, but more often were , 'of' or 'for'[377] a person, or [378] a person. In one such case a weight of s3-fish (83gms) was said to be ' Neferabu as half'.[379] This formula was sometimes expanded to [380] or [381] somebody. Because the sense of these terms is not clear[382] there can be no certainty whether the weights referred to quantities due to or from the people named. The variety of transactions involving fish that are mentioned among the documents of the people of the Tomb,[383] and the lack of documents dealing with the distribution of fish among them, might well indicate that these weights represented quantities, due to individuals, that had not been issued at the correct distribution, but held over until more fish became available. Others may well refer to private arrangements among the members of the crew. One may also note, although provide no explanation for, an ostracon[384] which gives a list of the receipt-weights themselves, each said to

record fish for different people.

As so often with administrative documents, the background to the transactions, so obvious to those taking part in them, was not recorded in sufficient detail for the modern commentator to give a description of them with any real degree of confidence. One may perhaps see in the rare weights referring to other foodstuffs[385] examples of a usage similar to that for fish. The only weight specifically mentioning grain[386] has an unusual formula, calling itself 'the weight of/for month III of akhet, day 1, of emmer'. The weight itself now being mislaid the quantity envisaged cannot be ascertained. It is difficult to imagine that this weight represented a quantity of grain from the grain rations, paid or still to be paid on that date, for the cereals are otherwise referred to by measure, not weight.[387] It is also quite impossible to ascertain the balance between the records of official, and the records of private transactions in the preserved texts. Some weights referring to transactions involving tools[388] and wicks[389] deal with quantities by side of the crew. Curiously, apart from the special series discussed above, the published weights for fish never mention the two sides. There are also a number of weights which refer to the sides of the crew, but do not mention the commodity involved.[390] Two weights, again without mentioning particular commodities, have texts referring to the Tomb itself.[391] A particularly difficult example[392] carries the text, 'weight of/for so-and-so, daily, of/for the Temple of Amon'. The weights came almost entirely from the village site of Deir el Medina, not from the worksites.[393] Particularly they were found to the north of the village, in and around the 'Grand Puits'. They were probably originally kept in the normal business centre of the Tomb, located somewhere in this area, when they were not kept in private houses.

Simple lists, accounts and receipts[394] are an expected part of the administration of the Tomb, but one would not expect always to be able to distinguish between private business affairs and brief documents referring to official business. A case in point are the frequent texts referring to donkey hire. The donkeys were hired to members of the service-staff (particularly water-carriers), presumably to enable them to carry out their duties. Although usually witnessed by a number of people, in the normal fashion of tribunals at Deir el Medina, there are a small number of examples where the scribe alone is named as witness.[395] The arrangements for the hire of donkeys had the basic nature of private transactions, but were at the same time of the utmost importance officially as ensuring the regularity of the delivery of basic supplies to the Tomb. Many accounts referring to issues of direct importance to the work or the administration are to be found included in texts with which they do not seem to have any direct connection, and where they seem quite out of place. To some extent, of course, allowance must be made for the scribe including a necessary memorandum on the nearest piece of writing material to hand at a given moment, regardless of whether it was strictly speaking the right place.

A number of texts include ranges of material that make it exceedingly difficult, and rather speculative, to see any common thread running through the entries. A good example is provided by an ostracon[396] with entries covering a total of five consecutive days. It contains notices as to whether or not the crew worked on the particular day, but each entry contained wider ranging and more detailed matters of administrative interest. The absence of the crew on the first day went with the settlement, before a tribunal, of a dispute between a certain Pakenef and the scribe Pentahutnakhte, an external official often closely concerned with the business of the Tomb.[397] Whether this was merely

a private quarrel, or concerned the business affairs of the Tomb is unclear. The next day work was done, and the absence of the (administrative) scribe Horisheri and the draughtsman Pentaweret is noted. The following day no comment was made about whether or not the crew worked, but it was simply noted that the thread from the vizier was weighed. The first entry for the next day records in detail the issue of pigments, then that the crew worked, and finally that the draughtsmen Pentaweret and Paweraa were absent, grinding pigments. On the final day there was again no notice taken of whether or not the crew worked, simply a record that three men were sent to Town to ask for rations. The final entry, recording paint left over from the work on the tomb of Ramesses VII, may belong to that same day, or may simply be a note added later on a conveniently sized blank space.

This text was clearly not a work register of any sort; the notes about work being done or not done are purely incidental, if explanatory, to the main purposes of the entries, apparently the recording of the receipt and administration of supplies for the work and the payment of the crew. Thus the fact that the crew worked was not necessary in all cases, and not necessarily the first entry for the day, but could be slipped in after the notice that paint was issued. In this way it provided a suitable format for noting the absence of the draughtsmen to prepare it for use. The entry for the first day, noting the absence of the scribe Horisheri and the draughtsman Pentaweret, gives no explanation. One may guess that, like other entries in the text, it was concerned with the necessary painting materials. It must constantly be remembered that the scribe did not need to include such information as was obvious to him, but that can now only be guessed at. As with this ostracon, the attempt to define what the purpose of the particular scribe may have been in composing any single text may be extremely

valuable. It may therefore be possible to put a brief entry into context sufficiently for its content to become useful, although insufficient explanatory material has been provided by the scribe. Such deductions must always be tentative, often unreliable, and each individual text must be treated on its merits. The line of enquiry does, however, make it possible, from time to time, to approach the question of what the scribe was actually trying to achieve by his records.

When referring to certain types of document recording the business affairs of private people, it was noted above that an ostracon might have different entries on widely differing dates, continuing the same affair or with some common theme.[398] Similar types of document are naturally also to be found among the administrative records of the Tomb. There is no need to presume that in such cases they are in any way abstracts from other texts. A specific example of this type is provided by a Berlin ostracon,[399] which recorded transactions between the crew and a representative of the vizier, the scribe Paser, on three separate occasions between days 9 and 29 of month III of shemu in year 2 of Ramesses IV. A further note was added for day 2 of month IV of akhet. The main subject matter is a check on the names of the crew and a reduction in their numbers. The other events recorded are the prosecution of a draughtsman by the scribe, and the punishment then inflicted on him, and the gift of two silver chisels (h3) to the vizier. The only obvious connection that can be suggested for the events is that all the matters recorded were business in which the vizier was concerned, and the text perhaps represents a collection of the business done for him through the agency of the scribe Paser.

It can be seen that the business of the Tomb was sometimes collected into texts by subject matter, and not simply in the regular daybooks. A running account might be kept over a long period,

relevant additions being made as necessary. In this context some attention must be given to the composition of the so-called Turin Strike Papyrus.[400] The entries in that text were sometimes made in consecutive series, and sometimes were complete in themselves, were written up apparently at irregular intervals, and at first sight cover a wide range of subjects in chaotic fashion. Yet, it may be argued that there is a basic unity running through the texts,[401] and that they are all concerned with the failure of the supply system for the Tomb, the problems caused by that failure, and the attempts to relieve the situation. Although treating the text as a unity in this way, it is impossible to be certain that this is a completely correct judgement. Where no obvious connection can be seen with the main subject matter, it might be presumed that the scribe had scribbled a note on an available blank piece of paper, or that the event recorded was of such personal interest to the scribe that he wrote it up where it did not really belong. In the first category one might place an entry in the Strike Papyrus[402] dealing with fats for the lamps, dated several months later than the rest of the papyrus, and filling up a small space at the bottom of the third column of the recto. In the second category one might place the entry[403] recording the death of the scribe Pentaweret, son of the scribe Amonnakhte. Notices of the deaths of members of the crew are not common, but the death of the same Pentaweret is also noted in a graffito from the Valley of the Kings,[404] dated a few days earlier than the entry in the Strike Papyrus. The record there is probably to be explained by presuming that Pentaweret was the son of the man who actually wrote the papyrus, the current administrative scribe of the Tomb, Amonnakhte.[405]

The major entries that do not fit readily into the obvious subject matter of the Turin Strike Papyrus have a certain unity of their own. They concern accusations about the crimes of a certain Userhet,[406] and

a list of transactions of his, involving his appearance before a court, where he seems to have dissociated himself from responsibility for his children.[407] As the transactions listed include payments to a physician and a nurse one may presume that the dispute was in some way about the children's needs,[408] and perhaps it also involved property rights. The information about his actions is too sparse to be sure of the reason for the inclusion of these texts, except that the accusations made against him centred on his depredations in the necropolis. This may have seemed sufficient reason to include his indictment in a text recording troubles in the Tomb. It seems, however, a rather lame explanation to suggest that his other affairs were included simply for convenience of reference.[409]

More or less plausible reasons may be put forward to connect the various other entries in the papyrus, or at least suggest reasons why the scribe included them. In this way it is possible to attempt a description of the way in which the text was put together, and the order in which it was kept.[410] The earliest entries are those of the first four columns of the verso. The first two columns give an undated list of the members of the service-staff; the third and fourth a similar list dated to month III of akhet. These are followed in the fifth, and at the top of the sixth columns by the account of the private affairs of Userhet, dated to the fourth month of akhet. In the available spaces underneath these columns other notes were added. In the second column, under the lists of the service-staff is an account of the promise of the gatekeeper to reform the service-staff, increasing their numbers, dated to the second day of month I of peret. Its positioning was presumably thematic, for convenience of reference. Under the third column was added an account of the distribution of grain rations that brought an end to the main series of troubles recorded in the papyrus,

dated to day 15 of month II of peret. In the space under the fourth column is an undated account of a delivery of vegetables, under the sixth an undated account of a water distribution. The eighth column contains a broken account of fish deliveries over some months. A further small account is presumably lost from the bottom of the seventh and eighth columns. The last preserved date is in the second month of peret. With the exception of the affair of Userhet, these accounts can all be seen as illustrative background material to the main account of the recto. It is impossible to tell whether the majority of the papyrus was written up at one time, or was kept as a running account.[411] The notes collected on the verso might indeed be a collection of material added as illustration when the main text of the recto was written up. The long single line running along the top, essentially duplicating the first important entry of the recto, that of day 10 of month II of peret, has every appearance of being a docket, more readily accessible for information about content when the papyrus was rolled and stored.[412] The note of a food delivery made by Pentaweret on day 11 of that month, written into the small gap in front of that docket, may perhaps imply that the main texts of the verso had already been written up by that date, but it might also be a simple addition that the scribe had missed when first writing the text, or a note deliberately written on the edge of the still virtually blank sheet in order not to waste space.

On the recto the main accounts follow in good consecutive order, recording the troubles in the middle of month II of peret in the first two columns, and following with those of month III. The involvement of the vizier at the end of month IV of peret completes the second column and begins the third. That column continues with the troubles of month I of shemu. The accusations against Userhet, in the middle of that month, take up half of the fourth column. The only entry

seriously out of place is the account of promises to help and of advice given by a chief of police, on day 13 of month II of peret. This stands, upside down, under the fourth column, and is probably best to be explained as a later addition, forgotten or omitted for some reason by the scribe in the original process of composition. It was, however, written before the entry above it, for the final line of that passage was shortened and written to its left. A further note referring to another offence of Userhet, and perhaps really belonging to the body of that part of the fourth column, was put into the gap below the original entry in the third column. The brief note of the death of Pentaweret above the second column, and the much later entry dealing with oils for the lamps have already been referred to above as unrelated additions, not belonging to the main purpose of the papyrus. The outstanding entry which has not been explained here is the latest dated entry on the verso. This records a visit by the crew to appeal for food at the Ramesseum on day 25 of month I of shemu, and the reply they received. This passage fills a cramped and rather irregular space between the sixth and eighth columns, and seems fairly clearly to have been a later addition when the rest of the text was completed. It is difficult to see why it was not added to the recto, where there was sufficient space remaining.

As usual, omissions from the text make conclusions unreliable, but it is difficult to believe in this case that the entries were written up always on the days to which they refer, or to which they were dated. One must perhaps visualize at least the body of the text being written or copied up at one time, with additions made later as they seemed relevant. It is well worthy of note that the last entry belonging to the main subject matter, that of day 25 of month I of shemu, was the last day of the civil year in the reign of Ramesses III, the celebration of his

accession and the beginning of his thirtieth year following on day 26 of that month. The ending of the text is therefore presumably to be related to the end of the year (an annual account?) and not the ending of the troubles. The impression is that the body of the text, probably on both sides, was written up at one time, in the middle of month II of peret, and that other relevant material was then added as required until the end of the year.

The presumption that a text such as the Turin Strike Papyrus was at least partly written up after the event by the actual copying of other texts is as yet unsupported by incontrovertible evidence. The entries often have the format of single memoranda of a type found on individual ostraca. Thus ostraca in Berlin and Sydney[413] record related events of roughly contemporary date, showing models from which the majority of entries to the Strike Papyrus might have been copied, but as yet no clear pair of examples - an ostracon and a papyrus showing exactly the same text - has come to light. It is not unlikely that the scribe simply wrote such texts on one or the other material as was convenient to him. Where other documents have been preserved recording the same events as did the Strike Papyrus,[414] these are brief notes in the daybooks, the normal record of the daily receipts and business of the Tomb, and there are significant differences in detail. It is clear that in these cases there was no question of simple copying, from one to the other. There is no need, of course, to presume that a detailed and circumstantial account was composed on the day to which it referred, or that a brief note in an exactly contemporary text had to be slavishly copied rather than edited and elaborated by the scribe from memory when he was writing up a report.

The purpose of the Turin Strike Papyrus is unclear. No explanatory heading is preserved, and probably none ever existed. One suspects it

to be a collection of material suitable for use in the appeals made by the crew for payment, the essential act in the so-called strikes, rather than being itself a report or draft of a report to be sent away to some responsible official. Such a theory cannot, however, be proved. It is not even clear to what extent it was necessary, in the Ramesside period, for the officials of the Tomb to send written reports to their superiors on the everyday events, the progress of the work and the receipt of supplies, or rather in what detail such reports had to be made. There seems little reason to believe that such daily details, rather than the overall totals, were of any real significance to external high officials.[415] Ostraca from the Tomb containing copies of letters of report to high officials[416] were phrased in the most general of terms. Specific requests and complaints occur, but figures referring to the progress of the work do not, and accounts only occur in rare contexts, to do with deliveries over a considerable period.[417] Such texts are, admittedly almost entirely models, practice texts for apprentice scribes, but even if not genuine letters copied for practice, such models can be presumed by their very nature to show the correct and authentic forms. The series of scribal exercises preserved in the texts known as the 'Late Egyptian Miscellanies'[418] show that such model letters and reports did not shrink from using precise figures when these were an essential part of the exercise. However, the impression that precise figures and accounts of the progress of the work were not normally sent as a matter of course from Deir el Medina is reinforced by such genuine letters as have been preserved.[419] Individual matters of concern might be discussed in great detail,[420] but for the work of the crew as a whole the same types of generalization, the same assertions of enthusiasm and diligence are current as in the model texts written on ostraca.[421] In several cases individuals did also state that it was their sworn duty to

keep their superiors informed of abuses, when making reports to the vizier about the misbehaviour of others.[422]

From the other side of the administration, letters sent by officials with supervisory control over the crew often seem to have been the normal way by which they commissioned and controlled the work of the crew, as supplement to their occasional personal visits of inspection. The arrival of a letter from the vizier[423] was a great occasion, and was likely to be reported in the daybook in the same way as was the arrival of the great man himself.[424] The crew would be assembled, perhaps requiring them to leave their work, and the letter read to them. Their answer was recorded in the reply sent to the vizier as if they had been really talking to him on the spot.[425] The arrival of a representative of the king or the vizier, bearing a letter and orders, was the same in administrative effect as if they had received the orders from their lord himself.[426] Thus the instruction to appoint a physician to his father's job was noted in the record of the content of a letter from the vizier.[427] Elsewhere it was recorded that the number of the men in the crew was reduced on the strength of such a letter.[428]

Such letters must naturally have been a vital part of the administrative system of the state. The type of office from which they came is depicted in the Theban tomb of Tjay,[429] in this case the 'letter office of Pharaoh in Per-Ramesses'. In the Theban tomb of Khaiemhet[430] there is a depiction of the king appearing on his throne, 'to receive (the) documents of the harvest-taxes of Upper and Lower Egypt'. On one occasion the vizier himself appeared at the Tomb to read out a dispatch to the crew on the accession of a new king,[431] presumably the coronation decree. There will often be cause to note below that if the crew had any difficulty, any needs unfulfilled, they would ask for a letter to be sent 'to Pharaoh, our good Lord' and 'the vizier, our chief'.[432] Such appeals

were also made to the high officials when they visited the Tomb in person.[433] There can hardly be any doubt that any inspection of documents and accounts thought necessary could be made at that time, particularly when the officials were said to have come to 'receive' the work of the crew.[434] Perhaps it would be better to presume that any necessary audits of detailed accounts took place at the time of official visits, rather than that detailed diaries were sent as reports to some central office. However, it should be noted that if the necessary high official were not present when some matter had to be brought to his attention, the minor officials responsible were expected to travel to him 'carrying their memoranda'.[435] It is also necessary in the context of more local control to note an ostracon[436] containing a list of grain given as rations to the scribe Huy, which continued with the note that so much had been brought to him 'in writing', and that he was to keep the unknown writer informed about everything he did, and especially to keep a written account of the grain, and send it to the writer. This text, being written on an ostracon and not papyrus, probably belongs to some form of local control, rather than containing orders for reports to be made to a central authority.

Some documents, especially those referring to legal matters or to the delivery of materials and foodstuffs from other institutions, would not have been of interest only to the Tomb. Some of the Tomb Robbery papyri fall into this category. References to the trials of tomb robbers come in papyri written specially as trial records.[437] The papyrus journal of the late Twentieth Dynasty also contains some brief accounts of trials for this offence,[438] but their format is completely different. They simply contained the information of relevance to the diary, not full records of the conduct of the trials and the evidence presented. On occasion one expects it to have been necessary for a complete record to

have been kept at the Tomb as well as in the central administration. A papyrus in Turin[439] contains the 'Account (mitt) of all the dues (htr)' which were given to the Tomb by the overseer of the Treasury of Pharaoh, in year 4 of the 'Repeating of Births'. The document was made out by a deputy of the Treasury of Pharaoh, a scribe of the vizier, and the controllers (rwdw) of the Tomb, in the 'Mansion of Gold of the House of Amon'.[440] It was written on day 24 of month I of akhet, in year 5, thus early in the new year,[441] at the express command of the vizier and of the overseer of the Treasury of Pharaoh. The text unfortunately does not record where it was deposited, but one might presume that copies were kept among the documents of both the Treasury and the Tomb.[442] Such presumably would have been the type of account to be consulted by officials when they were told to 'consult the ancient writings of the Tomb'[443] about the dues. These dues were often spoken of as annual payments, and it is reasonable to expect that their account should have been written up annually. It also seems that the Turin Strike Papyrus was brought to an end at the end of a regnal year.[444] There is also a Turin ostracon[445] recording work in a tomb as 'what was done in year ///'. It is clear, however, that a strict annual audit at the beginning of each year was not a standard practice in Egypt. Lengthy accounts on papyri tend to cover apparently irregular periods, extending beyond the ends of years, between audits.[446]

The rate of literacy among the people of the Tomb is unknown. Presumably it was not very high. Simple, single signs, often not signs belonging to the writing system, were used on many types of object as marks of ownership. Such signs would be readily recognizable by illitate workmen.[447] The consideration that the official scribe wrote many texts and documents dealing with private business affairs for individual workmen will not always necessarily prove, but may at least

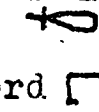
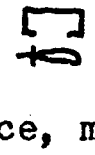
indicate that the participants were illiterate. Doubtless the majority of workmen were not able to do more than scribble their names on the rocks of the valleys.[448] A high proportion of the texts from Deir el Medina, both ostraca and papyri, contain literary material. The majority of these seem to have been school exercises, although a number were doubtless written by experienced scribes, from interest or to fill an idle moment.[449] Some even appear to be original compositions, or semi-original variations on a theme.[450] Although schools of a sort did exist in Egypt,[451] the school texts from Deir el Medina are most likely to have been produced as the scribes taught their own sons to write.[452] The scribe of the Tomb Amonnakhte, for instance, had nine sons, all of whom laid claim to literacy in the title 'scribe' or 'draughtsman'.[453] The title scribe was apparently used quite regularly to indicate that the man was the writer, for instance of the letter in which it was used, and not to define his administrative rank. It could simply indicate, when used in correspondence, that the man wrote and read his own letters.

With few exceptions[454] the administrative scribes of the Tomb were first attested bearing the title sš-qd, 'draughtsman'. It is worth noting, therefore, that the Egyptian word sš, 'to write' meant with equal validity 'to draw' and 'to paint'.[455] The extension m qd, 'with figures' was added when it was to be stressed that pictorial decoration was involved. Thus one can be sure that the trainee scribe at Deir el Medina received drawing as well as writing instruction. This will account for some proportion of the figured ostraca found in the village, although others will have been trial sketches or the amusement of a scribe in an idle moment.[456] It is quite possible that the archives of the Tomb may have contained, as well as documents, also sets of drawings on papyrus, of plans and layouts for the walls of the tombs.[457]

Some of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings were clearly decorated in a manner designed to represent an old magical book,[458] and such must have been copied from examples in the records of the Tomb. It is not clear, unfortunately, what was contained in the book listed on the wall of the library of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, the 'Book of instructions for painting walls and the proportions of figures'.[459] There is, however, every reason to believe that the tombs themselves at Thebes were dug by the crew according to drawn plans.[460] It is also noteworthy that the title 'scribe of the palace library of the god's book' was held by artists employed building tombs in the Old Kingdom.[461]

Many questions concerning the documentary procedures of the Tomb remain unanswered, even unasked. Some of the tentative solutions and explanations given here will prove, in the light of further understanding and of the new discovery and publication of texts, to be erroneous. It is, however, to be hoped that gradually more sophisticated understandings of the actual purposes of individual texts, and particularly of their authorship, will lead to a much more detailed picture of the internal organisation of the workforce at Deir el Medina, and with it to a more detailed understanding of the life and duties of the minor officials and workmen living there.

II. Pharaoh.

The word Pharaoh had become, by the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the normal term of reference for the ruling king of Egypt when the speaker did not wish to use the king's actual name.[1] The use of 'Pharaoh' as a title 'King', preceding the royal name does not occur before the Third Intermediate Period.[2] In origin the word , pr '3, 'Great House' referred simply to the palace.[3] The word , pr, 'house' has, however, the natural extension of meaning in Egyptian[4] whereby it refers not only to the physical house, but also to its inhabitants, the 'household'[5] and also to the possessions[6] and landed property[7] attached to it, the 'estate'. In this sense gods, kings, members of the royal family as also private people had their 'houses'; the house, palace or temple at the centre of the estate administration. The king's house, , the 'Great House', became in time less used of the actual palace, more confined to its sense of the 'Great Estate', and in effect the estate and administration par excellence.[8] In this sense it is the nearest the ancient Egyptians came to the modern concept of a 'State'.[9] The Egyptian conceived of his country as a geographical rather than a political entity. It was 'the black land', 'the two lands', 'the two river banks'. Without the king, without the 'Great House' there was no state of Egypt. How far the reigning monarch was separable as an individual from Pharaoh as an institution in the New Kingdom is unclear. In theory the whole state belonged to the crown,[10] although the theoretical ownership is not normally evident in practical applications. Each king created his own personal estates and mortuary temple, and these are frequently found functioning, in diminished form, long after his death.[11] Yet it is quite clear that at least the greater part of the endowment of the funerary temples lapsed at the death of the king, on the foundation of a new temple for the new reigning king.[12] It is, moreover,

possible to draw a picture distinguishing the separate administration of the palace, with a 'privy purse', from the public revenues and administration.[13] To a large extent this division is perhaps better to be regarded as an administrative convenience, the assignment of suitable revenues for the particular purpose, than a real distinction between the king and state.

The workforce of the Tomb was employed by Pharaoh. That is the state or ruling king. The full name of the institution was indeed 'The Great and Noble Tomb of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, on the West of Thebes',[14] the tomb of the reigning king.[15] The workforce were referred to as 'the crew of Pharaoh'.[16] Pharaoh, their employer, they addressed as their 'good Lord',[17] the manner in which he was addressed by the population as a whole.[18] It is, however, noteworthy that although they might sometimes address the vizier as 'my Lord' (p3y•i nb), yet when both Pharaoh and the vizier were addressed at the same time, a clear distinction was drawn between Pharaoh, 'my Lord', and the vizier, 'my chief' (p3y•i hry).[19] Although their employer, Pharaoh was a distant figure not immediately concerned with the control of their work. Indeed, it was very rare that reference was made, in the Ramesside period,[20] to a visit of the king to the west bank at Thebes.[21] The work was under the control of the vizier, and normally left entirely to his supervision.[22] The picture will doubtless have been rather different in the Eighteenth Dynasty, when Thebes was more often occupied as capital,[23] and the tombs and great funerary monuments were not always built under the supervision of the vizier,[24] but often apparently by royal favourites, men with a variety of high titles, men such as Inene[25] under Tuthmosis I, Senmut and Hapusonb under Hatshepsut, and Amonhotep son of Hapu under Amonhotep III.

Although the regular control of the work and administration of the

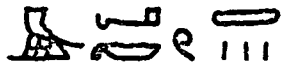
Tomb was in the immediate charge of the vizier, it was quite specifically referred to as a 'Place of Pharaoh', or 'this Great Place of Pharaoh', a department of the state or a part of the king's estate. Reports were therefore made directly to the king as well as to the vizier. The principle was maintained that, as the head of the institution, the king was really in charge, and must be reported to so that he might oversee the work of his officials.[26] This was particularly so in the case of alleged crime and corruption in the necropolis.[27] It is, of course, quite natural for ordinary people to feel that kings are omniscient and omnipotent, capable of solving the individual's problems if only they can be informed of them. However, it is only very rarely that suggestions are to be found of the king personally taking action that affected the people of the Tomb,[28] although it was normal for people to be spoken of as working according to, or being provided for by the good plans of the king.[29] In practice, when a request was made to Pharaoh requiring action, he was asked to send 'people of Pharaoh',[30] his officials, to intervene. To what extent the actual king retained a position of personal supervision and detailed control of the state offices in the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty is a serious problem. The famous text describing the duties of the vizier[31] shows the king actually controlling in detail the actions of his highest officials, but the picture it shows will have been seriously out of date by the end of the Ramesside period. In the Theban tomb of Khaiemhet (no. 57) the king is shown appearing in audience on his throne to receive the accounts of grain taxes of Upper and Lower Egypt, and tribute from Nubia and Asia. He then appears on his throne to reward the relevant officials.[32] This cannot, however, be taken as evidence of detailed supervision. By the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the family of the High Priest of Amon held, in Thebes, the important offices controlling the state

finances as well as military control,[33] and could talk of Pharaoh's control of their actions with contempt.[34] By that date the description of departments of the administration as departments 'of Pharaoh' had clearly no relevance to control by the king, but merely indicated that they were departments of the state administration.

Treating the Tomb as a department of state devoted to particular royal works, its connections with other departments of state can be clearly understood. The two most important departments of state to the people of the Tomb were the Treasury of Pharaoh, whose officials dealt with payments and deliveries to them of a wide range,[35] as well as occasionally examining work there,[36] and the Granaries of Pharaoh, whose officials were concerned only with the payment to them of a restricted range of foodstuffs.[37] Other departments 'of Pharaoh' are met with less frequently in texts from Deir el Medina. Leather for the work baskets was supplied from a 'Stockyard(?) of Pharaoh' in Thebes,[38] and small quantities of food, presumably reversions from divine offerings, came from the , 'Controller(?) of King's Provisions of Pharaoh in Town'.[39] Indeed, the warehouse in which the equipment of the Tomb was stored was described as 'the warehouse of Pharaoh', and not '*the warehouse of the Tomb'.

In his stela from Manshiyet es Sadr, referring to the organisation and the work of his quarrymen, Ramesses II declared,[40] 'I have looked after your interests (iry·i hrt·tn) well, saying, "You have worked for me with loving heart, (and so) I have been firm as protector of your interests".' The interests referred to were essentially their receipts as wages and rewards. The relationship between Pharaoh and the crew at Deir el Medina was the same. Pharaoh looked after their interests by payment through the various institutions of state.[41] The numerous texts listing payments of the grain rations do not give this information

directly, but it is clear from the incidental background sources. Thus, in the Turin Strike Papyrus[42] the mayor of Thebes gave the crew some grain to last 'until Pharaoh shall give you grain rations'. Similarly, grain collected from the khato-land of Pharaoh at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty by the scribe Djehutimose was assigned to the Tomb.[43] Also an example of the late Twentieth Dynasty[44] seems to demonstrate the theoretically correct source of payment.[45] The crew came over to the east bank, where they spent the night. Then the High Priest of Amon came before the 'great magistrates', and refused to give the crew grain rations, telling them that it was the duty of the 'chief (hry) in whose department (st) they sleep (=live?)' to pay them. The following day the scribe of the vizier and the deputy of the Granaries of Pharaoh were summoned before the court and told to pay the grain rations from 'the grain of the vizier'.

The other foodstuffs and payments in kind assigned to the crew, their annual dues (htr), were clearly stated to be given to them by Pharaoh.[46] Individual commodities were occasionally described in texts from Deir el Medina as 'such-and-such a commodity of Pharaoh'; cakes,[47] clothing or cloth (hbsw),[48] mss-garments,[49] and sandals.[50] Such are to be presumed part of the payments made to the crew,[51] for in other texts similar commodities were actually said to have been given by Pharaoh; sandals,[52] a dʒiw-cloth,[53] and natron.[54] The wages of the crew thus came, in theory, directly from Pharaoh. It was said to be at his express orders[55] that the payment called , mk, was given to the crew. This term perhaps referred to the payments normally expected by the crew, rather than special payments of bonuses.[56] On top of their normal payments, the crew expected to receive from Pharaoh, on the completion of a particular piece of work, a special payment or reward, a 'tip' or 'present' (fqʒ or hswt) as

bonus. An example is preserved in which such a reward was said to have been given at the king's express order, after some royal statues had been made for the local shrine of Hathor.[57]

The materials used for the work, even the tools,[58] were the property of Pharaoh. However, these latter were issued to individuals for long periods, and thus liable to become confused with their own private property. The leather for the baskets in which the rubble was carried away from the work was provided from a royal department in Town, the Royal Stockyard(?).[59] The wicks for the lamps used in the tombs were likewise carefully controlled through the warehouse.[60] It even seems likely that the houses of the workmen were the property of Pharaoh,[61] liable to revert to him if the occupant committed some offence,[62] or ceased to be employed in the Tomb,[63] although in this matter the evidence is not absolutely conclusive.

The work on which the people of the Tomb were engaged was sometimes described as 'the work in progress of Pharaoh',[64] and by this the actual tomb construction was clearly meant. The individual was sometimes recorded as absent from that work carrying out some special job for Pharaoh.[65] The making of statues for the local shrine of Hathor was mentioned above. In one text a man seems to have been credited with 'absence of Pharaoh, 6 [days]', in parallel to 'watch duty, 1 day'.[66] In principle such small tasks are not to be considered as work organised in a significantly different fashion from the major works on the tombs by the whole crew. These were in the same way treated as specific 'commissions' (shn) or 'errands' (wpt), and the crew wrote to their superiors stressing the cheerful, loyal and uncomplaining way they were carrying out all such tasks given to them.[67] It might happen, however, that in a particular place 'no work of Pharaoh was on hand', and then the men might go home.[68] It is not, in fact, clear how regularly the

men were expected to work. The proportions of days absence recorded in the preserved work registers is remarkably high for it to be presumed that the men were always strictly required to attend work every day.[69] Attendance is likely to have depended very largely on just what the current regime required to have done. The amounts of work required to complete the various tombs in the Valley of the Kings could hardly have taken up the entire energies of the crew during the particular reigns. More time will have been used up in the Valley of the Queens for instance. This is understandably best documented at the end of the long reign of Ramesses III. One text[70] does preserve a note apparently dividing a total of 80 days into 'His, 27. Pharaoh, 53', a ratio of 2 - 1. It is not clear, however, that this can be taken to represent a regular and expected division of time.

Pharaoh was, therefore, a good paternalistic employer, showing personal concern for his employees,[71] at least in principle, and when the system was functioning properly. He received letters of report,[72] and in return sent letters and officials to visit the crew.[73] He paid their wages and rewarded their loyal work. At the same time he remained the embodiment of the state. He was, for instance, the centre of the legal system. What little is known of specific legal enactments in the New Kingdom consists of references to the 'Law of Pharaoh',[74] or to things which 'Pharaoh has said'.[75] Such references are essentially to be found in the context of property transactions and inheritance. In the field of criminal law there seems to have been a distinction between offences against private property and offences against state or temple property. Both were in essence torts, to be pursued by the person wronged, but in the former this was the individual in his local tribunal, and in the latter it was the full force of the state administration, with complete exercise of the executive power for

inquest and examination.[76] The pursuit and enquiry were naturally of a quite different degree of determination in such public offences.[77] For instance, penalties for such crimes as were specified in royal edicts such as the Nauri Decree of Sethi I, protecting his foundation for Usiris at Abydos, were many times higher than those normally exacted for private cases of the same types.[78] The abuse by an official of his office, and offences arising from that, also lay within the orbit of such public offences.[79] Reports and appeals were made direct to Pharaoh about such official misconduct[80] or negligence.[81] Moreover, it seems to have been the duty of each individual to report such misbehaviour as a matter of course.[82]

Within the actual practice of the legal system in Egypt the oath was of central importance. No testimony or decision was given without the appropriate oaths being sworn, and these oaths were taken, at least in part, in the name of Pharaoh.[83] He was 'the Ruler, l.p.h., he whose power is more awful than death'.[84] The abuse of his name was a dangerous thing, liable to bring down the severest of punishment.[85] Without attempting to define the true nature of the 'divinity' of the Egyptian king, it cannot be surprising that the workforce of the royal Tomb, so closely connected with, and dependent on the king, should have been especially connected with the cults and rituals of the kings for whom they and their fathers had worked. Such royal cults were, in the New Kingdom, by no means restricted to the large, official mortuary temples of the individual kings, built particularly along the edge of the cultivation on the west bank at Thebes. The contemporary inhabitants of Deir el Medina, like other people buried on the west bank at Thebes, tended to orient their tombs towards the mortuary temple of their reigning king.[86]

Minor cults of kings were found in more widespread, popular form

along the west bank. In the Ramesside period at Deir el Medina the cult of a statue of Amonhotep I, named 'Amonhotep, Lord of the Village', together with a statue of his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari, and their regular appearances in procession, provided the focus for the communal religious activity of the people of the Tomb.[87] Although the most commonly attested at Deir el Medina, this statue of Amonhotep, Lord of the Village, was not the only statue of that king with a cult and oracle on the west bank at Thebes. Others less well known were statues such as 'Amonhotep, Paibib'[88] or 'Amonhotep, Pakhenty', probably to be visualized as the cult statues of other small shrines on the west bank.[89] Cults were likewise observed for many, if not all, the legitimate kings of the New Kingdom, and for some of the Middle Kingdom.[90]

The maintenance of the cults of kings long dead, and the adoration of royal statues or of royal cartouches, even of the current reigning king, are familiar phenomena from New Kingdom Egypt.[91] The vitality of such cults was not only related to the king's own mortuary temples, or his other major foundations, nor did the people of the Tomb form a group in any way unique in their dependence on the king leading them to practice cults of royal statues and the royal ka. Similar shrines to those found to the north of the village of Deir el Medina are attested from many places.[92] Most vividly, a group of stelae, mostly now in Hildesheim, but probably all originating in the region of Qantir, show that the people there venerated a group of statues of Ramesses II.[93] The way in which these statues were depicted, their iconography and the titles and names attached to them, imply that they were a group of statues closely similar to those normally found in front of the temples of the time of Ramesses II; their names are those regularly attached to his colossi.[94] Many of the dedicators of these stelae had military titles, or were depicted in military dress. The majority also

bore titles compounded, as often were those of the crew at Deir el Medina, with the words n nb t3wy, 'of the Lord of the Two Lands', or n pr-'3, 'of Pharaoh'. The dating of this group of stelae can also be firmly fixed to the reign of Ramesses II by the depiction on one of them of that king offering to his own statue.[95] A direct comparison between this cult of colossi of Ramesses II and the cult of royal statues, particularly that of Amonhotep I, at Deir el Medina cannot be carried very far, since the evidence from Qantir is limited to votive stelae, and refers to statues belonging to a major temple, whereas that from Deir el Medina refers to local shrines, and covers a wide range of material. A more immediate comparison is perhaps to be found in a stela[96] from Abydos, referring to an oracle of the king Ahmose, and belonging to the reign of Ramesses II. From the detail, and the quality of the stela, this oracle and cult seems to have been even smaller than those of the kings at Deir el Medina.

The early Ramesside period was one where a particular stress was laid on the royal cults in a newly developed way. In a high proportion of the temples built in the reign of Ramesses II depictions are found[97] on the walls showing the cult of statues of Ramesses, essentially of the living ka of Ramesses,[98] together with that of the god. It becomes, in effect, difficult to dissociate the purpose of Ramesses' temple building elsewhere from that of his mortuary temple. The series of colossi standing in front of his various temples tended to bear similar, or identical, sets of names; names already in essence used for colossi at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It was around such named statues that the cults of Ramesses II were normally collected.[99] The range of such cults was, however, wider, for a Petersburg papyrus notes, among other endowments, that[100] a royal statue in the hnw-shrine of the House of the Treasurer (imy-r sd3wt) received grain. Such cults for

Ramesses II were not unique in the Ramesside period,[101] nor even an innovation,[102] except in their extent and prestige. The cult of Ramesses II, or rather his ka, together with his wife,[103] is in no way to be distinguished from that of other kings. It is simply better and more lavishly attested, probably as the result of active royal encouragement during the long reign of that king, when it would have had time to develop.

A particular emphasis on the cults of dead kings is also unusually well attested at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, perhaps partly explicable by the concern of the early kings of that Dynasty to stress the legitimacy of their succession. Already Horemheb had restored the tomb of Tuthmosis IV,[104] and the names of those two kings are often associated with those of Sethi I and Ramesses II on monuments from Deir el Medina.[105] However, already in the reign of Tuthmosis III depictions of all the kings who had left monuments at Karnak were placed together on the walls of that temple in the so-called Karnak King List, to benefit from the offerings made in the daily ritual.[106] The mortuary temples of Sethi I and Ramesses II at Abydos contained more complete developments from this in the form of their king lists,[107] naming all the kings they recognised as legitimate from the earliest days, so that they might benefit from the reversions of offerings in the 'Ritual of the Royal Ancestors'.[108] Evidence is almost entirely lacking from other mortuary temples of the New Kingdom about this ritual, from Thebes and from Memphis, but it is likely that it was a standard ritual. The offerings were first made to the major god (or gods) of a temple, and then reverted to the king, apparently as the normal rite in all temples, but it is impossible to tell how regularly, before the Ramesside period a reversion of such offerings to earlier kings and members of the royal family was also made.

Evidence for the 'Ritual of the Royal Ancestors' in the Ramesside period is not, however, limited to mortuary temples. The so-called Saqqara King List,[109] from the tomb of a certain Tjunery, is similar in date to the Abydos lists, and provides a rather smaller and more restricted list of kings receiving the offerings. Tjunery bore the titles, 'festival controller of all the gods, overseer of all the works on all the monuments of the king, king's scribe and lector priest', and the offerings received by the dead kings, apparently from the endowment of Ramesses II, were expected to pass also to him. No list of such length has been found in the private tombs at Thebes. However, there are preserved a few depictions of offerings made to rows of statues of the kings and members of the royal families of the New Kingdom.[110] Two such groups are preserved in tombs at Deir el Medina, those of Khaibekhnet[111] and of the foreman Anherkhau.[112] As with the local depictions of the cult of statues of Amonhotep I, it is not improbable that these depictions portrayed specific local cult statues. Depictions of the cult of individual kings, especially their processions, are also widespread in Theban tombs.[113] A particularly fine example comes from the early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Userhet.[114] As the holder of an apparently hereditary office as 'First Prophet of the Ka of King (Aakheperkare) ', Userhet was shown wearing ritual garments bearing the cartouches of Ramesses I and Sethi I, and performing the cult for Tuthmosis I and his wife Ahmose. Also depicted are the vizier of the reign of Tuthmosis I, Imhotep, the famous High Priest of Amon, Hapusonb, also of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and another High Priest of Amon, Khonsuemheb, perhaps because of family relationships to Userhet himself.[115]

The majority of these depictions of the posthumous cult of the kings can naturally be connected with the ritual performed in the mortuary temples of those kings, whether at Thebes or elsewhere. The evidence

from Deir el Medina shows, however, that this is not the complete story. The profusion of oratories and small chapels[116] on that site included, as well as shrines of the locally worshipped gods, a series of chapels for the cult of various kings of the New Kingdom. A complete understanding of the archaeological evidence from the chapels, mostly in the area north of the village, now seems to be impossible, the picture having been obscured by clearances carried out in the Ptolemaic period when developing the temple of Hathor, compounded by the early, insufficiently documented, excavation there, licit or not, in modern times.

The best documented of these shrines is that of Ramesses II,[117] probably built on the site of an earlier Eighteenth Dynasty chapel, and bearing the name, the 'Ḥnw-chapel of (Ramesses Meryamon), given life, the noble b3k3 beside the Temple of his mother Hathor, on the west of Thebes'.[118] The connection between this royal cult and that of Hathor is stressed by a series of local depictions of kings standing in front of a protecting Hathor cow.[119] The builder of this shrine was apparently the scribe of the Tomb, Ramose. Although the name is broken, there can be no doubt that his is the adoring figure depicted on one of the reliefs from this shrine, with an inscription claiming responsibility for the construction and installation of the statue.[120] For this he received rewards from the king, was given bread and beer from the kings mortuary temple, and the office of ka-priest. A statue of Ramose found nearby carries a decree of Ramesses II, granting to it a reversion of offerings from his mortuary temple.[121] His tomb (no. 7) also contains depictions of kings. The receipts of Ramose are to be directly compared with those expected by Tjunery, the dedicator of the Saqqara King List. The relief from the shrine at Deir el Medina depicts, above the figure of Ramose, that of Ramesses II, attended by the vizier Paser, offering to Hathor. The addition of pieces from this same site, now in Turin,[122]

that mention Ramose and the vizier Paser, in connection with Ramesses II and Hathor, make the close connection of those two officials with the shrine seem complete.

The find of eight limestone heads of prisoners in this chapel[123] raises the possibility that the shrine contained a decorated 'window of appearances',[124] or at least a throne base for the display of the royal statue recorded among his installations by the scribe Ramose. It is not impossible that the remains of a half life size wooden statue of the king found there represents the type of cult statue.[125] Record is preserved of the making of such royal statues by the crew at the express order of the king.[126] Their installation in the local shrine of Hathor was then the cause of Pharaoh rewarding the crew.[127] The deposit of statues or statuettes of tne king, particularly in an offering posture, in sanctuaries seems not to have been an unusual practice,[128] perhaps connected with the dogma that the offerings were made to the god by the king rather than the priest.

A door jamb, also apparently from this shrine of Ramesses II, shows the vizier carrying the royal ka.[129] A group of votive stelae found in the neighbourhood are also dedicated to the royal ka of Ramesses II, together with a god, usually Hathor.[130] A fragment of a broken door jamb[131] seems to associate the statue itself with the living royal ka. It should be stressed that all royal cults are in effect the cults of the royal ka.[132] The queen, Nefertari Meretenmut is also attested on two small fragments from this area, a fragment that probably came from a votive stela[133] and a fragment of a limestone relief[134] that shows her with Ramesses II.[135] She,[136] and also the mother of Ramesses II, Tuy,[137] appear again on fragments from the decoration of the neighbouring and contemporary chapel of Amon.

The shrine and cult of the ka of Ramesses II at Deir el Medina was

not exceptional in nature, although it seems to have maintained a greater currency that that of most of the kings; hardly surprising when the great majority of the kings of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties stressed by the very formation of their names that they were his successors. A papyrus in Turin[138] gives a detailed description of a statue of Ramesses VI, deposited in the 'House of (Usermaatre Setepenre), the great god, [in the temple of Hathor(?)] , Mistress of the West, like the statues which my fathers made for king (Usermaatre Setepenre), the great god, and [King (...]amon), the great god, and all the kings who took the white crown and whose statues rest there'. It seems probable that the temple referred to was the shrine of Ramesses II, next to the temple of Hathor, at Deir el Medina. The following passages in the papyrus are less clear, but seem to refer to a thrice daily ritual, and the receipt of incense and offerings. A continuation refers to a restoration of the endowment of Ramesses II that had in some way been changed under Twosret.

The attribution of other shrines at Deir el Medina to particular kings is sometimes possible, as for instance in the case of Tuthmosis III, where his cartouches are preserved on the wall,[139] of Tuthmosis IV, whose name was stamped on the bricks of one of the chapels,[140] of Sethi I,[141] and of Ramesses IV, for whom a stela was found in situ.[142] The list of kings on an ostracon from the Valley of the Kings,[143] including the names of most of the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the first three of the Nineteenth, is likely to represent those honoured in some form of cult at Deir el Medina in the reign of Ramesses II. Detailed analysis of the site and of the provenance of the finds of relief, painting and votive objects relating to the individual kings would doubtless enable the chapels of most of the kings, and some queens and princes of the New Kingdom to be recognised. The finds from the other chapels, although less unified as single groups than those from the chapel of Ramesses II, give much

the same picture of their establishments.[144] The quantity of material available for comparison is so extensive, so scattered and varied, that any further attempt at synthesis would quickly expand beyond what could be justified here. A few pieces of particular interest are, however, worth noting; the wooden base of a statuette of Tuthmosis IV,[145] a kneeling statuette of Tuthmosis II found by Baraize,[146] a wooden statuette of Nefertari[147] and a limestone one of Amonhotep I[148] found by Schiaparelli. A stela depicting Ptah and the ka of Merenptah[149] is closely comparable to those of the reign of Ramesses II. There is also a door jamb inscribed for Ramesses VI, by Ramesses VII.[150] This seems to have come from a chapel, and so is probably not to be connected with the note, in a document from Deir el Medina,[151] that the draughtsmen inserted the cartouches on the granary of the gatehouse of the Tomb with the name of Ramesses VI. The responsibility for the building and equipping of these shrines clearly lay with the members of the crew. As further examples of this may be noted door jambs to a chapel, in the name of the 'servant in the Place of Truth, Buqenetef',[152] and the depictions in the early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Ipuy, showing men working on a shrine in the name of Amonhotep I.[153]

Within the general framework of royal cults at Deir el Medina, that of Amonhotep does yet stand out in a rather special way.[154] Apart from the frequency of his processions, and his currency as the local oracle god, he seems to have held a position of cultic preeminence. By this is not meant simply the greater frequency of depictions of, and votive objects addressed to Amonhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari than other kings, but rather a genuinely higher level of divinity accorded to them. This is most clearly to be seen in the ritual performed there. Two papyri, one now in the British Museum,[155] the other split between Turin and Cairo,[156] probably both come originally from Deir el Medina, both are

probaly of the reign of Ramesses II, and both are concerned with the so-called 'Ritual of Amenophis', better the 'Ritual of the Royal Ancestors'. The basic ritual, in essence the same as the daily ritual of the Karnak temple, is well attested as such from temple reliefs of the New Kingdom.[157] In these papyri the true relationship between the kings and the god Amon is far from clear.[158] In the Chester Beatty papyrus the ritual appears basically to be performed by Amenhotep I or Ramesses II for Amon, with Amonhotep occasionally substituted for Amon. In the Turin-Cairo papyrus Amonhotep has almost completely replaced Amon as the god for whom Ramesses II performed the ritual. That is to say, he was treated as a full god who received the cult personally rather than, as was normal for this ritual, the reversion of the offerings at a secondary level. Other kings are mentioned in these papyri, but only as the secondary recipients of the offering reversions.[159] The same basic ritual pattern underlay the rituals and purpose of the mortuary temples of the New Kingdom. They performed the cult of the major god in whose 'House' they were included, for the benefit of, and with reversion of offerings to the king whose 'Mansion' it was.[160] The greatest occasion of the year for these cults was the annual visit of Amon of Karnak for the Festival of the Valley,[161] when there was the 'pouring of water' (w3ḥ mw) for the kings.[162] This action will have been the most important act in the royal cults at Deir el Medina, not only taking place in the chapels there at that festival time. A papyrus of the mid-Twentieth Dynasty records [163] for a quite different date the 'pouring of water for the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt on this day'. The phrase 'pour water' was also of importance in the cult of private people, so that there is no certainty that it was for the royal cult that the vizier Neferronpet once was said to have come to 'pour water', at the same time looking at the work and paying the

crew.[164]

These two papyri, both probably being connected with the individual cult chapel of Amonhotep and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari, may of course give an exaggerated picture of the divinity of Amonhotep compared to that of other kings. Minor indications from other types of material, supporting this more 'divine' nature of Amonhotep may likewise be discounted simply on the grounds of his greater popularity. As with the other kings it was the ka of Amonhotep to which the workmen addressed their praises[165] and prayers.[166] Yet the identification of Amonhotep as Osiris in his ritual,[167] and his apparent interchange with Amon in that text[168] can be paralleled quite extensively from stelae and tomb decoration at Deir el Medina.[169] Particularly striking is the appearance of Amonhotep I in a scene of the judgement of the dead, where one would expect Osiris,[170] or the addressing of the funerary htp di nsw formula to him and Nefertari at the entrance to a tomb.[171] A pair of door jambs belonging to a certain Aameket end the list of gods addressed by this formula on one side by Ahmose-Nefertari and on the other with Menmaatre, that is Sethi I;[172] an unexpected substitution for Amonhotep. Such examples seem to indicate a genuine currency of Amonhotep as an underworld god, rather than simply a dead king whose cult was kept up for a long time.[173]

This apparent superior divinity of Amonhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari goes further than their recognition by the people of Deir el Medina as mortuary gods. It seems that a chapel[174] in which Bruyere found depictions of the pair, and Schiaparelli a statue of Nefertari, thus probably the cult chapel of the couple, was the site at which Baraize found a kneeling, offering statue of Tuthmosis III. If this is correct, Amonhotep was receiving offerings from other kings at a very early date. This couple do appear rather more readily in groups of gods on stelae

than do other kings. One may note in particular a stela from the shrine of Ramesses II, showing the king making offering together to Amon, Amonhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. This cultic connection between Amon and Amonhotep I emphasises that indicated in the ritual papyri. It should be stressed in this context that the writer of the Chester Beatty papyrus IX entitled himself 'the draughtsman of Amon in the Place of Truth and lector priest of Amon in all his festivals'.[175]

A shrine of Amon, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, stood close to the chapels of the dead kings,[176] and one might connect the ritual of the Chester Beatty papyrus with the cult performed there. In truth there is probably a very close connection between the cults of Amon and of the dead kings as performed at Deir el Medina.[177] The role of Amon was indeed central to the royal cults in their own mortuary temples on the west bank at Thebes, the temple being essentially to Amon and then to the king.[178] An ostracon from the Valley of the Kings records that Amon-Re, King of the Gods, came over to the west bank to pour water for the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt,[179] apparently a reference to the Feast of the Valley. In their documents the people of Deir el Medina added as supplement to their titles the words 'of the Tomb'. On their monuments they tended to give themselves more grandiose titles, omitting the qualification 'of the Tomb' and exchanging for it the qualification 'in the Place of Truth'. To this they frequently added the phrases 'of Amon' or 'of the Lord of the Two Lands'.[180] Titles connected in this way with Amon were by no means restricted to religious functions, but included the normal variety of titles related to the work of the people of the Tomb.[181] Despite the variety of forms of Amon attested in such titles, the probability is that this particular stress on Amon in titles from Deir el Medina is connected to the vital role of Amon within the royal cults.[182]

The express subordination of the people of the Tomb, in their titles, to 'the Lord of the Two Lands' is also to be viewed as essentially connected with the cult of their royal masters. Titles compounded with the phrase 'of the Lord of the Two Lands' are by no means restricted to Deir el Medina, but appear in the titles of royal employees from elsewhere,[183] alternating with the phrase 'of Pharaoh' (that is, of the living king). It is also noteworthy that the colossi of Ramesses II for which a cult is attested also bear titles compounded with 'Lord of the Two Lands',[184] and it seems that this was used for preference to the title King of Upper and Lower Egypt (nsw bity) in the context of the king's eternal life and cult. When dealing with material from Deir el Medina this distinction is clear. In documents the living ruling king was referred to as 'Pharaoh', and the workmen spoken of as workmen of Pharaoh. On their stelae and their monuments they described themselves as 'of the Lord of the Two Lands', never 'of Pharaoh'. Here was not simply a concern for self-glorification or self-promotion, but for the eternal validity of their monuments. At Deir el Medina, however, the title Lord of the Two Lands appears with almost overwhelming frequency connected with the deified Amonhotep I. Indeed, in a number of cases the phrase 'of the Lord of the Two Lands' was demonstrably used in titles there as an abbreviation for 'of the Lord of the Two Lands, (Djeserkare)', giving reason to believe that by this addition the people of the Tomb were usually stressing their connection with that particular dead king.[185] However, there are a small number of examples in which the name of a different king was attached, as Lord of the Two Lands, to a person's title, as the king being served.[186] For instance, in the tomb of Anherkhau there is a depiction of the priest of 'the Lord of the Two Lands (Heqamaatre Setepenre)'.[187] Furthermore, on a stela[188] where the vizier Paser is depicted adoring Ramesses II, it

was clearly that king who was meant in the sentence 'Giving praise to the Lord of Eternity, kissing the ground for the Lord of the Two Lands, by the city overseer and vizier, Paser'. Potentially 'Lord of the Two Lands' might refer in such contexts to any king, and not the, for Deir el Medina, usual Amonhotep I. The phrase Lord of the Two Lands of course had a wide currency as a royal title for the kings of the New Kingdom, and it is only one aspect of its usage that has been under discussion here.

The cult of the kings at Deir el Medina was carried out by a 'priest' (hm ntr).[189] The title is not commonly attested, and it is not clear whether it was a full time or part time post, nor to what extent it was distinct from or identical with the local priesthood of Hathor or Amon. The title most commonly connected with the cult was that of w'b, 'pure one', a title borne by some of the regular members of the crew. It is clear that not all the members of the crew served in this function, the main duties of which seem to have been to carry the god when he made his appearances.[190] They were also then listed as witnesses in cases where the god gave an oracular judgement. Certainly to some extent this title runs in families, but beyond this there is no clear reasoning that can be seen for who its holders were. Some social distinction may indeed exist between those who could hold the office and the other members of the crew. However, it seems that normally the whole crew were present when the god Amonhotep made his appearances, and there is no evidence to show that the w'b-priests received any special rewards for their services.

The devotion of the workmen at Deir el Medina to the cults of their deceased employers, although striking, was in fact no more than a particularly good example of a phenomenon traceable at all periods of Egyptian history, and not merely in relation to royal cults. A high

proportion of the information available about the builders of tombs and about artists of the Old Kingdom comes from their so-called 'signatures' on the monuments for which they were responsible,[191] depictions of the artist or craftsman on the tomb walls of his patron, perhaps taking part in the cult of the tomb owner, perhaps working, or perhaps themselves receiving food.[192] It was quite normal to find at all periods an association between the commissioning of a man to control works or make restorations in a temple, and then his holding of office and performance of the cult there.[193] Responsibility to the king for the building in the major temples regularly lay with the highest priesthoods there. Examples from the New Kingdom may be quoted of officials responsible for the construction for the royal mortuary temples thereafter holding office in them.[194]

Underlying such phenomena is a basic principle of Ancient Egyptian work organisation, that not only does the man responsible, workman or official, receive his regular salary, but also at the successful completion of the task he receives a special reward, a hswt, literally a 'praise'. The appointment to an office in the cult, whether that of god, king or mortal, brought with it the material benefit of a share in the reversion of the offerings, if no more lucrative rights on the foundation and its endowments. Particularly where connected with the mortuary cults of kings or the cults of royal statues, a reversion of offerings would often be attached for the benefit of a private individual. In the New Kingdom traces can be found of a developed system of the attachment of private endowments to royal cults,[195] the purpose being more safely to ensure the reversion to the donor's own possession and mortuary cult.[196] Such endowments of the reversion of the offerings might, however, be granted as rewards (hswt) for work done or service to the king. Here one is dealing with, not so

much a reversion of offerings to be transferred to the tomb of a private person, but rather with their statues set up at the royal command within the temple precinct to receive a share in the offerings.[197] The statue of the scribe Ramose, recording that it was due to receive an offering reversion from the cult of Ramesses II,[198] was set up as just such a reward, after the building of the chapel in which it was found. Here, naturally lay the purpose of the majority of the private stelae and votive objects set up in the shrines of both the kings and local gods at Deir el Medina,[199] a desire to gain some benefit from the offerings made to the shrine's 'god'.

It is not possible to define precisely the sources or the size of the income for the offerings made in the royal shrines at Deir el Medina Medina.[200] Occasional texts listing the distribution of grain rations among the workmen include a small quantity for 'the divine offerings'. Where a specific god is mentioned in such contexts it is, however, the local goddess, Meretseger or Hathor. As an exception an unpublished ostracon preserves the damaged end of such a list,[201] recording small quantities for Ramesses II, Sethi I, Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Hathor, Amonhotep, Ptah, and possibly others where the text is now broken. Another unpublished ostracon[202] distinguishes between sums for 'the god' or 'the god's offerings' and sums for the 'Lord of the Two Lands'. These sums are small, usually $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ khar of grain, and are only recorded on a small minority of grain ration texts. Considerably more frequent are records in the daybooks of the receipt of breads or cakes, beer, dates and vegetables, receipts that can be connected with the accounts of such receipts from the temples of the west bank or from the royal provisions centre in Town. It seems possible that these were intended for use as offerings in the cult of the kings at Deir el Medina, but no evidence is preserved

about the use or distribution of these commodities among the workmen. There is mention at least of the divine Amonhotep ordering the warehouse to be opened, and food to be issued to the workmen after they took part in one of his festivals.[203]

The benefit from reversions of the offerings went to both the living and the dead. The private stelae set up near the shrines are designed partly to obtain eternal benefits. On a more mundane level, royal names appear from time to time on private funerary equipment. The group  , 'Lord of the Two Lands', appears particularly on pottery vessels from Deir el Medina.[204] Other pots, from tombs or the village, appear with royal names stamped on them,[205] or even the name of a mortuary temple.[206] Such may well have contained foodstuffs originating from the divine offerings.

An obscure passage in the set of instructions known as the 'Maxims of Ani',[207] a text well known and copied at Deir el Medina,[208] seems to tell the reader to ensure that his name is registered when he first makes offering to his god, to ensure that he receives the benefits at the time of the god's festival. Other passages in the text refer to the individual's attitude to his god, with particular reference to the offerings that should be made, and the proper way of approaching the god.[209] The general tenor of this text, certainly a composition of the New Kingdom, is to describe the course of life a young man of middle class should follow. In general terms, therefore, this picture of cultic activity can be presumed to have been familiar to the inhabitants of Deir el Medina.

This picture of a common cult of a particular unified, registered group of people, culminating in the lavish celebration of their god's festival, with food and much drinking,[210] lays open the possibility of a comparison of the religious organisation of the crew of the Tomb with

that of the cult guilds, whose lists of regulations, in Demotic and Greek, have survived in some number from the Ptolemaic period.[211] These guilds provided not only a format for the common worship and particularly the celebration of the festivals of their gods, but acted as mutual benefit and mutual aid societies. Although a feature of the social structure of the entire Hellenistic world, there is no reason to believe that many of the basic structures and practices of these societies were foreign to Egypt.[212] That is to say, in the homogenous and unified community of Deir el Medina the general practices of the cult and the mutual benefits derived from it may have been quite similar to those of the later guilds. This is not to imply a generally binding set of rules drawn up as a contract between the members of the crew.[213] This certainly did not exist; a more developed and regular contract procedure seems in Egypt to have been a development of the Third Intermediate Period. There was, however, the same community of interest and practice.[214] Evidence for the practice of the cult in the numerous chapels to the lesser local deities at Deir el Medina is lacking. The purpose and significance of the standard rows of seats found in certain of the chapels also remains obscure; one cannot safely assert that such groupings show the cult to have been practiced by small exclusive groups. It should also be noted that the offerings to the king played a large part in the business of the cult guilds of the Ptolemaic period.[215]

The cultic organisation of the people of Deir el Medina, their use of the title sdm 'š, 'servant', 'one who hears the call', a title that they expanded by the additions 'of Amon', 'of the Lord of the Two Lands', and 'in the Place of Truth' cannot thus be treated as a purely religious phenomenon. The same principles underlay their whole communal organisation, their organisation into 'the crew' of the Tomb. Their religious organisation merely shows a separate facet of the same organisation,

from an eternal rather than an immediate standpoint.

The Valley of the Kings, the site of the royal tombs themselves, seems to have been itself in some way a holy area.[216] Many of the figured ostraca from that site show religious motifs, and were evidently set up as votive pieces in the vicinity of the tombs.[217] The subject matter of ostraca from the Valley of the Kings is restricted, and many of the common category of depictions of kings are likely also, as well as obvious depictions of gods, to fall into the category of votive ostraca. Graffiti scratched on the rocks of the area by members of the crew include the names of many of the kings of the Ramesside period, although the names of kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty are the most common.[218] 'Figured' ostraca bearing royal cartouches only seem to begin with the reign of Ramesses III, and are most common from the reign of Ramesses IV.[219] The monuments with the best attestations of the name of Ramesses III are those from the Ptah and Meretseger sanctuary in the Valley of the Queens. Here stelae frequently depicted the king with his vizier.[220]

The loyalty of the people of the Tomb to their king was thus best demonstrated in different ways at different times. To what extent they treated the individual kings as real gods is not clear. Statues of Ramesses II might bear the title 'he who hears petitions',[221] and Amonhotep I certainly held a special position.[222] Even in his case, however, it seems that he was usually regarded as an intermediary to whom the individual prayed, and who then interceded with the gods,[223] rather than as the god who himself answered the prayers.[224] At the heart of the attitude of the people of the Tomb to the king lies the relationship of tomb builders to their employer, and the associated benefits they gained from the endowments for the mortuary cult. The popularity and the particular manner of the expression of that

relationship to different kings are at least partly to be considered as matters of local religious individuality, although in the case of Ramesses II the development of his cult at Deir el Medina runs in parallel to developments elsewhere in the country. There were great changes in the social and political organisation in the state of Egypt during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. It can hardly be surprising that such differences were to some extent reflected in changes of the attitudes of the people of the Tomb to the kings for whom they worked.

The attempt has been made here to trace in the documents from Deir el Medina three different ways of looking at the king; as the ruling monarch employing the workmen, as the personification of the state, and as the dead king whose cult was central to the official religious practice of the village. In this the real attitudes of the people of the Tomb to their employer may sometimes be more obscured by theoretical and legalistic niceties than illuminated. In truth he was probably normally regarded simply as their almighty king, and the variety of approaches to him as quite natural expressions of his position as ruler of the country. The awe of him did not prevent all gestures of contempt or disrespect to him. Most blatantly, if the text is correctly understood, the foreman Paneb was accused of sitting on a king's sarcophagus when the king was already in it.[225]

III. Changes of Reign and the sdf3 tryt.

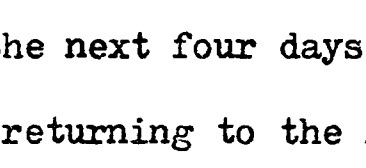
As members of an institution the very purpose of which was the preparation of royal tombs, the death of a king and the accession of his successor was of necessity a matter of the greatest interest to the inhabitants of Deir el Medina. The change of reign was, however, a matter of much deeper religious and administrative significance to the state as a whole, and the time when the distinction between the Pharaoh as personification of the state, and the king as the ruling individual[1] has to be taken most carefully into account. In the New Kingdom the accession of a new king seems, in principle, to have signalled a new beginning in the Egyptian state, with a renewal, refoundation and revalidification of all institutions. In dogma tha accession of a new king seems to have signalled a restoration of the cosmic order, a restoration of Maat.[2] Indeed, there is some evidence for the connection of amnesty with the new accession.[3] It was naturally a time for great celebration and rejoicing.[4]

It seems that in principle all previous royal endowments and appointments were presumed to have lapsed at the death of the king. For instance, the usurpation of royal monuments of his predecessors by a ruling king is better to be considered in many cases the revalidation of the monument rather than its theft.[5] However much kings may have attempted, by decrees of protection, to make their endowments binding on their successors, it is clear that there was a continuing need for exemptions to be renewed,[6] for endowments and offerings to be reestablished,[7] if they were not to lapse. Each new king was, in principle and sometimes in practice, likely to transfer the endowment elsewhere.[8] This may have been the stimulus for the composition of the Great Harris Papyrus, dated at the very end of the reign of Ramesses III, but recording at the end the accession and coronation

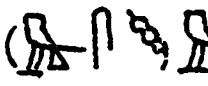
of Ramesses IV.[9] The purpose of this text, as well as affirming the legitimacy of the accession of Ramesses IV, probably included the affirmation of the continuation of the endowments made by Ramesses III and listed there.[10] In the Ramesside period the king seems to have toured Egypt, taking part in the great festivals personally,[11] so far as this was possible at the very beginning of his reign.[12] Later visits were rarer. In essence the king would be establishing his position at home, in the continuation of the cults and the endowments, in the same way as the first royal campaign of a reign established the king's position abroad in Palestine and Syria.[13]

A detailed account of the announcement of a new reign is provided by two inscriptions of the Viceroy of Nubia, Turi, from Wadi Halfa and Kuban.[14] They record the receipt of a royal decree of the newly enthroned Tuthmosis I. By this his titulary was published and the following instructions given: 'You shall cause that the divine offerings be made, for the gods of Elephantine (that is in) the Head of the South, consisting of the doing what is praised on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the King of Upper and (Lower Egypt) {Aakheperkare}, given life. You are to cause that the oath(?) be fixed (?di.tw mn 'nh) in the name of My Majesty, l.p.h., born to the King's Mother, Seniseneb, may she be healthy'. The interpretation of parts of this passage is not quite certain. It seems that the king, after officially announcing his titulary, was concerned firstly with the divine offerings, that they should be properly maintained, reestablished as before, but now in his name and for his benefit. Secondly he seems to have been concerned about the oath in his name, but it is unclear whether this refers to an oath of allegiance or to the fact that oaths in legal contexts would now need to be taken in his name.[15] The decree ends with assurances that the royal house is prospering.[16] It is interesting to note that the announcement of

the king's titulary to the populace was in some senses analogous to the making of royal statues to be set up in temples, especially at the accession, particularly statues of the king presenting his cartouches to the god.[17]

Records of the death of the old king and the accession of the new are preserved in varying degrees of detail in texts from Deir el Medina. Most briefly a daybook ostracon records[18] that in year 32 of Ramesses III, on III shemu 16, the news reached Deir el Medina, 'It was said that (the) Falcon was flown up to heaven'. This was actually the day after the death of the king.[19] A papyrus of the same date gives a fuller account.[20] It was the Chief of Police Montumose who brought the news. At the same time he announced the accession of Ramesses IV. The crew spent the rest of the day in rejoicing ().[21] From an earlier date a set of notes written into the body of a work register tell of the change of reign from Sethi II to Siptah.[22] The Chief of Police Nakhtmin announced to the crew on I peret 19 that 'the Falcon is ascended to heaven, namely (Sethi). Another is risen in his place'. The crew spent the next four days absent from work, in rejoicing (), returning to the field to work on day 23. A more detailed account of the same events was added to the side of the text, as a separate column.[23] It tells that in year 1, on I peret 29 (read 19), the Chief of Police Nakhtmin, together with Khonsuemheb,[24] came with news of the death of Sethi. Five days later Khonsuemheb returned with 'the letter of [the vizier] Paraemheb', telling the crew to receive 'the revenues (n3 n htr) which are in the boat, The August Staff of Amon'. The waiting for this letter perhaps explains the reason for the four days absence from work.

A few years earlier the announcement of the accession of Sethi II was made by the scribe Paser.[25] He is said to have arrived 'with the

good news (),[26] saying, "(Userkheperure Setepenre) is risen as ruler".' The scribe Paser seems to have been a direct subordinate of the vizier, based locally.[27] So also were the chiefs of police.[28] It was probably as such that they brought the messages announcing changes of reign. At the accession of Ramesses VI,[29] on 'Year 1, II peret ///, (there was the) arrival by the overseer of the city and vizier .... at the gatehouse of the Tomb. He read out to them a decree (wḥ3) saying, "(Nebmaatre Amonherkhepeshef Ramesses Meryamon Netjeryheqaiunu) is risen as great ruler of all lands." They rejoiced, very, very much. (Then) he said to them, "Have recruited(?)[30] the whole(?) crew!" The(?) three leaders (then) stood up before him, in order to receive the dues of the Tomb'.

Although the accession of a new king was an occasion for great rejoicing, it does not seem that the anniversary of that accession was normally the occasion for a holiday for the crew. The accession dates of certain deceased kings were, however, later celebrated as the days of their festivals,[31] and were celebrated as such by the crew.[32] Even so the accession date was marked in administrative texts by a specific notice,[33] by a change in the year number,[34] or by the simple procedure of starting on a new ostracon.[35]

In his stela from Gebel Barkal, Tuthmosis III defined his peace settlement with Meggido, made during his first campaign to Syria, in the following terms:[36] 'Then His Majesty had one cause that they (the people of the city) sdf3 tryt, saying "We shall not again do wrong against (Menkheperre) , living for ever, our Lord, in our lifetimes, since we have seen his might".' Amonhotep II, after his first campaign, recorded that[37] 'His Majesty reached Qadesh. Her chief man(sic) came out in peace to His Majesty. They were caused to make sdf3 tryt, and [likewise] all their children'. The essential point here seems to have

been that the declarations of the inhabitants of these cities referred only to the particular king, and would have needed to be renewed for his successor, making a similar progress through Palestine and Syria.[38] It is to be presumed that similar principles underlie the use of the term sdf3 tryt to define the relationship between the Egyptian king and his subjects at home. However, before considering such examples in detail, it is worth comparing the generally observed relationship between vassal and king in the Near East as a whole, during the first and second millenia B.C.

It is probable that the term sdf3 tryt, appearing rather rarely in Egyptian royal inscriptions, is directly comparable to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian term adû.[39] This word defined the relationship between the king and his vassals. Like the Egyptian sdf3 tryt, the adû itself was not an oath, although closely connected with one. The vassal, by treaty and oath, accepted the duties imposed on him by his relationship to the king, and curses of an extremely violent kind were provided against him should he violate the terms of the agreement. The arrangement has much in common with a contract.[40] Assyrian kings tended first to impose this arrangement on the peoples brought under their influence, and then in the case of a violation they were likely to impose the most bloodthirsty of the penalty clauses and curses in literal fashion.[41] The attempt by Esarhaddon to include clauses in his vassal treaties, imposing the relationships fixed between him and the kings who submitted to him upon the descendants on both sides[42] seems to have been an attempt to prolong the relationship of allegiance beyond what would have normally been the legalistic practice, the lifetimes of those taking the oaths. The institution of the adû was by no means purely Assyrian in origin,[43] but common to international relations in the whole of the Near East. The very word adû may indeed be an Aramaic

loan word into Akkadian.

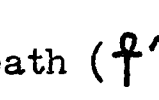
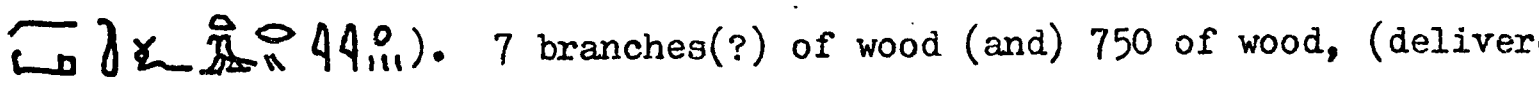
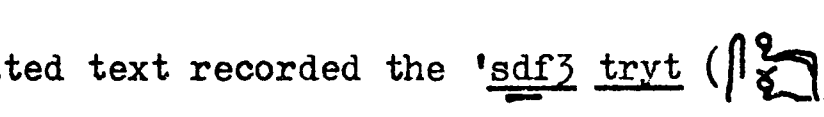
By the reign of Esarhaddon in Assyria it is clear that the term adû and the connected oaths of allegiance were used to define the relationship between the entire populace of Assyria and the new king at his accession.[44] A word adû does appear in much older Akkadian texts with the sense of 'daily work quota', or 'work assignment'.[45] There are difficulties, on lexical grounds, in relating this word adû with the later word referring to the vassal arrangement, but a plausible link is provided by the so-called 'Craftsmen's Charter' of the time of Cyrus.[46] Here the workmen of Eanna promissed to work there and nowhere else, and they promissed not to conceal any infringement of this that came to their attention, for by doing so they would be infringing their adû of the king. The position of the individual in society, and his functioning there is defined by, and directly connected with his relationship to the king. The problem of the relationship between kings and their subjects is common to all monarchies, and there can be nothing surprising to find similarities in the modes of its operation throughout the Ancient Near East.

In Egypt the concepts of loyalty and the patron client relationship were of vital importance to the social and administrative development of the pharaonic state.[47] Aspects of the relationship between the king and his subjects in the Ramesside period can plausibly be explained by reference to the historical development of the state from the very earliest organised social structures in a united Egypt. With no concept of a state other than that of the king's house, the administration consisted originally of members of the king's family. This later developed into a wider hierarchy of relationships, the direct blood tie being largely replaced by that of a client to his lord. It is a constant refrain of Egyptian officialdom at periods when the structure of the

state was healthy, however high their family background can be shown to have been in the social structure, all their perscnal position and importance they declare to have derived directly from the favour of the king. At all periods titles deriving from a direct personal contact with the king gave high rank and status. Central to the development of the structure is an original concept whereby the king provided for his dependants, both in life from his table,[48] and in death with a burial.[49] The individual was, even after his death, im3hw, 'provided for' by the king of his time.[50] A related concept is expressed by the claims of New Kingdom kings that 'they brought up generations' (shpr d3mw),[51] the sense of which is apparently that they looked after the well-being of the people born, growing up and living under their rule. The importance of the individual and particular king as patron was paramount, and the relationship of his subordinates to him seems to have been expressed in the changes made at the beginning of his reign, and to have been defined by the sdf3 tryt.

Despite much discussion,[52] many difficulties still surround the analysis of the structure and the original sense of the term sdf3 tryt. Grammatically the sdf3 seems to be a verb governing a noun tryt.[53] Etymologically interpretations differ, whether the term refers to the 'establishing of what is to be respected',[54] on behalf of the client, or whether it refers to the promise of the king to provision his dependants.[55] The etymological and grammatical difficulties do not, however, obstruct an understanding of the force of the term. Not specifically itself an oath,[56] the sdf3 tryt was closely connected with[57] 'a negative promissary oath, specifically, swearing not to misuse one's office for treasonable or criminal purposes'. This in fact adds up to a standard oath of loyalty or allegiance, defined largely by the negation of what was not to be done.[58] In this context

it is probably significant that the individual did not promise that he would report what he heard, but rather that he would not hear something and fail to report it. The negative expression of the promises did not indicate their limitation, but arose rather from the current psychological and intellectual level of development of the Egyptians. As the definition of the relationship between the king and the people, the oaths sworn under the heading of the sdf3 tryt belong to the beginning of a new arrangement, and especially to the beginning of a new reign.

A small number of texts tell of the swearing of such oaths by the crew of the Tomb, early in new reigns. An ostracon from the Valley of the Kings records[59] 'Year 1, II shemu 28; arriva[l by the magis]trates to cause the crew to sdf3 [try]t'. A closely comparable text,[60] also from the Valley of the Kings, is dated to a year 6. This may refer to the recruitment of an individual rather than an action concerning the whole crew. 'Year 6, III akhet 6; on this day, (the) causing ? ? to sdf3 tryt, and the arrival about it(?) in(?) ..... Pakharu'. In other texts there are orthographical problems. An entry in a daybook ostracon for II akhet of year 2 (of Ramesses IV) records[61] 'Day 30, Khaiemwaset (on watch). (Delivered) by the hand of Ptahmose, 300 of wood; deficit 150. The magistrates came to the gatehouse to impose a great oath () on the crew, being the sdf3 tryt (). 7 branches(?) of wood (and) 750 of wood, (delivered) by the hand of Bakenkhonsu. By the hand of Pades, 314 of wood'. The curious spelling of this note in the daybook should be compared with that of a third notice found in the Valley of the Kings.[62] This undated text recorded the 'sdf3 tryt () by [t]he cre[w] (imposed?) by the mayor Amonmose, the fanbearer and royal butler, Nakhtamon, and the vizier, Neferronpet'. Despite the curious spellings, which might lead one to suspect that the latter two examples

referred to food deliveries, it seems most plausible to connect all these records with a single type of event, the official declaration of allegiance between the workmen and their king, imposed through high officials. The connection of these texts with the Valley of the Kings, the proper sphere of activity of the crew, may not be fortuitous. The only exception is the record in the daybook, when the date, a day 30, was a day when the crew would anyway have been present normally in the village of Deir el Medina for the weekend.

The evidence presented here for a connection between the sdf3 tryt and the accession of the new king is admittedly tenuous.[63] However, the record of its administration in year 2 of Ramesses IV, on II akhet 30 can be illuminated by reference to other events in the course of that month. The survey for the site of the new tomb had taken place on days 17 and 18 of the month.[64] Also, on day 28 of the following month the size of the crew was raised to 120 men.[65] The clear impression is that the sdf3 tryt was connected with the recruitment of the men, and the preparations for beginning the new work of the new king. Thus the series of actions following on the announcement of the accession of the new king can be put into the following order.[66] The news was brought, and the official decree from the palace was announced by the vizier or subordinates sent by him. The crew greeted the new accession with one or more days of celebration. It is probably not just by chance that texts[67] record the payments of dues to the Tomb at about the same time as the change of reign was announced. The continuing relationship between the king and the crew would thus be stressed. After the time necessary for the mummification and funeral preparations had passed, theoretically 70 days, and the tomb had been prepared for his receipt, the previous king was buried, and measures could be taked to prepare for the digging of a new tomb for the new king.[68]

There is a need to beware of erecting bogus theoretical principles as the guiding force, when considering what are in fact the necessary practicalities of life. At the time of the accession of new kings, or the beginning of work on the new royal tombs, there are frequently references to administrative acts relevant to the manning and equipping of the crew. Early in the reign men were recruited,[69] or rerecruited, changes were made in the size of the crew, the number being increased[70] or decreased[71] as necessary. Similarly new tools and equipment would be issued to the workmen.[72] Such changes, reassessments and replacements for a new project belong in the realm of practical management rather than to the theoretical relationship between king and workmen. Equally, one can see that the position of an official at the change of reign depended directly on the continuing and reasserted favour of the new king.[73] Thus it makes sense in every way for the accession of the new king, or the beginning of a new piece of work by the crew, to be the moment at which their relationship with their employer was asserted and reasserted by their taking an oath under the heading of the sdf3 tryt.

The content of the oath imposed on the members of the crew by the visiting officials can be clearly, if only partially, accounted for. The crewman Penanqet laid a complaint before his 'chiefs', the scribe Amonnakhte and the foreman Khonsu, as 'controllers' (rwdw) of the Tomb.[74] He declared 'Pharaoh, my good Lord, has administered sdf3 tryt to the effect, "I shall not hear (any) word,[75] I shall not see (any) irregularity, in the great and deep places, and then hide it".' With this as justification for his action Penanqet made various accusations, mostly unconnected with the necropolis, but centring on the claim that the accused had illegally removed stone from a tomb. He threatened that if the officials did not act to his satisfaction he would report directly

to Pharaoh and the vizier.

The accusations of the Salt Papyrus 124 seem to comprise just such a direct complaint to the highest authorities. One of the complaints made there, against the foreman Paneb, was that[76] 'he dug about(?) in the ground which is sealed, on the place which is hidden, [although he had made(?)][77] sdf3 tryt to the effect, "I shall not overturn (any) stone in the domain of the Place of Pharaoh", so he said.' Perhaps the oath sworn by the members of the crew, under the heading sdf3 tryt should be visualized as a long list of clauses defining their duties by what they should not do, partly as clauses of general application in an oath of allegiance from any person in the state, and partly of clauses of particular relevance to their employment on the works of the royal tomb.

The general tenor of these oaths, applicable to all, is clear. The promise of allegiance included a commitment not to abuse office in any way, nor to allow anybody else to abuse their position, but to look after the interests of Pharaoh. There is an interesting comparison to be made with the statement of the mayor of Western Thebes, making a report in connection with the tomb robberies;[78] 'It is a crime for one in my position to hear of (any) matter, and then hide it.' The mayor did not specifically mention the sdf3 tryt, although it is likely that his position, and his relationship to higher authority, was defined by similar oaths as that of the crew. Only two other references to the sdf3 tryt in relation to office and civil administration are extant, but they reinforce the impression that all officials and state employees took such oaths of allegiance in the New Kingdom.

The correct interpretaion of the broken beginning of the Lee Papyrus[79] seems to be that the official had sworn the oath ('nh n nb) of sdf3 tryt about [restricting access] to the place he controlled, but

then had done what he had promised not to, enabling the assassins to enter the palace. As in the texts from Deir el Medina, the accusation merely quoted the relevant detailed part of the oath, the clause against which the official had offended. A related reference is to be found in the Instructions of Amenemope.[80] In a chapter concerned with the giving of justice, the pupil was told not to make false documents(?), for 'they are great provocations, (worthy) of death. They are great oaths of sdf3 tryt. They are of (i.e., 'bring down') investigations of the herald.' The following section of the instructions is concerned with the falsification of the records of oracles. Misuse of office was not merely a crime, it was also blasphemy, the breaking of an oath of allegiance, and the result was official inquiry, and perhaps the death sentence.

IV. The Vizier.

Although it is apparent that the vizier was the official responsible for the works on the royal tomb in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties,[1] the position is less clear for the Eighteenth.[2] In the reign of Tuthmosis III an ostracon recorded[3] that 'the 31 crewmen' were under the control of the vizier Rekhmire. Although it is probable that in this case the crew of the Tomb really were meant, they may not have been regularly under the vizier's control. Rekhmire was in charge of the neighbouring building works at Deir el Bahari in the reign of Tuthmosis III,[4] but under Hatshepsut the work there had largely been in the hands of the steward Senmut.[5] The ostraca found in his tomb[6] show a similar system of work organisation and control to that of the Tomb, but they do not mention 'the Tomb' or 'the crew'. It is not improbable that all the works in the necropolis, that later were under the charge of Rekhmire had earlier been overseen by Senmut. Earlier in the dynasty the work on the tomb of Tuthmosis I, in whose reign the village of Deir el Medina was built,[7] was controlled by the mayor of Thebes, Inene,[8] a man whose other titles connect him with financial offices in the Temple of Amon and with building work there. Later Amonhotep son of Hapu seems to have controlled the building activities of the reign of Amonhotep III, although there is no evidence to show that he was responsible for the royal tomb.[9] At the very end of the dynasty it seems that the official responsible for the tomb of Tutankhamun was probably his 'Overseer of All the Works of the King', Maya,[10] the official who, bearing the titles 'Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of Work in the Place of Eternity', was responsible for the restoration of the burial of Tuthmosis IV in year 8 of Horemheb.[11]

The names of many great officials responsible for building works can be attached to particular projects in the Eighteenth Dynasty.[12]

In general their titles connect them with the main financial institutions of the state, or to the Temple of Amon.[13] It seems that no Department of Works ever developed in Pharaonic Egypt, with sufficient endowment to finance itself, but that the works were financed by the financial departments of state, or by the temple concerned. The limits of function in Egyptian offices, particularly high office, were rarely closely defined, and at most periods temple and state offices were closely connected, most officials holding office in both branches. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that officials holding titles and carrying out functions concerned with major building programmes were often those who held high financial office. They were the officials whose action was necessary for the work to be able to progress.[14] In such a system there always seems to be a high level of royal favouritism in the choice of particular officials for such work, rather than an automatic connection between a particular office and particular works.[15] In the Ramesside period the title Overseer of Works is much more closely connected with the vizierate, less widely spread among the other offices of the administration.[16] However, the great building works in the major temples, particularly the temple of Karnak, tended to remain the responsibility of their own officials, particularly their high priests.[17] Overall responsibility for state works seems to have been closely in the hands of the vizier and the state bureaucracy of which he was the head.

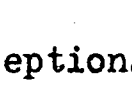
During the New Kingdom the vizierate seems to have been split, normally, in two,[18] although there are strong indications that this division was not absolute, and that some viziers at least were sole vizier.[19] However this may be, it does not seem that a vizier was normally resident in Thebes in the Ramesside period,[20] although it is clear that he had an office there,[21] whether on the east or west bank.[22] On one occasion the crew did some work in an  of the

vizier,[23] probably a building of that name otherwise attested at Medinet Habu.[24] It is hardly of significance whether in this case the word  should be translated as 'office' or 'house' of the vizier. The two, if distinct at all, could hardly have been far separated.[25] The east bank would, however, seem a more natural site for state offices, and indeed, on occasion the crew had to cross over the river to see the vizier.[26] There may, perhaps have been a particular connection between the vizier and the small temple of Maat at Karnak.

At times when there were two viziers, they were sometimes depicted acting together. One would sometimes bear the title of vizier of Upper Egypt and the other of vizier of Lower Egypt.[27] In such circumstances one would expect the vizier dealing with the royal tomb to have been that for Upper Egypt. However, the actual mechanics of the division of duties between the two viziers is not satisfactorily documented, and satisfactory proof for this presumption is not forthcoming. A statue base from Deir el Medina does mention a vizier Hori , 'of Memphis',[28] but he is probably to be identified with the well known southern vizier Hori,[29] whose family included High Priests of Memphis, and whose family therefore probably came from the North. An ostracon from the Valley of the Kings records the arrival within a short time of each other of two different viziers, Panehsy and Pensakhmet, to supervise work at the Tomb.[30] Here it is not clear whether they were visits made by two contemporary viziers,[31] or whether perhaps Pensakhmet was Panehsy's successor.[32] There is no example of both viziers appearing at Deir el Medina together recorded in the preserved texts. Another ostracon from the Tomb tells that[33] 'the vizier To was made vizier To of Upper and Lower Egypt'. It seems that this vizier, particularly well attested in the documents of the Theban necropolis, had previously been simply vizier of Upper Egypt. He was certainly

regarded by the people of the Tomb as their employer and patron. The vizier Khay also bears the title Vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt in a model letter from Deir el Medina.[34]

In an appeal to local officials, concerning their unpaid rations, the crew of the Tomb said, 'Send to Pharaoh, l.p.h., our good Lord, about them, and also send to Vizier, our chief'.[35] Although the workmen would use the word nb, 'lord' when addressing the vizier alone by letter, he was, in distinction to Pharaoh, only described as their hry, 'chief', or 'boss',[36] the same word used by the ordinary workmen of their foremen and scribes,[37] and used elsewhere to refer to the head of an institution.[38] Used of Pharaoh it seems to have been a deliberate insult.[39] The vizier was, therefore, regarded as the immediate superior of the crew, their boss, acting for their real lord, Pharaoh. The principle of the relationship was maintained in that officials of the administration were described as 'messengers of Pharaoh'[40] or 'people of Pharaoh'.[41] The vizier himself was sometimes even said to have come, sent by Pharaoh,[42] or to have brought with him a letter of Pharaoh.[43]

The Tomb, as an institution was sometimes described as a 'Place of Pharaoh', that is a department of the state's administration. As such it seems to have been self-evidently controlled under the state administration by, in the last resort, the vizier.[44] Its people, almost alone among those of the Theban institutions of the Ramesside period, were not normally qualified in legal and administrative documents as being , 'under the charge of' a particular high official.[45] It was quite exceptional[46] when the scribe Amonnakhte described himself on an ostracon as 'the scribe Amonnakhte of the Tomb, under the charge of the city overseer and vizier To'.[47] The form which this control by the vizier took in the Ramesside period can be traced in some detail.

In principle the appointment of men to the crew was made by Pharaoh,[48] but in practice under the control of the vizier.[49] This may explain a visit by the vizier to announce the accession of a new king, delivering wages at the same time,[50] or sending a letter with payments made five days after the announcement of the death of the king.[51] In principle the crew seem to have been reappointed at the accession of each king.[52] Early in the reign of Ramesses IV a vizier personally led the commission, sent at the command of Pharaoh, to increase the number of men in the crew to one hundred and twenty.[53] A few years later, when it came to reducing the size of the crew again to sixty men, the remainder being demoted to the status of members of the service-staff, the vizier did not appear himself.[54] He sent instead the scribe Paser, one of the best attested officials of the Theban area in the documents of the Tomb,[55] to carry out his orders with the cooperation of the officials of the Tomb.

In more normal times the vizier was responsible for the appointment of young men to the crew,[56] but he will not normally have taken too close an interest in the specific individuals chosen. Thus, when the number of crewmen was reduced to sixty, he simply ordered that the best be kept on. The influence of the local officials will have been great. A list is preserved of payments a man made to the foremen and the scribe to ensure the appointment of his son.[57] The final word must, however, have lain with the vizier. Thus an oracle question asked,[58] 'Will the vizier take the five youths?', a reference either to their recruitment to the crew, or to their removal and employment elsewhere.[59] Moreover, the physician Hori was appointed to his father's place by an order sent by the vizier in a letter.[60]

The documents from the Tomb attest the vizier's authority over every facet of the crew's employment and work. Responsible for their initial

recruitment, he appeared to announce the accession of the new king,[61] and administered the oath of allegiance.[62] He commissioned the crew to do the particular job.[63] He came to lay out the plan for the new tomb,[64] gave orders to the scribe about the work to be done,[65] came up to 'the valley' to talk with the leaders of the crew during its progress,[66] and to look at the work he had commissioned,[67] and finally he 'received' the work done by the crew.[68] Responsibility for necessary equipment for the work is rarely mentioned in connection with the vizier,[69] but this can only be because of the very local nature of its control. It was also the vizier who came to interrogate the crew in the case of offences.[70]

In many cases the vizier was not alone when commissioning or inspecting the work of the crew, but accompanied by a group of often high ranking officials.[71] The vizier, if present with a group of such officials, was normally listed first,[72] showing his seniority. It is a natural presumption that an official of the status of the vizier would not normally have gone on an inspection anywhere without a sufficient escort of subordinates, particularly those connected in any way with the places being inspected. Such officials as overseers of the Treasury, local mayors and High Priests of Amon, who appear in such commissions with some regularity, together with the vizier, are presumably to be regarded as present because they and their local subordinates were responsible for some aspect of administration connected with the Tomb. The royal butlers who also frequently appear is such commissions are perhaps to be regarded as special representatives of the king, but the functions of such officials are not fully understood. On one occasion, when the vizier was present in Thebes, and concerned with the work of the Tomb, a text noted that other officials came without him to visit the crew on the expected day.[73] In truth the personal

supervision of the Tomb formed a very insignificant part of the duties of the vizier. His visits to the Tomb were sometimes noted as incidental, while visiting Thebes for some other reason. Thus, he called on them when visiting to instal a second priest of Amon,[74] or passing by on his way to where the king was,[75] but failed to do so when touring Upper Egypt to collect the local gods for the Sed-festival.[76] An ostracon in the British Museum records that a vizier came to 'pour water' that is take part in the mortuary cult, and then he looked at the work and delivered some foodstuffs.[77] Normally letters and messages through his local subordinates provided all the necessary contact with the crew for the vizier.

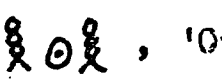
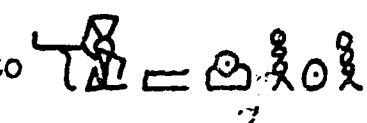
The appointment of scribes and foremen was doubtless subject to more detailed personal scrutiny by the vizier than the appointment of ordinary workmen. Perhaps reference is made to such an appointment in an oracle question,[78] 'Will he give us a boss (hry) at once?' The responsibility of the vizier for the appointment and the conduct of the officials of the Tomb is, however, best shown in the indictment papyrus, P. Salt 124.[79] Although the accusations made there are doubtless greatly exaggerated, the general picture of the administrative practices will be accurate. Addressed to a vizier, probably Hori,[80] the papyrus contains a series of complaints against the foreman Paneb, made by the workman Amonnakhte, a son of the earlier foreman Nebnefer, who felt that the post of foreman should have belonged to him and not to Paneb.

His first accusation was that Paneb had only obtained the post in the first place by bribing the vizier of the time, Paraemheb.[81] Two other allegations concern the vizier (with alleged statements of Paneb to the discredit of the vizier to whom the document was addressed), but their meanings are not clear. It was claimed that Paneb had had a vizier put out of office by complaining to 'Mose' that he had had him

beaten. Also apparently Paneb had sworn[83] that he had enough information about the vizier's thieving in the necropolis to have him dismissed from office, should Paneb find this necessary to protect his own position. There can be no doubt that the aim of this papyrus was to have Paneb dismissed from office, and that as such it had to be addressed direct to the vizier. When complaint was made about ordinary workmen it seems that the local controllers were expected to deal with the problem themselves, with a report being sent to the higher authorities of Pharaoh and the vizier only if they were not able to do so.[84]

A feeling of personal loyalty to the vizier as their patron is a perfectly understandable attitude on behalf of the officials and the people of the Tomb. This attitude seems most developed, or at least most demonstrated, in the case of the scribe Amonnakhte and the vizier To.[85] Amonnakhte, one of the great graffitists of the Theban necropolis, frequently wrote up on the rocks the name of To next to his own.[86] More especially, he recorded among his graffiti the occasion, in year 16 of Ramesses III, when the vizier To, on a visit to the Tomb, appointed him to the post of scribe there.[87] He exceptionally described himself as the 'scribe of the Tomb Amonnakhte, under the charge of the vizier To',[88] and apparently even on one occasion as the 'scribe Amonnakhte of the vizier'.[89] One of his sons he named To, presumably after the vizier.[90] Where the apparently irrelevant note has been added to an ostracon to the effect that 'the vizier To was appointed vizier To of Upper and Lower Egypt' it is probably to be taken as further evidence of the interest of Amonnakhte in the career of his patron.[91] When still only a draughtsman Amonnakhte had shown a similar attitude to To's predecessor, for a stela from that period of his life depicts the vizier Hori.[92] A similar attitude to the vizier To can be shown for other members of the crew, since he was depicted by the foreman Khonsu and by the crewman

Iierniutef on their stelae from the Ptah and Meretseger sanctuary in the Valley of the Queens.[93] Monuments of the vizier To other than from the Tomb are rare. A reused doorjamb of his was found at Gurna, north of the German house, in a tomb of the Third Intermediate Period.[94] Possibly this may have come from his otherwise unknown tomb, which could then be placed in that area.

The only Ramesside vizier for whom a tomb has been preserved in the Theban area is the vizier Paser.[95] The best attested of the viziers of the Ramesside period,[96] and a man apparently of Theban origins, he is another whose relationship with the people of the Tomb can be traced in some detail. He appears particularly frequently on the monuments of the scribe Ramose, whom he doubtless appointed to that position.[97] It will have been Ramose himself who wrote or composed the letter heading describing his relationship to Paser as that of 'his beloved assistant'.[98] Paser bore on some monuments[99] the titles , 'Overseer of Work in the Place of Truth', and , 'Overseer of Work in the Place of Eternity', unusual titles for a vizier, comparable only to a title attributed to the vizier To in a graffito , 'Overseer of work in the Horizon of Eternity in the House of Everlastingness'.[100] In both cases these titles refer to the supervision by the viziers of the works on the royal tombs.[101] In the case of Paser, however, monuments from the area of Deir el Medina that mention or depict him are particularly connected with one specific building, the local chapel built during his term of office for the cult of Ramesses II.[102] The most notable of these monuments is a lintel bearing his name, and which may well have stood over the entrance to the chapel.[103] In the depictions from the chapel itself, and on stelae dedicated there, Paser took a prominent position. Typical, for instance, is the stela of the guardian Khawey, dedicated to Hathor and to the ka of Ramesses

II.[104] Here the figure of Paser stands behind that of Ramesses II, who is shown making offerings to Hathor. The many objects from this chapel bearing the name of the scribe Ramose just as regularly bear the name of the vizier Paser.[105] Two such finds are of particular interest,[106] in that Paser is given the title 'Overseer of the Crew in the Place of Truth'. There can be little doubt that this shrine was built by Ramose under the supervision of the vizier Paser, and decorated much to their own advantage as well as that of their king.

In the tomb of Ramose himself[107] the vizier Paser is depicted standing behind the figure of Ramesses II. In two other contemporary tombs from Deir el Medina[108] Ramesses II is depicted as followed by both Paser and Ramose. Elsewhere Paser is depicted with the king on a stela from the courtyard of the tomb of Qaha,[109] and adoring the name of Ramesses II and Hathor in graffiti.[110] The multiplication of such references to the mentions and depictions of Paser or of other viziers on monuments of the people of the Tomb is unnecessary here[111] beyond stressing the close connection, in many such examples, with the name of the reigning king. Thus, in the graffiti of the scribe Amonnakhte mentioning the vizier To he sometimes added as well the name of Ramesses III.[112] Similarly a graffito of the scribe Qeniherkhepeshef[113] included the names of the vizier Panehsy and the king Merenptah. Viziers appear standing behind the king as he adores a god, or themselves adoring his cartouches.[114] In some curious examples from Deir el Medina the vizier even appears to be protecting the king. Thus a statue of the vizier Hori holds the standard of Amon protectively over a statuette of Ramesses III.[115] Similarly a statue of the vizier Panehsy stands behind statues of the ruling king, Merenptah, and his wife.[116] Doubtless such examples stress in a particular manner the normal position for the vizier, to stand immediately behind his king, as also to stress his

position as intermediary between the people of the Tomb and their ruler. It is not improbable, also, that in the case of the statues there may be some influence taken from naophorous statues of persons holding the images of their gods. Some stress must be laid on the endurance of the interrelationships between the crew, the vizier, and the king in the preservation of the cults of the kings and the eternal benefits to be gained from that. Figured ostraca, as opposed to graffiti and stelae, depicting viziers are very rare,[117] and evidence for the 'deification' of New Kingdom viziers in their own right is minimal.[118] For the people of Deir el Medina they were simply the intermediary between themselves and their king.[119]

During the Ramesside period the financial institutions of the state, in particular the treasury and the granaries, were under the supervision of the vizier. The allocation of taxes also fell under his control.[120] The vizier thus stands in the background as the authority behind the delivery of all goods to the Tomb.[121] He is mentioned in a letter of report to Pharaoh, from an overseer of the Treasury, about the dues of the Tomb.[122] The supervision of such deliveries was naturally laid upon the local subordinates of the vizier. A model letter is preserved[123] from the mayor of Western Thebes, Ramose, to the people of the Tomb, describing how the vizier Paser had ordered him to ensure their provision. Payments to the crew were only exceptionally brought by the vizier personally,[124] presumably only when their delivery fitted well with one of his visits. However, his responsibility is clear. On one occasion late in the Twentieth Dynasty,[125] the High Priest of Amon refused to give the crew grain, claiming that it was not his business. They were paid eventually, at the orders of the high officials acting as a commission, from 'grain of the vizier'. Another time the vizier To vehemently, if unconvincingly, denied that his failure to

visit the crew was occasioned by the fact that there was no grain to pay them.[126]

The normal administration and supply of the Tomb was carried out through letters to and from the vizier, the arrivals of which were carefully recorded in the documents of the Tomb,[127] or else through the vizier's subordinates acting for him.[128] Large numbers of letters to and from viziers are preserved on ostraca from Deir el Medina. Most are, as preserved, school exercises, and it is impossible to judge to what extent they were copies or drafts of original letters,[129] or whether they should be taken as purely composition exercises for trainee scribes. Except in individual detail the distinction is not perhaps significant. The whole purpose of such exercises was to teach the pupil the correct formulae, the correct format and phraseology for the type of letter. The basic format seems to have been a glowing report on the progress of the work, as ordered by 'my lord', and on the enthusiasm of the workmen for their task. The state of the necropolis was reported on, and then other matters dealt with. There will particularly be mention of the way in which the payments were being made, and requests included for the vizier's intervention if there were any difficulties about them.[130] Doubtless the vizier suffered under a continuous stream of letters of complaint, requests for favour, promotion and protection.[131] Indeed, a question to the local oracle at Deir el Medina asked,[132] 'Shall I put the matter in writing, to send it to the vizier?'. Another oracle question[133] asked 'Will they mention me to the vizier?' This perhaps refers to the sort of affair in which the people of the Tomb addressed the vizier's local subordinates, asking them to write and intercede with the vizier,[134] in preference to writing directly themselves.

Personal visits by the vizier to the necropolis were not rare, but

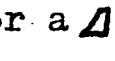
of sufficient importance often to require quite full comment in the records of the Tomb. The vizier, not normally being resident at Thebes in the Ramesside period, the documents of the Tomb often recorded his arrival at, and departure from the city,[135] whether or not he had actually visited the Tomb.[136] A distinction can sometimes be made in the texts between the 'arrival' of the vizier and other officials, and their 'going up'.[137] Here is perhaps a distinction between the arrival of the vizier at the gatehouse or the village, and his going up to visit the work proper, as much as a distinction between his arrival at Thebes and his visit to the Tomb. A register of absentees[138] records that the crew were absent, and the vizier came to deal with the affair of a certain Henutdju. The next substantive entry in the text records that three days later the vizier 'came to the Place of Pharaoh'. In this case the distinction may be a distinction between the arrival at Thebes, and the following visit to Deir el Medina. Other possibilities are that he visited the Tomb twice on different days, or that he visited the village the first time, and the actual work the second time. The terminology in the texts from the Tomb is not defined with sufficient accuracy.

It is readily understandable that the crew should have wished to see the vizier on his visits to Thebes, even if only to pay their respects to their chief, and express their loyalty and enthusiasm, if they had no particular business that required his attention. Thus it was recorded[139] that somebody went over to Town on the arrival of the vizier Wenennefer, 'on his first mission'. The reference here is more likely to be to the first visit of the new vizier than to the first official errand on which the member of the crew had been sent. An absence of the crew[140] on days when the vizier was passing through to install a Second Priest of Amon can more immediately be explained by the fact that the crew's grain rations were then sixty-five days overdue. The

vizier To's reluctance to visit the Tomb when he was unable to ensure this full payment of the crew[141] is quite understandable. Occasionally, therefore, the crew might find it necessary to go and find the vizier,[142] instead of waiting for him to come to them.

If a visit of the vizier did not require him to visit the worksite, or involved business to be carried out at the village, the crew would naturally come down from the work to meet him. Thus a daybook records on a particular day,[143] 'Work. Arrival of the vizier. Going to the gatehouse'.[144] Another text records[145] that the crew were working when a certain Penanqet arrived with 'the letter'. The following day the crew were absent, and the vizier arrived at the village () with payments. Another day was taken up with their distribution, before the men returned to work. Other texts simply report the arrival of the vizier at the village,[146] or his arrival there followed by the 'receipt' of the work of the crew.[147] A vizier might quite simply have the crew or its officials summoned to him.[148] In one text, however, the vizier, failing to find the crew where he expected them, was reported to have gone himself to look for them.[149] Elsewhere there are simply records of the arrival of the vizier at 'the valley',[150] or 'the field',[151] his business presumably taking him directly up to the work.

Work commissioned from the members of the crew by the vizier was not always tomb building. Men are once recorded, for instance, to have worked in the , 'house' or 'office' of the vizier.[152] More often they did craft work, particularly carpentry for the vizier. A papyrus from the later years of the reign of Ramesses XI records various men making a bed, equipment for boats, and even divine barks, under the control of the vizier and an overseer of the Treasury.[153] One might expect that the administration were deliberately finding other extra

types of employment for the crew in the changing political situation at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, noting that at about this time the scribe of the Tomb was used to collect local grain taxes,[154] and the crew were required to prepare military equipment for use in the Nubian war.[155] The manufacture of furniture for the royal burials was not, apparently, at an earlier date at least, a normal function of the crew,[156] although particular commissions of this type were carried out, as when some royal statues were made by the crew, at the orders of the king, for one of the local shrines.[157] Some clothes (hbsw) of King (Neferkare Setepenre) were noted to have been taken away by a vizier, and it is not impossible that they had been made be people of the Tomb.[158] More often it was furniture or funerary equipment that was handed over to the vizier; beds,[159] a box,[160] or a  , a 'strong-box(?)'.[161] When  'the wood' was handed over to the vizier,[162] this might also have been some carpentry work.[163] Individual men were indeed occasionally noted as absentees doing such work for the vizier.[164] It remains unclear whether such work was, strictly speaking, part of the normal duties of the crew. Other records of the carpentry of the crewmen are concerned with their private transactions,[165] and it may be that in many such cases they were working for the personal use and profit of the vizier himself.[166] When 'the two foremen, the scribe of the Tomb, and the entire crew' gave the vizier 'two silver chisels' they would appear to have been a rather valuable gift to their chief.[167]

The vizier was the highest judicial officier in the land.[168] It was probably for this reason, rather than because he controlled the institution of the Tomb, that he took so great a part in the investigations into the tomb robberies, and the trials of the tomb robbers, at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. It cannot, therefore, be clear whether the occasional references to the vizier exercising judicial functions over

people of the Tomb depended on his position as Chief Justice or as their own chief. Corruption in the administration of the necropolis was apparently dealt with by the vizier alone.[169] On the other hand, the question of what should be done to a woman convicted of stealing tools was put aside to await a ruling from the vizier,[170] presumably because the punishment the people of the Tomb wished to inflict on her was too severe to be carried out by the local administrators on their own authority. The vizier was the head of the 'Great Tribunal',[171] the chief court of the state, so it is not surprising to find him sitting in local courts when he was present in the area. Records of property and wills, the documents vital to many civil suits, were kept in the offices under his charge.[172]

V. The High Priest of Amon.

The functions of Egyptian officials often seem to be curiously ill defined.[1] A particular official might perform a very wide range of tasks that were apparently quite unconnected. Notably officials held posts in both temple and state administrations. An official entrusted with work in a temple would be rewarded with an office there,[2] and probably more important the income from it. Conversely, the priesthood of the great temples often provided the greatest builders in the temples. Naturally the officials responsible for the great temple building projects of the Theban area in the Eighteenth Dynasty would have been the most experienced locally available architects. It is noteworthy that the Inene who was first architect of a tomb in the Valley of the Kings,[3] was mayor of Thebes but also held offices in the Temple of Amon. These were in its financial departments, especially its granaries, but also included general supervisions over all its resources and works. In the reign of Hatshepsut, the High Priest of Amon himself, Hapusonb, supervised construction of the royal tomb,[4] but he also at some point in his career held the title of vizier.[5] The tendency for suitable officials to be appointed to particular jobs, rather than having a particular job performed by the holder of the 'right' office, seems particularly strong in the Eighteenth Dynasty, compared with the bureaucratically more rigid Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. At least, during the Nineteenth and most of the Twentieth Dynasties the documents of the Tomb do not show officials and priests of the Temple of Amon in administrative authority over the crew. The vizier was their 'chief', the representative of the state under whose control the crew fell. Indeed, as the workforce of a state project there is no reason why the crew should have been administratively connected with the Temple of Amon, whatever their religious affiliations with that

institution may have been.[6]

Naturally some economic connections between the Tomb and the Temple of Amon are to be visualized at all periods. The totally dominant economic position of the Temple of Amon among the temples of the Theban area,[7] and state dependence on temple administration of lands for part at least of its grain income, would ensure some economic contact, even ignoring the small income due to the Tomb from reversions from divine offerings. The economic control of the temple normally fell in the last resort to its highest official, its High Priest.[8] From the end of the reign of Ramesses III, it seems to be possible, if only in vague outline, to trace a qualitative change in the influence of the High Priests of Amon on the people of the Tomb,[9] a growing influence that is presumably related to the growing ineffectiveness of the centralized control of state finances,[10] and a decline of royal authority in the Theban area. The normal absence of the vizier from the Theban area during the Ramesside period, and the consequent absence of any state officials of economic and social power comparable to the High Priest can only have increased the effective influence of the High Priests over state finances and their administration when the source of such finances was often the production of temples directly subordinated to him.

Office in the Temple of Amon, and with it the other important and lucrative offices in the Theban area, including the office of mayor, effectively belonged to a small group of families, closely associated and related by marriage, already by the reign of Ramesses II.[11] By the end of the reign of Ramesses III the succession to the High Priesthood seems to have been genuinely dynastic. It is with a member of the eventually dominant family, the High Priest Ramessesnakhte, who succeeded his brother Usermaatrenakhte at the difficult time at the very beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV,[12] that a real qualitative change

in the activities of the High Priest can be suggested. The argument is, however, bound to be based on the insecure foundation of what chance has allowed to survive from among the documents of the Tomb. It may be correct to presume that the new influence of the High Priest, at least the new frequency with which he appears in the documents of the Tomb, was to some extent connected with, and a consequence of the troubles over the payment of the crew at the end of the reign of Ramesses III. During the shortages of grain rations, the 'strikes', the crew were to be found appealing for food at the mortuary temples on the west bank,[13] temples that were all part of the 'House' (pr) of Amon, and directly under the control of the High Priest.[14] When the crew asked for bread from the offerings at the Ramesseum, the local official there insisted that he must refer the matter to the High Priest and to the local mayor.[15] In the context of the Strike Papyrus, and the related texts of the end of the reign of Ramesses III, it is impossible to tell whether these appeals to the temples were for charity or appeals to the sources from which the state revenues, due to pass to the crew through the state granaries, came in the first instance.[16] One may note that more immediate help could be hoped for from the locally resident High Priest, and from the local mayor, than from the absent vizier. In the following years Ramessesnakhte appeared with more and more prominence in the business documents of the Tomb, in connection with the supply and payment of their wages[17] and the supervision of their work.

Ramessesnakhte himself seems to have been an active and energetic official. He was, for instance, charged with ensuring the fetching of quantities of stone from the quarries in the Wadi Hammamat in year 3 of Ramesses IV.[18] The text of the stela set up there to commemorate this expedition seems to imply that he personally led the expedition,[19] but this need perhaps not be taken too literally.[20] However, there

was nothing original in such an expedition coming under the control of a High Priest. A stela of the High Priest Rome-Roy from Gebel Silsila, dating to the reign of Merenptah, gives him as well as his priestly titles that of 'Overseer of the Expeditions (imy-r mš') of Amon', and of 'Overseer of Works in Every Monument of His Majesty'.[21] Some clear idea of the range of matters that came under the control of the High Priest Ramessesnakhte is given by a collection of letters, dating to the reign of Ramesses IX.[22] One of the letters,[23] dated to year 2, contains complaints from Ramesses IX himself about the poor quality of the galena (msdmt)[24] sent for making eye-paint, and demanding that it be replaced by material of the proper quality. This came from Elephantine.[25] Another of these texts records the congratulations sent by Ramessesnakhte to Nubian troops acting as escort on their success in protecting gold mines at the Red Sea end of the Wadi Hammamat (some of the gold from them was destined for the Temple of Amon), and recording things that he had sent to them.[26] Rights of the Temple of Amon over the produce of the gold mines are attested at an earlier date, and these were not necessarily new areas of activity for officials of the temple, but with the range of activity attested for Ramessesnakhte the impression is clearly that the state was very dependent on him for administration and supply in the southern part of the country.

Like the other High Priests of the period, Ramessesnakhte left monuments and inscriptions in the Temple of Karnak.[27] More unusually his name was found in two hieratic quarry(?) marks on doorsills from Medinet Habu,[28] doubtless implying that the work was done under his control. More problematic is an ostracon from the Valley of the Kings which depicts him dancing(?).[29] Figured ostraca from the Valley of the Kings seem to be very largely votive. The only other historical, non-royal personage depicted on such a piece from that site is the

contemporary vizier, Neferronpet.[30] Such a depiction, like the frequent engraving of viziers' names in graffiti, probably implies a degree of feeling of dependence on the part of the artist.

From the beginning of his tenure of office as High Priest, Ramessesnakhte appeared in groups of officials visiting the Tomb under the leadership of the vizier,[31] to pay the 'dues' to the crew,[32] to 'receive' their 'commissions',[33] and to introduce burial equipment into the tomb.[34] Acting alone, there is reference to [35] Ramessesnakhte coming to the gatehouse with a letter for the crew, and then returning two days later to take the 'documents' (wḥ3w) to where Pharaoh was. More important, however, is a text of a year 6, probably of Ramesses VI,[36] telling how the scribe of the Tomb Hori was taken before the High Priest, in the courtyard of the Temple of Amon, with documents about the copper of the tools of the Tomb. The leaders of the crew were required to surrender 550 deben, and minor officials of the Treasury were sent to collect them. Seventeen days later, again in the great courtyard of the Temple of Amon, the High Priest Ramessesnakhte received 500 deben from the officials of the crew. Another text of roughly the same date[37] tells of the commissioning of coppersmiths to make tools for the crew, by the leaders of the crew[38] and 'the scribe of the Treasury, Hori ⟨of⟩ the Mansion, under the charge of the High Priest of Amon'.[39] A graffito recording that in a year 8 a High Priest Ramessesnakhte together with a royal butler and a mayor of Thebes were present for the 'closing of the tomb'/may belong to this Ramessesnakhte, but possibly to an otherwise unknown successor of the same name (a grandson?), who would have to be dated to the reign of Ramesses X.[40]

Perhaps also dating to the tenure of office of Ramessesnakhte is a letter[41] from the draughtsman Hormin to his father, the scribe Hori,

asking for help in getting a missing man sent back to help with the drawing. He noted that he had reported the matter to the High Priest, but that the leaders had said to him, 'We will bring him up. It is not the High Priest's responsibility'.[42] The limits of the High Priest's responsibility may not have been very clear to anybody in the middle and later part of the Twentieth Dynasty. For instance, an ostracon[43] tells that '[the High Priest of] Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Ramessesnakhte, sent somebody to investigate the complaint[44] of the crew, after they sent (a message) to where one (= Pharaoh) was'. As the most powerful local financial official it is only natural that he should have been appealed to[45] when the crew were in difficulties, particularly about their supplies, and that he should appear in commissions[46] listening to their appeals for food.

The High Priest was not, however, concerned only with financial affairs. The concern of Ramessesnakhte for the security of the Wadi Hammamat gold mines[47] can be compared to his concern for security in the Theban area. A papyrus dating to the first year of either Ramesses V or VI[48] records that the crew were absent for several days because of 'the enemy'. On I **peret** 13 the two chiefs of police arrived with the news that Perneby had fallen, and that the High Priest of Amon had told them to collect the police from Perneby, those from the south, and those of the Tomb, in order to guard the Tomb. The crew were also, if perhaps largely as innocent bystanders, caught up in the war concerned with the suppression of the High Priest Amonhotep. This war remains a matter of the utmost obscurity.[49] Even its chronology cannot be established for certain, and the reason for the attack on Amonhotep by the Viceroy of Nubia is a matter of pure speculation. If this intervention by Panehsy was an attempt to reinforce royal power as control of royal lands and finances in the Theban area slipped more and

more under the authority of the High Priest of Amon,[50] it was not in the long term successful. Panehsy took control of the income of grain from royal lands, giving himself the title Overseer of the Granaries of Pharaoh.[51] However, after his expulsion or withdrawl, the new family of High Priests retained this title. Herihor was, among his other offices, overseer of the Granaries, and Payankh even took the title of vizier as well.[52] The family simply took over the chief offices of state in the area.[53]

The build up to this situation in the reigns of the last three Ramesside kings was gradual. Even when, probably late in the reign of Ramesses IX, the crew abandoned the village of Deir el Medina for the greater security of the Temple of Medinet Habu, quite definitely part of the fief of the High Priest of Amon, his relationship towards them seems to have been equivocal. In a journal for year 3 of Ramesses X it was recorded that the High Priest sent a letter, and then the next day a chief of police told the crew, at the orders of the High Priest, not to go up to work until he gave the word.[54] This order seems to have been the cause of some dissention among the crew.[55] The journals of this period make frequent reference to the High Priest.[56] Also in year 3 of Ramesses X the crew appealed to the High Priest about grain rations.[57] However, his reaction, not long afterwards,[58] to a similar appeal by the crew was to refuse to pay them, and to insist that they should be provided for by the 'chief in whose department (st) they slept'. The payment came from the expected source at the orders of the great magistrates the following day, from the grain of the vizier.

The continuing authority of the vizier over the crew is shown by a journal of years 17 and 18 of Ramesses XI,[59] which tells of the vizier Wenennefer (sometimes with an overseer of the Treasury) handing out rewards to the crew and commissioning and controlling their work.[60]

Yet despite this a broken papyrus of the reign of Ramesses X[61] gives a list of '[t]he [pe]ople of th[e Great] and Noble [Tomb] of Millions of Years, of Pharaoh, on the West of Thebes, who are in [the cha]rge of the High Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods A.....overseer of the Treasury of Pharaoh and royal butler, Amonhotep'. If, as seems the most obvious explanation, the name of the High Priest Amonhotep is to be restored in the gap, and the reading of the passage is correct, the interpretation that the crew were under the responsibility directly of the High Priest, perhaps in conjunction with the overseer of the Treasury, can hardly be avoided. However, this cannot have been a full statement of the correct overall administrative responsibility, and perhaps only referred to a particular set of circumstances. However, a graffito of the early Twenty-first Dynasty[62] tells of a visit 'to look at the mountain (b)y the scribe of the Place of Truth, Butehamon, of (n) the High Priest of Amon, Paynedjem, son of the High Priest, Payankh'. By then the relationship was quite clear.

The High Priest Amonhotep did appear regularly in commissions investigating the tomb robberies, and trying the tomb robbers.[63] There were, however, sufficient of his own subordinates, employees of the Theban temples, implicated in the robberies, and his position as the most important local magnate was sufficient to ensure his appearance in any important court. There is no need to presume that these appearances depended on any direct authority he held over the necropolis. Likewise prisoners held in connection with these robberies were probably surrendered to him for guard[64] purely because he was the official controlling the temples, the strongest and most suitable places for imprisonment. One can hardly doubt that, were the crew really though of as his responsibility at that time, the records of the trials of the tomb robbers would have recorded them as under his charge (r-ht), as they did people from other

institutions. It is noteworthy that the High Priest was still, in texts of the later Ramessides, listed after the vizier, and sometimes royal butlers, in commissions and list of officials.[65]

In the end the crew came totally under the control of the High Priests. Already the Viceroy of Nubia, Panehsy, during his domination of the Theban area, had used the services of the scribe of the Tomb Djehutimose for tax collection.[66] With the complete takeover of state offices in the Theban area by the family of the High Priests at the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the High Priest and General Payankh used used the crew to prepare supplies, particularly weapons, for his Nubian expedition,[67] and it even seems that the payment of the crew was supervised, if temporarily, by the Chantress of Amon, Henuttawey, as his representative.[68] A graffito records, as well as the finishing of a piece of work by the crew, that the 'scribe Butehamon crossed over <to> Town to see the arrival of the General, going north',[69] the sort of courtesy visit to be expected at an earlier date for the vizier on his arrival. With the end of the use of the Valley of the Kings for royal burials after Ramesses XI, the purpose of the crew effectively came to an end, but it is a reasonable presumption that some justification for their continuing existence was found in the preparation of tombs for members of the family of the High Priests, as well as in the need to make occasional inspections of the old royal necropolis.[70] In a letter from the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty the crew were ordered to make a 'commission' - doubtless a tomb - for the High Priest Payankh.[71] The officials of the crew were also much involved in the cacheing of the bodies of the dead kings into safe places early in the Twenty-first Dynasty.[72] A register of the work of the crew, mentioning the 'boring of the tomb (m'h't) of the High Priest'[73] is probably also to be dated to one of the last reigns of the Twentieth

Dynasty. With the eventual collapse of the Twentieth Dynasty the Tomb came completely under the control of the High Priests.

VI. The Mayors of Thebes.

In the Abbott Papyrus[1] the vizier was reported to uphold the criticism of the mayor of Western Thebes that 'It was an offence on the part of these two scribes of the Tomb, their going to the mayor of Eastern Thebes (lit. 'Town') to make a report to him, for their fathers did not report to him, but they reported to (the) vizier, if he were in the Southern District, and if he chanced to be in the Northern District, the policemen, attendants of His Majesty, l.p.h., of the Tomb went to where the vizier was, with their memoranda'. The mayor of Western Thebes was, in a roundabout way, claiming that the scribes should have made their report to him personally, for he bore the title of head of the police of the Tomb.[2] As chief of the police of the Tomb, the mayor of Western Thebes was in charge of the security of the area. Thus the mayor of Western Thebes appears in documents concerned with inspections of the necropolis,[3] the affairs surrounding the tomb robberies,[4] the imprisoning of the criminals,[5] and the reporting of their names to the king.[6] The police described as 'of the Tomb' were not, however, directly connected with the Tomb administration, or in any way subordinate to its officials, nor did they live at Deir el Medina.[7] They are at best to be considered as 'outside' members of the institution, and their head as an outside official.

The second function in which the mayors of Western Thebes appeared in connection with the people of the Tomb was financial. He appeared as the official responsible for receipt of some of the grain taxes[8] collected at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty by the scribe of the Tomb Djehutimose. Presumably he was responsible for the installations of the state granaries on the west bank. It is likely, in fact, that the mayor acted as a general supervisor of state finances in the area. He seems to have been the local clearing agent and controller for the

state with respect to the people of the Tomb. An ostracon now in Berlin[9] contains a model letter from a mayor of Western Thebes to the foremen and the crew, telling that the vizier Paser had told him he must ensure that the dues of the crew of the Tomb be properly delivered, naming the commodities supplied locally by the outside service-staff of the Tomb. Notable in this context are a report of the arrival of a mayor of Western Thebes at the gatehouse with a message from Pharaoh about clothes,[10] the heading of an ostracon containing fish accounts by the words 'the mayor ////////////', [11] and a notice of receipt of some , 'firewood(?)' from 'the mayor' in a necropolis journal.

The relationship between mayors of Thebes and mayors of Western Thebes is impossible to define for lack of evidence.[12] The latter title is indeed rare, the only names known as holders being Ramose, early in the reign of Ramesses II, and Paweraa at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.[13] It is not impossible that these particular appointments were unusual, and that for much of the New Kingdom there was no separate mayor of Western Thebes. A mayor of Thebes appears[14] several times, for instance, in the Turin Strike Papyrus. Reports were made to him requesting help,[15] he and the High Priest of Amon were asked for provisions from the divine offerings,[16] and he was stopped by the crew and as a result provided them with a temporary issue of food until Pharaoh would pay their grain rations.[17] A similar record from a few years later[18] tells of the mayor of Thebes coming with the Overseer of the Granaries, and the mayor of Iuitru, to listen to further complaints from the crew about their grain rations. Also, an ostracon in Cairo seems to contain a letter from the workmen to the mayor Paser, complaining about their miserable condition.[19] It is, of course, not expressly stated why the particular officials should

have been approached. The mayor, if he normally acted as the official through whose department supplies came, would be a natural person to whom the crew would appeal. The possibility cannot be discounted, however, that he was simply an official who, having control over financial departments, might be in a position to relieve the crew, and as local representative of the state might be willing to do so. It is noteworthy in this context that the majority of the mayors of Thebes[20] also held financial offices connected with the Temple of Amon; the mayor Herunefer, for instance, was 'Overseer of the Granaries of the Divine Offerings of Amon, for(?) Upper and Lower Egypt'.

These functions attested for the local mayors in relation to the people of the Tomb are not to be seen in any way as showing a special relationship between them. Such indeed were the standard functions of the local mayor in the New Kingdom.[21] The judicial functions of local mayors are stressed in the Decree of Horemheb,[22] where mayors are listed with priests as constituent members of local courts.[23] Much better attested is the role of the mayor in the control at a local level of state property and taxation. He is found both as controller of the various types of land belonging to 'Pharaoh', and responsible for the collection of grain taxation, its transport, and with this control of the local harbour, and also to some extent responsible for the distribution of the taxes once collected.[24] For instance, for the role of the local mayor in controlling to some extent the supply of food to the people of the Tomb, there is a direct comparison to be made with the Harem at Merwer. A small accounts papyrus from there[25] records that the fish deliveries were 'given to the harem of Merwer by the mayor Hori and the servant(?) of the harem Hednakhte'. Certain passages in the text known as the 'Dienstvorschrift des Veziers', the text listing the duties and functions of the vizier, show quite clearly the

responsibility of the local mayors to organise local taxation and agriculture at his orders, and their responsibility to him for neglected duties.[26] The mayor was, in fact, the local controller of state business of every kind.

Local mayors are sometimes also found to have been responsible for controlling building works. A letter has been preserved[27] from the mayor of Town, Haunefer, to the district scribe of of Town, Hori, about work on a chapel to Ramesses II in the temple of Amon, stressing that the work, stone moving, must be kept going at full speed. The men were not to be allowed to fall a single day behind in the receipt of grain rations or payments of oils. The mayor had already spoken about this with the scribes of the Treasury and the Granary. His contemporary Huy, the mayor of Memphis, is recorded as the builder and then steward of the mortuary temple of Ramesses II there. It was, however, only at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty that a mayor of Thebes, Inene of the reign of Tuthmosis I, was in actual charge of the work on the royal tomb.[28] By the Ramesside period the mayor is simply to be seen as the local head of the state bureaucracy, under the control of the vizier.

A mayor is once found present with the vizier and a royal butler at the swearing of the oath of alleigance by the crew.[29] A mayor of Thebes was also present, with the High Priest of Amon and a royal butler at the 'closure of the tomb'.[30] On another occasion the mayor of Western Thebes delivered a letter from the vizier.[31] To the people of the Tomb such actions were not those of an official controlling their work, but merely those of the local representative of the bureaucracy, the local representative of their real chief, the vizier, with whom they had, of necessity, frequent contact.

VII. Recruitment and Appointments.

The original formation of the workforce devoted to the building of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, presumably in the reign of Amonhotep I,[1] and the foundation of the village for them at Deir el Medina, in the reign of Tuthmosis I,[2] are events of the greatest obscurity. Indeed, the administrative history of the workforce effectively begins with its reorganisation and reestablishment in the reign of Horemheb.[3] The origins of the members of the workforce itself are unknown. There is plenty of evidence to show that foreign captives formed a normal source of recruitment for state and temple labour forces in the New Kingdom.[4] Marauding Assyrian kings deported[5] from conquered territories particularly craftsmen and useful skilled personnel, using them to build and populate their new capitals, and although it is less well documented, there is no reason to believe that the policies of Egyptian kings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties differed in anything but scale.

Such origins may be posited for some of the earliest members of the crew,[6] but the occasional appearance of un-Egyptian names in the prosopography and of minor cults of foreign deities at Deir el Medina are insufficient reason to make this a certain conclusion, or to imply that such recruitment was a factor of any importance to the Tomb. The naming of that institution as st mȝ't, 'Place of Truth', raises questions in itself. In some contexts this name was used for penal colonies of forced labourers.[7] The wage rates of the crew were, however, too high to permit any supposition that the workforce there were originally recruited as criminals. It was simply a different sort of Place of Truth. One curious text does give a list[8] of people under the charge of a Nekhemmut, and therefore probably in some way connected with the tomb, the name probably being that of a foreman. Besides the names of the father and mother of each of these people, the text gives their

places of origin. In four cases the people came from the Kharga oasis, and in two from Dakhla. However, these people were fairly clearly not full members of the crew, who in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties formed a settled and stable Egyptian community.

Classical authors remarked forcefully on the hereditary nature of professions in Egypt.[9] Certainly the ideal that a son should succeed his father was a commonplace of Egyptian thought. Thus, for instance, a Middle Kingdom funerary stela,[10] addressing passers-by with a formula of the standard type - as you desire such and such to happen, so you will say such and such prayers for the stela's owner - included the phrase 'as you desire to hand on your offices to your children' as a natural presumption. Occasional references to the sale of priestly offices, or their inheritance, probably belong to special types of foundation, where the office and its income were a property from the beginning.[11] Such property in offices had no wider validity in the Ramesside period. Yet there was always in Egyptian society a tendency for even the highest offices to remain in a single family. At the end of the Middle Kingdom, for instance, it is possible to trace a veritable dynasty of viziers.[12] In the Ramesside period appointments to the High Priesthood of Amon followed a dynastic succession,[13] and the high offices of the Theban area were held by a small number of closely related families. The High Priest Rome-Roy even described[14] how Amon had let him put his two sons and two grandsons into major priestly offices under him, and then expressed the desire[15] that after his death his office should be held by his family, son after son, for ever.[16]

According to the New Kingdom wisdom text, the Maxims of Ani,[17] 'There is no son to the Overseer of the Treasury. Their is no heir to the Overseer of the Fortress(?). A scribe is chosen by his hand. Offices (i3t), they have no children'. This seems to be a statement

of principle, that the best man will be appointed to an office, and that the job is not heritable by right. Before the end of the New Kingdom there was a real tendency for officials, in their autobiographical inscriptions, to emphasize their humble station, to stress their personal merits, and to attribute their promotion to the graciousness and wisdom of the king in raising them, because of their merit, to the highest offices. This was the tenor of texts even of people whose family was of very high rank. The listing of long complex genealogies to show a person's rank and social status was essentially a development of the Third Intermediate Period.[18] It seems, however, to have been a standard practice for an official to associate his son with him in the performance of his office, thereby making his succession seem a natural consequence. Herein lies one of the essential principles of the coregency in Egypt.[19] For private citizens the son might act as a 'staff of old age' (𓂋𓏏𓎛) for his father.[20] This pretext was given for the composition of the 'Wisdom of Ptahhotep'.[21] The vizier, Ptahhotep, failing physically, requested a royal decree to permit his son to stand in his place, to act for him as his 'staff of old age', and perform his duties for him. The wisdom text was then visualized as the advice given to the son, his education to enable him to succeed his father. The succession of the son to the father's post, and his education to perform it by his father seems to have been so natural a concept to the Egyptians that the terms 'son' and 'children' could be used, not necessarily of a person's bodily descendents, but of his pupils and prospective successors.[22]

In the enclosed community of Deir el Medina such education of the children by the local officials and craftsmen was general. The particularly specialized nature of the work, as much as the isolation of the village, will have emphasized this. In all craft employment, requiring long apprenticeship, there is always, in any society, a strong

tendency for the son to be brought up in the skills and secrets of the trade.[23] The best explicit example of this from Pharaonic Egypt is contained in a rather problematic stela in the Louvre.[24] The father described his facility as an artist, claiming unique ability and originality of technique, unique with the sole exception of his eldest bodily son.[25] The local training of artists, draughtsmen and relief sculptors, is well attested at Deir el Medina. Numbers of pictorial ostraca from that site are clearly apprentices exercises,[26] these including examples of relief carving[27] as well as drawing. The evidence points to local drawing schools also at the Ramesseum, and in the Eighteenth Dynasty at Deir el Bahari.[28] However, it is only at Deir el Medina that the documentation is sufficient for family training of this sort, father to son in succession, to be traced in individual detail.[29]

The best example of such family training of the son as successor is to be seen in the holders of the post of scribe of the Tomb. From the descendents of the obscure, and apparently insignificant, Ipuy there came a succession of scribes, son following father in office, from year 16 of Ramesses III until well into the Twenty-first Dynasty: Amonnakhte, Horisheri, Khaiemhedjet, Djehutimose, Butehamon and Ankhefenamon.[30] Before Amonnakhte the two best documented scribes of the Tomb were Ramose[31] and Qeniherkhepeshef.[32] Both were exceptional appointments, from families having no apparent connection with the Tomb,[33] but in both cases their predecessors seem to have been childless. Ramose was associated with, effectively adopted by his predecessor, the scribe Huy.[34] Qeniherkhepeshef was associated in the same way with the scribe Ramose.[35] The names of his true parents are well known, yet he sometimes described himself as the son of Ramose,[36] whom he followed in office. Qeniherkhepeshef himself seems to have died childless,[37] a direct

succession to the office again failing after him.

For the appointment of scribes of the Tomb from among members of the crew the problem of the rate of literacy is of significance. It is unknown how many of the ordinary workmen were literate.[38] From the number of literary ostraca, schoolboy exercises, preserved from Deir el Medina, it is clear that for some at least education was a serious preoccupation. Yet, if at his death the scribe left no suitably educated son, it might well have been necessary to appoint a successor from outside the crew in default of a suitable local candidate. More normally it would make best sense, on pure grounds of efficiency, for the successor to be taught the correct procedures as an apprentice to his predecessor. There is no information about how the scribe Amonnakhte came to be appointed scribe of the Tomb, although his family already seem to have been employed there. Once in the post the family seems to have been in no danger of letting the succession lapse. Of the nine known sons of Amonnakhte, all claimed the title of scribe or draughtsman.[39] The credit for this must have lain with Amonnakhte himself. A small number of school texts are connected with his name,[40] and he is to be visualized as the teacher of his own sons.[41] Comparison may be made in this with his descendant, the scribe Djehutimose, who, in a letter to his already mature son, the scribe Butehamon, ordered him to ensure that 'the little boys (<u>'ddw šriw</u>) in the school (<u>'t sb3yt</u>) do not release (<u>h3'</u>) their hands from writing'.[42] Butehamon, the son and successor of Djehutimose, can already be seen in the series of letters between him and his father, to be acting as his deputy and agent, effectively carrying out the duties of scribe of the Tomb in the absence of his father.[43] A similar practice seems to have continued for Butehamon's own son, Ankhefenamon.[44] Already in documents of the reign of Ramesses III, and continuing in his documents until his death sometime in the middle of the Twentieth

Dynasty, the scribe Amonnakhte seems deliberately to have associated his son Horisheri with him in a variety of administrative functions.[45] One may also note that Horisheri's son, Khaiemhedjet, bore the title 'scribe of the Tomb' before the death of his father.[46] Whether any of these junior scribes had any officially recognised status before the deaths of their fathers seems unlikely, but clearly on their own appointment to the office they had in practice been exercising it for some time.

Successions of a similar type are also well attested in the office of foreman, as in the office of scribe, different families holding the different officies of foreman of the right and left side for several generations.[47] In this office it seems to have been practice to appoint the son and prospective successor as 'deputy'.[48] That office seems quite clearly not to have been an independent one. The appointment of a new foreman seems to have been regularly accompanied by the appointment of a new deputy, indicating a close connection between the two offices. Admittedly relatively few certain identifications can be made of deputies who later held the post of foreman. However, the purpose of a foreman in having his son as his deputy is clear.[49] The actual duties of a 'deputy' cannot be clearly identified, at least not as independent responsibilities. The man who acted as deputy would, however, regularly have been the most experienced available for appointment as foreman on the decease of the holder.

As the best attested example of the manner in which the succession to the post of foreman took place must be quoted that of the foreman Paneb. The Papyrus Salt 124[50] contains a long list of accusations, intended to be sent to the vizier, to show how unsuitable Paneb was for the office. The true reason for the making of the accusations is to be found in the first lines of the text,[51] where the complainant introduced his

complaints with an explanation of the background circumstances; 'I am the child of the foreman Nebnefer, and (when) my father died [the foreman(?)] Neferhotep [was appointed] to his place, and when 'the enemy' killed Neferhotep, [now, I was(?)] his brother, but Paneb gave five slaves, which (had) belonged to my father, to Paraemheb, who was then vizier, [so he might be appointed in the place of(?) m]y father, although it was not his (rightful) place'. At face value this text implies that the office of foreman, the 'place' ( ) was heritable, but that in this case the vizier had been bribed to make a wrongful appointment outside the proper family succession. However, typical of the way in which he attempted to blacken the name of Paneb in every possible way, Amonnakhte, the accuser, also charged him with ingratitude and unfilial behaviour to the foreman Neferhotep. Thereby he revealed that it was Neferhotep who brought up (i·shpr) Paneb.[52] It seems likely that Neferhotep had no children to succeed him, and a relationship between him and Paneb may be visualized similar to that between the scribes Ramose and Qeniherkhepeshef. Thus the five slaves originally belonging to Nebnefer may, much as Amonnakhte might resent it, have passed perfectly regularly to Neferhotep and then Paneb, along with the post of foreman. Their presentation to the vizier may well have seemed, from the viewpoint of Amonnakhte, a bribe whereby he was excluded from the office he felt should be his. From the point of view of Paneb it may well have seemed a gift that went naturally with his appointment, smoothly and satisfactorily, to the post which was his due. However difficult the distinction may sometimes be, there is a difference between a bribe to get something done that is wrongful, and a payment to smooth and expedite the administrative processes.

Paneb seems in fact to have been dismissed from office in the end.[53] His son Aapehty, who served as deputy under him, likewise disappeared

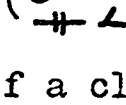
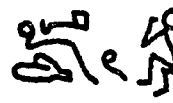
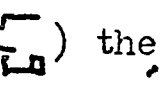
from the documents of the Tomb. The office of foreman passed to another family. Another of Paneb's sons, Penanqet, remained a crewman at Deir Medina, and apparently resented the succeeding office holders. In the Turin Strike Papyrus[54] there is preserved a record of threats he made to report to the vizier and the king about negligence of the officials of the crew in disciplinary matters. Other passing references[55] seem to imply that this was not the only time he had reported something to higher authority. The regular inheritance of such an office must have led to less jealousy and obstructiveness among disappointed candidates, and more efficient continuity and functioning of the office than any other method of appointment.

In principle state employees were appointed by the king, but in practice only officials of real importance can have been personally inducted. Such ceremonies are sometimes depicted in tombs of the New Kingdom.[56] A detailed record that comes close to Deir el Medina is that of the appointment of Nebamon to the post of Chief of Police of Western Thebes, in year 6 of Tuthmosis IV, depicted in his tomb at Thebes.[57] A royal decree, issued at the palace, recognized the faithful service of Nebamon as 'standard-bearer' on a royal ship, and as a reward[58] appointed him chief of police, with suitable property and income to go with the job. The document was handed over to Nebamon by a scribe. In an adjoining scene Nebamon was depicted adoring his patron, Tuthmosis IV. While a foreman of the crew might claim that his authority came from his appointment by Pharaoh,[59] it is highly unlikely that in practice this was more personally than by a letter or decree sent from the central administration.

Only a very small amount of information is preserved concerning the actual appointment of the officials of the crew.[60] Such records are, moreover, brief and largely uninformative. For instance, an entry in

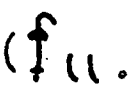
a daybook simply noted[61] that 'Amonkhau was appointed as scribe of the Tomb'. An ostracon[62] gives twice, in hieroglyphs, the titles of the scribe of the House of Menkheprure, Ramose, and then adds in hieratic, 'Later (whm) he was appointed as scribe in the Place of Truth, in year 5, month III of akhet, day 10, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Usermaatre Setepenre), l.p.h., Son of Re (Ramesses Mery[amon])'. When the appointing authority was mentioned it was, as expected, the vizier. There was,[63] in 'year 16 (of Ramesses III), <the arrival> by the Overseer of the Residence City and Vizier, To, and the scribe Amonnakhte was appointed[64] as scribe of the Tomb'. An oracle question[65] asking 'Will he give us a chief (hry) immediately?' might be taken as asking the god whether the vizier would appoint a new scribe or foreman quickly.[66] The example of Paneb, quoted above from the Salt papyrus, shows likewise the authority of the vizier over the appointment of foremen. It was also a letter from the vizier that ordered the appointment to the physician Hori to the place (st) of his father.[67] An ostracon dealing with the ownership of some property tells[68] that 'when Huy was appointed foreman' he passed an inherited warehouse to his brother. However, he received it back again when his nephew, who had later inherited, was taken to 'the riverbank' (mryt). There are other texts which may perhaps refer to appointments. An ostracon[69] tells that on 'year 3, IV peret 12, on this day the appointing (?rdit) the draughtsman Horisheri under (?hry)//////[70] my(?) father'. It is not certain that the end of this passage, written on the verso, should be taken as a continuation of the beginning, written on the recto, but if this is right the reference is likely to be to the appointment of Horisheri to the office of his father. Another text[71] tells of the 'year 6, IV akhet 27, on this day, appointment (dit) of Aapatjau to sculptor (t3y-md3t) //////'. Finally a letter[72] to

the officials of the Tomb seems to tell that the writer (the vizier?) 'sent the scribe ////////////// to (be) the scribe standing there with you as scribe of the Tomb of the outside service-staff. When he reaches you, you are to look after him, and take (t3y) the commissions (shnw) which he will do'.

Ordinary workmen were from time to time 'recruited' ()[73] to the crew. The verb is normally used of the recruitment of a class of people described as the , 'boys'. An ostracon[74] records only two, therefore presumably connected events; the sending of an order by the vizier, and then five days later the 'day of recruiting the boys to the le[ft (side) (?)]'. Similarly there is a letter[75] from the vizier to the four chiefs concerning the boys. An oracle question[76] asks 'Will the vizier take () the five boys?' It is not clear whether this should be taken as referring to taking the boys on as workmen, or taking them away somewhere else.[77] At any rate, it seems that the local children had specifically to be taken on to the workforce by administrative decision, and there was a possibility that they might not be.

The Maxims of Ani tell[78] of the normal process of growing up and education. The child was born, at the breast for three years, at school, where he was taught to read. His mother looked after him and fed him in her house. He was a mnh, he then married and founded his own house. The term mnh seems therefore to refer to unmarried young men still living in the parental home.[79] When first appointed to the crew the 'boys' seem to have fallen into this category.[80] For instance, a broken ostracon tells[81] of the new appointment by the vizier of a number of these mnhw, their names being well known as those of crewmen of the reign of Ramesses II. Despite the broken nature of the passage, it seems that at least some of these mnhw were appointed in succession to their fathers.

The mnhw formed a lower wage category within the workforce of the Tomb, presumably because of their youth and unmarried status,[82] but I know of no text that refers to the promotion of such mnhw to the status of full crewman. It seems plausible that such a promotion was automatic on marriage.[83]

In a text dating to very early in the reign of Ramesses IV it is recorded simply that 'the boys were recruited'.[84] At about this time an increase in the number of men serving in the daily duty rota seems to testify to a large increase in the membership of the crew.[85] The decision to make such a change in the personnel was made at the very highest level. It was said to be specifically at the order of Pharaoh that,[86] in the second year of Ramesses IV the vizier came with a royal butler, an overseer of the Treasury, two butlers, and a deputy, in order to register the crew and bring their number up to one hundred and twenty. So large a workforce is exceptional at the Tomb, but no indication is given of where the extra men came from. One may quote, in this context, a list[87] of 'those who were brought as crewmen (and) craftsmen () to the settlement () of the Tomb'. A group of 29 men, listed by craft, was given, the text ending with the note that 'the Great Place of Pharaoh was thereby(?) provided for(?)'.[88] To some extent they may have been men sent to carry out special tasks, and not full and permanent members of the crew.[89] The text is not sufficiently explicit, and the position of genuine craftsmen, draughtsmen and sculptors, within the membership of the crew is not so clear as one might wish.

When, not many years later, the size of the crew was reduced again to sixty men,[90] the vizier sent the scribe Paser with the order, and instructions to make out the register. Twenty days before this the officials of the crew were themselves recorded as having made out a

register of the people of the Tomb.[91] The significance of the term register, snh3, is not clear. It was used of simple lists of what workmen were doing on a particular day,[92] but also as the heading of a straightforward inventory.[93] In the present context such a register is probably to be though of as a complete list of the people living at Deir el Medina,[94] a list perhaps of the type of the Turin house list.[95] When the sixty men to be kept on had been chosen, presumably by the officials of the crew, the scribe Paser recorded the result. It seems likely, therefore, that lists of those employed at the Tomb were kept by the vizier's office, as well as by the local administration of the Tomb.

As normal practice one visualizes a simple procedure whereby, with the approval of the vizier, the officials of the crew filled places in the crew. The workmen are indeed, sometimes referred to as 'the children of the Tomb'(ms hr),[96] which presumably implies that they were usually born and brought up there. However, the process can hardly have been a simple one whereby the son received his father's job after him. The son must normally have reached the age for employment long before his father's death. Such replacement is of course more straightforward when an office or special post is under consideration. Thus, for instance, there is a record[97] of the delivery of a letter from the vizier, brought by an accounts scribe (sš n tm3) and a chief attendant (hry šmsw) of the Great Court, confirming the appointment of the 'physician' Hori in the place of his father. A detailed study of the careers and family relationships of the individual members of the crew is necessary before it is possible to see how often and how many sons were employed contemporarily with their fathers, or how many brothers might be employed in the crew at one time. It is also to be noted that workmen were employed on one or other side of

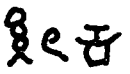
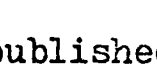
the crew. Texts only very rarely refer to exchanges of side among the crewmen.[98] Systematic study will also reveal to what extent families were or were not consistently employed on one side. Even among the ordinary workmen there may have been distinctions of a social nature. It is clear, for inststance, that only certain families held posts as w'b-priests in the local cult of Amonhotep.[99] It seems reasonable to presume that the position of some families was much more strongly established, whether simply from their holding of office or from the length of time they had been employed there.

Although it is clear that the questions of recruitment, who should be employed, how many young men were taken on, or how many kept in work, were the responsibility of the vizier, the actual decisions about exactly who should and who should not be taken on will in practice have devolved entirely on the officials of the crew. When the size of the crew was reduced, the decisions about who was to be kept on seems to have been left to them.[100] Decisions about appointments seem likewise to have been under their control. An ostracon[101] records a list of property (which the owner noted and stressed belonged to him personally). It was given to the controllers (rwdw), '[that] they should appoint (tsy) the boy'. Property was noted to have been given to each of the foremen, and to the scribe Horisheri. Another text[102] seems to record a matter of work assignment rather than a permanent appointment; the draughtsman Hormin wrote to his father, the scribe Hor[i], asking him to protest to the chiefs (hntyw), and get them to appoint somebody to help him, since his brother, who should have been helping, was ill.

VIII. Punishment, Demotion, Transfer and Dismissal.

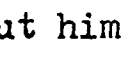
A journal of the late Twentieth Dynasty tells how, on one occasion, the leaders of the crew promised not to let the men go out.[1] This may have been a rather special restriction, for the promise was made in connection with the trial of eight crewmen accused of robbing tombs. The treatment of the eight men was described, but the text is damaged at the vital point, and the translation uncertain. It seems, however, that the presiding official 'caused that ⟨they⟩ be thrown (h3') from the crew, outside (r-bnr)'. The number of men in the crew was then recorded. Perhaps the passage should be understood otherwise, simply that the rest of the crew were released from the investigations, but it is likely that the text refers to the dismissal of the thieves from the crew. Another fragmentary text refers,[2] in a broken context, to the 'total of men who were thrown out, 9'. This too was perhaps a reference to men dismissed from the crew, although no further information is recorded in the text. Further, a letter[3] records how one man asked another about some commissions, concerned that he should not be 'thrown out'. This phrase, h3' r-bnr, is that used of putting a woman out of the house, that is divorcing her, in texts of the period.[4] A semantic connection is quite feasible, and it is not unlikely that h3' r-bnr was, so far as there was any equivalent, the Late Egyptian phrase used at Deir el Medina for 'dismiss', 'give the sack'.[5] Information about the dismissal of members of the crew, and their removal from the village of Deir el Medina is sparse in the extreme.

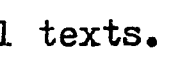
In only one case has a record been preserved of an administrative decision to reduce the number of men in the crew.[6] In year 2 of Ramesses IV the vizier had led a group of officials making up the register of the people of the Tomb, and increasing their number to one hundred and twenty.[7] Early in the reign of one of his successors

there was recorded,[8] in 'year 2, month III of shemu, day 9; on this day, the registration of the people of the Tomb by the scribe Hori of the Tomb, the scribe Amonemopet of the Tomb, the foreman Nekhemmut, the foreman Anherkhau, the scribe Amonnakhte and the scribe Horisheri, behind (the) wall. Year 2, month III of shemu, day ///; on this day, the arrival of the scribe Paser at the gatehouse of the Tomb'. After a few lines recording the prosecution of a draughtsman by this scribe Paser, the text continues with the problem of the manning of the Tomb.[9] 'The scribe Paser said, "This is what the vizier said. Keep this 60 man there, in the crew, all your best (stp). And they (i.e. the crew) are to have the rest brought outside, to commission[10] them, so that they become their service staff, who carry for us (sic. For the crew)". Afterwards,[11] on month III of shemu, day 29 he (Paser) returned, and sat in the granary (of) the gatehouse of the Tomb, and he registered all the crewmen.' The matter was concluded with the 'statement of the taking  to be[12] outside service-staff; 16(?) men and 46 women'. The published transcription seems nonsensical, and it is probable that , mryt, 'the riverbank' should be read, 'the riverbank' probably being the place where the service-staff lived, and where their work was organised.

There are slight indications that the phrase 'take somebody to the riverbank' might, of itself, have carried the implication that such a person was dismissed from the crew, or removed from the village and community at Deir el Medina.[13] The local tribunal, appealing to the vizier for the death sentence as punishment for a woman convicted of stealing a chisel, quoted the earlier precedent of a woman convicted of a similar crime.[14] 'Although she was the wife of Pashed, son of Heh,[15] the vizier sent the scribe Hatiay,[16] and he had her taken to the riverbank'. One might guess that in this case she was being taken

there to be sold into slavery for her crime,[17] the riverbank being the local marketplace. In another text[18] there is the record of changes in the possession of a warehouse. This had belonged to Khau, but 'one took Khau to the riverbank, and he consigned it to the foreman Hay, his lord'. The handing over of this property while he was still alive probably implies that Khau had ceased to live with the crew at 'the Tomb', but the reason he was taken away is not recorded.

As in the case of appointments,[19] it seems that policy decisions about dismissals or transfers from the crew were taken or authorized at the highest levels, but that the choice of which individual workmen were to be kept on or removed was in effect taken by their own officials. In principle, however, all real authority will have lain with the vizier. It is noteworthy, however, that when the body of men were dismissed from the crew, the vizier did not appear himself, but sent the scribe Paser. As well as the information about the reduction in the size of the crew, the ostracon quoted above tells of the prosecution of the draughtsman Nebnefer by the scribe Paser, in front of the tribunal of officials and people of the Tomb.[20] Paser was present on business for the vizier, and it is not implausible to see in this prosecution the authority of the central state administration rather than a private affair, even though no detail is given to the content of the case. It may have been included in the particular ostracon because it was the business of the same scribe at the same time, or because its result was related to the question of the dismissal of a man from the crew. The text tells that 'the scribe Paser was found in the right, and the draughtsman Nebnefer was found in the wrong. The tribunal said, "Give him 100 blows with a stick and 10 brand marks, and put him to break stone (?) in the Place of Truth, until the vizier shall forgive him", so they said.' The Place of Truth mentioned here was a stone and wood working depot near the

Ramesseum,[21] not the Tomb, for which Place of Truth was the normal synonym used in monumental texts. The sense of the term  is not certain, but the root implies 'hammering' or 'beating' and the determinative implies that stone was being worked. Such manual labour in itself would be unpleasant enough work and punishment for a draughtsman and painter. Unfortunately it is not clear whether the draughtsman was punished for some work offence, or offence against the administration. The fact that his punishment was to last at the vizier's pleasure might well refer to that official's judicial rather than his administrative functions.[22] The only other case recorded from Deir el Medina of a man punished in this way is the record that[23] in 'year 6, III shemu 16; (there was the) putting Aanakhte to break stone(?) in the Place of Truth (for?) beating (gngn) the head of Djadja, Paidehy and Montupahapy'. The text does not refer to a court, nor to the authority by which this was done, and the significance of the passage is not clear.

The responsibility for the punishment and dismissal of officials of the Tomb lay with the vizier. The evidence for such dismissals refers only to gross criminality and abuse of authority, not to incompetence. The clearest example is provided by the case of the foreman Paneb. Papyrus Salt 124[24] is a list of memoranda, accusations against Paneb, made as an information by the crewman Amonnakhte to the vizier. The personal motivation and the unreliability of the accusations are not of great significance here. The accusations were of theft, particularly from the work of the Tomb, of violence and murder, of sexual offences, of wrongful appropriation of labour, and of disrespect to the vizier and the king. His behaviour is summed up by the statement,[25] 'Indeed, it is not fitting for this office'. A final accusation claimed that Paneb had murdered to prevent information about his behaviour reaching Pharaoh.[26] The text also refers to an earlier

case,[27] when a scribe was punished for stealing from a royal burial by having his hand cut off. Such mutilation seems to have required the authority of the highest judicial power in the land, Pharaoh himself.[28] One of the most obscure accusations in the Salt papyrus tells[29] that at some earlier date Paneb had been arraigned before an earlier vizier by his predecessor as foreman, Neferhotep. The text claims that the vizier had punished Paneb, but that Paneb had complained to a mysterious figure, Mose, on the grounds that the vizier had beaten (qnqn) him, and that as a result he succeeded in having the vizier dismissed. This statement is doubtless a grossly exaggerated reflection of the political troubles of the country at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is hardly conceivable that ordering the chastisement of an ordinary workman was a sufficient abuse of the vizier's office to lead to dismissal. It is, however, possible that if the vizier were really dismissed, the two events might have become connected in the minds of the people of the Tomb.

There can be little doubt that in the end the vizier did dismiss Paneb from the office of foreman.[30] His son, Penanqet, later made a series of complaints about a certain Userhet (presumably the crewman of that name), and others.[31] The main accusation seems to have been that they illegally took stone from the work, and Penanqet quoted the attitude taken by the vizier when Paneb had committed a similar offence. Penanqet threatened to report these offences directly to Pharaoh and the vizier, if they were not dealt with to his satisfaction by the then officials of the Tomb, the scribe Amonnakhte and the foreman Khonsu. He addressed them in the words,[32] "You are my chiefs. And you are the controllers (rwdw) of the Tomb. Pharaoh, my good Lord, administered the declaration of allegiance,[33] in the terms 'I will not hear any word, I will not see any offence, in the great and deep places, and then

conceal it'." From this it is evident that in theory each man was himself responsible for the reporting of any offence that came to his notice, and that the local officials, in their capacity of 'controllers', were expected to investigate and deal with any irregularities. Naturally a complaint against a foreman, himself one of the controllers, could only have been made to the higher authority of the vizier.

A slightly earlier text[34] tells of the arrival of the vizier To for the purpose of a long series of investigations and interrogations (smty) of the crew, 'about the words (n3 mdt) of Penanqet'.[35] This inquiry probably involved some suggestion of abuses on the worksite, for the crew expected the vizier to follow them up to the 'Great Field' as part of the investigations. At the end of the same month,[36] on day 29, 'the crew were taken to the riverbank (mryt)'. The next day there was 'the same; interrogations', and also the 'arrival of the vizier to interrogate, he having taken[37] the crew'. Here taking to the riverbank seems to refer to the temporary removal of the crew from Deir el Medina for the convenience of their chief, the vizier, in interrogating them.

There can be no certainty that the Penanqet mentioned in this second text was the same man, the son of the foreman Paneb, but it is likely. The accusations of the Salt papyrus were clearly made because the accuser felt that he, and not Paneb, should have succeeded to the post of foreman on the death of his brother,[38] and doubtless hoped that he yet might if only Paneb were dismissed. In the same way it is likely that protests and complaints from Penanqet arose essentially from family resentment that the office previously held had fallen into other hands. The end of the Nineteenth Dynasty was a time of particular political disorder. It is possible that in the political disorders at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty there were similar family quarrels over the office of foreman.[39] In year 17 of Ramesses IX the two foremen

disappear from the documents, perhaps dismissed. Two men of different families held the posts for a while, but by year 8 of Ramesses XI both posts were again held by members of the old families.

The loss of an office, together with its income, affected not only the incumbent, but his whole family.[40] A decree of King Nubkheprure Antef,[41] of the Seventeenth Dynasty, tells how the king sent to investigate complaints about some obscure malfeasance, made against a priest of the temple of Coptos by his colleagues or subordinates. The dismissal of this priest, by royal decree, was accompanied by his loss of all the revenues due to him, the loss of his rights to payments from the offerings and from the income from fields. His writings, presumably the records of his rights, were to be destroyed, and he himself cursed. Moreover, his relatives, as well as himself, were to be expressly excluded from appointment to the particular office. The endowments that went with priesthoods, especially mortuary priesthoods, were expressly attached to the holding of the office. If the office were resigned or lost, so was the property and income.[42] For office holders at Deir el Medina it is clear that loss of office meant reduction of wages from the generous levels received by the foremen and scribes, and the loss of opportunities for extra income, more or less honest, that the office brought. Naturally the holding of one of the offices in the family also made it easier to ensure that other members of the family were appointed to posts in the crew. The loss of the office was more than the loss of the couple of extra khar of grain a month it brought in in extra wages.

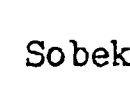
How great the loss of income alone may have been depends on whether the dismissal of an official simply meant that he was demoted, or whether he was also punished and disgraced. The treatment reserved for officials who broke the rules laid down by the Nauri Decree of Sethi I for the

administration of the temple of Osiris he built at Abydos,[43] was that they should have their ears and nose cut off, and be put to work as cultivators of the temple. In effect they were to be demoted to the lowest level of society. Such punishments ordered in protection decrees for temples may be exaggerated beyond that normal for malfeasance. However, one may reasonably presume that the demotion of an official of the crew was so rare, and that it happened only under such extraordinary circumstances, that such an official can only have been treated as a criminal, punished and not merely demoted. Both Paneb and his son Aapehty, who served as deputy under him, simply disappear from the documents of the Tomb.[44] The post of deputy may, however, have had no independent significance within the administration. Deputies seem to have changed with changes in the foremen, often being their sons, and were presumably appointed personally by them to act as their private assistants.[45] An oracle question[46] seems to have asked the god, 'Am ⟨I⟩ to remove him from the post of deputy of the crew?' The question may indicate that the post was under purely local control, and that its holder could be changed with relative ease, although the background to this, as every oracle question, is quite obscure.

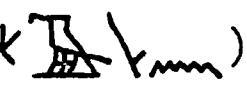
A basic difficulty in examining the punishment and dismissal of members of the workforce of the Tomb is the style in which inquiries were recorded. The legal or legalistic documents that survive only rarely record any sort of verdict, and more rarely still any sentence. A few indications survive. One of the Nash ostraca records the desire of the crew that a woman convicted of the theft of copper should receive the death penalty, this only being possible to decide finally when the vizier should arrive.[47] In the Leopold-Amherst papyrus it was recorded that tomb robbers were to be held,[48] 'until Pharaoh, our Lord, shall decide the punishment'. The punishment of members

of the crew for tomb robbery, whether by execution or transportation to Nubia, presumably to forced labour in the quarries or mines,[49] is not at issue here. Evidently such men could no longer be employed in the Tomb. It does not, however, seem possible to tell from the preserved evidence whether men punished for crimes either by defacement, the cutting off of ears and noses,[50] or by the punishment of flogging, were regularly retained or dismissed from the crew.[51]

A beating was the standard punishment that the contestant in a law suit, or the accused in a criminal case, called down on himself should he be found guilty, or to have lied, orshould he not perform what was required of him. To this, other, more severe, penalties were frequently added by the litigants in their oaths, apparently increasing in approximate proportion to the severity of the case. Even the beatings, often stated to be one hundred strokes, would have been an extremely severe punishment, and there must be some doubt that they were always intended as accurate accounts of the punishment rather than imprecise threats.[52] Actual punishments given are not normally recorded, although it is clear that flogging was normal. In a few cases, legal texts from Deir el Medina actually mention a flogging. On an ostracon otherwise recording deposits there is a note[53] that a certain Huy was given 100 strokes before the tribunal. There is also a record[54] that when a water carrier was prosecuted by a crewman, for the fourth time, before the four controllers of 'inside' and the four controllers of 'the riverbank', as a result 'there was done to him punishment';[55] this can be taken as a flogging. The papyrus BM 10335 records trials before various oracles on the west bank at Thebes, the prosecutions of a man accused of stealing 'clothes of Pharaoh' from the granary under the authority of the overseer of cattle of the altar (of Amon). His punishment, 100 blows, was inflicted by the controller Penhorwer of the shrine of King (Userkhaure Setepenre).[56]

An Eighteenth Dynasty papyrus is also worth quoting in this context.[57] A w'w, Mery, was found in the wrong in a dispute with the overseer of treasure(?) Sobekhotep over produce () for the goddess Hathor, Mistress of Inrty. 'According to the law'[58] he was given 100 strokes in the broad court (wsht) of Pharaoh, in Southern Town, before a tribunal led by two viziers.

In general an Egyptian official was empowered to beat his subordinates. Indeed, a staff is the regular badge of office of an Egyptian official.[59] It was a matter of pride for the Egyptian of the Old Kingdom to say,[60] 'I was never beaten before any magistrates, since I was born'. Such references might refer specifically to punishment before a court, but the Maxims of Ani [61] warn that 'strong words bring beatings'. Scenes of beatings are preserved on tomb walls of all periods,[62] and an Old Kingdom official prided himself that for twenty years he ran his brother's estate without[63] beating 'any man there, so that he happened to fall under my fingers' - perhaps a claim that he never beat anybody into unconsciousness.

Cases in which the local officials at Deir el Medina can be seen themselves to have punished men under their control are rare, and unclear.[64] An ostracon in Turin[65] tells of the arrival of the scribe Amonnakhte and the two chiefs of police, 'to carry out punishment on () a watercarrier (and?)[66] the two washermen of th[e Tomb(?)]'. Another ostracon[67] contains part of a letter, perhaps a draft. The sender and the addressee are both unknown. The text records the message, 'I have heard, through Qenna, that this is what my chief says. "Go!", so he says, "(and) when he reaches you, you are to give him 10 very hard blows, as he deserves".' The Turin Strike Papyrus records[68] that one day the crew passed the guardposts, and settled down somewhere to pass the day. When the three leaders

of the crew came to bring them back to work the crewman Mose son of Amonnakhte swore a great oath by Pharaoh. The full sense of his words is unclear, but they evidently formed an abusive refusal to work. As a result 'there was done to him punishment because of his oath (in) the name of Pharaoh, l.p.h.'. This offence is best compared with one recrded in year 5 (of Sethi II).[69] The foreman Hay accused a group of people, Penamon, Ptahshed and Wennefer (presumably crewmen), together with the woman Tawosret, before a tribunal consisting of the foreman Paneb and the rest of the crew. He claimed that while he was asleep in his hut (?isbt) they had gone off claiming that they had an accusation to make to Pharaoh, that Hay had in some way committed lèse-majesté against Sethi. They were forced to go back on this, admitting that they had heard nothing. They promised to make no more accusations, and received 100 hard strokes for their behaviour. The text is also interesting in that it shows that both contemporary foremen, Hay and Paneb, were subject to accusations of misbehaviour to higher authority at about the same time. Among the accusations made against Paneb was that of violence against his subordinates,[70] but also against his superiors.[71] An oracle question asks,[72] 'Will (any) blame happen to me?', but as usual with such texts, the context is unknown, and it might refer to some private affair.

The beatings given to suspected tomb robbers as encouragement to confess imply that serious criminal investigations used physical intimidation and torture on the people questioned as a matter of course. The distinction between such beatings as an administrative procedure or as a judicial practice, interrogation or punishment, would probably not have occurred to the Egyptian mind in that form. Such cases were official matters, carried out by high officials acting as such. The interrogatory beatings administered during the investigations were

so severe that a suspect might confess to a crime he had not committed, simply through fear of the torture.[73] The torture itself was called smtr m gngn, 'interrogation by beating',[74] although other ways of inflicting pain were used. The term gngn itself, although used in other contexts of the official beating of people,[75] was not restricted to this sense. For instance the term hmt gngn, 'beaten copper' appears quite frequently in the texts.[76] References of this sort, to people being 'beaten' before the magistrates in the context of a private legal case[77] can be presumed to refer to a punishment rather than an interrogation. The same word gngn was also used of a violent assault.[78] A badly preserved letter from a mayor of Town to the scribe Tjaroy of the Tomb[79] refers to a quarrel between a crewman and an attendant (ʕsmsw) of the mayor. The mayor wished for the matter to be investigated, because the crewman had 'beaten' the attendant, apparently - the text is damaged - so badly that the man was unable to work, and the grain taxes (?ʕsmw) were therefore spoiling. If he should find that his attendant was in the right, the mayor intended to have the crewman beaten.

In the case just quoted there can be little doubt that some private quarrel was the matter at issue.[80] Equally, there can be little doubt that if punishments inflicted on individual offenders really did consist of 100 strokes with a palm rib or stick, the recipient would have been unfit for work for some time. Occasionally the term gngn is given in registers as the reason why people were absent from work.[81] In one case this was further qualified with the phrase 'he being drunk'.[82] Another entry noted that[83] 'Ramose was ill from the(?) beating (gngn) of (the) Mansion ////'. It seems not unlikely that these entries refer to men unfit to work because they had been beaten, whether as a legal punishment, or in the case of the man recorded as drunk, as perhaps an

administrative punishment. A few other notices, although adding detail, do not much clarify the matter. A certain Tene[rmontu] was said to have been absent,[84] 'beaten (?<u>gngn</u>), together with his wife'. Another text[85] tells that a group of men were 'beaten (?<u>gngn</u>) for Nebnefer'. Grammatically the <u>gngn</u> in such contexts might as well be taken as an abbreviation for an active as a passive construction, that the men were absent 'beating' rather than 'beaten'. As so often the texts do not provide sufficient context to reveal the proper way to understand them.

In one unusually detailed record, the punishment received by a crewman can be directly connected with his absence from the work. An ostracon from Deir el Medina tells[86] how the local tribunal ordered that 'this man' be given punishment. He was given 50 strokes. Four days passed, from III <u>shemu</u> 29 to IV <u>shemu</u> 2, and he went and 'drank' in the village.[87] This perhaps refers to his reappearance in public after the beating. When the crew had returned to work after the weekend break, on the 2nd of the month he was absent, remaining in the village. On the 4th he came up to the 'field', spending the day and night of the 5th in 'the va[lley]'. However, he was recorded as absent from the work from the 6th to the 9th, only returning after the next weekend break, on the 11th. The rest of the text is lost, but the connection between the punishment and the following week's loss of work seems clear.

A model letter used as a school text in the Ramesside period is worth quoting here as a description of the effects of the tyranny of petty officialdom. The writer informed his lord[88] that 'the cultivators of the <u>mint</u>-land of Pharaoh, l.p.h., who are under the charge of my lord - three(?) men - are fled from them because of the overseer of the cattle-shed, Neferhotep, since he has beaten (<u>gngn</u>) them. And see, the fields of ⟨the⟩ <u>mint</u>-land of Pharaoh, l.p.h., which are in the charge of my ⟨lord⟩ are abandoned. There is nobody to cultivate them'. Flight can

normally have been the only option open to an ordinary worker tyrannized over by the official appointed to supervise his work.[89] Such flight cannot, however, have been a serious option for members of the crew. As such, their wages and conditions of work seem to have been those of skilled men, considerably above the lowest level of society, and therefore only to be abandoned under the most extreme of circumstances. In normal times one does not expect to find notes that crewmen had fled (w'r).[90] Men convicted of tomb robbery fled at the time of the great investigations, but this was in an attempt to avoid punishment.[91] Fear of Lybian incursions seems also to have caused men to leave the west bank. A letter[92] from the scribe of the Tomb Tjaroy and the army scribe of Medinet Habu, Pentahutnakhte, at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, asked the deputy of the Temple of Amon, Hori, to return people of the Tomb from the east bank to Medinet Habu, and was at some pains to ask that the men be reassured they would be in no danger from marauding Meshwesh. This absence, like the absence of people caught up in the war of the High Priest,[93] was clearly only meant to be temporary, until the the men could return safely to their homes. In another of the letters of the scribe Djehutimose, he told his son Butehamon to[94] 'Look after the ordinary people (?rmt mš'). Do not let them flee, and do not let them hunger'. Perhaps he could better have phrased the two commands in the reverse order.

Deficient as the surviving information is about the appointment of men to the crew and their dismissal from it, the position is even less clear when the question of the transfer (rwi)[95] of people of the Tomb to other work is considered. For a father with many sons, employment outside the Tomb for some of them must have been a necessity, particularly if employment with a possibility of advancement was sought. The numerous sons of the scribe Amonnakhte all laid claim to the title

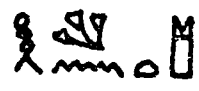
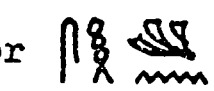
scribe or draughtsman,[96] yet proper work for them all in such capacities cannot have been available at Deir el Medina. Of the children of the foreman Neferhotep (the elder of that name), one remained at the Tomb, following his father in the post of foreman, but two others left the necropolis to hold other minor offices in the Theban area.[97] Such an official might always hope to gain some minor official post for his children. The children of ordinary workmen could presumably only hope to be taken on as workmen elsewhere, but evidence about their transfers is lacking. One may only quote a case when a group of visiting officials[98] 'praised the crew and the draughtsmen, and they settled the affair (lit. 'said the word') of the three youths, saying, "We shall take them outside".' The youths were apparently to be found work elsewhere.

Nothing more can be said of people who left the community at Deir el Medina. The impression is that once employed in the crew the ordinary workman remained there, unless he was transferred because of some administrative decision to alter the size of the crew, or unless he was convicted of some crime punished by death or transportation. The question of whether the individual workman had the right to leave the Tomb and look for work elsewhere is likely to remain unanswerable. Nor, perhaps, is it of great significance. It is unlikely that members of the crew could have obtained work of the nature to which they were accustomed for any other employer that would be as satisfactory in conditions and payment as that they performed for the king. They were, moreover, able to supplement their official work by private contracts for profit in their considerable free time.[99] It is well attested that slaves or workmen who fled from their work were normally pursued, but so far as evidence is preserved, it seems that conditions at Deir el Medina were such that the work was sought after rather than shunned.

The picture of employment on the works of the royal tomb in the Ramesside period is, therefore, that of a closed community, self-generating of both workforce and administration. There was some interchange with other local institutions in the appointment of officials, but this depended not on a cursus honorum within the state administrative structure, but simply on whether or not suitable internal candidates were available. If an official had no suitable son or adoptive son to train to his post, his successor might well be appointed from elsewhere.[100] Similarly, if he had numerous trained and educated sons, some of them might hope to obtain minor offices elsewhere. The picture for the employment of the foremen is fairly clear, but for the scribes less so. For the majority of the period under discussion there was a single administrative scribe, who ranked with the foremen as one of the 'leaders' (hntyw) of the crew.[101] It can also sometimes be seen that one or two other scribes were in charge of the work of the service-staff.[102] However, there were regularly other contemporary scribes attached to the Tomb, with administrative duties.[103] Such scribes may only be attested for very brief periods. In many such cases it is impossible to define the duties of a particular scribe, and the possibility cannot be excluded that such appointments were subordinate, in some cases temporary attachments, of peole soon appointed to posts of greater responsibility elsewhere.[104] The general picture, however, is one of remarkable stability of personnel within the institution. This may to some extent be caused by a lack of documentation, but the appointment of ordinary workmen from elsewhere, or the appointment of children from Deir el Medina to work in other royal departments cannot be traced with any clarity, and seems to have been rare. It does not seem that, because the Tomb was a state project, under the control of Pharaoh and the vizier, that there was any free interchange of personnel between it and other state works. Appointments

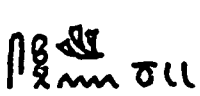
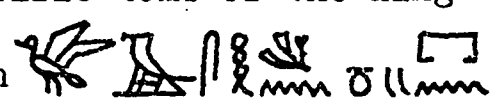
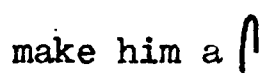
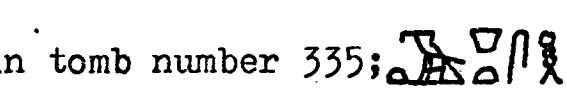
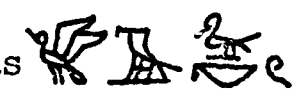
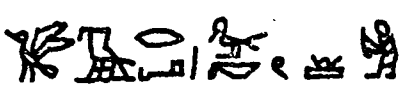
were naturally subject to the supervision of the king and his vizier, but in practice the were made locally by the officials of the Tomb, in natural succession, father to son.

IX. The Commissioning and Control of the Work.

The work of the crew was not a straightforward and continuous line of production, but divided into a series of jobs. The basic terms used to describe these jobs were , hnt, or , shn, 'commission', and , wpt, literally 'errand'. Such organisation and terminology seems in essence to underlie all institutional work organisation in Egypt. One may note that such work records as are preserved from Deir el Medina will have existed elsewhere. For instance, in the Temple of Amon in the Twenty-first Dynasty, the 'scribe of commissions' (sš shn) as well as that of 'chief of the guardians of writings' was held by the priest, steward, and overseer of the granaries Djehutimose.[1] Ostraca from the works at Deir el Bahari, in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, show that such commissions might be organised as daily work quotas. Thus one ostracon,[2] entitled 'II akhet 3; commission(s) for this day', listed what jobs various men were doing, and where they were working. A further text from the same site records[3] for 'year 44, III peret 21; (the) establishing the labour for the daily stonework, in order to compile a record of it every ten days'. The control of the work by high officials seems to have been unusually personal and detailed[4] compared with that attested for royal projects in the Ramesside period. The work of the quarrymen of Ramesses II, for instance, seems to have been assigned at the king's orders as commissions to produce certain numbers of statues, and the detailed supervision left entirely to the local officials.[5] This was closer to the style in which the work of the people of Deir el Medina was organised.

The long and detailed records from the Tomb, from the Valleys of the Kings and of the Queens, of individual absences from work,[6] or registers of days on which the crew as a whole worked,[7] seem to have

been only documents of local control, not of any significance - at least as far as preserved documents go - to state control of the long term functioning of the workforce. The matter of significance to the external control was the progress of the specific project, not the filling up of the available work time.[8] Here, perhaps, lies a real difference in organisation between the permanently established, salaried workforce of the Royal Tomb, and the workforce temporarily present for the particular building works at Deir el Bahari.

The typical commission for the crew to carry out was naturally the building of a tomb. Thus a scribe of the late Twentieth Dynasty referred to the 'commissions' of the crew in general by the spelling[9] . He presumably referred to the specific tomb of the king when he determined the word with the house sign in , 'the commission of Pharaoh, l.p.h.'.[10] The same spelling and sense occur in another letter of the same date. It was reported[11] that the High Priest and General, Payankh, had ordered the crew to make him a , 'commission', evidently a tomb. This usage can probably be connected with an unusual epithet attached to the popular local goddess Thouris, in tomb number 335; , 'the Mistress of (the) Commission on the West'.[12] This word is rarely used of the work in the documents from the Tomb. A journal entry records[13] for 'III [shemu] 14; the crew were absent. Going up by the leaders. III shemu 15; working (on the) commission, except for the deputy'. More normally the work itself was referred to as , 'the work', or more fully , 'the work in progress',[14] on which the crew was commissioned. Thus the scribes, writing to the vizier, told of their work on 'the work in progress on which the vizier has commissioned us'.[15]

The beginning of a new reign[16] meant above all, for the members

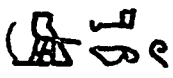
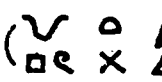
of the crew, the end of the old work, and the commissioning of a new, together with all necessary assessments of equipment and personnel. Thus, some three months after the accession of Siptah, on IV peret 21, tools were issued to the crew.[17] The same text records[18] that this same day, 'year [1], month [IV] of peret, day 21' was the 'day [of] commissioning to the work of (Sekhaienre Setepenre), the Lord of Appearances (Ramesses Siptah), l.p.h.'. Naturally one such commissioning did not serve until the completion of all the work on the tomb. Six months after the first commissioning of work on the tomb of Siptah another commissioning was recorded;[19] 'Year 1, II akhet 12; (the) day of commissioning by the overseer of the city and vizier, Hori'. This note stood at the beginning of a register of absences.[20] Only a couple of months before the accession of Siptah, in the last year of Sethi II, on II shemu 16, the vizier Paraemheb had come to 'the field' and told the scribe Pashed what commissions were required of the crew.[21] The occasion of such a commissioning might naturally also be the occasion for other assessments necessary for the continuation of the work of the crew. Thus the assessments and reissue of tools and equipment might take place at the same time.[22] A connection between the recruitment of new men to the crew and the commissioning of new work is not clearly and expressly demonstrable from preserved texts, although it is naturally to be presumed.[23]

The actual commissioning and occasional inspection of the work seems in principle to have required the personal presence of the vizier.[24] It seems to have been only rarely that a group of officials, of the sort that normally formed the vizier's retinue, performed such a function in his absence.[25] For instance, the vizier Neferronpet came with two royal butlers to search out the place in which the tomb of Ramesses IV was to be built.[26] Texts from later in kings'

reigns may note the occasional visits of the vizier, perhaps with accompanying retinue of high officials, simply to 'look at the commissions'[27] or to 'look at the work in progress',[28] perhaps while only passing through Thebes on a flying visit,[29] or visiting on other business.[30] Visits of this sort may be described in quite general terms, as, for instance,[31] 'month IV of akhet, day 19; on this day, the arrival by the fanbearer on the right of the king, overseer of the city [and vizier], Hori, at the valley, in order to speak with the leaders'.

Many visits by viziers, recorded in this way, will have been no more than relatively casual visits when in the area. Depictions of such supervision and inspections are occasionally to be found in the Theban tombs, such as that of the vizier Rekhmire, where that official was shown[32] supervising the workshops and receipts of the Temple of Amon. Similarly a depiction in tomb 178 shows the scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of Amon, Neferronpet, inspecting a sculptors' workshop in the Temple of Amon.[33] It was, of course, necessary that completed work be examined and accepted as properly done. Thus, in the Maxims of Ani,[34] the student was advised to build his own tomb in the valley, and to 'regard it as your task which is inspected, in your eyes', that is a real job, that could not be neglected because it would be inspected.

Texts from Deir el Medina do not generally talk about the 'inspection' (ip or sip) of the crew's work, but rather of its 'receipt'. This verb, šsp, had a standard application in the accounting procedures of the New Kingdom, referring not simply to something that was delivered, for which the term inyt,, 'brought', might be used, but for that which was properly accounted as well so that the transaction was complete.[35] The phrases 'receipt of work' (šsp b3k) or 'received as work' (šsp m b3k) were used most naturally in the context of

commodities that could be handed over, at Deir el Medina of the deliveries of the service-staff.[36] They were, however, used there as regularly when the work received was a tomb,[37] or even just a section of work on a tomb.[38] Thus there was recorded,[39] for 'year 17 (of Ramesses IX), III peret 23; on this day, the going up to the great field by (the) vizier, the high priest, and the royal butler and overseer of the Treasury, Nesamon (who is) the scribe to Pharaoh, l.p.h., to receive what was commissioned in the Great and Noble Tomb of Millions of Years, of Pharaoh'. In particular the vizier would come 'to receive the work of the crew'.[40] Such a receipt of work was also the natural time to 'praise' them, both verbally and materially.[41] Thus there is a record,[42] from the reign of Ramesses III, of the visit of '[the] great [magistrates]' which also noted the receipt of the commissions, and that 'they praised the crew together with the draughtsmen'. Perhaps some particular official satisfaction with the crew is recorded in a text that tells of the visiting officials saying to the leaders,[43] 'Pharaoh, l.p.h., has caused them to be paid () because of (the) job () that they have done', but it is not clear that the word mk refers to special payments rather than their ordinary dues. An oracle question about payment[44] - 'My good Lord, as for the commission for this(?) work, the grain ration is fixed as 1 khar?' - may refer rather to a private commission. The terminology for both private and official work would be the same.

Detailed information on such inspections, and on the manner in which the work of the crew was measured, is sparse and often difficult to understand.[45] From the notices about the receipt and commissioning of the work, that come from all dates in the reign, it seems probable that the crew were essentially given a job to get on with, and that every so often this was carefully examined and 'received' and then the

crew were 'commissioned' for the continuing work. Clearly some record of the actual progress between these 'receipts' was necessary, but surviving records of such matters are few. There is a rare type of text which records in great detail measured amounts of progress in the cutting of particular parts of the tomb over particular periods, especially in connection with the receipts of work or visits of the vizier.[46] Indeed, in one of these examples some progress was specifically said to have been made 'since the vizier received the work'.[47] Another text[48] lists work completed on a tomb, probably one of the princes' tombs in the Valley of the Queens, over a period of 1 year, 8 months and 14 days. In this case it is likely to have been the complete work on the tomb, but another ostracon from the Valley of the Queens records the 'commissioning of the way to make it in II peret 11. Finishing it on II peret 27, they being 6 men'.[49] Here presumably some particular task within the work was singled out. Other texts record[50] amounts of work done in , dni, 'cubic cubits'. A record of deficits in such a text[51] can be taken to imply that the commissions might sometimes at least have been set as the removal of measured quotas of rock, even though the detailed daily measurements of work so common a among the ostraca from the major building works of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Deir el Bahari are not known from the Tomb. A 'satirical' text from the tomb of Senmut tells[52] of a scribe making a list of the men working on a particular part of the project. At Deir el Medina the scribes seem only to have needed to record who was absent and who present at the work, with exceptional notes of people detached for special jobs. It is possible that more detailed records of the daily work were kept by check marks made on the walls of the tombs themselves.[53]

It is not improbable that many of the plans and architectural drawings that have been preserved from the Tomb represent records of

the work done, which might be used as reports, rather than architectural drawings from which the crew worked. This would seem the most plausible explanation for a report that[54] in a year 5 the vizier Neferronpet came to make a plan of the tomb. Another text,[55] dated to I akhet 17 of year 28 (of Ramesses III), tells that the crew went up to 'the great place' to make a plan of the ⟨tomb(?)⟩ of the royal children of His Majesty. This too is likely to have been work well under way at the time, for the next lines refer to orders from the vizier to work on the 'three doorways (sb3y)'. In another text[56] there is a record of the 'coming to work in the work in progress, and the scribe Amonhotep was occupied in (mḥ r) drawing the plan of the tomb'. Perhaps he was drawing a plan of the tomb then being built as a running account. However, another tomb was spoken of as[57] 'planned' (snty) in year 20 and then 'finished' (grḥ, ) nearly two years later, in year 22. It is likely that plans were made for more than one reason.

The best example of such a plan, the Turin Museum papyrus with a plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV,[58] is so fine, complete and accurate that it is difficult to believe it was anything but a plan made after the completion of the tomb.[59] The king's equipment (grg) was already noted as in place in the sarcophagus chamber,[60] the texts describing the dimensions of the rooms regularly end with the word  , grḥ, 'completed',[61] and it is hardly conceivable that a tomb could have been executed so accurately to the preset plan, without the smallest change during construction. The impression from this plan, as from many other of the related documents,[62] particularly those containing measurements, is that they were usually accounts of the work received. Notes of daily rates of progress were perhaps rather kept by marks on the walls of the tombs themselves.[63] To what extent such plans may heve been sent as reports, to the vizier or the king, can only be a matter of speculation.

The normal Egyptian word for an inspection or audit, , sip, was not apparently used in texts from Deir el Medina for inspections of the work and its progress, but only of the inspection of standing monuments for damage and robbery.[64] Thus 'the Butler' and the vizier Khaiemwaset came to 'inspect' the Queen Isis, who had been robbed.[65] The trials of tomb robbers were preceded by such inspections, led by the vizier[66] or his representatives, his scribe,[67] or a group of other high officials.[68] There is also preserved an account of the inspection of the whole area of the Theban necropolis,[69] from '[the] northern guardpost of the Place of Pharaoh' to 'the southern valley' and to '[the] desert plain of Great Hapy', by the controllers of the Tomb (presumably the officials of the crew) together with the local chief of police and mayor, Paweraa. Inspection of their own tombs was carried out by the people of the Tomb themselves.[70] In the case of tomb robberies, state officials seem to have shown relatively little interest in the plundering of private tombs tombs.[71] From the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty there are numerous graffiti noting that scribes of the Tomb came, 'to look at the mountains',[72] presumably inspections to see that no further disturbance of tombs was taking place, necessary because the Valley of the Kings was not then being worked.

It seems that in general the supervision of the work of the Tomb was, in its day to day conduct, left purely to the control of the local officials of the crew. The results of the work were then inspected at irregular intervals, when the work was received and the crew praised. The decisions about what work the crew should do, where and how large, and to what plan the tombs should be built can naturally be presumed the concern of the individual kings,[73] and particularly their personal representatives, the viziers. However, for the Ramesside period at least, inspections of the work by the king himself seem to have been

of the utmost rarity,[74] the actual supervision being left entirely to the vizier. The installation of equipment to the tomb itself seems also to have required a visit by officials.[75] Yet, even at the time of the burial, official supervision of the crew seems sometimes to have been rather lax. The papyrus Salt 124 tells[76] that 'when the burial of all the kings was made'[77] the foreman Paneb stole various things, and got away with it, although apparently a scribe had his hand cut off for a like offence. Although the text is broken at this point, it seems that Paneb was even accused of 'sitting [on the sarcophagus of] Pharaoh(?), although he was buried'. The work of the crew ended with the final sealing of the tomb, at least in the Eighteenth Dynasty with the official jackal seal of the necropolis.[78] A graffito[79] dating to a year 8 refers to the closing (hni) of the tomb by the High Priest, a royal butler, the mayor of Thebes, and a foreman, but at such a date this can hardly refer to the final sealing of a king's tomb.

Some rare texts refer to incidents in the actual cutting of the tombs. For instance, there is a reference in one ostracon from the Valley of the Kings to 'the finding of the boulder of silex on the right'.[80] In practice most of the information that can be gained about the actual ordering and carrying out of the work is only obtainable from examination of the unfinished work in the tombs themselves,[81] but very few of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings have been given the necessary careful archaeological and technical examination[82] to allow more than the most general of conclusions about the work.[83] The general principles of work in cutting tombs in the Theban necropolis are well known from the private tombs;[84] the hacking out of the basic passages and chambers, followed by the smoothing and making good of the surface, the laying out of the scenes in red and their correction in black, followed if required by sculpting, and finally painting. In

private tombs one often has the impression of an apparent lack of any organised overall plan from the beginning,[85] but this is less true of the royal tombs, where the essential plans were very similar from one tomb to the next,[86] and certain elements of the decoration of different tombs seem to have been copied from a single original.[87] Royal tombs were, however, no more often fully completed than private ones,[88] perhaps for a superstitious reason, that it would have been unlucky for a living person to have a fully completed tomb before his death.

The impression gained from unfinished tombs is that all types of work would be progressing at the same time, plasterers, draughtsmen, sculptors and painters following as close as possible on the heels of the quarrymen.[89] The Turin plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV thus described the chambers as 'drawn in outline, carved by chisel, filled with paint, and completed'.[90] A little of the more detailed progress of the workmen responsible for these tasks is, from time to time, revealed in the more detailed texts referring to the control of the equipment they used. For instance, the lamp wicks for lighting the work,[91] which the workmen themselves were at least partly responsible for making,[92] were carefully accounted in normally equal quantities for the morning and afternoon work. It would, therefore, seem that the crew had a midday break between two equal working periods.[93] The number of hours in each of these periods is not known, but it has very plausibly been suggested that since the usage of wicks was very often by multiples of eight per day, four per morning or afternoon, the day may have consisted of two four hour work periods.[94] In practice detailed accounts from the Tomb tend to be concerned with materials rather than actual work. As well as the accounts of the wicks, and the oils for them, and of copper tools, there are some detailed records of the production of gypsum for the plaster by the crew's own

gypsum makers.[95] Most interesting, however, are texts dealing with materials for painting. The draughtsmen received the raw materials at irregular intervals, presumably as necessary, and they took days off work to grind them and prepare them for use.[96] Of the actual order in which the men stood to the work there is little evidence. The division of the crew into two 'sides', right and left, for administrative purposes including the payment of wages and issue of equipment for the work cannot safely be taken to imply that they worked separately, on the left and right sides of the tombs, although it is reasonable to presume that they may frequently have worked on different sections or in different places.[97] No clear distinction can be seen,[98] in texts from Deir el Medina, between workmen of a higher status actually cutting the rock, and workmen of a lower status, 'basket-boys', to carry the rubble away.

Except at the times of official visits, the overall control of the Tomb by the vizier was maintained either through his local subordinates or by the means of letters to and from the people of the Tomb.[99] A requirement to report any wrongdoing seems to have been a standard requirement from the very terms of employment of the crew, as probably of any state department.[100] An official was certainly always required to make proper report; thus the mayor of Western Thebes declared,[101] 'It is a crime in one of my position, to hear such things and cover them up'. A very high official urged somebody at the Tomb,[102] 'Do not be negligent at all, at all. You are to send report (h3b smi) on them to whe[re(?) ....] good [Lor]d (is) daily'. The reports requested here were presumably to be sent to 'Pharaoh, your good Lord', but for letters of report from the Tomb no real difference of purpose is to be seen between those sent to Pharaoh and those to the vizier.[103] The mayor of Western Thebes stressed very strongly that in the case of

troubles it was to the vizier that the scribes of the Tomb were to report, if possible in person, but if not by letter.[104] The scribe Djehutimose, when absent from the Tomb, wrote to his son and representative Butehamon, not only to avoid negligence in any commission sent him by his chief,[105] but also told him to report in writing to Djehutimose himself all his actions on these commissions.[106]

A majority of the letters of report to the vizier or king, preserved on ostraca from Deir el Medina, will have been school exercises, to teach the trainee scribes the proper formulae for such reports. Such texts naturally cannot be relied on for details of historical events, but show as clearly as genuine letters can the proper formulae, what was expected of a letter to the vizier or the king,[107] what phrases were particularly useful. Such reports regularly included assertions such as[108] '[I] will do every job which my Lord has given me, in very good fashion. I will not give my [Lord] any reason to[109] be annoyed with me', or[110] 'We are not negligent, in any way of being negligent. Our Lord will praise us on his arrival'. Such assertions are naturally to precede requests or complaints seeking action from the vizier. Thus the scribe Amonnakhte assured the vizier To,[111] 'I am working in the tombs of the royal children, which my lord has commissioned to be made', and protested how well he was working, before ending his letter with bitter complaints about shortages of food and failures in the wages.

The importance of such letters in the control of the Tomb is best described in a letter written at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty by the scribe Butehamon, addressed to the General and High Priest, Payankh, from the leaders of the Tomb.[112] Although not addressed in this case to a vizier, Payankh had claims to that title,[113] and was by that time the effective chief of the crew, having usurped the essential functions

of the vizier in the Theban area. Butehamon described how he received a letter from Payankh, and standing in the middle of the crew he had read it out to them.[114] The crew, on hearing the letter, had all said, "We will do, we will do, as our Lord commands, great and small."[115] Another letter had also been received, been read out to the crew by the scribe, and received the same reply from them. This second had, however, contained the exhortation,[116] 'Do not be neglectful in this commission', when reproaching the crew over an unfulfilled task. Butehamon now gave him a long and complicated list of excuses for this failure, completed by the assertion,[117] 'Indeed we carry out[118] every commission of our Lord. We look out for (s3w) him. We do not go "Bah!"[119] in any commission of his that we do'. He continued with the expectation that Amon-Re would cause him to praise them because they were working for him with all their heart. A letter from the general to the scribe Djehutimose[120] much more simply accepted the scribe's previous promise that "I will do every job and commission which my lord will put in my charge, and I will not be negligent", told him again in much the same words to do this,[121] and added the plain warning, "Do not let me find any fault in you!". A graffito[122] of a slightly later date tells that on 'III shemu 27, (there was) the completion (of) work in this place by the crew (of) the Tomb, and the scribe Butehamon crossed over to Town to see the arrival of the general, going north'. The finishing of the work will have provided an even stronger reason than usual for the scribe to want to see his Lord.

Such letters between the vizier and the crew did not always deal only in vague generalisations, although the predominance of school texts among the preserved examples may tend to give this impression rather strongly, and in most cases such generalizations will have sufficed. If the business was of a particularly unpleasant kind, the vizier might

indeed prefer not to be present personally. This was clearly the case when, late in the reign of Ramesses III, he was unable to provide the crew satisfactorily with grain rations.[123] Similarly, when the number of men in the crew was to be reduced, and the excess numbers demoted to membership of the service-stafff, the vizier enacted the business through a letter and a local agent, the scribe Paser.[124]

A letter dating to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty[125] deals with an unusual commission of the crew. Its main subject matter was the collection of grain to supply the workforce of the Tomb,[126] 'so that the people should not hunger, (and therefore) so that they should not be absent from the commission ( ) of Pharaoh, (and) so that they should not lay(?) the blame(?) on you'. The addressee was asked,[127] 'What is the use of talking with you, (when) you do not listen, and you are absent(?) from this commission ( ) of Pharaoh, your good Lord, on which you are engaged?' He was also told,[128] 'Look, you do not listen to me. (As?) Amon is before you, if your commissions are too many for you,[129] (nevertheless) you will not be able to evade[130] this commission of Pharaoh', this commission being to send people to collect grain. The names of the sender and the addressee of the letter are lost, but from the style of address and the general subject matter it cannot have come to the Tomb from a high official. Presumably, therefore, it is one of the letters sent home from Nubia by the scribe Djehutimose, instructing his son and representative Butehamon about the conduct of the work.[131]

The subject matter of this particular letter may be compared with that of an earlier one from the mayor of Town, Haunefer, to the district scribe of Town, Hori,[132] dealing with work on a temple in the Theban area. Hori was reminded that he had plenty of men, so that he must keep the work going on the Mansion of (Ramesses Meryamon).

To this end he must not let their grain rations or their payments of fats fall a single day in arrears. He must also be careful not to let some men sleep, while others work. The officials of the Tomb were likewise responsible for ensuring the proper local organisation of supplies for their workmen, and the control of the service-staff, as for the control of the members of the crew on the site. Another letter,[133] probably from the vizier although the beginning of the text is damaged,[134] tells the officials of the crew to give their attention to 'the great place of Pharaoh', and to receive the dues. They were also told that a scribe had been sent to join them 'as scribe of the Tomb, of the outside service-staff'. When he reached them, they were to 'pay attention to him, and undertake(?)[135] the commissions which he will do'.[136]

The commissioning and control of the work of the service-staff at Deir el Medina is in many ways more clearly recorded than that of the crew themselves, although there remain many obscurities. With the exception of certain minor differences caused by the different nature of the work, it may be presumed that the general principles of organisation were the same.

In the second year of one of the successors of Ramesses IV a command came from the vizier, through the agency of the scribe Paser, requiring that the size of the crew be reduced to sixty men.[137] The other men previously employed as part of the crew were to be 'brought out, in order to commission them, that they become their service-staff, who carry for them'.[138] The Turin Strike Papyrus contains the account of[139] such a 'commissioning of the service-staff of the Tomb', being a list of the people assigned to the different jobs. The 'commissioning' was here said to be by the officials and the entire crew of the Tomb. Other records of the 'commissioning' of the service-staff as a whole

(in year 17 of Ramesses IX[140] and year 3 of Ramesses X)[141] are brief, damaged, and essentially uninformative. These commissionings probably refer to the setting of the quotas of produce to be required from the individual members of the service-staff, and not only their confirmation in function.

The manner in which such commissions were organised can be deduced by the comparison of a small number of texts. One of the ostraca from the collection of Professor Černý[142] contains an account of the work of the gardeners of the Tomb, for the left side, made out by the scribe Hori of the Tomb; presumably the scribe controlling the work of the service-staff. The recto of the text lists the manner in which the vegetables were to be divided among the workmen. The verso gives a 'list of the commissioning them to produce them',[143] a list of names with quantities of vegetables noted against each. 40 bundles were noted against each of five men, 25 against two others, and 30 bundles against the final name. The total is the same as that of the bundles issued to the crew.[144] It can be seen that members of the service-staff were not necessarily all commissioned to produce identical quantities, even if the circumstances behind the individual variations are not clear. One may note, however, that sometimes a member of the staff had an 'assistant'.[145] In such a case one might expect a combined production somewhere between that required for one and that required for two ordinary men.

Similarly instructive are the occasional records of the way in which the work of individuals was commissioned. The work of individual woodcutters is mentioned in some detail in a group of registers of wood deliveries in the final years of Ramesses III and the early years of Ramesses IV. They tell that on such and such a day, such and such a person was 'commissioned'.[146] His job was to carry wood[147] in fixed

quantities,[148] and probably for a fixed period of time.[149] The deliveries of these men were carefully recorded, particularly whether or not they had completed their week's quota, and if not what their deficit might be. In one text[150] there is a record of the deficit of the wood carrier Bakenkhonsu, 'from the time of the commissioning of Nebsmenu to control them'. Unfortunately it is not known who Nebsmenu was. The fact that notices of these commissionings were so frequently placed at the top of columns or the beginning of a new ostracon is likely to indicate the beginning of new accounting periods rather than necessarily the new employment of a new man.

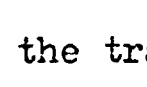
The requirements from the fishermen can be traced in the same way as those from the woodcutters, although texts recording their 'commissioning' do not seem to have been preserved. Detailed accounts of their deliveries and deficits make it possible to calculate the quantities of fish due from individual fishermen each ten day week.[151] As with the gardeners and the woodcutters, the same quantities were not necessarily required from different men. The production of the potter is not listed as a required number of pots, but the texts show that each week he was required to deliver a b3k, a work quota. Thus, if he delivered two weeks' quotas at once, these were described as '2 works'. The same word occurs in an Eighteenth Dynasty text referring to a man's 'work' as a quota of beer he made,[152] and the sense 'work-quota' for b3k is quite clear. Perhaps from the nature of the potter's work, it was unreasonable to expect a set number of pots to be produced each week. The primitive nature of the firing process used even now by local potters in Egypt means that the result of the firing is never quite certain, and the quantity of pots finally produced will depend as much on the luck of the firing as the number of pots actually shaped.

The work of the coppersmiths was also sometimes recorded as

particular commissions. In such cases, for some unknown reason, the scribes preferred to use the simple verb hn rather than the causative shn, for the sense 'commission'. On IV shemu 21, in year 25 of Ramesses III, there is a record of the commissioning of the coppersmiths as a whole.[153] In year 8 of Ramesses VII a more detailed commissioning of the coppersmiths is recorded.[154] The responsible officials were the treasury scribe Hori ⟨of⟩ the Mansion, and the leaders of the crew. The smiths were given, by side,[155] quantities of copper, from which they were required to make a standard number of chisels of standard weight. No time limit for the work is mentioned. There are also preserved two records of commissions for the individual coppersmith Ptahpahapy. The first of them[156] records that he was commissioned to forge some tools on I peret 11. The receipt of the metal from him is then recorded on III peret 2. The second text[157] apparently records a similar process of commissioning by the handing over of the metal, but the events are recorded in too brief a fashion for any full understanding of the procedure. Only one example is known to me of a register of copperwork similar to the standard registers of weekly deliveries from fishermen and wood cutters. This text[158] recorded weekly the number of chisels handed over to the smith, and then returned. The entries vary slightly from week to week, but the standard number of chisels handed over seems to be about 5. Naturally the amount of work required from the coppersmiths would depend on the rate and type of work of the crew proper, and therefore the requirements for the repair of old tools and the manufacture of new. Their commissioning to work would therefore tend to approximate closely to that of the crew, being given tasks as they arose, rather than to the work of the service-staff in general, who were commissioned to standard, long term levels of weekly production.

The most detailed records of the particular commissioning of the coppersmiths is a command for them to manufacture 17 spears (niw) for the Nubian expedition of Payankh, at the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty. Several preserved letters refer to the affair. The scribe Djehutimose first wrote to his son, the scribe Butehamon, telling him to act with the guardian Karoy. The coppersmiths were to be commissioned to make spears, using copper they already had.[159] This was probably not the first time they had performed this task, for there is a reference to copper given to the coppersmith Hori for making 'the 4 spears'.[160] Other letters passed. In one from Butehamon to his father he seems to have been trying to put the blame on Karoy for delays in the work,[161] whereas another, probably from Djehutimose, complained strongly to Butehamon that he had not arranged the delivery properly.[162] Another letter from Djehutimose[163] apologised to Karoy and Butehamon, that his previous letter about the spears was sent before their letter to him on the subject had reached him. He stressed, however, that the scribe Pentahutnakhte was not to be allowed to take (the coppersmith) Hori off for any other work; Hori was to be provided with copper and to work on the spears. Eventually there was a note added to the top of one of the letters from Djehutimose to Butehamon, recording 'my receipt of the 17 spears, which the guardian Karoy had brought south', with relevant totals.[164] Other mentions in this series of letters to commissions given to the coppersmiths, for instance the order that Tutuy and Hori be given copper, adding the tin they already have, in order to make a knife (ḫ't) and two tkȝ-vessels,[165] show the importance to the officials of the Tomb that there smiths were commissioned properly.

Commissions given to the crew were not limited simply to the building of tombs for kings and members of the royal family,[166] or, at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, members of the families of

the High Priest of Amon.[167] A text from early in the reign of Siptah tells[168] that some men arrived at Djesret - Deir el Bahari - but after consulting the foreman Paneb, they left again, 'there being no job (wpwt) of Pharaoh, l.p.h., for them'. However, the men might be taken away from the crew for long periods doing a wide variety of jobs. A papyrus from years 17 and 18 of Ramesses XI[169] seems to have been written almost entirely for the sake of recording which men were commissioned to do particular jobs away from the Tomb, and to record the receipt of the commissions from the crew and the payments made to them on these occasions. Examples have been quoted above of commissions required from the coppersmiths by the general Payankh for his Nubian campaign. Other letters in that same correspondence refer to his requirements from the crew of clothing,[170] or chariot poles(?).[171] At that period the crew seem simply to have been used by their superiors for whatever work was necessary.[172] Earlier there was a record that crewmen had made a statue of the king for the local shrine of Hathor,[173] and that they were rewarded for this by the king.[174] Another text tells that beds made by the crew were collected by messengers, for the vizier.[175] It is often impossible to tell if a simple record of the commissioning of such work refers to an official or to a private project. Such is a record that a crewman was commissioned to work on a bed,[176] or the commissioning of a statue by the foreman Hay, and his setting two men to work on it.[177] Craft work was clearly often a source of private income to people of the Tomb,[178] and letters are preserved referring to business (wpwt) one person did for another.[179] One text, however, refers[180] to the trading job () of a certain crewman. This seems to have been official business, for the commodity dealt with was noted as partly of the left side, and partly of the right, and partly remaining in the warehouse. It is

quite obscure what and why the Tomb should be trading.

X. Labour Troubles at the Tomb, I. A Survey.

The preserved registers of the Tomb do not normally give the reasons why the crew were absent from their work on particular days. In many cases their absences can be attributed to a festival or a regular holiday; in others the reason remains quite obscure. On those occasions that reasons for the absence of the crew are given, this may be the payment of wages, or some other administrative business, such as attendance on visiting dignitaries. Collected here are cases that do not fit into normal, expected, administrative patterns, cases where the absence of the crew from their work and their homes seems to arise from action initiated bythe crew themselves, in connection with their payments or conditions of work. These are events that sometimes, by the widest possible definition of the word, might be termed as 'strikes'. They will be described first, so far as possible, as a consecutive narrative in chronological order, together with whatever illustrative material can be gleaned from contemporary texts and is likely to increase the understanding of particular series of events. Attempts to analyse the contents of the texts, and to understand the nature and the background to the events will be kept until the following chapter.

The obscure reigns at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty were obviously a period of some difficulty for the people of the Tomb. The foreman Neferhotep was killed by 'the enemy',[1] and the corruption of the foreman Paneb[2] and the scribe Qeniherkhepeshef[3] is unusually well attested. However, no reference has been preserved to events that might in any way be described as a 'strike', even if the personal relations between officials and certain individual crewmen were bad. The first series of events of which record has been preserved

that can in any real sense be termed strikes are those of year 29 of Ramesses III.

Some unknown individual, doubtless an official of the crew, kept an account[4] of the payments of grain made to him, and the deficits still owing to him, from month IV of shemu in year 28 of Ramesses III until month III of shemu in year 30. He seems, in fact, to have recorded only the 5½ khar of emmer due to him, and to have omitted the expected 2 khar of barley altogether. In the heading at the beginning of the text, dated to year 28, month IV of shemu, day 30, the very beginning of the period of the account, the writer complains that half his grain ration was confiscated. That particular month's ration, listed as short by ⅞ khar, had apparently been paid on the fifth day of the month.[5] For most of year 28 he actually received between 4 and 5 khar a month. However, in month II of peret he received only 1½ khar. The figure of 1½ khar is also preserved for month III of peret, but it is not clear in that case whether it refers to a payment or to a deficit. By month IV of peret, and during the early months of year 29 the deficits were again small, usually ½ khar, although in the unusually bad month of I shemu he received only 3 khar. In month I of akhet full payment was made. The accounts for months II of akhet to II of peret in year 29 are lost through damage to the text.

In connection with the lack of supplies in months II and III of peret of year 28 it is worth noting a daybook entry that seems to belong to that year,[6] telling that on II peret 24 'the enemy descended'. An unpublished ostracon[7] dating to day 11 of month I of akhet is the earliest other preserved record about grain payments in year 29. On that day the foreman of the right side of the crew received 3 khar of grain, each of his twenty men 2 khar, and the scribe 1½ khar. The quantities are less than half those due. Moreover, the payment, which is not noted

as being a supplementary payment, was not made until the eleventh day of the month. It was presumably supplemented later to make up the full amount recorded in the individual's text.

The following month, II akhet, grain rations had still not been paid by day 21.[8] The scribe Amonnakhte 'reported' (smi) that although the month was now 20 days old, no issue had yet been made, and went personally to the mortuary temple of Horemheb, a part of the 'House' of Amon. 46 khar of emmer were obtained from there, and issued to the crew on day 23. It is unclear how many men were employed in the crew at this date.[9] The previous month rations had been issued to 20 men on one side only,[10] and the following month payment was made to 17 men on one side only.[11] Moreover, in month II of peret the force at work was 3 leaders and 40 men.[12] Also, in year 29, in month II of peret, thread was issued to the 3 leaders and 40 men.[13] Ration lists of the preceding years also seem to indicate a total of about 40 men.[14] The ration list for II peret of year 29, included in the Turin Strike Papyrus[15] shows only eight men to a side, plus the officials. It is improbable that this figure can give a proper estimate of the size of the whole crew at that time, and the figure of 40 workmen is to be taken as more accurate. With a crew of 40 men the emmer obtained from the temple of Horemheb would have provided each man with about 1 khar, no more than an emergency provision.[16] Record has also been preserved of a supplementary payment made to the crew on III akhet 2;[17] 4 khar for the foreman, 2 for the scribe, $1\frac{3}{4}$ for each of 7 men and $2\frac{1}{2}$ for each of 10 men. More complete information for this period is unfortunately lacking, a break in the vital individual account of payments and deficits having carried away the vital figures for the months II akhet to III peret.

The continuous daybook of the Tomb, the series of ostraca recording

the receipts and business of the Tomb, is almost completely lost for this period.[18] However, certain accounts and receipts for members of the service-staff have been preserved. An unpublished ostracon records deliveries of firewood made in months I to III of akhet of year 29, apparently a satisfactory quota from the individual Paib.[19] The accounts of the woodcutter Sary[20] show that from his commissioning on day 7 of month III of akhet in year 29 until day 10 of II peret of that year he regularly made his deliveries on time. From then until the end of month III of peret his deliveries were made, but were consistently late. Most noticeable, it seems that he made no actual deliveries between days 10 and 30 of II peret.[21] On day 9 of II peret a large quantity of thread was distributed to the crew for making into lamp wicks.[22] On day 10 a certain Usermaatrenakhte was appointed as gypsum maker.[23] He is recorded as having made small deliveries on the duty days of Hori and Amonemopet,[24] but he was recorded as being in deficit with regard to the quantities due from him for days 20 and 30 of II peret. It would seem that the normal administrative business of the Tomb was being regularly conducted in the days and weeks preceding the trouble that began on II peret 10, but that it was then effectively interrupted for the rest of the month.

Record of these events has been preserved in three different texts; the so-called Turin Strike Papyrus and two ostraca. The first ostracon, now in the Cairo Museum,[25] simply contains the briefest of notices of the days' events. The other ostracon, half in the collection of the French Institute in Cairo and half in the Varille collection,[26] contains part of the daybook of the Tomb. On day 10 of month II of peret, according to the Cairo ostracon, 'the guardpost was passed by the crew, about their grain rations'.[27] This is amplified by two notices in the Strike Papyrus[28] and the record of the French Institute

ostracon[29] to explain that the crew had gone out[30] because they were hungry, their grain rations not having been paid, although 18 (sic)[31] days had already passed that month. They perhaps went first to the temple of Medinet Habu,[32] but ended the day at the back(?) of the temple of Tuthmosis III,[33] next to a roadway.[34] Here they were approached by the officials of the Tomb, the scribe and the two foremen, together with the two deputies and the two w'rty-officials,[35] and urged to return to the Tomb overnight, although they might spend the day where they were.[36]

For the following day the two ostraca simply record that the same happened.[37] The more detailed account of the papyrus tells that on day 11 the crew passed out again (by the guardposts), and went to the gate at the south end of the Ramesseum.[38] Also on this day the scribe of the Tomb Pentaweret delivered 55 s'b-loaves.[39] The account divides these loaves into groups of 28 and 27, which it may be presumed were the shares for the right and left sides of the crew. Such an issue cannot have stayed the hunger of the crew.[40] On day 12 the crew went again to the Ramesseum,[41] but at that point the progress of events is obscured by breaks in the texts. The Strike Papyrus records[42] that after spending the night in disarray the crew went inside the temple, and a group of minor officials connected with the external administration for the Tomb, including the scribe Pentaweret, the two chiefs of police, the two gatekeepers and the gatekeepers of the gatehouse of the Tomb, took some sort of action. As a result the chief of police Montumose promised to go and fetch the mayor. Perhaps his mission was in vain, for the next preserved fragment of text records somebody's description of how he reported that the people of the Tomb were in the Ramesseum. The reply he received is lost, as is almost a all the text of the following lines from the Turin Strike Papyrus.

From the odd words preserved it may be guessed that they contained complaints from the crew about their missing payments, and a request that an appeal be sent to Pharaoh. The text of the papyrus resumes with the end of a list of officials, the accounts scribe Hednakhte and 'the god's fathers of this Temple', a commission that had come to listen to the appeals of the crew. The workmen again explained that they had been forced into their actions by hunger and thirst, being without clothes, oil, fish and vegetables. They asked that an appeal be sent for them to Pharaoh and to the vizier. Finally the text tells that grain rations were released to them for the first month of peret; the previous month's rations, by then almost a month and a half overdue.

The Cairo ostracon apparently omitted day 12, and ended with the record that on day 13 a chief of police told the crew to carry out [their job].[43] Perhaps there is an error here, and one should read day 12 rather than 13. The French Institute ostracon likewise recorded that somebody [told] the crew to carry out their job,[44] and this in an entry that, although broken, seems more likely to have belonged to day 12 than day 13. It is not clear from the text of the Turin papyrus[45] whether the night spent by the crew at the Ramesseum was the night of the 11th to the 12th or the night of the 12th to the 13th. The former is perhaps the more likely, and the most probable conclusion is that the chief of police told the crew to return to their work peacefully on day 12, while he went to Town to see the mayor. The account of the visit of the commission and the issue of overdue rations next preserved in the papyrus may in fact refer to day 17, a commission[46] and the issue of rations[47] being otherwise attested on that day. If such be a correct assumption, much of the record for days 12 to 17 has been lost from the papyrus.

On day 13,[48] doubtless as a result of the failure of the efforts of the preceding days to obtain relief, the chief of police Montumose was found at the gatehouse of the Tomb. He advised the crew to collect up their equipment, lock up their doors, and bring their wives and children with them. He would go before them to the temple of Sethi I, and arrange for them to be settled there in the morning. A broken entry in the French Institute ostracon, probably to be dated to day 13[49] can be connected with this. It records that they did 'the same' (that is passed out by the guardposts) 'taking their wives'.

No account of the following days is preserved in the papyrus, and the text of the ostracon[50] is too fragmentary to provide any detailed summary, although it shows that the same sort of activities continued. There is mention of 'going out (prt) again', a statement was made, a certain Paaakhet[51] had something brought to them, and a list was given of the people who 'came to them'. The following lines[52] contain only snatches of text; names, the beginning of an oath, some figures and broken dates, perhaps even the record of a small issue of 10 khar of grain,[53] but not enough to give a continuous narrative. This can be resumed in some sense with a passage probably to be dated to day 15, recording that somebody 'spoke falsely', and ordered the issue of half a khar of water to each man. The chief of police Montumose then provided the crew with a quantity of beer. By day 16 the crew had apparently returned to Deir el Medina, for on that day they[54] 'passed by (the guardposts) again', and when evening came they 'carried torches'.

The particular troubles of this week seem to have ended on day 17. The overseer of the army of the temple of Ramesses III came to the crew,[55] to hear their case and ask what he should report to Pharaoh. It is not implausible that this visit, although described

in the ostracon in abbreviated form, should be identified with that of the commission referred to in the Turin Strike Papyrus.[56] That commission, as well as listening to the crew's request for an appeal to Pharaoh and the vizier, was connected with the release of grain rations to the crew, overdue from the previous month.[57] Elsewhere[58] the papyrus records that on day 17 of month II of peret grain rations for that month were issued to two groups of men, each containing a foreman, scribe, and eight men; that is, probably only part of each of the two sides of the crew.[59] The following list of vegetables issued to a foreman, scribe, and eight men probably belongs to the same date.[60] The verso of the Varille ostracon begins with somebody's statement that he has no emmer to give the crew, but continues with the record that grain rations were issued at the gatehouse on days 17 and 18 of II peret. The foreman received the expected 7½ khar, the scribe is not mentioned, eighteen men received the expected 5½ khar, and two youths (mnḥ) received 2 khar, said to be 'complete', and the provision for the slave woman or women was also said to be 'complete'. The number of men here, a foreman and, including the youths, 20 men, represents the expected complement of one side of the crew, although the Strike Papyrus seems only to have included eight workmen on each side in its record of the ration issue of day 17. The texts provide no sound basis of evidence to help resolve this contradiction.[61] It is difficult to believe that the different texts do not record different facets of the same payments made to the crew at that time, which the scribe or scribes chose to record differently in different texts. At least the crew seem to have been well supplied with food again in the middle of that month.

For the later texts preserved in the Turin Strike Papyrus no parallel ostraca are available, and it is clear from the comparison

of the earlier passages with the other texts contemporary to them that the account of the Strike Papyrus is by no means a complete description of the troubles. The continuity of the narrative cannot therefore be anything but unsatisfactory. It is a reasonable presumption that after the receipt of rations in the middle of month II of peret the disturbances would have died down, temporarily at least. The next two entries in the papyrus are not clearly dated.[62] The first belongs to month III of peret, but no day is given. The second was written between this entry and one dated to IV peret 28.[63] The two entries are thematically connected, in that they deal with refusals to work. Their content is obscure, but they do not seem to be connected with failures in the grain rations. It is not unlikely that their content has been deliberately made obscure by the scribe, for the protests seem to centre on quarrels between the crew and their own officials, in which the scribe would have been deeply involved.

In the first of these accounts[64] the crew passed by the guardposts and settled down 'at the tomb' (hr p3 hr). The phrase is confusing. It is difficult to imagine the workmen going all the way up to the tomb in the Valley of the Kings to sit down in protest, and the temptation is strong to emend the phrase to 'at the gatehouse of the Tomb' (hr p3 ⟨htm n p3⟩ hr). The three leaders of the crew came to fetch them from there, and the reply made to them by the crewman Mose, son of Aanakhte is recorded. The sense of the oath he swore to them is obscure, beyond his adamant refusal to work that day. The passage ends with the note that he was punished, doubtless beaten, for his misuse of the name of Pharaoh in his oath; 'As the Ruler lives, he whose might is greater than death'. The formula of the oath was acceptable in other contexts,[65] but the accusation of abusing Pharaoh stands in an earlier text[66] as the justification for

the infliction of a heavy punishment. Perhaps in truth this Nose was simply picked on for punishment as the ringleader.

The next entry follows after a small space in the papyrus, but without a new date.[67] It is, therefore, unclear whether the events related there are a continuation of the previous quarrel or a later outbreak of trouble after a brief period of calm. One may suspect that the anger of the crew had the same origins in both cases, but that the scribe, personally implicated in the quarrel, failed to give the reason behind it. The crew this time went off, to pass by the guardposts at the back of the village (of Deir el Medina), because, it was said, the three leaders had 'made a great noise at them', either at or because of the village gates. The scribe Amonnakhte then sent the lesser officials, the two w'rty-officials and the two deputies, to bring them back. However, they were not successful. The ringleaders, Qenna son of Ruta and Hay son of Huy spoke up, and simply said, "We will not come back. You can tell that to your chiefs", thereby implying a refusal even to recognise the authority of their own leaders. They continued with the explanation that "It is not because we are hungry that we have passed by (the guardposts). We have a great accusation to make, for evil has been done in this Place of Pharaoh". The end of the affair is obscure. The three leaders went themselves to hear what the crew had to say, but the only other statement of the crew recorded by the scribe was a demand from them that the truth be told.

Some payment of grain rations was received in month III of peret. The personal ration account on the ostracon in Turin shows[68] that the author received $3\frac{3}{4}$ khar, remaining $1\frac{3}{4}$ khar in deficit. The entry for month IV of peret records a payment of 2 khar and a deficit of $3\frac{1}{2}$. At the end of that month, on day 28,[69] the Strike Papyrus

records that the vizier To, passing through Thebes collecting the statues of the gods for attendance at the coming Sed Festival, failed to visit the Tomb. Instead he sent a chief of police, Nebsmenu son of Panehsy, to address the leaders of the crew at the gatehouse of the Tomb. In his message he assured them that he had a good reason for not coming personally, and that he was not just avoiding them because he had nothing to bring them. It seems that they had sent a letter to him, asking him not to 'confiscate' (nhm) their grain rations; the same word as was used in the heading to the Turin ostracon containing the personal account of missing payments.[70] The vizier replied most indignantly to this suggestion. Such 'confiscation' was, he asserted, incompatible with his office. The reason for the non-payment was quite simply, he said, that the granaries themselves were empty. He was giving them what he had been able to obtain. The scribe of the Tomb Hori, the scribe who seems at that period to have been in charge of the service-staff and the deliveries to the Tomb, then told them that they were given half rations, and that he himself was to share it out among them.[71]

It is not clear from the text whether the crew were here merely promised an issue of rations, or whether half rations were actually issued to them on the spot. The former seems the more likely. The rations for month I of shemu were then already due, and four days later, on I shemu 2 the text records[72] that 'the 2 khar of emmer were given to the crew as grain rations for month I of shemu'. The use of the definite article here, and the fact that 2 khar represents half the ration of emmer due to an ordinary workman, make the identification of this payment with that mentioned in the preceding passage highly probable. The grain was delivered by men named Amonkhau and Userhetnakhte, probably to be identified as members of

the service-staff.[73] The ration for this month does not seem to have been made up later, for the author of the personal account recorded that he remained $2\frac{1}{2}$ khar in deficit, having received $3\frac{1}{2}$.[74]

The workmen were seriously dissatisfied with these 2 khar of emmer. The foreman Khonsu advised them to take the ration provided, and then go down to mryt, the 'riverbank', and have 'the children (hrdw) of the vizier inform him about it', apparently advice to go and complain. It seems unlikely that the vizier's family home was on the west bank at Thebes, and the word hrdw, 'children' is best taken as a reference to the local subordinates of the vizier, rather than his real children.[75] The crew took the advice, and as soon as the scribe Amonnakhte had finished issuing the grain they set out. They had, however, only passed one of the guardposts when Amonnakhte came up with them and told them not to pass on to the riverbank. He had, he said, just given them 2 khar of emmer, and if they went on he would put them in the wrong[76] (presumably oppose them) in any tribunal to which recourse might be had. At this point Amonnakhte revealed himself as the author of the papyrus[77] by finishing the passage with the note, no doubt much to his own credit, that 'I (then) brought them back up again'.

These 2 khar of emmer seem not to have lasted the crew long, perhaps not surprisingly in view of the deficits over the preceding months. On day 13 of the same month, the first of shemu, the crew again passed by the guardposts and settled down behind the mortuary temple of Merenptah, complaining of hunger.[78] This time they succeeded in catching the attention of the mayor of Thebes, who happened to be passing by. The mayor sent over to them a gardener belonging to the administration of the Overseer of Cattle, a certain Meniunefer, with a message promising them 50 khar of emmer. These

were specifically to tide them over until Pharaoh (that is the state) should provide them with grain rations.

The next entry in the Turin Strike Papyrus,[79] dated to month I of shemu, day 16, is not immediately connected with the troubles of the crew about their grain rations. The crewman Penanqet made a statement to the scribe Amonnakhte and the foreman Khonsu, accusing a certain Userhet and others of a variety of crimes, but particularly of that of taking stone from the tomb structure of Ramesses II. Another brief note, added at the bottom of the previous column accuses Userhet also of doing something in 'the tomb of the Royal Wives'.[80] Penanqet quoted the attitude the vizier had taken when his father, the foreman Paneb, removed stone in similar circumstances, and demanded that the officials take action, or he would report direct to Pharaoh and the vizier. The position of the scribe and the foremen seems particularly difficult at this point; on the one sidethe crew hungry, rebellious and controllable only with the greatest of difficulty, and on the other a crewman, son of a previous foreman, who doubtless felt that the office belonged by right to him, threatening to make a report to their superiors, accusing them of incompetence, if not of actual corruption.

The 50 khar of emmer given to the crew by the mayor probably sufficed to give each man a khar, or just over, and cannot have provided for them for more than a few days. Twelve days later, on day 25 of month I of shemu, the crew were again to be found at the Ramesseum.[81] Somebody, his name or title is damaged in the text but it might plausibly be restored as the stm-priest who was in charge of the temple, promised to cross the river to Town and make a report to the High Priest of Amon, and to the mayor of Thebes. He refused, however, to give them bread from the divine offerings of the deceased

Ramesses II. The scribe here added his own gloss on the refusal; 'It is a great crime, what he did'. The payments for this month seem never to have been made up.[82]

The entries of the Turin Strike Papyrus dealing with actual labour troubles end at this point, the last day in the twenty-ninth year of Ramesses III,[83] with the problems of the crew unresolved. It is not improbable that other disturbances occurred in the days following, for the supply of grain did not improve immediately. The author of the personal account of ration receipts and deficits recorded[84] that for the following month, month II of shemu, he received only $3\frac{3}{4}$ khar, remaining $1\frac{3}{4}$ khar in deficit. However, in the third month of that season, the last for which his account was kept, he was fully paid. His text ends with a total account for the whole crew; 3 leaders, 18 men on the right side and 19 men on the left. This has been taken as an earlier text, insufficiently washed away,[85] but there is just the possibility that the figures are in fact an account of the total deficits due to the members of the crew at the end of this difficult period. Ignoring the lost accounts for the five missing months, the author of the text already recorded for himself a total deficit of about 24 or 25 khar. The totals give figures of 22 khar for each of the three leaders and 35 for each of the ordinary workmen. Such might well represent the total deficits in the quantities of grain due for the period under account. In that case the text would have to be presumed the account of an ordinary workman, and the total of $5\frac{1}{2}$ khar a month to represent his monthly ration of 4 khar of emmer and $1\frac{1}{2}$ khar of barley, subsumed together under the heading of emmer. Over these two years an ordinary workman should have recieved $97\frac{1}{3}$ khar of emmer and $36\frac{1}{2}$ khar of barley. An official expected $133\frac{5}{6}$ khar of emmer and $48\frac{2}{3}$ khar of barley as his full

payment. It would not be surprising to discover that, when grain payments were not made in full, the ordinary workmen lost more from their smaller wages than did the officials from their larger.

Incomplete, perhaps, as the accounts of the troubles of years 28 and 29 of Ramesses III are, the documentation of similar problems in other periods is still more patchy. While there remains real hope that unpublished parts of the daybook of the Tomb for the early and middle years of the Twentieth Dynasty may yet emerge from among the unpublished material in museum collections, the documentation of the period will remain uneven from the very nature of the texts. The collection of memoranda in the Turin Strike Papyrus, defective and in incomplete as each entry is, gives circumstantial detail unlikely to be provided elsewhere in any more than isolated fragments. The following account is largely assembled from offhand references in texts such as the daybook ostraca or the later papyrus journals, compiled for the essential record of quite different types of information. The narrative will therefore be rather bald, usually lacking in detail of a circumstantial kind, and often depending on perhaps rather tendentious interpretation of broken or poorly preserved fragments.

For the two years following the events recorded in the Turin Strike Papyrus little is preserved of the daybook of the Tomb.[86] The next preserved hint of trouble comes at the beginning of the season of peret in year 31. A daybook records that grain rations for IV akhet were paid, over a month late, on I peret 6.[87] Then, in an ostracon recording month II of peret, the damaged and curiously spelt entry for day 15[88] records baldly, 'passing guardpost'. Little more of substance can be deduced from the context. Indeed, the entries for days 5 to 13 of the month are completely lost. There is no mention whatsoever of grain rations preserved in the text. The notices about

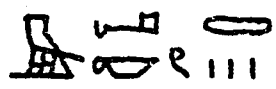
deliveries of wood preserved later in the month do show, however, that the woodcutters were badly behind with their work, only then, from day 16 on, making up their deliveries due for days 10, 20 and 30 of the previous month. Perhaps the crew were particularly troubled at that time by failures and delays in the supplies of their service-staff. It was also there recorded, in an entry written at the head of the text, outside the body of the entries, that on the second day of the month the scribe Nekhemmut argued with his people. Nekhemmut was not the administrative scribe of the Tomb,[89] and his precise functions cannot be defined. In graffiti he glorified himself as 'scribe of the Temple (in the Place of Truth)',[90] but otherwise he is not well attested. Perhaps his real function lay in the sphere of the supply of the Tomb, and control of the service-staff. At present, however, his funtions are less well attested than his conceit, meanness, and sexual impotence, if an extremely insulting anonymous letter addressed to him by given any credence.[91] There is no indication who the people were with whom he quarreled on this occasion; the crew, the service staff, or some other group.

An ostracon[92] preserving the daybook for the first nineteen days of the following month, III of peret, shows no evidence of further troubles. It is, however, noteworthy that a large quantity of vegetables is recorded, given by the chief of police Nebsmenu.[93] Two years earlier payments received from so unlikely a source seemed best explained as a temporary relief when rations had not been paid. Again, however, the text gives no information about the grain rations.

After a gap of some two months in the documentation, the preserved daybook resumes[94] in month II of shemu, now in year 32 of Ramesses III. The deliveries of the service-staff that month seem to have been reasonably full and punctual. It was also noted that on the first of

the month Amonkhau was appointed as a scribe of the Tomb. On day 2 'the letter (of?) Hatynedjem arrived', (a personal name or a qualification of the contents of the letter; 'the heart is sweet'). The crew were absent from work on day 3 to deal with it. Such events may not have been directly connected with the problems of the crew, but their difficulties over payments were very real that month. On day 11 they were paid grain rations for the first month of shemu,[95] rations by then well over a month overdue. No further such issue is recorded during the following days, so the crew were presumably again owed two full months rations when, it was recorded, on days 29 and 30 of the month[96] 'they passed (the) guardpost'. Again the following month,[97] that in which Ramesses III died and Ramesses IV came to the throne, the daybook shows no evidence of troubles, although nor does it record an issue of grain rations, only the regular receipts from the service-staff and from the divine offerings.

The political state of the country at the accession of Ramesses IV is unclear.[98] The texts recording the trials of those implicated in the harem conspiracy against Ramesses III do not make it clear whether or not the assasination attempt was successfully carried through. For the people of the Tomb the change heralded a period of greater activity, and of greater administrative attention to them. The daybook of the first full month of the new reign, that recording month IV of shemu and the succeeding epagomenal days, is preserved on an unpublished ostracon in Berlin.[99] On the eleventh day of the month grain rations were issued.[100] These were probably the long overdue rations for the second month of shemu, but the text is damaged, and the month name lost. On day 13 it is recorded that the crew worked,[101] and on day 15 the receipt of pigments is recorded.[102] Work was doubtless urgently required to make the final preparations

for the burial of Ramesses III.[103] On day 17 the text records[104] 'passing guardpost. Giving grain rations for month III of shemu'. A few days later[105] further payments, entitled , were issued to the crew. Also on one of the last days of the month a broken entry[106] tells of the '[giv]ing of grain rations for month III of shemu'. The lost beginning of the line might be restored with another reference to the 'passing the guardposts', but there are other possibilities. There is a strong temptation to see a mistake in the numbering of the month[107] for which this last payment was due, but whether they were really the due payments for month IV or a further payment to complete the sums due for month III, the position of the crew must have been greatly improved.

The daybook for the first month of akhet,[108] apart from its regular notices of the deliveries by the service staff, also mentioned some of the final preparations of the tomb for the burial of Ramesses III, which was noted as taking place on day 24.[109] On day 27 the crew were again noted as absent receiving payments described as .[110] Finally, on day 28,[111] 'the magistrates' came to the gatehouse, and handed over 'the silver of the crew to them', presumably a payment of some sort. There is no mention of grain rations as such, but the crew seem to have been well paid that month. Again in the daybook for month II of akhet[112] there is no specific mention of grain rations as such, but it was recorded[113] that on day 15 the king's scribe Hori came to pay the crew. Already before the burial of Ramesses III the daybook had noted the 'the young men were recruited'.[114] In this second month of akhet a new, expanded duty roster also appears in the daybook.[115] It seems quite likely that some sort of reorganisation of the crew had taken place.[116]

The daybook for the rest of the regnal year, of which about half

has been preserved,[117] records no unusual disturbances, but equally fails to record payments of the grain rations. The exception to this is a note that the rations for month I of shemu were paid, on time, at the very end of IV peret.[118] The texts continue to record deliveries from the service-staff and from the divine offerings as normal. Soon, however, the grain rations fell in arrears again. At the very beginning of the second regnal year, on day 28 of month III of shemu, when rations for the fourth month were falling due, 'the crew carried torches about their grain rations for month III of shemu and month IV of shemu'.[119] It seems that the crew were again two full months behind in their wages. Probably as a result of this action a group of officials arrived the next day to hear what the crew had to say;[120] the mayor of Thebes, an overseer of the Treasury, the mayor of ⟨Iu⟩itru, and a scribe. Although now incomplete, this text originally continued through the fourth month of shemu and the epagomenal days. The passages that have survived preserve no account of any sequel to this demonstration and commission of inquiry, no account either of a payment of rations or of any further demonstrations by the crew.

The text containing the daybook for month I of akhet is lost, but by month II the payments of the crew can again be seen in arrears. On day 18,[121] after the arrival of the vizier and two royal butlers, a site for the new royal tomb was chosen. The payment of grain rations that followed on days 19 and 20, overdue rations for the current month and rations a week in advance for month III of akhet, can hardly be unconnected with the presence of the vizier. The previous year had doubtless been a slack period for the crew, and administrative interest in them slight, if the work on the new tomb only began now. On day 28 of the same month the vizier was back, with a larger commission, specifically at the orders of the king, to raise the number of men in

the crew to 120.[122] Then, on day 30, the officials administered the oath of allegiance to the crew.[123]

Considerable parts of the daybook of the Tomb are preserved for the end of the reign of Ramesses III and the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV, but there remain serious gaps. Some will certainly be filled by texts that are as yet unpublished or unrecognised, but even so the daybook does not set out to provide a complete record of the administrative business of the Tomb. Events of importance to the Tomb might well be omitted as irrelevant to the daybook. It is possible to add to this list of well dated texts referring to the labour troubles of the Tomb a number of further references, some also parts of the daybook, that can only be dated roughly to the early or middle part of the Twentieth Dynasty. Some of the events recorded may indeed be part of the series attested between year 28 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses IV. Others will belong to periods of difficulty in the reigns of later Ramesside kings. Most such references are brief, and it is impossible to provide any continuous narrative, only a series of glimpses at isolated events.

A 'model' letter to the vizier To,[124] the vizier mentioned in the Turin Strike Papyrus, complained that payments from the treasury, granary, and warehouse were not being made, and also that 1½ khar of grain had been confiscated (nhm - presumably out of the monthly grain rations). As a result the people were destitute, and dying of hunger. This letter may be connected directly with the difficulties of year 29 of Ramesses III. If not the actual letter referred to by To when he indignantly rejected the suggestion that he had 'confiscated' their rations, it will have been very similar. Events in the reign of Ramesses IV or one of his successors will be referred to in another similar 'model' letter to the vizier Neferronpet,[125] the successor

of To. The writer referred to shortages of wood, vegetables, oils, fish, clothing and grain rations, and begged that provision be made.

A circumstantial account of events directly comparable with those recorded in the Turin Strike Papyrus is provided by an ostracon now in Sydney.[126] Its approximate dating to the same, but probably slightly later date than the papyrus is assured[127] by the mentions of the scribes Amonnakhte and his son Horisheri, of the accounts scribes Hori and Paser from Town, and of a royal butler Amonkhau, who was presumably the same man as was mentioned in the commission that came to plot out the new tomb in year 2 of Ramesses IV.[128] The beginning of the text is lost, carrying away any date and the names of the leading members of a group of officials who had come to meet the crew at the gatehouse of the Tomb. The officials preserved in the list are, probably the High Priest of Amon, royal butlers, local officials from Town (two accounts scribes and perhaps [the mayor]), a deputy of the Granaries and a setem-priest. Their visit had been prompted by the crew 'passing outside', complaining of hunger, and of the lack of wood, vegetables and fish; that is the produce of the service-staff, with no specific mention made of the grain rations. The crew made their case before this official tribunal. They seem to have been declared in the right by the tribunal, but the text breaks off at that point, and no consequence of such a judgement is preserved in the record.

Also to be noted at this point are the events recorded in a roughly contemporary fragment of papyrus from Deir el Medina.[129] This tells that on IV akhet 10 of year 3 of an unknown king the crew [addressed?][130] a group of high officials, the vizier Neferronpet, the overseer of the Treasury Montuemtawey, a royal scribe Khai////////, the High Priest of Amon Ramessesnakhte, and others whose names are lost, about various commodities that belonged to their normal payments; their

clothes, oils, [wood?], fish and [vegetables?]. The terms of their address are largely lost, but it is likely that the text originally contained an appeal for payment. The text also records that a few days later nine men were 'thrown out', presumably dismissed from their jobs, but it is not clear that the two entries are in any way connected. There is also an ostracon [131] which tells that in an unknown year, on 'II peret 13, the crew stopped (work), saying, "There are no faggots(?) (d3d3r) and no firewood", down to IV peret, making 52 days, and then we went up to ....'. In this case, as the final line of the text refers to 'burning', it is possible that the lack of fuel for the particular work in hand at the time, rather than as wages, was the reason for the long break from work.

Three further texts of about this date tell of the crew 'passing the guardposts' or 'passing outside'. The first, an unpublished fragment of ostracon in the French Institute in Cairo,[132] tells of the 'passing' or 'passing outside' on days 25 to 28 of an unknown month in an unknown year. On day 26 of the month it was further recorded that a certain Penanqet '[cam]e up', after he had 'passed', and on day 28 it was recorded that a certain setem-priest was called or summoned. A second text,[133] dating to the sixth year of an unknown Ramesside king, simply recorded the 'passing of the guardposts' on day 23 of a month II of akhet. The other notes in the text tell of the absences of a certain Khay on that day, and then again on day 12 of the following month. The purpose of this text is utterly obscure.

The third of these texts.[134] is a register of absentees for months III and IV of shemu in an unknown year of one of the successors of Ramesses III. The preserved entries for the last decade of month III and the first of month IV indicate that work in the tomb was progressing regularly as it should. On day 5 there is an obscure and unexpected

reference to the issue(?) of some emmer that had been brought. At the end of the list of absentees for day 8, the last working day of the week, the text records the 'cessation (of work) to establish portions(?) until day 21'. The exact sense of the words is unclear,[135] but the problem at issue was certainly the grain rations, for the text continues with the words, 'they searched for grain rations'. Then there is a total, 'passing the guardposts, comes to 11 days'. Finally the scribe added the phrase, 'issue of grain rations', above the line, near the words 'day 21' to indicate this as the day of payment. The registration of absentees continued from day 22, but began with the unusual remark for this class of text, that again 'they worked'. Such brief notes are all that has been preserved as record of an entire working week lost, because the crew had left their work to try and find somebody who would arrange the payment of their grain rations, a series of events that are likely to have been very similar to those described in more detail in the Turin Strike Papyrus.

Equally lacking in background information is a text recording days on which 'burning' (of lime for plaster?, or as part of the quarrying process?) took place, between II shemu 13 and I akhet 6, in the second regnal year of an unknown king, probably one of the successors of Ramesses IV.[136] The 'burning' proceeded, with normal breaks for weekends and holidays, through month II and into month III, but then on day 3, 'they were absent, to look for grain rations, a total of 11 days'. The 'burning' continued from day 14. It was also noted that on day 17 the vizier came to Deir el Bahari, remaining until the festival of (a king?) Sethi on day 24. The text notes that they were then absent for 26 days, resuming the 'burning' in month IV of shemu, day 22. Again they continued regularly until the arrival of Nesamon on day 6 of month I of akhet, when they stopped. Two days

earlier, on day 4, the text noted 'burning', but also that 'we were summoned for ration distribution'. As the text seems also to imply that an expected festival of Amon failed to take place on day 25 of month II of shemu, it seems a reasonable presumption that there were serious administrative problems in Thebes at that date. Again, it appears likely that for two long periods the crew were agitating for payment in the same way as they had done late in the reign of Ramesses III.

An ostracon in Cairo[137] gives a list of names, known from the early or middle part of the Twentieth Dynasty, followed by two plain entries for days 13 and 14 of an unknown month; 'absent. Grain rations'. The word wsf, 'absent' is regularly used of the absences of the crew from work, but not of undelivered grain rations. It can therefore be presumed that the crew were absent on those two days because of their grain rations. However, they did not normally work on pay days, and there were occasions when the payment of the grain took two days.[138] It is, therefore, no more than a plausible guess that on this occasion the crew were absent complaining about their missing rations. An ostracon from the Michaelides collection[139] may, however, provide a valid parallel. For a day 21 of a month III of akhet it records, 'absent, looking for grain rations', followed by a note that later in the same day '[the crew] went up [to work]'. Where, and from whom the grain rations were sought (wh3) is not revealed, but it is probable that an event of the same sort as that recorded in the Strike Papyrus is referred to. A mass appeal by the crew for payment. A further fragment of a daybook or similar text[140] records that the crew were absent over their grain rations on a day 22, but the record of what they actually did is lost in a break in the text. Their own leaders handed grain rations over to them the following day. A further very

small fragment of ostracon may originally have told of similar events.[141] It tells of the gatekeeper Penpaiu[142] being in Town, of people 'searching for grain to give', and mentions 'the great magistrates' and Pharaoh. Also to be noted is the record, on a fragment of papyrus dated roughly to this period,[143] recording the delivery to the right side of the crew of a large quantity of vegetables, 'down to [month X] of shemu, there not having been given to them (the) grain rations which [Pharaoh?] pays [them]'. The sense of the other preserved fragments of the text is totally obscure, except for part of an additional note, perhaps added later, about another delivery of vegetables in, or for, year 5, month II of akhet.

A number of other short texts, or fragments of texts, contain information that may be related to that so far discussed. One such is an question addressed to the oracle at Deir el Medina,[144] asking the god, '[Will] we [be] given grain rations?' A further question,[145] in which somebody asked if the accounts scribe of Town would pay him, perhaps refers to a private debt rather than to that scribe's functions and responsibility for the delivery of payments to the crew.[146] Perhaps also relevant are a number of texts that refer to the crew 'carrying torches' (f3i mhd), a phrase that has occurred twice in connection with the crew leaving their homes because they had not been paid.[147] One ostracon[148] simply tells that 'the crew carried torch(es)' on day 11 of month IV of shemu, in the sixth year of an unknown king. Another very broken text[149] records the carrying of torches on the first day of one of the later months of akhet. Otherwise only odd words are preserved in this text; 'field at evening', and 'Djesret', that is Deir el Bahari. There is also a fragment of papyrus in Turin,[150] part of a journal of the Tomb, which records the carrying of torches on three separate days, but again no background information is provided.

The phrase 'carrying torces' need not, in itself, imply that the crew were in some sense creating a disturbance. One does not, however, expect that the crew would normally have been walking about the west bank, en masse, at times of day when lights were needed, if some extraordinary business were not in hand.

The central reigns of the Twentieth Dynasty are a period of some obscurity in the history of the Tomb, largely because of the difficulty in assigning particular documents to particular reigns. The period shows severe fluctuations and inflation in the price of grain at Deir el Medina,[151] with peak prices attested in the reign of Ramesses VII. It is, therefore, to be presumed that there continued to be serious delay and serious deficiencies in the payments of grain made to the crew. It is, however, impossible to identify particular troubles with particular reigns between that of Ramesses IV and that of Ramesses IX.

A small piece of papyrus in the Turin Museum[152] preserves a fragment of the journal of the Tomb dated to year 8 of an unknown king, presumably one of the last three Ramessides, and most likely that of Ramesses IX.[153] On day 3 of month II of akhet the crew worked normally in the royal tomb, as they had been doing over the preceding days. However, on this day they also sent the two doorkeepers with a letter to the vizier and 'the accounts scribe', asking to be given grain rations and the copper they needed. As reply they received a letter from the vizier and the accounts scribe warning that Meshwesh were approaching Thebes. They then seem to have collected up their equipment immediately, and left the worksite.

A further record that the crew 'passed by the guardposts' is preserved on an ostracon dating to late in month IV of shemu of a ninth regnal year, again probably that of Ramesses IX.[154] The broken beginning seems to have mentioned an official of the Temple of Amon.

Then it was recorded that four guardposts were passed, and that they spent the day [somewhere]. Damage to both edges of the ostracon makes it difficult to be sure of the precise connections between successive lines, and of the real sequence of events. The text then mentions the crew as being at the gatehouse of the Tomb. It then seems, if the text is rightly understood, that nobody came to look into the matter, so they did the same the next day (that is IV shemu 26), but this time going down as far as the 'riverbank' (mryt). Finally there is another mention of the gatehouse, and of the summoning there of the High Priest of Amon. What he said to them after his arrival is not preserved. Indeed, the preserved text does not state specifically the reasons for the behaviour of the crew.

If this text is correctly dated to the reign of Ramesses IX, the events it records preceded by only a few days those recorded in a papyrus journal preserved in the Turin Museum.[155] The earliest date preserved there, in the second column, is a day 6 in month I of akhet. The surviving texts of the first column are therefore likely to record the events of the first few days of the calendar year. They preserve, among other notes, the record of an order to ensure the availablity of the transport boats of the fishermen for some work for the crew. This would probably be the collection of payments due for the crew, or of equipment for the work. The preserved texts on the verso of this papyrus deal with events some nine months later, in month II of shemu in year 10.[156] The crew seem, by and large, to have been working normally at this period, but a number of broken entries reveal that their position was rather complex. Thus, on one day, 14 men were working, 6 were in Town, and 2 were bringing the fats.[157] The following day[158] the entire crew were absent, seeking [something]; perhaps their grain rations, perhaps, as there is mention of clothes and fats at the

end of the lacuna, a whole series of payments due to them. Presumably in connection with this, the gatekeeper and the guardian were sent to 'where the w'b-priest of Maat, Payefiry and the scribe Mery[sakhmet] of the vizier were'.

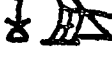
Such brief glimpses of events provide no really strong basis for an assessment of the prosperity and contentment, or of the turbulence of the crew in the first half of the reign of Ramesses IX. More detailed documentation is briefly available from a better preserved journal covering a period at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth year of his reign.[159] Between the dates IV shemu 30 and I akhet 6 of year 13 the crew were constantly absent, although, as it was regularly noted, there were no Libyans in the vicinity. The explanation seems to have been that the crew had not been paid, for on the first of the epagomenal days the text notes[160] firstly that the crew were absent, secondly that they were hungry, thirdly that the vizier was travelling northwards, and fourthly that there were no grain rations for either of the two preceding months, or for the five epagomenal days. A total of 65 days overdue payments was said to come to 726 7/16 khar. Although there is no grammatical necessity to understand the text in this way, it is natural to presume that these remarks were all connected. The crew were absent because they were hungry, and they hoped that the passing vizier might arrange to have their missing wages paid to them. It should, however, be noted that the epagomenal days were normally a holiday for the crew.

The actual arrival of the vizier was noted the following day,[161] but it was not until the final epagomenal day that the entry, still noting the non-payment of the grain rations, tells of the leaders of the crew, with the scribe Pabes as spokesman, setting off to report to the vizier.[162] The text does not record the result of their mission,

but the crew remained hungry. A note added later to the top of the page[163] tells that during the epagomenal days the gardener [Pa]sed brought a quantity of vegetables. Such a later addition might be, in some way connected with the lack of food,[164] but if so could only have recorded the slightest and most temporary of relief.

On the New Year's Day[165] a scribe Hori and an attendant Nakhtamon, both said to be 'of the vizier', arrived and demanded two beds. One was handed over by the right side of the crew. The following day[166] the text records that the attendant Nakhtamon crossed back over the river with the bed, and with a letter the leaders of the crew had given him for the vizier. On the third day of the month the text notes that grain rations were issued in Town.[167] Perhaps the scribe was writing here with some resentment, for on the fourth day of the month[168] he remarked that the grain rations were now unpaid for month I of akhet as well as being still in deficit for months III and IV of shemu and the epagomenal days. It is unclear whether the text for the previous day means that other people working on the east bank at Thebes had received their wages, but that the crew on the west bank had not, or that the grain had been made available for them there, but not transported over the river. The entries for the following two days are broken, but dealt originally with the visit to the west bank of the w'b-priest of Maat, Payef[iry] and the scribe of the vizier, [Mery]sakhmet.[169] Their business was 'the affair of the scribe Pab[es]'; no doubt a reference to the appeal made by the leaders of the crew on the final epagomenal day when Pabes acted as their spokesman.

The text as preserved does not reveal when the grain rations were eventually paid to the crew. The entries are lost for days 6 to 8 of month I of akhet, and for days 9 to 20, the only information of substance preserved there being that the crew did not work.[170] The

later parts of these entries, where further information for the days would have been given, are all lost. Another complete gap of three days is followed by entries for day 24 and the succeeding days, now in year 14. These show that the crew were once again working.[171] The texts are still, unfortunately too fragmentary for a full understanding of entries referring to fats[172] and clothing[173] or the mentions of a letter[174] and of an audience with the vizier.[175] It seems probable that if the crew were once again working properly they must have received some payment, but any solution to the difficulties of paying the crew must have been temporary. Further light is thrown on the fourteenth year of Ramesses IX by an ostracon[176] recording business from day 20 to day 24 of month IV of <u>akhet</u>. Mostly concerned with accounts of pigments for the draughtsmen, it also recorded that the crew were working and that a quantity of cloth () given by the vizier was grossly in deficit of what was expected. Moreover, it told that on day 24 three men were sent to Town to say, 'Cause that we be given grain rations!' Their precise case is unclear, there being some mention of half rations, but the text is broken at the critical point. At any rate a deficit in payments was again worrying the crew.

Another fragment of journal[177] for later in year 14 contains some passages which may refer to labour troubles. On IV <u>akhet</u> 27 work was going on in the tomb of Pharaoh.[178] Indeed, the previous days, oils and lamp wicks had been issued for this purpose. Then messengers, an accounts scribe and an attendant of the Great Tribunal of Thebes, brought a letter of the vizier appointing a physician to his father's place. The continuity of the following lines is unsatisfactory, because of the damage to the text, and the connections between the preserved phrases cannot be regarded as certain. A few facts are,

recoverable. Somebody came and spoke to the writer of the papyrus;[179] "The crew of the Tomb are not go[ing to] work in the tomb of Pharaoh. Twenty men are those ....". Then[180] 'they found the men who were ////// seizes them at the entrance to the Mansion (of) Pharaoh, and they ....'. The following lines[181] refer to 'coming to the Tomb', and 'the leaders', then that 'they saw them, and (or 'when') they spoke (the) word' (= spoke about the matter ?). Finally it is recorded that 'they sent to [somebody]', where the use of the preposition m-b3h for 'to' implies that Pharaoh, or at least a very high official, was being sent to. In the fragmentary entry for the next day there is reference to[182] an arrival, and to the vizier looking into something. Although the conclusions cannot be certain, it would appear that a body of workmen had gone off from the work to the entrance of the mortuary temple of the ruling king, from where they were brought back, and their complaints looked into, by the vizier.[183]

After a gap of some three years the surviving texts of the journal of the Tomb continue with months II and III of peret of the seventeenth year of Ramesses IX.[184] Many entries in this papyrus are concerned with the investigation of tomb robberies, the arrest and examination of eight people of the Tomb, and their incarceration in the Temple of Maat in Town. Such events doubtless provide sufficient explanation for the continuous absence of the crew from work in the month and a half covered by the preserved text. Occasionally, however, the scribe qualified the statement that the crew were absent by noting that they were hungry, and that either the grain rations for that month[185] or the dues assigned them by Pharaoh[186] were missing. Mentions of the fact that the outside service-staff were 'with' or 'under the charge of' scribes of the Tomb[187] might indicate that efforts were being made to improve the deliveries of the dues expected from them, particularly when, in one such case they were said to be 'outside (engaged in)

every due (job)'.[188] In another case, however, the service-staff were engaged in carrying 'column posts of Montu'.[189]

Between II peret 17 and III peret 13 the texts make no mention of the lack of food, but simply record the continuing absence of the crew, with occasional remarks about the continuing investigation of the tomb robberies. On day 14,[190] however, the crew crossed over the river to the east bank, where they stood before 'the butler'[191] in his office (𓉐𓏏𓊪). Much of the entry is lost, but there can be little doubt that the crew were complaining of hunger, for the butler told them to board his boat, and to take the 1,000 kyllestis-loaves he was giving them. At the normal ratio[192] this number of loaves would be the equivalent of some 16 to 17 khar of emmer, a provision that would not last the entire crew for long. As a body their entire monthly grain ration due was at this time some 374 khar.[193] The passage ends with the note that the scribe of the Tomb then reported to the vizier; the content of the report is lost.

The crew still continued idle over the following days,[194] but on day 19[195] of month III of peret they went up to the field, sent by the orders of the magistrates. The 'staff' of King (Usermaatre Mery////// was delivered. As would be normal the crew did not work on day 20,[196] but on day 21 they went up to the field with 'the butler' and the vizier Khaiemwaset to examine the depredations of the thieves in the Valley of the Queens.[197] It seems that some full scale investigation into the activities of the crew was under way. After a break in the text the record continues[198] in the middle of the entry for day 22, describing an interview between 'the butler and overseer of the Treasury' and the foreman Nekhemmut. The foreman was required to describe the organisation of the Tomb. The butler then took serious exception to the fact that the chief draughtsman was receiving a double

share (of wages?), and he told the foreman and the scribe what were to be the proper organisational rules for the Tomn. It is likely that the butler was objecting to the relatively recent innovation, dating probably to the reign of Ramesses VI, whereby the chief draughtsman counted as one of the 'leaders' of the crew,[199] and doubtless received payment at the higher scale.

Whatever reasons the administration may have had for complaint against the crew, the crew likewise had good reason for complaint against the administration. The very next day, the twenty-third of month III of peret,[200] the vizier, with the High Priest of Amon, and presumably the same butler and overseer of the Treasury, this time named as Nesamon, and also recorded as 'the scribe of Pharaoh', came up to the field to examine the work done on the king's tomb. The crew complained to them that they were destitute and hungry, and not being given the dues assigned to them by Pharaoh. The officials agreed that they were in the right. The crew then brought up the matter of their imprisoned colleagues. The text there breaks off. The remaining fragments from the end of the page are too meagre to show what appeal may have been made on behalf of the thieves, and what result, if any, may have come from the appeal about the unpaid wages.

The papyrus journal of the Tomb is lost for the following years. The surviving texts pick up the account again in month III of peret in the third year of Ramesses X.[201] This particular text records the business of the Tomb for over six months, at a time when the work of the crew was constantly liable to disruption by incursions of nomads from the western desert. Under such circumstances it is only to be expected that there would have been serious difficulties in the administration of the west bank at Thebes, in all respects, and all the more possible causes of friction between the crew and the

administrative authorities set over them on the east bank.

A broken entry,[202] running across the papyrus, above the first two columns, shows some particular interest in an interview that took place in the middle of month III of peret between the High Priest of Amon and the mayor of Western Thebes. Although the subject of the interview was not mentioned or the relevant passage is lost, the mere recording of the interview implies that it was of importance for the crew. The entries for this month are full of lacunae, but mostly fall into standard patterns, recording the absence of the crew from work in the face of desert people. However, broken entries at the end of the month record that on day 27[203] the gatekeeper returned (?from an interview with the High Priest) together with a scribe of the vizier, Amonkhau, over the matter of a fisherman's boat. It is likely that this was required for transporting grain,[204] for on day 29 there is mention of carrying grain to 'the Mansion',[205] and again, on IV peret 3[206] there is mention of grain brought from Town. Such actions look like preparations for some payment of grain, and the is plenty of room in the lacunae about this date for the record of such a payment to be restored.

During month IV of peret the crew were still absent from work. Libyan incursions may still have been the cause, but the text ceases to mention them. However, as the end of the month approached, the concern of the crew for their food becomes obvious. On day 25 the unusually large number of 25 cakes[207] from the divine offerings, handed over by a scribe of the temple of Ramesses III, were shared among the crew. The fish deliveries also seem to have been regular and sufficient through this period. It was, however, the grain rations which provided the essential core of the workmen's diet. As in the previous month, on day 27 the gatekeepers were away from the Tomb.

This time[208] they were said to have been sent to Town to seek for (wh3) grain rations. The broken entry for day 28 makes reference to 'passing the night (in) our place',[209] probably implying that the crew had been somewhere unusual. On day 29 the crew were [paid] their grain [rations].[210] The place at which the payment was made is lost but the name of the responsible official is preserved; the scribe Userhet, of the High Priest of Amon. The crew certainly fell in some way under the control of the High Priest at this date, for at the beginning of month I of shemu it was he who sent orders,[211] through a chief of police, telling them not to go up to work. The crew finally started work again on day 12 of the month.[212] On day 28,[213] without any agitation being recorded from the crew, they received their grain rations on time.

In the middle of month II of shemu a letter from the vizier arrived for the crew.[214] Six days later,[215] perhaps as a result of the letter, the crew were brought down (from the work) to deal with 'the affair of the service-staff'. This was presumably the affair at issue, when the following day[216] 'they' refused to give any men to the scribes of the vizier. Moreover, the workman Hay said that the vizier had taken[217] the clothes of King Neferkare Setepenre, and the pine wood. The relevance of this statement is not apparent, and the seeming refusal to obey a direct order from the vizier's administration quite inexplicable. If it was men of the service-staff who were required, men who provided necessary food for the crew, it is easy to understand the reluctance of the crew to let them go, particularly at a time when they were not confident of the regular delivery of their food supplies from the state. However, such reluctance could hardly, under normal circumstances, have justified the defiance of a direct order from the office of the vizier.

On day 27 of the month the crew were absent from their work,[218] as they were again on day 28.[219] A second entry for that day tells of a delivery of wood. Finally the scribe recorded that the crew crossed over to Town, and passed the night (there). This ordering of the entries may well imply that it was not until late in the day that the crew went over the river. On day 29[220] they appeared before 'the great magistrates'. The High Priest of Amon refused to give them grain rations. He insisted that they were to be provided for by the 'chief in whose department (st) you[221] spend the night'. On day 30[222] the crew again stood before 'the great magistrates'. This time a scribe of the vizier[223] and the deputy of the Granaries of Pharaoh were summoned. They were told by the magistrates to check on the grain of the vizier, and to pay grain rations to the crew from it. This they promptly did. The entry recording the issue of grain rations is immediately followed by one telling how 'we', the crew or its officials, handed over two boxes to 'the two fanbearers'.

Throughout month II of shemu the life of the Tomb progressed normally.[224] The crew worked some days and were idle others. Standard administrative actions necessary for the work are recorded in the journal,[225] as are various deliveries made, notably those from the fishermen. However, at the end of the month there was no record made of a payment of grain rations. At the beginning of month IV of shemu fell the holiday for the festival of Ipepi.[226] Immediately this finished, on the third day of the month, the [crew] crossed over the river to Town.[227] The end of the page is severely damaged, and only a fragmentary account can be given of the events of the following day days.[228] Where preserved the text shows that the crew were not working. On day 4 the leaders of the crew stood in audience before [the great magistrates ?]. From the surviving fragments of the record of this

audience it seems that they had little success, before they returned to the west bank. There is mention of a messenger on day 7, but on day 10 grain rations were still being sought (wh3). From the tiny fragments preserved at this point it looks as if the leaders of the crew again made an appeal to the great magistrates, and that the High Priest of Amon again refused to pay them. For the succeeding days[229] the few words preserved reveal little more than that the crew's problems remained, for the time being, unresolved.

Rarely are more than a couple of consecutive words preserved on the final page of this papyrus.[230] Where fragments have survived, they show that the crew were continuously absent from work until the beginning of month II of akhet. About day 18 there is a note on the commissioning of the service-staff.[231] On day 20[232] it is likely that '[a messenger was sent to] where the [overseer of the] Granaries was, about the grain rations'. Then from days 21 to 29[233] it seems that some of the service-staff went south to fetch grain. The last comprehensible entry tells that 'the crew went to the Mansion ....'.[234]

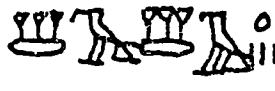
It has seemed worthwhile to drag what sense and continuous narrative can be obtained from the fragments of this journal, in that the actions it records, the agitations of the crew about their grain rations, quite noticeably begin at the very moment, if not just before, their payment was due. Few other documents survive from the administration of the Tomb in the reigns of the last two Ramesses, but there is no reason to believe that the supply of the Tomb was more efficient and regular for the rest of their reigns. A curious 'journal' dating to the seventeenth and eighteenth years of Ramesses XI[235] was apparently composed for the purpose of listing, over a considerable period of time, those crewmen engaged on work away from the Tomb. The only entry referring to the work of the crew as a whole,

and the only reference to their grain rations, appear in a brief note, the very last in the text, to the effect that 'the crew were absent, there being no grain rations'.[236] The number of the day is damaged; it may be 28, in month IV of <u>shemu</u> of year 17.[237]

XI. Labour Troubles at the Tomb, II. An Analysis.

The series of events here described are unified as 'strikes', or events related to strikes, only by the very widest possible interpretation of the term. Moreover, any comparison between different sets of events is complicated by the nature of their documentation. They are rarely the main subject matter of the document in which they are mentioned, and the accounts preserved are never exhaustive. This is particularly obvious for the 'strike' on day 10 of month II of peret in year 29 of Ramesses III. Here three different documents preserve four separate references to the same events.[1] Each reference emphasises a different aspect of the 'strike', and the ensemble shows how defective any single brief record is likely to be. In the following pages some attempt will be made to draw together the common elements in the accounts of different series of events, with the aim of understanding the reasons for and the principles behind the behaviour of the people of the Tomb.

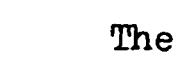
In all but one or two cases[2] the events collected under the heading of 'strikes' are clearly connected with the food supply, the 'wages' of the crew. Their actions are explained as the result of hunger. The most vivid descriptions of the state to which the people of the Tomb could fall, if their food supplies were interrupted, are provided by the records of testimonies given before commissions investigating the plundering of temples and tombs. These date to the very end of the Ramesside period, the reigns of the last three kings of the Twentieth Dynasty, and especially to the first and second years of the era 'Repeating of Births', some twenty years later than the last events fully discussed as a 'strike', but this is only because of a lack of documentation of the right sort for this later date. There had been no change in the circumstances of the crew. The whole

background to these robberies, as to the 'strikes', was the hunger of the people on the west bank at Thebes.[3] During an enquiry about some stolen copper a woman testified,[4] "It happened that I was sitting, starving (hqr), under the sycamores, and it happened that the men traded copper while we were sitting there, starving (hqr)". The shortage of food was clearly severe, for another woman, telling of stolen silver that came into her possession in exchange for barley, said that this happened[5] 'in the year of the hyenas, when one starved (hqr)'. Moreover, the jealousy among the people of the Tomb led to the betrayal and blackmail of their fellows[6] in the search for food. An accomplice, due to receive a share of 'this bread', the profits from the thieving, is reported to have said,[7] "But do not give me too much, and then my fellow children of the Tomb will not report me". On another occasion the herdsman Bukhaaf, of the Temple of Amon, told[8] how 'the citizeness ⟨Nesmut⟩ came to where I was, and she said to me, "Some men have found something for which bread can be got. Let us go, so that you can eat it with them".' Bukhaaf managed to get 60 deben of silver from the thieves. Elsewhere in the same text[9] the thieves referred to their plunder metaphorically as 'bread' and their use of it as 'eating'. The metaphor,[10] and a slang usage of the word bread for money, is linguistically no unusual phenomenon, but in these cases it is reasonable to presume that the thoughts of the thieves were really occupied with the actual food they could obtain and eat in exchange for their plunder. Another woman told[11] of how she went after some thieves, one of whom was her brother, and asked, "What am I to eat with you?" She was given a share of the booty, and spent part of it on , apparently some sort of food.[12] In the same way the thieves themselves traded what they had stolen, and 'ate' it.[13]

This hunger, and the need somehow to obtain food, can be seen as more pressing motives for theft than the mere acquisition of wealth. On one occasion the thieves quite simply said,[14] "This coffin is ours. It belonged to a great man, but we were hungry, and (so) we went and brought it (away)". The stakes were high. If the thieves fell out the result was likely to be murder,[15] for the investigation of the crimes itself involved torture to elicit confessions and the names of accomplices,[16] and the penalties, mutilation and death,[17] were well known, and were effective deterrents.[18] A certain level of tomb robbery must always have been practised in Egypt, but the plundering of the royal tombs at Western Thebes can surely have been possible only for desperate men at a time of the virtual collapse of the state administration in the area.[19]

It is probably to be attributed only to the partial and uneven preservation of the documents dealing with the life of the people of the Tomb that texts of the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty connect tomb robberies with their hunger, while earlier documents show them leaving the worksites, to seek food elsewhere. It may have been that famine was so severe at particular dates in the late Twentieth Dynasty that food could not be obtained at all through the proper channels, but it is most likely that 'strikes' and robberies are two facets of the same problem,[20] largely concurrent in fact, the robberies perhaps beginning on a large scale rather later than the 'strikes', when the hunger of the crew became more pressing and persistent. Such a connection may be seen in one of the documents from year 17 of Ramesses IX.[21] Here, in part of a journal of the Tomb, the scribe recorded in juxtaposition a notice about the case of eight people of the Tomb arrested for tomb robbery and a notice about the complaints of the crew that their grain rations had not been paid. The

juxtaposition seems to indicate that the failure of the grain rations was deliberately quoted to the judges as grounds for mitigation.

The word  , hqr, has often an implication stronger than merely 'hunger', rather 'starvation'.[22] In a letter of the early Middle Kingdom, the ka priest Heqanakhte told his people, who had been complaining about their genuinely insufficient quantities of food,[23] 'Half life is better than death all at once. Now, one only calls (real) hunger (hqr) by the word 'hunger' (hqr).[24] Look, they have (even) begun to eat people here'. He though anything short of absolute starvation unworthy of the name hqr.[25] Indications of a serious shortfall in grain production, and resulting famine, in the Twentieth Dynasty is not restriced to the brief period at the end. It seems that in common with the whole of the Near East and North Africa, Egypt suffered, during the Ramesside period, from an unusually dry period. In Egypt there were low niles, poor harvests and grain shortages as a result. It is,[26] however, only from the Theban necropolis that good textual evidence for the results of these climatic conditions can be found. As well as references from the tomb robbery papyri and strike texts one may quote the Chicago ostracon with letter of complaint to the vizier To.[27] The writer, saying that provisions had not been sent, declared, 'May our Lord make for us a means of life (' n 'nh), for we are indeed dying. We are not alive'. There are also a fragment of the journal, where an appeal for food refers to '.... [the people of] the Tomb who are (still) alive',[28] and a fragment of an ostracon containing the words 'We are dying of hunger'.[29] It is noteworthy that the Delta capital of Perramesses was abandoned at some point late in the Twentieth Dynasty, probably because of failing water supplies due to changes in the Nile.[30] The problems for the local population in the years preceding the abandonment of such a city must have been severe.

The evidence that can be collected to connect the hunger of the crew with tomb robberies and internal disorders, 'strikes', among the workmen of the Tomb provides only part of the picture. Hunger, and occasional famine, seems to have been endemic throughout the Twentieth Dynasty. Datable texts are not to be found that would provide narratives of the same sort as the Turin Strike Papyrus or the Tomb Robbery Papyri for the middle of the Dynasty. However, it is possible to trace, in the texts from Deir el Medina, sharp fluctuations in the value of grain against metal,[31] rising from the end of the reign of Ramesses III, and fluctuating widely, the highest peak coming in the reign of Ramesses VII. It is, naturally, difficult to take possible seasonal fluctuations into account,[32] or to allow properly for local factors, when the failure of payments to the crew for some time might lead to unusually severe fluctuations in their isolated community. Overall, however, the value of grain showed a serious, and apparently permanent rise in value against metal over the course of the Twentieth Dynasty. It is possible that the value of metal was locally depressed on the west bank by the quantities released onto the market by successful tomb robbers, but it is more probable that the figures indicate a continuing shortage of grain. It is, moreover, a reasonable presumption that such a long term rise in grain values reflects a national problem rather than eccentric local economic conditions.

It is difficult at this distance from the Ramesside period to put into true perspective the relationships between low rainfall and low Niles, resulting in crop failure and food shortages both in Egypt and the surrounding areas, and nomadic infiltrations and immigration, and the respective influences of these two characteristic problems of Ramesside Egypt on the decline of efficiency in the central

bureaucracy and the collapse eventually of the central authority and administration of the state. With reference to the hunger suffered by the people of the Tomb, all such factors must be taken into account.[33] It is easy to see that deliveries might be delayed, indeed that serious destruction to crops and shortages of grain might well be caused, and that serious local disorder paralysing the local bureaucracy might well be brought about by marauding bands of nomads from the western desert, either plundering or more likely and more destructively bringing their flocks down to pasture uncontrolled in the cultivation. More destructive in the short term may have been, for instance, the civil war leading to the suppression of the High Priest Amonhotep.[34] The thefts that took place on the west bank at Thebes at the time of that war[35] are to be compared to those described in the indictment of the foreman Paneb, contained in Papyrus Salt 124.[36] These likewise belonged to a period of violent disorder in the state at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, when Paneb's predecessor was killed by 'the enemy'. It remains unclear precisely how insecure life was on the west bank in the Ramesside period. Dangerous incursions, either by nomads or as part of a civil war, do not seem to have been isolated events.[37]

However disruptive such civil disturbances may have been from time to time in the life of the people of the Tomb, and however destructive of the state as a whole, they are unlikely, in the Theban area, to have seemed more than aggravations of the local difficulties over the payment of the crew. The reasons for the regularly late and deficient payment of the crew must lie, essentially, in either serious deficiencies in the harvest in the Theban area, or a serious breakdown in the local administration of the state.[38] Both are likely to have been important factors, and both will have been closely interconnected. There can be no serious doubt that in the case of

shortfalls in the income of the state from taxation, the officials at the centre of the administration would be the last to go short of payment. In a time of shortages the possibilities of, and the profits from corruption are magnified, and its results more socially destructive. Tomb robbery can, then, be regarded as a sort of self help, but however urgently the robbers may have been stimulated by hunger and greed, it is inconceivable that the scale of tomb robbery attested through the Twentieth Dynasty could have taken place had the local administration not been at least inefficient and indulgent, even indirectly involved.[39]

In so far as deficiencies in the payment of grain rations to the people of the Tomb may reflect deficiencies in the annual grain crop, it might be expected that the deficits would be particularly severe in the months preceding the harvest.[40] The harvest in the Theban area would normally have been completed before the end of April. In 1153 B.C.[41] this would have been the end of month III of shemu calculating by the Julian calendar,[42] more accurately the middle of month III of shemu calculating by the Gregorian calendar.[43] If a high or low chronology be preferred for the period, a few days one way or the other would have to be allowed as a standard for the period under discussion. The significant date for the end of the grain harvest would therefore have come gradually earlier in month III of shemu as the Twentieth Dynasty progressed. It may be valid to note here that the tax assessments of the Nineteenth Dynasty Louvre Leather fragments[44] are dated tothe third month of shemu. It is possible that they should be taken as assessments representing the standing grain at time of harvest.[45] Such calculations do not necessarily imply that grain would immediately be available to the state for payment as wages. The collection of the grain, its threshing and its payment as rent or taxes

will have taken further time. Thus, in Demotic land leases from the Theban area the farmer was normally given a considerable time from the date of harvest in which to pay the tax and rent, this payment not normally being required from him until well into June.[46] The records of the journeys made by the scribe Djehutimose, to collect grain taxes in year 12 of Ramesses XI, began in month II of akhet.[47] The entries on the verso of that papyrus,[48] for year 14, are all dated to month I of akhet. However, the entries on the recto for year 12 continued at irregular intervals until the following month I of shemu.[49] This spread of dates would seem to imply that grain was being collected irregularly from the end of one harvest almost to the beginning of the next. The recto presumably contains the scribe's tax collecting for the whole year. It is also noteworthy that the taxation records of the Wilbour Papyrus date to months II and III of akhet, that is roughly July. Falling just before the innundation it is difficult to think of a more unsuitable time to carry out the surveys recorded there,[50] except perhaps that these would be suitable dates for the completion of the assessment of taxes due for the year.[51]

It is, therefore, to be expected that the year's grain might be available in some cases as early as the end of month II of shemu with the beginning of the harvest. For normal purposes, however, and under normal conditions, grain from that year would not normally have been available for payment to the crew as rations until some time later, probably the early months of akhet. It may, of course be presumed that in times of real shortage certain supplies might be made available earlier than usual. It is to be expected, therefore, that deficits in grain rations to the crew would be most likely and most serious at the end of peret, and in the early months of shemu. Shortages of grain at other times of the agricultural year might be taken as

evidence for serious famine, or serious maladministration.

At this point it will prove useful to list the dates of the various 'strikes' over grain rations, and of events that may be related,[52] for the sake of comparison with the agricultural year.

Ramesses III.

Year 28, IV shemu to year 30, II shemu: regular deficiencies in the quantity of grain paid. Severest, year 28, II and III peret and year 29, III peret to II shemu. (Missing, II akhet to II peret of year 29).[53]

Year 28, II peret 24: the enemy descended.[54]

Year 29, II akhet 21: the grain rations being 20 days late, the scribe obtained provisions from the temple of Horemheb.[55]

II peret 10 to 16(?): 'passing the guardposts'. Payments made on day 17.[56]

IV peret 28: a message received from the vizier that grain rations will be deficient, because there is no grain in the granaries.[57]

I shemu 2: the payment of deficient rations. The men were stopped as they were passing the guardposts, on their way to the riverbank to complain.[58]

I shemu 13: 'passing the guardposts'. Receipt of temporary relief.[59]

I shemu 25: ⟨'passing the guardposts'⟩.[60]

Year 31, II peret 15: 'passing the guardpost(s)'.[61]

Year 32, II shemu 29 and 30: 'passing the guardposts'.[62]

Ramesses IV.

Year 1, IV shemu 17: 'passing (the) guardposts'. The issue of grain for the previous month.[63]

Year 2, III shemu 28: carrying of torches about the grain rations for

months III and IV of shemu.[64]

Unknown reigns in Dynasty 20.

No date. Passing the guardposts and appeal to a tribunal for various foodstuffs.[65]

Letter of complaint about missing payments, including grain rations, to the vizier To.[66]

Letter of complaint about missing payments, including grain rations, to the vizier Neferonpet.[67]

Oracle question, 'Will we be given grain rations?'[68]

'Seeking grain to give'.[69]

'Carrying torches'.[70]

No year or month. Days 25 to 27: 'passing' and 'passing (to) outside'.[71]

Days 13 to 14: 'absent, grain rations'.[72]

Day 22: absent in connection with grain rations that were paid on day 23.[73]

No year, III akhet 21: absent, looking for rations, and then a return to work.[74]

[X] akhet 1: 'carrying torches'.[75]

II peret 13 to IV peret 6: cessation of work through lack of fuel.[76]

IV shemu 9 or 10 until 21: 'passing (the) guardposts', until the issue of rations on day 21.[77]

Year 2, III shemu 3 to 12: absent to look for grain rations.[78]

Year 3, IV akhet 10: address to high officials about wage commodities.[79]

(?) Year 5, II akhet: a large issue of vegetables, perhaps as partial relief for the unpaid grain rations remarked on in the text.[80]

Year 6, II akhet 23: 'passing the guardposts'.[81]

Year 6, IV shemu 11: 'the crew carried torches'.[82]

Year 8, II akhet 3: the sending of the gatekeepers to ask the vizier

and the accounts scribe for rations.[83]

Ramesses IX.

(?) Year 9, IV shemu 26: 'passing the guardposts'. The repetition of an earlier action, from the preceding(?) day.[84]

[Year 10, I shemu (?)]x + 10: absent, seeking the [grain rations(?)].[85]

Year 13, IV shemu 30 to I akhet 20: the crew continuously absent. Note particularly the 'Birthday of Osiris'; they were hungry, and the vizier was travelling north.[86]

Year 14, IV akhet 24: men were sent to Town about grain rations.[87]

Year 17, II peret 6(?) to III peret 13: continuously absent, there being no rations for the month,[88] until

III peret 14: an appeal to 'the butler', and the receipt of some relief.[89]

Ramesses X.

Year 3, until I shemu 12: the crew were absent in the face of Libyan incursions.[90] Entries concerned with the grain rations were:

III peret 28 to IV peret 3(?): obscure entries referring to the grain rations.[91]

IV peret 27: the gatekeepers went to Town to seek rations.[92]

IV peret 28 to 29: entries concerning the issue of grain rations.[93]

II shemu 28 to 30: the crew went to Town, appealing for and receiving rations.[94]

IV shemu 3 to 4: (following the festival of Epepi), the [crew] crossed over to Town, and returned the next day.[95]

IV shemu 10 (and the following days?): seeking grain rations.[96]

I akhet 20-21: actions concerning the grain rations.[97]

Ramesses XI.

Year 18, IV shemu 24(+ x?): absent, there being no grain rations.[98]

As a preliminary observation from these dates, it will be seen that troubles over the grain rations are spread quite widely through the year. References to the winter and spring months, the latter months of peret and the months of shemu, leading up to the harvest, are in a slight majority but this is insufficient to assert that the 'strikes' were particularly common at times of seasonal shortage before the harvest. At the end of the reign of Ramesses III the most difficult months attested in the texts seem to have been those of peret, and the beginning of shemu, from the preserved texts. If the vizier was telling the truth, when he sent a message to the crew late in IV peret of year 29, that there was no grain in the granaries themselves,[100] the position must have been very bleak for all those paid by the state, with no prospect of more grain coming to them as rations for three or more months until the new harvest started to come through.

Sometimes the reason for the hunger of the crew was given in the papyrus journals of the Tomb; sometimes 'the dues which Pharaoh has assigned to us' were unpaid,[101] or sometimes 'there were no grain rations'.[102] In one case the entry noting the hunger of the crew was juxtaposed to an entry that the service-staff were away, under the charge of the two scribes of the Tomb.[103] This particular juxtaposition may be fortuitous, for the entry the following day noted that grain rations had not been paid. These grain rations were clearly the most significant part of the food received as wages by the crew, and concern with them the mainspring of those actions of the crew that can be termed 'strikes'. The term htr, 'dues', was normally used as a general term for the other wage commodities received by the crew, mostly the produce of the service-staff. Used loosely it might doubtless have

referred to the totality of payments due to be made to the crew, including the grain.

Occasionally the crew were found to be complaining about the non-payment of the other commodities as well as, or instead of complaining about their missing grain rations. Thus, in the Turin Strike Papyrus[104] the crew explained their action by complaining of hunger and thirst, and specifically of the lack of clothing, oils, fish and vegetables. Wood, the other essential commodity produced locally by the service-staff, is omitted from the list, perhaps deliberately in view of the detailed, and full, accounts of wood deliveries preserved for that period, showing no serious deficits.[105] The crew did not, indeed, in that complaint, mention their grain rations at all. The official response, however, was to issue grain that should have been paid to them some month and a half earlier. In the Sydney ostracon[106] the crew attributed their hunger to a lack of wood, vegetables and fish. A lacuna here might have included either oils or clothing. Again grain rations were not mentioned. The Chicago letter of complaint to the vizier To[107] complains of the failure of payments from the treasury, granary and warehouse, as well as a shortage of grain rations. A later letter of complaint to the vizier Neferronpet[108] refers to the wood, vegetables, sesame oil, fish, clothing, fats and grain rations, asking that proper provision be made. Yet another text[109] preserves a brief note of an address made by the crew to a group of officials, including the vizier, the overseer of the Treasury, and the High Priest of Amon, about their clothes, oils, [wood], fish and [vegetables?]. Finally,[110] there is a record that the crew stopped work in an unknown year, from II peret 13 to IV peret 6 for lack of fuel, but this may have been fuel need for a particular part of the work, rather than fuel as wages, and the stoppage not to be classified as a 'strike'.

The precise relationship of the service-staff to the crew remains in some obscurity.[111] Nor can any reliable estimate be placed on the comparative importance to the crew, in calorific terms, of the fish and vegetables they provided. Likewise, the calorific value of the edible oils due to a member of the crew is quite unknown. Wood and fish deliveries were regularly recorded in the daybook of the Tomb, or in receipts and accounts for the woodcutters and fishermen. Records for oil, vegetables and clothing deliveries are sparse. Even with the well documented deliveries of fish, it has so far proved impossible to calculate reliably the sum due to an individual workman for a given period.[112] For fish and vegetables at least, some seasonal variation is to be expected in the type and quantities available.

The stress laid by the crew on the lack of their dues, the failure of the supplies due to them mostly from their local service-staff, is a noticeable and rather surprising element of their statements. It implies that the entries concerning the organisation of these auxiliary workers were included in the Turin Strike Papyrus for their direct relevance to those entries recording the 'strikes'.[113] On the second day of month III of akhet, in year 29 of Ramesses III, the papyrus records[114] the commissioning of the service-staff of the Tomb by the scribe Hori, the scribe Amonnakhte, the two foremen and the entire crew. This was three months before the first of the 'strike' records of the papyrus, although it is clear that already the grain rations of the crew were arriving irregularly.[115]

The list of men commissioned as service-staff contains 'those who carry water', 'those who carry vegetables', 'those who bring fish', 'those who cut wood', a gypsum maker, a gatekeeper, a washerman and potter. A similar list, with the same numbers of men in each occupation, but with different names, is given in the two preceding

columns of the papyrus.[116] These two lists are presumably the two separate groups of service-staff attached to each of the sides of the crew.[117] The well known gatekeeper Khaiemwaset is not listed in either of the two groups. Presumably he ranked as a third,[118] more senior gatekeeper. Two months after this commissioning, on I peret 2, this Khaiemwaset swore an oath before the scribe of the Tomb, the two foremen, and the crew, promising to reorganise the service-staff.[119] Each category of worker was, compared with the earlier list, to be at least doubled. On each side there were to be 12 water carriers (in each of the previous lists there were only 6), 10 fishermen (previously 4), 7 woodcutters (previously 3), 6 gardeners (previously 3), a date-worker(?)(previously unknown), and 4 potters (previously 1). The gatekeepers and gypsum makers are not mentioned in this second account; perhaps their numbers were to remain the same. The final part of the entry, although damaged, seems to imply that the whole matter lay under the authority of the vizier.

No explanation is given for this particular administrative interest in the composition of the service-staff. The role of the gatekeeper Khaiemwaset is also mysterious, for the gatekeeper is not otherwise attested as a recruiting officer or controller of the service-staff, although admittedly this might only be for the lack of evidence. Were the work of the service-staff unsatisfactory, a reorganisation of their personnel or their work quotas would be explicable, but so considerable an increase in their numbers as promised by the gatekeeper implies the desire for considerably increased production from them. It must be presumed either that the service-staff was so significantly undermanned that the individual crewman was receiving a grossly insufficient share of the dues, or that his share was to be increased considerably, perhaps in order to bear a more important role in his wages than before,

in view of the continuing shortage of grain rations. The speculation is purely academic, for the promised increase in personnel cannot have taken place. It was only four weeks later,[120] about II peret 12, that the crew were complaining that they were short of fish and vegetables, and asked specifically that the supply failure be reported to Pharaoh and the vizier. One might note, however, that on odd occasions when grain rations were short, unusually large payments of vegetables were recorded.[121] It may be that there was a real intention to help the crew by increasing such payments that simply could not be carried into effect.

Apart from such texts as record the statements of the crew, justifying their actions in leaving their homes and their workplaces by complaints of hunger, other texts simply record that they left their place 'over the grain rations'.[122] The grain rations fell due at the end of each month, the ration being paid in advance for the following month.[123] However much, in theory, the payment was due at the last weekend of the month, it was in practice paid later rather than earlier, and frequently the initial delivery was only a partial payment, made up later by supplementary deliveries. The balance of the evidence implies, moreover, that at the best of times there were likely to be irregularities, a few days one way or the other, in the actual delivery of the grain.

The actual rates of payment received by the members of the crew, simply taking into account their grain rations, were calorifically sufficient to feed a family of some size without difficulty. The ordinary crewman will have had some surplus of grain above his essential needs.[124] Nevertheless, the fact that the rate of payment was above the merest subsistence level does not imply that even temporary delays in payment did not cause embarassment and hardship to the crew. Few

members of the crew can have had any land or gardens of their own. For their food they were entirely dependent on the deliveries of grain rations and of dues from their service-staff.[125] Under such circumstances the regularity and proper organisation of the deliveries could only have been a permanent obsession with the members of the crew. In this context it is easy to understand the reason for somebody asking the local oracle,[126] 'My good Lord, will we be given grain rations?' For this reason the model letters, used as school texts for trainee scribes at Deir el Medina, and addressed from officials of the Tomb to the vizier or other external officials, regularly contained comments about the supply and organisation of the dues and grain rations.[127] The trainee scribe needed to know how properly to address the vizier in such matters. On several occasions during the 'strikes' the crew requested that such letters be sent to the vizier and the king, a appealing to them for grain.[128]

A vital question in the understanding of the events treated as 'strikes' is whether they were so exceptional as only to be brought on by severe privation, and only excusable for that reason, or whether they were merely exaggerated forms of the normal administrative interplay between the people of the Tomb and the members of the state administration in Thebes with whom they had dealings. It is noteworthy that none of the references collected here date to earlier than the end of the reign of Ramesses III. It does not follow that if no earlier records exist, such 'strikes' did not take place at an earlier date. It is, however, quite possible that for the two hundred years or so between the reorganisation of the state by Horemheb and the 'strikes' of the latter years of Ramesses III, the deliveries of grain and other foods to the people of the Tomb never fell so far behind as to cause the crew serious hunger. Certainly the reign of Ramesses III can be

seen as a turning point in the economic fortunes of the people of the Tomb. This is well illustrated by the poverty of the tombs of the Twentieth Dynasty at Deir el Medina compared with those of the Nineteenth.[129] Even the troubles of the late Nineteenth Dynasty, when the foreman Neferhotep at least was killed by 'the enemy',[130] would not of necessity have caused more than a brief disruption. It is possible, therefore, that the specific actions of the crew, themselves going en masse to ask for grain or food, were an innovation of the twenty-ninth year of Ramesses III.

In only one of these texts dealing with 'strikes' over grain is it clearly implied, in the text, that the crew were acting wrongly.[131] The crew set off to 'pass (out) to (the) riverbank', and complain to the vizier's subordinate ('children') there, immediately after receiving a payment of 2 khar of emmer. The scribe Amonnakhte managed to stop them, and bring them back, by threatening to oppose them, and show them in the wrong before any tribunal. That they seem to have given way to him so readily, although the foreman Khonsu had advised them to go, will imply that they were conscious that they would find no official sympathy elsewhere in the particular circumstances. However, the irregularity of the 'strikes' of year 29 can be seen most clearly from the fact that the actions of the crew were originally taken independently of their own officials, who encouraged them to return home.[132] An appeal made in good order to officialdom should presumably have been led by the crew's own officials. When later the crew were said to have carried torches, their desire can only have been to get themselves noticed by causing a disturbance. The effect of such a demonstration by the crew is well illustrated by the account of the Abbott Papyrus.[133] The commission investigating the tomb robberies produced a whitewash, and they indulged the crew and police of the

Tomb in a demonstration and celebration all over Thebes, much to the annoyance and discomfiture of the discredited informant, the mayor of Thebes.

A further argument favouring the presumption that the 'strikes' of the reign of Ramesses III were an innovation lies in the internal development to be seen in the style of the 'strikes' through the Twentieth Dynasty. The records for year 29 of Ramesses III began with the complaint that on II akhet 21 the grain rations were twenty days overdue.[134] The scribe took the responsibility on himself, and obtained temporary relief from the mortuary temple of Horemheb. Direct action by the crew themselves is not recorded until II peret 10, when the strike was justified on similar grounds.[135] 'We are hungry, since 18(sic) days have dawned this month'. The cumulative deficits over previous months, that were not made up,[136] doubtless meant that the crew no longer had the resources to withstand irregular and deficient payments. Troubles at the end of the dynasty were, however, connected with delays of three months or more in the payments,[137] and the crew were found, in the reign of Ramesses X, to take action the very day the rations fell due, led by their own officials.[138]

Important points are raised by the dates on which the crew chose to begin their action in the third year of Ramesses X. For much of the time covered by the preserved journal the crew were absent from work for reasons entirely unconnected with the supply of grain rations. In one of the months covered by the text, I shemu, the grain rations were paid on time, on day 28.[139] This was the only month in that particular journal for which no agitation over the grain rations was recorded whatsoever. For the other months the complaints and appeals of the crew began immediately they began to wait for the delivery of the rations. Entries concerned with the rations for IV peret run from

III peret 28 to IV peret 3. At the end of IV peret, on day 27, just before the rations were due, the gatekeepers were sent to Town to look for them. The crew as a whole were involved the following days, 28 and 29. The full significance of this, as of some of the later entries, is unclear. Entries that seem to refer to the search for grain rations for IV shemu appear on days 3 and 4 of that month - the first working days following the festival of Epepi - and then again on day 10. The text is very broken. Similarly broken entries for I akhet 20 and 21 may be connected with a deficit in the rations. The entries for days 29 and 30 of that month[140] refer to the collection of grain, presumably for the payment.

The last preserved, and clearest, of the relevant entries in the papyrus is that for the end of II shemu.[141] On day 28 it was first recorded that the crew were absent from work, secondly that a delivery of wood was made, and thirdly that the crew crossed the river and spent the night on the other side. If any significance can be seen in the ordering of the entries, it would appear that the crew only left when the business of the day was complete. Some wood had been delivered, but no grain rations. Despite the fragmentary condition of the papyrus, and the doubtful sense of its entries, it seems that the crew were, at that date, making every possible effort to ensure that they were paid, or immediately going to find the grain themselves the day it became due. If payment was not in prospect at the beginning of the last weekend of the month, they spent that weekend appealing for wages.

It is noticeable from this document that the days of the weekend, the ninth and tenth days of each week when the crew did not normally work, were particularly the days for such appeals and hunts for grain. This may be fortuitous, but the connection also seems valid for earlier

outbreaks of 'strikes'. A daybook of year 32 of Ramesses III[142] records the passing of the guardposts on days 29 and 30 of the month. The series of events described in the Turin Strike Papyrus began on the tenth day of the month.[143] The complete week's absence over grain rations recorded in the roughly contemporary ostracon Cairo 25533 likewise began at the weekend.[144] More directly comparable with the particular passage from the 'Giornale' of the reign of Ramesses X is a case where, on day 28, the crew 'carried torches about their grain rations',[145] the missing grain rations for the preceding and the following months. Although the phraseology is rather different, the crew's action is not to be distinguished from that recorded in the Varille ostracon,[146] when they were said to have 'passed (out) again, when evening came, carrying torches'. The 'carrying of torches'[147] is closely connected with the arrival of evening (rwh3). Presumably the crew took the opportunity of registering their feelings as soon as the working week finished, and the moment the grain rations fell two complete months in arrears.

If a connection is accepted between the weekend and the disturbances over the grain rations, it will be of some significance. At the weekend, the ninth and tenth days of the Egyptian ten day week,[148] the crew were not normally to be found engaged on 'the work of Pharaoh', building the royal tomb. Absence registers for the workmen simply make no entries for those days. The comparison with the modern European weekend is valid in many ways. Much of the workmen's time will have been spent on their own occupations, working in their own tombs or on their own private profit-making enterprises. Quite regularly at Deir el Medina the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth days of the month had some festival, or at least appearance of the local god. Typically the weekend was the time for the conduct of business, both private

and public. It was natural, of course, that oracles and trials by or oracle would normally take place at the weekend, for they could only take place when the god appeared in procession. The weekend was, however, also the time at which ordinary trials and business transactions could take place, grain rations and other payments be issued without disturbing the work, and other administrative contacts be made. The weekend therefore tended to be the time for business.

It may well be that the weekend as an institution was more particularly developed at Deir el Medina than elsewhere in Egypt, from the simple necessity that such activities could only be carried out on free days, their work normally keeping the crew isolated and inaccessible in the remote parts of the necropolis. The work of, and the deliveries made by their service-staff show no such diminuation at the weekend; indeed, the tenth day of each week was that to which their accounts were calculated. The fact that the work would not thereby be disrupted, and the normal habit of dealing with business at the weekend, makes the ninth and tenth days of the week the proper time for an appeal by the crew about their unpaid rations. Doubtless one should take into account a natural feeling of disappointment among the workmen that an another week had ended and still no payments had been made. Initially, however, the crew could have avoided any accusation that they were absenting themselves from their work, even if they were in places where they should not have been, and were behaving in a way disrespectful to their superiors. Once the crew embarked on such action, it would be quite natural for them to continue it, even through the following working week, until they obtained some contact with responsible officials, and at least some promise of temporary relief.

It is really a matter of emphasis, how seriously such a connection between 'strikes' and the weekend should be taken. Many of the texts

collected here tell of events that happened in the middle of the week, or of chains of events running over several days. In many cases a text only preserves references to odd days, parts of a chain, so that it is impossible to tell whether or not the series began at a weekend. Indeed, in numerous cases it is impossible to tell whether particular events are really directly connected with those of the Turin Strike Papyrus, although their phraseology is similar. The most interesting example in this context is a case recorded in the daybook for the first year of Ramesses IV, during month IV of shemu.[149] The entries are quite well preserved, and record a payment of grain rations on day 11. Yet the entry for day 17 tells of 'the passing (the) guardposts. Giving grain rations for month III(sic) of shemu'. If correct this text records a payment, or partial payment, of grain that was some month and a half overdue. Even so, it is curious to find that the crew were 'on strike' only six days after an earlier issue of rations.[150] It is possible that the issue of day 11 was minute, only sufficient for a few days, and had run out by day 17, when the crew left home to ask for, and receive more. Alternatively, one might speculate that the events recorded here should not be classified as a 'strike' at all, but that instead of receiving their rations as usual at the gatehouse of the Tomb, the crew were exceptionally required to receive their payment elsewhere, outside the necropolis. For this they would have had to 'pass by the guardposts'.

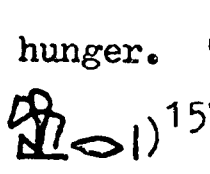
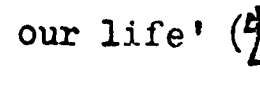
Two categories of text are of particular significance to this question of the nature of the 'strikes'; those in which the crew were said to have passed by (sšꜣi) the guardposts, and those in which they were said to have been seeking (whꜣ) or in some way were said to be absent about their grain rations. Naturally such categories are neither inclusive nor exclusive, but they do provide a convenient

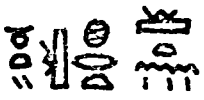
reference point from which to develop arguments about the nature of the actions of the crew.

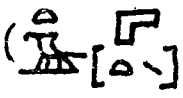
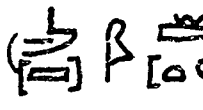
The phrase <u>sš i inbt</u>, 'pass by (a) guardpost' must be thought of, in essence, as neutral. It could be used not only of strikers, but of anybody, even an animal, passing by the posts that formed the basis to the system of watch and supervision of the necropolis. Naturally this begs the question of whether, on a particular occasion the crew had the right to pass the guardposts and leave the necropolis. In the absence of any general statements, such considerations can only be taken into account strictly on the merits of each individual case. It is, indeed, quite likely that the scribe chose to use this phrase, that did not of necessity carry an implication of wrongdoing, precisely so as to avoid seeming to make a judgement. The use of the term 'pass by the guardposts' is characteristic of the texts of the end of the reign of Ramesses III and the middle part of the dynasty. Its use is to be connected closely with the habitation of the village of Deir el Medina. Wherever precisely the particular guardposts mentioned in the texts may have been, the use of the phrase would have been quite meaningless at the end of the Dynasty, when the crew were living at Medinet Habu, and were already far past the necropolis guardposts when they set out from their homes to search for their grain rations. The usage of the Turin Strike Papyrus may also reflect a particular stylistic device, used only by a limited group of scribes at a particular time; the phrasing of the records of the 'strikes' as standard, non-commital, guardpost reports.

It was essentially in the later texts that people were said to have sought (<u>wḥ3</u>) grain rations. The earliest example,[151] broken but of reasonably certain reading, and probably to be dated to the reign of Ramesses IV, juxtaposes the two expressions. The crew were

said to have passed the guardposts seeking grain rations. Grammatically and lexicographically there is no reason to read into such phrases any more than that the crew went to look for their undelivered wages. However, it is worth considering what precisely was visualized by this word 'seek', <u>wḥ3</u>. It had an important usage, technical in so far as that concept is meaningful in Late Egyptian, in transactions of purchase and barter. It defined the action of the purchaser, 'seeking' his purchase, and the seller his price.[152] Especially it was used in credit transactions, where the debt or eventual payment was 'sought' by the creditor. Thus the counterweights used sometimes as receipts might be labelled as weights representing what was to be 'sought' from some somebody.[153] Also, in the context of a tribunal or court, the payment of a debt was 'sought'.[154] The term was, moreover, used of an individual appearing before an official or a court to claim his rights; thus in the story of Horus and Seth, the child Horus appeared 'before the All-Lord, seeking the office of his father Osiris'.[155]

That this digression is not wholely irrelevant will become clear when consideration is given to the events recorded in the Sydney ostracon.[156] In response to the crew's action in passing the guardposts a high powered commission came to the gatehouse of the Tomb, where they [summoned] the crew. The crew explained their action on the grounds of hunger. The text continues with the crew coming to 'consult' ()[157] the officials. One may compare a passage in a 'Late Ramesside Letter', where the absent scribe of the Tomb Djehutimose, described as the father of everyone back at the Tomb, was told[158] that without him 'there is nobody here with whom we can take counsel about our life' (). Also, in the stela of Ramesses II from Manshiyet es Sadr, the king declared[159] that he looked after his workmen properly. He was the one who consulted their interests

(), and therefore the quarrymen worked for him gladly. The interpretation of the Sydney ostracon at this point will not be far out if it is presumed that the crew were trying to persuade the officials that they bore some responsibility for their welfare.

The group of officials consulted in the Sydney ostracon was referred to as[160] 'the tribunal' (), and their final statement, although broken, can be seen to fit into the standard phraseology of a 'court' judgement. They ruled that somebody, presumably the crew, was 'in the right' (). The crew were apparently justified. Although the use of the term <u>qnbt</u>, 'tribunal', 'court', cannot be exactly paralleled in such a context, comparative material can be adduced for the 'judgement'. On III <u>peret</u> 23, in year 17 of Ramesses IX,[161] the vizier, the High Priest and a certain Nesamon, royal butler, overseer of the Treasury, and scribe of Pharaoh, came to the 'Great Field' to examine the work done on Pharaoh's tomb. The crew 'reported' (<u>smi</u>, a term that in context may have judicial implications) to them that they were hungry, and that the dues assigned to them by Pharaoh were not being paid. The officials then declared, "The crewmen of the Tomb are in the right".

In one other case the word 'tribunal' was mentioned in connection with a 'strike'.[162] The crew were issued with a partial grain ration of 2 <u>khar</u> of emmer, but were dissatisfied, and probably felt somehow cheated. Following the advice of the foreman Khonsu they set out for the 'riverbank' to 'get the "children" of the vizier to tell him (about) it'. The scribe Amonnakhte was able to turn the crew back by pointing out to them that he had just given them 2 <u>khar</u>, and by threatening that he would "cause that you be in the wrong[163] in every tribunal to which one shall go". Conceivably he was threatening that he would spare no effort to have them punished if they continued,

but in the context it seems more likely that he meant he would oppose them whichever officials they appealed to - specifically the 'children' of the vizier - and ensure that their claims for assistance and relief would be rejected, as being 'in the wrong'. The apparent ease with which he brought the crew back does not necessarily imply that they were afraid of his threats, for vague threats from their officials do not seem much to have impressed the crew at this date.[164] It is just as likely that they were aware of the weakness of their case, and that they would receive little sympathy from whatever officials they visited.

It would, of course, be too crude a deduction to presume from this material that the crew were in any sense going through legal procedures, 'suing' the administration for their rights. Nor is it probable that such judgements as 'the crew is in the right', or potentially 'the crew is in the wrong', are judgements on the pure legality of the crew's actions. This is particularly evident in the case quoted above, when the crew appealed to a group of visiting officials. Although there are, admittedly gaps in the preceding text there, there is no evidence to suppose any irregularity in the crew's behaviour, any action that could be called a 'strike'. Even so, the vaguely judicial context of such appeals from the crew is further exemplified by a case in year 3 of Ramesses X.[165] When the grain rations had not arrived by day 28 of the month, the crew went over to Town and 'stood before the great magistrates' (n3 srw '3y) or 'the great magistrates of Town'.

The term sr, 'magistrate' refers firstly to an 'official', who naturally had judicial powers, but it was secondarily used of any member of a 'tribunal' (qnbt) assembled for judicial purposes. In practice 'the magistrates' acting as a body cannot be distinguished in any way from 'the tribunal'. The members of a 'tribunal' were by definition

'the magistrates', and presumably any group of officials, 'magistrates', acting together were likewise by definition a 'tribunal'. Therefore the quasi-judicial appearance of the appeals of the crew can be attributed to the lack of a clear differentiation of administrative and judicial functions in Ramesside Egypt, and to the fact that it was always a committee that listened to their appeals, not a single responsible official. The terminology of any address to a group of officials was the same, whether the address concerned administrative or legal business.

Returning to the example from year 3 of Ramesses X, 'the magistrates' seem to have sat on both day 29 and day 30 to listen to the appeals of the crew. On the first of these days the crew were directly addressed by the High Priest,[166] the only official specifically named, but not for that reason to be excluded from the generality of the magistrates appealed to. He refused personally to give them grain rations, insisting that the chief of the department (or place, st) in which they slept was, and should be made, responsible for them. The following day the magistrates, or possibly the crewmen who appeared before them, asked to have the scribe of the vizier brought. He, and the deputy of the Granaries, were told to check the vizier's grain, and from it to give rations to the people of the Tomb. Rations were then paid.

The aim of the crew can be seen as to get the important local officials on their side, and get help from them. The officials seem first to have officially ascertained from whom the debt should be paid and then to have had sufficient authority to ensure its payment. Whether it was the whole crew who went to Town to appear before the 'great magistrates', whether their own officials went,[167] or whether they sent their gatekeepers,[168] or a small number of their men[169] to

seek for their rations, the very fact that the people of the Tomb took action of any sort implied an appeal to some official source.

At this point attention should be focussed on the role of the chiefs of police (hry md3yw) in the 'strikes' of the end of the reign of Ramesses III. It is to be presumed that it was their men, the police (md3yw), who were the people stationed at the guardposts passed by the crew. It is unlikely that the isolated watchman or watchmen at a guardpost could have prevented the passing of the crew, even had they so wished, and no opposition is recorded. No police are mentioned in the record at all until the third or fourth day of the 'strikes', II peret 12 or 13.[170] On that day a chief of police appears to have urged them back to their duty. Still at that date it seems to have been only local and minor officials who were paying any attention to the crew. A meeting on day 12,[171] at which are mentioned the scribe Pentaweret and the chiefs of police, resulted in one of them, Montumose, going to Town to try and bring back the mayor. His mission apparently failed. He then agreed[172] to take the crew, together with their families, to the temple of Sethi I, and to settle them there. On probably day 16,[173] this same Montumose provided the crew with a quantity of beer, presumably an issue comparable to the loaves received from the scribe Pentaweret on day 11.[174] Both will have been emergency supplies. Two months later[175] the chief of police Nebsmenu was the man who brought the vizier's message that the crew would only get half rations. A large delivery of vegetables by that same chief of police, recorded in a daybook two years later,[176] may also perhaps be thought of as some special measure of relief, for the police were not normally concerned with the transport of payments to the crew. In the events of year 29 of Ramesses III the actions of the police can best be explained as those of men powerless in themselves to do anything,

to control the crew or satisfy their complaints, and therefore doing their best to act as intermediaries, going to where sufficient administrative authority lay.

The local officials on the west bank at Thebes seem to have been genuinely impotent to help the crew. In one of the other 'strikes' recorded in the Turin papyrus[177] the crew approached somebody at the Ramesseum. The traces remaining of his name or title are effectively illegible; one might suggest as a guess the reading stm-priest, the official in charge of the temple.[178] This man refused to give the crew bread from the divine offerings. Instead he promised to go to Town and report the matter to the High Priest and the mayor. This was at least the second mention of the mayor as a person appealed to. When the crew, during one of these 'strikes', actually managed to make contact with the mayor[179] he gave then 50 khar of emmer to keep them going 'until Pharaoh gives you grain rations'.

Behind the agitation of the crew over their payments two thoughts must be distinguised in their minds; firstly the desire to get something to eat immediately, and secondly to ensure the correct, and preferably regular payment of their grain rations and other dues. The formulation of the ideas in this order depends on the impression made by the success of the scribe's threat[180] to put the crew in the wrong, before any tribunal, should they continue with their walk out simply because they were only receiving half of their emmer ration. The impression is, however, reinforced by the whole course of events at the end of the reign of Ramesses III. The first note that can clearly be connected with the troubles is not a 'strike' of the crew, but the action of their scribe Amonnakhte.[181] The ration being 20 days overdue, he went to the mortuary temple of Horemheb, and obtained 46 khar of emmer. This he brought back and distributed among the crew. On the

face of it this was an administratively inexplicable action. Certain reversions from the offerings of the mortuary temples provided part of the dues of the Tomb, but the grain rations were not due from temples, but from the state granaries. One might speculate that this grain was, perhaps, a sum due in taxes to the state, and paid as an administrative convenience, directly to the crew.[182] It is more plausible, however, to presume that the sum was an emergency provision, given to relieve the immediate needs of the crew. The number of men in the crew at that date is not known for certain,[183] but was probably about 40, and it is unlikely that the individual workman could have received more than a single khar, a mere quarter of the emmer due to him for the month, not taking into account the khar and a half of barley due to him each month as well.

When, some four months later, the first attested set of events seriously to be taken into account as a 'strike' were recorded, it was again to the mortuary temples of the west bank that the crew went. During this period they turned, as well as to the temple of Horemheb,[184] to those of Tuthmosis III,[185] Sethi I,[186] Merenptah,[187] Ramesses II,[188] and that of Ramesses III[189] in construction at Medinet Habu; perhaps a complete list of those still functioning with any economic significance at that date. These temples all came under the administration of the Temple of Amon. They were all referred to as being part of the 'House' (pr) of Amon.[190] From the reign of Ramesses III onwards the High Priest of Amon and his subordinates are not uncommonly connected with the payment of grain to the crew.[191] Yet it is not safe to conclude from this that the temple revenues were directly contributing to the wages of the crew. In the reign of Ramesses X the crew had already taken refuge in the temple of Medinet Habu, and were thus actually living in the 'House' of Amon, but the High Priest refused to pay their

grain rations.[192] He insisted that they should be paid by the chief of the department (st) in which they slept.[193] Their payment the next day was from the grain of the vizier, issued by a scribe of the vizier and a deputy of the Granaries, that is from the expected department of state.

If the High Priest could, as late as the reign of Ramesses X, insist that payment should not be made from finances under his control, it seems unlikely that in the reign of Ramesses III the crew would have been expecting full payment from the temples under his authority. Yet undeniably the financial resources of the temples ought to have enabled him to help the crew, and his rank and importance in the area would have put him in a position to ensure that their appeals were not ignored, should he so wish. Thus, later in the Twentieth Dynasty, when the crew passed the guardposts,[194] they managed to get the High Priest to come to the gatehouse of the Tomb to speak with them. When, in the Turin Strike Papyrus, the official refused to give them bread from the divine offerings of the Ramesseum, it was also to the High Priest,[195] as well as the mayor, that he said he would report.

When this bread from the offerings at the Ramesseum was refused to the crew, the scribe of the Turin Strike Papyrus added his own comment at the end of the entry:[196] 'It is a great crime (bt3), what he did'. His 'crime' or 'sin', bt3 carries both senses, was presumably the moral one of failing to give bread to the hungry. Such a moral requirement always has,[197] and still does motivate the Egyptian. To what extent it may have been an institutionalized requirement from the temples can only be a matter for speculation.[198] At least the scribe's indignation must have been roused by the, to his mind unnecessary, avoidance of responsibility by referral to the higher authority of the High Priest. The issue, on II peret 11 of 55 s'b-cakes, brought by the scribe

Pentaweret,[199] presumably came from the divine offerings. On perhaps day 15 of that month a small quantity of grain, some 10 khar, was given to the crew.[200] Soon after that came the gift of some beer, brought by the chief of police.[201] These small quantities can have provided only very poor and temporary relief to the crew.[202] Likewise the 50 khar of emmer given them soon afterwards by the mayor was described as a 'support of life, until Pharaoh shall give you grain rations'.[203] At a much later date[204] the royal butler to whom the hungry crew turned for payment provided them with 1,000 kyllestis-loaves, again a poor, and very short term, replacement for their missing grain rations.[205] Perhaps also comparable is a case where a large issue of vegetables is recorded at a time when grain rations were noted as unpaid.[206] These references imply that grain was simply not quickly available for the crew, and they had to be given what could quickly be found.

Beyond this immediate desire to get something to eat, the crew wished to have their grain rations properly administered and paid in full. This generally meant a desire to make their case to the highest possible authority. A text[207] from the second year of Ramesses IV shows them reasonably successful in this aim. On day 28 of the month they 'carried torches about their grain rations', and on day 29 'the magistrates came to hear the case (<> |) of the crew, the mayor of Town, the verseer of the Treasury, the mayor of ⟨Iu⟩itru, and a scribe. More often the reaction of officials seems to have been to ignore the crew, and stay as far as possible away from the personally more unpleasant aspects of a problem they were doubtless unable to resolve.

During the 'strikes' at the end of the reign of Ramesses III it seems that the mayor would not act, even when it was reported to him that the crew were in the temple of Ramesses II.[208] Even when passing nearby,[209] and called to by the crew, the mayor seems not to have

spoken to the crew personally, but merely to have sent a subordinate, a gardener of the overseer of cattle, to tell them that he would issue them with a temporary supply of grain until Pharaoh should pay them. The mayor seems, however, to have been a proper person for the crew to address. The official at the Ramesseum who would not give them bread from the offerings promised to refer their appeal to the mayor as well as the High Priest,[210] and an ostracon[211] preserves a letter addressed by the workmen to a mayor, Paser, complaining about their miserable state and feebleness. The local mayors held certain responsibilities for the collection of state grain taxes within their areas, and should have had some grain under their control.[212] Moreover, the mayor of Thebes is referred to in other contexts as having some responsibilities for overseeing the delivery and payment of dues to the Tomb.[213] Indeed, the mayor of Western Thebes, at the end of the dynasty, also bore the title of chief of police of the Tomb,[214] and it may be presumed that the local mayor had some responsibility for local public order.

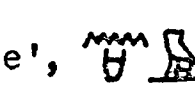
Even the vizier seems to have done his best to avoid the crew at this time.[215] He sent a chief of police with the message explaining why the crew were not to receive their full rations, and insisting that he had good reasons for not visiting them personally. It was not, he claimed, simply because he was unable to ensure their payments that he was avoiding them. He also insisted that their complaints against him were unjustified, that it was not his fault that they were not receiving payment. He was doing all he could for them. The crew seem not to have been greatly impressed; the partial issue far from satisfied them. Such events give a clue to the understanding of an entry in the journal for year 13 of Ramesses IX.[216] The scribe recorded that on the first epagomenal day the crew did not work, the vizier was

travelling north, the crew were hungry and the rations were months overdue. The crew did not normally work anyway on the epagomenal days. The note of the vizier's movements may just express anticipation that he might do something for them. Yet, on the fifth and final epagomenal day the text records that a deputation of the leaders of the crew, with the scribe Pabes as spokesman, left to try and report to the vizier.[217] No hoped for visit by the vizier had materialized.

The following day the scribe of the vizier, Hori, and the attendant (Ḫmsw) of the vizier Nakhtamon, visited the people of the Tomb. The pretext for the visit was the collection of some furniture, but another letter to the vizier was sent back with them.[218] The text then noted that[219] on I akhet 3 grain rations were issued in Town. These may not have been for the crew, for the following day the journal entry still complains of the lack of grain rations. The entries for days 5 and 6[220] tell of a visit to the crew by the w'b-priest of Maat, Payef[iry] and the scribe of the vizier, [Mery]sakhmet, about the affair (or 'words') of the scribe Pab[es]. These two officials appear elsewhere, closely connected with the local administration of the vizier,[221] and their visit was perhaps the administration's eventual reaction to the appeals made by the crew over the preceding days. Unfortunately the text is badly broken, and no record of a solution to the problems of the crew is preserved. At any rate, it is a reasonable presumption that the vizier did not wish personally to see the crew, and have to explain to them how little grain they were to receive. He seems to have preferred to leave contacts with them to his subordinates.

The reaction of the administration to 'strikes' by the crew was, therefore, not an attempt to restore order by an immediate exercise of authority, but rather to avoid the problem if possible by ignoring it, or by listening to the grievances, sympathizing, and passing them on

to different or higher authority. The officials who appear in such contexts, listening to the appeals of the crew, cover the full range of state and temple office in the Theban area. The people who appear can often, but not always be directly connected with the mechanism whereby the crew normally received payment. Yet typical of such appeals, when addressed to more minor officials, seems to be that made in year 29 of Ramesses III to the overseer of the army of that king's mortuary temple. The real kernel of the help he offered them seems to have been his enquiry of them, "[Say wh]at I shall report about to Pharaoh".[222] It was at that time, if not to the same commission, that the crew asked[223] to have a message sent to Pharaoh and the vizier, 'that we may be provided with the means of life'.

The issue of grain rations to the crew, apparently in full, immediately after this appeal,[224] might indicate that local indolence and inefficiency was finally stirred into action by the spectre of an appeal to the vizier and a possible investigation. It is impossible to achieve much more than vague speculation about the importance of local administrative difficulties as a cause of the failure to pay the crew properly. The Turin ostracon[225] recording one individual's deficits in wages over the last years of the reign of Ramesses III begins with the dated heading, 'On this day, seizure of half my(?) grain rations'. The Chicago ostracon with a letter of complaint to the vizier To likewise complained about the 'seizure' of 1½ khar of grain from the crew.[226] This is, perhaps in both cases, to be interpreted as a reduction in the monthly ration. The word 'seize', , carried at least the implication of forcible confiscation,[227] and of dubious legality,[228] if not of outright theft.[229] The crew had used this word in an appeal to the vizier about their rations, and he rejected it indignantly in his message to the crew recorded in the Turin Strike Papyrus:[229] "Am

I, the vizier, appointed to seize?"[230] Some degree of corruption in local officialdom was only to be expected.[231] Indeed, an unpublished and damaged ostracon[232] contains a letter of complaint from a 'controller of Selkis', that is a physician, to the scribe Hori of the Tomb, the scribe who seems to have been in charge of the service-staff and their deliveries to the Tomb. The full sense of the text is not clear, but noteworthy are the phrases,[233] 'You constantly seize (nhm) my dues to give them (away?)', and[234] 'Look, the water-carrier Userhetnakhte has not given me the grain rations this month'. It seems that Hori is blamed for failures in the deliveries, and especially for handing over deliveries that should have gone to the writer to other people. Perhaps more immediately to the point, it is easy to see that if grain were short, and the quantities passing through the local granaries were below the required level, the workmen in the remote and isolated village of Deir el Medina, at the very end of any supply chain, would be the ones to go short. Even when the vizier said that the granaries themselves were empty, yet he was able to provide something for the crew,[235] that presumably would not have reached them without his personal intervention.

In the constant desire, among the people of the Tomb, for appeals to be made to Pharaoh and the vizier, a number of different strands may be seen. Pharaoh was their employer, and it was he who theoretically supplied their needs.[236] Moreover, the feeling that the remote and all powerful figure of the king is capable of solving all problems, if only he wishes, and if he can be informed that injustice is being done, is a feeling by no means restricted to simple workmen in antiquity. Most important, however, must have been the desire for proper supervision and the inspection necessary to ensure the efficiency and fairness of the local minor officials responsible for the payments reaching the

crew. When the crew received a partial payment of 2 khar of emmer, they were immediately ready, at the advice of the foreman Khonsu, to go off to the riverbank to ask 'the "children" of the vizier to tell him about it'.[237] Yet this issue followed a message from the vizier saying that they would receive only half rations, and a declaration by the scribe Hori that he was responsible for paying this. The 2 khar of emmer made up half the expected emmer ration, but there was no mention of the expected barley ration. Somehow the crew must have felt that they were being cheated by the local officials, responsible for the actual delivery.

It is easy to understand how the crew would always wish to see and appeal directly to the vizier whenever possible,[238] and cut out the evasions and petty cheating of the minor local officials. For this reason, among other , they constantly referred to their payments when writing to him The clearest examples of such appeals come in two 'model' letters on ostraca. The first is addressed to the [vizier] Neferronpet.[239] 'We work in the great work of Pharaoh in very good order, in doing what is proper as a work of eternity, but you (pl.!) do not look after [our] affairs(?) (nd hr[t•n]?). ⟨To?⟩ cause that my Lord know it: the wood, the vegetables, [the sesa]me-oil, (the) fish, this clothing, these fats, this grain ration. May [my] Lord provide for us a means of life (iry n•n p3[y•i] nb[240] w' ' n 'nh ds•f).' The general sense of the text is confirmed by the similar complaints in the letter to the vizier To.[241] After saying at length how well they were working, the scribe complained,[242] 'We are thoroughly destitute. All provisions for us, (due) upon the treasury, the granary and the warehouse are utterly left off. A load of dn stone is not light! 1½ khar have been taken away from us as well, to give them to us as soil! May my Lord provide for us a means of life (iri p[3y]•i nb n•n ' n 'nh), for we are in fact dying. We are not alive. It is not given to us in

any way at all.' These letters, addressed to To, the vizier active at the time of the Turin Strike Papyrus, and to his successor Neferronpet, probably reflect quite accurately the type of appeal the crew wished to be made for them at times when their payments, or parts of their payments, failed. The language is strong, but the form is much that to be expected in the constant stream of letters that must have been sent to viziers at all times. Reference is made to one such in a 'model' letter from a vizier to the Tomb, dating to the late Nineteenth Dynasty.[243]

It is perhaps significant that the 'strikes' under consideration here begin, so far as the preserved documentation tells, at the end of the reign of Ramesses III. From that time it becomes more and more plausible to see, in the documents preserved from the Theban area, a growth in the power of the local administration, particularly that of the high priesthood of Amon, and a decline in the control of Pharaoh and the vizier. Of course it is reasonable to suggest that, by the end of the reign of Ramesses III there can have been little urgency felt by the central administration to ensure the well being of the workmen. The royal tomb must have been long prepared to the necessary state, from which it could be made ready for the burial within the allotted seventy days following the king's death. What other occupations may have been provided for the crew, beyond the building of occasional tombs for queens and princes,[244] is unknown, but presumably involved nothing of regular importance. The great increase in the size of the crew, made early inthe reign of Ramesses IV,[245] must surely imply a sudden and natural upsurge in official interest in the crew with the beginning of the new tomb. Moreover, this increase surely implies that the new regime felt that it could ensure the payment of the larger workforce, although recently it had been unable to pay one a third the size, over

some four or five year previously.

There are always, when studying Egyptian administration, very serious difficulties in attempting to define the exact limitation of duty attached to any particular office.[246] State and temple office were regularly held by the same person, and at any period a particular official might carry out functions that would seem beyond his normal sphere of responsibility because of his special influence, of rank or of personality, or because specially chosen, by his superior and especially by Pharaoh, for a particular job. At times it does seem that in the Egyptian administration rank rather than particular office was the decisive factor in the authority of the particular official in the particular context. It is difficult to be clear whether this tendency should be considered a strength or a weakness in the administrative system of Ramesside Egypt. When consideration is given to the groups of officials who made up the attested commissions listening to the appeals by the crew, it can reasonably be presumed that they were mostly people in some way connected with their payment. Partly such commissions contained local, relatively low ranking officials, with whom the crew were in regular contact over their payments, such people as the accounts scribes (sš n tmȝ). Partly they contained local minor priests, perhaps as officials who normally ensured the delivery of reversions of the offerings to the Tomb, but perhaps also as people from whom the crew hoped extra, immediate, relief might be obtained. Partly they consisted of state officials with real authority over the crew, and over the state finances from which they were paid; officials such as the local mayor and officials of the Treasury. The inclusion in one such commission of the mayor of ⟨Iu⟩itru is interesting, for payments of grain to the crew are attested to have come from taxes collected in that area.[247] At times it seemed that the crew wished to

talk to anybody who would listen, and might perhaps exert influence on their behalf. Most important of all, however, they wished to speak to the very highest officials, those with real influence and executive authority. The most important, the vizier, was officially their 'chief', but the locally resident High Priest of Amon, and royal butlers, were equally involved.

It is not quite clear whether the tribunal mentioned in the Sydney ostracon[248] had, from its membership, sufficient executive authority to solve the immediate problems of the crew. The inclusion of a deputy of the Granaries and of two royal butlers, the virtually certain restoration of the name of the High Priest at the beginning, all make this seem likely, even if the name of the vizier is not to be restored at the very head of the list. As comparison, in the reign of Ramesses X,[249] 'the great magistrates of Town' were able to order, without the express presence or authority of the vizier, that grain from the granaries, said to be grain of the vizier, be issued to the crew. The following[250] note that two boxes were given to 'the two fan-bearers' can be taken to imply that even when claiming ones own wages, a small gift to the strategic officials made things go more smoothly, although it is not completely impossible that they were handing over some work due from them quite normally. At the end of the reign of Ramesses IX 'the butler', probably to be identified with the Nesamon who appears several times in Theban documents of that date, and seems to have borne the titles of butler, overseer of the Treasury, and scribe of Pharaoh, was apparently acting as some sort of plenipotentiary. The incident in which he gave the crew 1,000 kyllestis-loaves was connected to the summoning of the crew by an attendant of the vizier, and was followed by a report from the scribe of the Tomb to the vizier.[251] Not long afterwards[252] he was present with the vizier and the High Priest on a

a visit to the Tomb, during which the crew made an appeal for payment.

Attempts to consider the functions of specific officials with whom the crew dealt are complicated by the fact that the balance of administrative power in the Theban area seems slowly to have been slipping away from the central authorities through the course of the Twentieth Dynasty. The position is further complicated by the impossibility of assessing what proportion of the serious troubles of one sort or another that took place in the Theban area are now known to us. Particularly it can only be an assumption that the events of year 29 of Ramesses III were unusual symptoms of a newly developing economic crisis, and that as such they were a new type of event in the history of the Tomb. Well documented although certain aspects of the history of the Tomb are at the end of the Nineteenth and beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty, the gaps are such that it is perfectly easy to visualize the loss of series of documents recording such 'strikes', when internal upheavals in the state which seriously affected the people of the Tomb are now known only from indirect references.[253] The probability that there were distinct changes in the documentary procedures of the Tomb during the Twentieth Dynasty[254] introduces a further unknown into the equation. Also the move made by the crew from the village of Deir el Medina to Medinet Habu is a matter of some obscurity. Probably to be dated to the reign of Ramesses IX, the reasons behind it are not clear. The unsettled nature of the desert margins, if not the original reason for the move, certainly ensured its permanence. Such interrelations cannot be closely examined simply because of the incompleteness of the documentation and the nature of the texts themselves. The basic format of the texts is purely documentary, not explanatory, and individual scribes missed out, at random, as irrelevant, information that in other contexts was included.

Even within these limitations it is reasonable to argue that a real development is traceable in the behaviour of the crew, and in their psychological attitudes to their payments. Although the style and type of document, and the place of habitation of the crew, are of importance to the question of what was recorded, whether the crew 'passed the guardposts' or 'were absent, seeking grain rations', there is also a difference to be seen in the nature of the acts. The events at the end of the reign of Ramesses III seem to be acts of desperation. The apparent readiness of the crew to cross the river to seek rations in the reign of Ramesses X seems to indicate that the crew had learnt from bitter experience that if their rations were not paid on time, their only hope was to agitate in the highest possible circles at the first justifiable moment.[255] At both periods it is clear that payments were, and had been for some time, so irregular and unreliable that the running down of any possible reserves would by the time of the 'strikes' have left the crew unable to withstand further delays.

One aspect of the changes in the balance of administrative control in the late Twentieth Dynasty is the fact that there are indications of the people of the Tomb being involved in the actual collection of the grain from which the crew were paid.[256] There are many obscurities about the way in which grain taxes were collected.[257] The texts of the Amiens papyrus[258] indicate that there was a sophisticated system of boats collecting the grain from outlying points for transfer to the granaries. This text deals with the finances of the Temple of Amon, not the state as a whole. The state must have used a similar system for collecting grain from its own lands, but it is unclear at what point the transport of actual taxes became the responsibility of state officials rather than the taxed person or institution.[259] The Horemheb Decree[260] contains rules about the use and requisitioning

of boats that, even if not clear in every respect, imply that certain responsibilities lay at the lowest level, and that the actual transport involved much subcontraction. At least the collection of dues from large institutions and central points was properly the responsibility of boats from the state granaries.[261] References to the method of transport of payments to the crew are rare for most of the Ramesside period. Those parts of the dues (htr) that were not the produce of the local service-staff, or just payments in general for the crew, sometimes came in boats with visiting officials. There are also a small number of references to water carriers, members of the local service-staff, under the control of their own scribes, transporting the grain rations to their own sides of the crew. The division into sides already for transport can be taken to imply that this transport was merely from the local point of issue. It is not to be expected that any proper part of the duty of the officials of the Tomb lay in the collection of grain taxes from which the rations were to be paid. One should, however, note a fragment of papyrus containing part of a letter from some high official. The addressees are not known, but were perhaps officials of the crew.[262] 'Look, I will give you 100 khar of grain, in my office. Have your scribes and your people come to take it, and check what is in the ancient writings of the Tomb which are there in your possession, about the dues of the Tomb, which are brought north in the boats of magistrates (?srw), (and) which are loaded into them to bring south. Seek them out (wh3), where(ver) they are. "Now, it is not we who transported (hnn) them continuously," so said the magistrates.' There appears to have been some quarrel here about who was actually responsible for transport, although the difficulty of the text means that the sense is not totally clear. At least in this case it seems clear that the local people were expected to

take responsibility for their own local transport.

In year 9 of Ramesses IX the scribe of the Tomb and the boats of the fishermen of the Tomb are mentioned, in a broken context, but in close juxtaposition with the grain rations,[263] in such a fashion that it seems a likely conclusion that the fishermen were required for the transport of grain. Another entry in the same papyrus[264] records that two men were absent, 'bringing oils'. It seems that the crew were required to collect their own payments more than had been the case fifty years earlier. Another badly broken entry in a papyrus journal for year 3 of Ramesses X[265] tells that on III peret 27, when the time for payment was getting close, some official arrived about a fisherman's boat. On day 29 there was mention of carrying grain to (or of) 'the Mansion ....', and on IV peret 4(?) mention of grain brought from Town. There is no mention here of any action by the crew as a whole, so it is possible that the breaks in the text conceal the fact that this transport of grain resulted in a payment of the grain rations. Such references might be taken as indications that the service-staff of the Tomb were used to transport grain for the crew across the river from Town. However, the journal for the following I akhet 29[266] records the arrival of a person whose name and title are lost, but who had been in the south carrying grain. The broken entries for days 20 and 21[267] also mention the granary and grain rations, as well as a person belonging to the service staff, and the '[going] south to bring (back) grain'. It is likely from the preserved fragments that one should visualize members of the service-staff, especially the fishermen who possessed the necessary boats, being sent to collect grain from source in sufficient time for it to be issued to the crew as rations at the end of the month.

It would not be possible to base any sound conclusions on the

evidence of these poorly preserved texts of uncertain interpretation were not a more detailed picture provided by two papyri in Turin. The first of these[268] is an unpublished text dating to a year 7, perhaps as early as the reign of Ramesses VI but most likely from the reign of Ramesses IX. It records a payment of supplementary rations from 'what was brought in the boats (k3r) from the south by the two scribes of the Tomb'. Then follow calculations of the loads in the boats of two fishermen of the Tomb, and an account of rations distributed by the scribe of the Tomb Horisheri at the gatehouse of the Tomb. The other text, the so-called Turin Taxation Papyrus,[269] contains the much later reports of the scribe of the Tomb Djehutimose about his grain collecting activities from the khato lands of Pharaoh in year 12 of Ramesses XI, under the authority of the General, Overseer of the Granaries of Pharaoh, and Viceroy of Nubia, Panehsy.[270] Some of this grain was specifically stated to be given to the Tomb,[271] but much was clearly not. Acting with him Djehutimose usually had the two gatekeepers of the Tomb,[272] although once a gatekeeper of Medinet Habu,[273] and the grain was transported in the fishermen's boats.[274] In a contemporary letter, which was to do with the business of the Tomb although the sender and addressee are not now known,[275] the order was given, 'Send your scribe, with Iuefenamon, (who is) scribe of the Tomb, and the gatekeeper Djehutimose or the gatekeeper Khonsumose! Have them hurry to bring the grain!' The delay was somehow connected with a failure of the fishermen to work, or perhaps rather the failure to give them proper instructions.[276]

A variety of possible conclusions can be drawn from these texts. Partly it is possible to visualize some short cut being taken in the taxation system, whereby the crew collected grain due as taxes directly from the institution responsible for them, without them

first going through the state granaries.[277] In year 2 of Ramesses IV the mayor of ⟨Iu⟩itru appeared in a commission listening to complaints about the non-payment of rations,[278] and Iuitru was one of the places from which the scribe Djehutimose was reported collecting grain in the reign of Ramesses XI.[279] In the same document the local mayor of Western Thebes was shown in control of local granaries on the west bank, and receiving grain from Djehutimose.[280] The collections made by Djehutimose were, moreover, said to be under the control of the Viceroy of Nubia, who was also using the title of Overseer of the Royal Granaries.[281] This, and the other highest posts in the civil administration were also claimed by the High Priest, whose regime succeeded that of Panehsy. It is highly likely that in those troubled times strong control of the grain administration was the first necessity for the head of the current political regime in Thebes, and the officials and personnel of the Tomb were likely to have provided a convenient source of ready labour, to be tapped when specific jobs needed to be done. The collection of grain taxes is likely to have been a more pressing need to Panehsy in the second half of the reign of Ramesses XI than the continuation of work on the tomb of a weak and distant king, even if the tomb were not already in a satisfactory state of preparation. It may also be that with the decline in the effectiveness of the administration, and as a result of the various civil disturbances of the late Twentieth Dynasty, there was simply a shortage of suitable personnel to do this sort of work for the state.

It was remarked above that the terminology and the various quotations noted in the texts dealing with 'strikes' do not include any specific statements that the crew were doing wrong, or warnings that they would be punished for their actions. It is clear that the word 'strike' is not totally satisfactory as a description of the action

of the crew. A letter of the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, partly quoted two pages above, simply envisaged that if the crew did not receive grain rations they would not work.[282] The addressee was told to send his scribe, the scribe Iuefenamon of the Tomb, and a gatekeeper. 'Have them hurry to bring the grain, so that the people do not hunger, and so that they will not (then) be absent from the commission (i.e., the tomb)[283] of Pharaoh, and as a result lay every matter on you.'[284] The very purpose of the letter seems to have been to improve progress on this 'commission of Pharaoh', which had not been going properly.[285] In another of this group of letters from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the absent scribe of the Tomb, Djehutimose, told his son Butehamon[286] to look after the family and also to 'look after the body of the men (?rmt mš').[287] Do not let them run away (w'r), and do not let them hunger'. Perhaps the two final commands would have been better phrased in the opposite order.

It is something of a commonplace in Egyptian texts referring to workforces that the employer tells how well he paid the workmen, and therefore how well they worked for him. A number of Old Kingdom inscriptions from private tombs contain assertions on behalf of the tomb owners that they had fully paid and fully satisfied (shtp) the needs and desires of the men who built their tombs. The stela of Ramesses II from Manshiyet es Sadr[288] also lays great stress on the benefits of the generous and regular[289] payments the king made to his quarrymen, with the result that they worked hard and willingly for him. More detailed comments of relevance are contained in a letter of the Ramesside period concerning work on the east bank at Thebes.[290] The mayor of Town, Haunefer, wrote to the district scribe of Town, Hori, about work on the Temple (hwt-ntr) of (Ramesses Meryamon), Beloved of Amon. Hori was said to have plenty of men, therefore he must keep the

work going. He must certainly not allow a single day's delay[291] in the payment of the workmen's grain rations or oils. However, it was admitted as the mayor's responsibility to speak with the scribes of the Treasury and the Granary. The following lines dealt with the organisation of the work, but one line is worth quoting in its own right. Hori was specifically warned not to allow some of the men to sleep while others did the work. The converse of such statements and instructions is that if a workforce were not paid properly, and went hungry, it could not be expected to work. For the crew, their hunger seems in all circumstances to have been an acceptable excuse for ceasing work and leaving their village in search of food.[292]

The personal relationship between the crew and their own officials seems not to have been good at the end of the reign of Ramesses III. How much this was a matter of personalities and how much of circumstances cannot now be clear.[293] It must be borne in mind that the relevant texts of this date came largely from the pen of the scribe Amonnakhte, and would be unlikely to portray any views opposed to his in anything but the worst possible light. It is also noteworthy that, whether there was any significant truth in the matter or not, Amonnakhte was at some pains to create the impression of a personal relationship of patronage between himself and the vizier To. To was quoted, in a graffito of Amonnakhte, as the official who visited the Tomb and appointed him scribe, and Amonnakhte was careful to add the name of To wherever possible in his texts, and especially his graffiti.[294] His position can be seen as particularly delicate, between a hungry and clamorous crew and a defaulting vizier to whom he claimed a special loyalty. The foremen at this time were, for the left side Anherkhau, and for the right side Khonsu, replaced by his son Nekhemmut the younger at about the time Ramesses III died.[295] Although

his documents tend to imply that Amonnakhte was normally the dominant figure, and normally show the three leaders acting as a unified body, there are clear indications of undercurrents even among them. Thus the foreman Khonsu advised the crew to go down to the 'riverbank' and get the 'children' of the vizier to inform him, when they were dissatisfied about receiving only 2 khar of grain as rations.[295] The scribe Amonnakhte presumably did not know about this until the crew were actually on the way, because he caught up with them when they had actually passed one of the guardposts, and persuaded them to come back by saying he would put them in the wrong before any tribunal. His naming of the foreman Khonsu in this context was doubtless intended as a criticism, that showed up his own behaviour to advantage.

When the crew 'passed the guardpost', at least on those occasions recorded in the Turin Strike Papyrus, they were not being led by their own officials. The leaders of the crew seem usually to have been trying to persuade their men to return. The fullest account of such efforts by the officials is given in the account of the first of the 'strikes' on II peret 10 of year 29.[297] There are real difficulties over the precise translation of the text, but so much is clear; the scribe, the two foremen, the two deputies, and the two w'rty-officials approached the crew, and asked them to 'come (back) inside'. They swore great oaths, which included the statement, "We have a great word () of (or 'for') Pharaoh". What they meant by this 'word' is unclear.[298] It might refer to an otherwise unmentioned letter or promise from Pharaoh, or to a report that would be put before the king on behalf of the crew. It might even refer to the legal relationship between Pharaoh and the crew. The use of his name, and the swearing of great oaths at least indicate that the officials took the matter very seriously. The unusual association of the deputies and the

w'rty-officials in the action of the leaders, and the careful use by the writer of verb forms that obviated the necessity of giving the name of individual speakers can be attributed to a desire that the responsibility for their actions should be seen as collective. Whatever the 'word' of Pharaoh may have been, the officials continued and ended their address with the instruction, "Spend the day in this place! Spend the night in the Tomb!".

The range of meaning the word , sdr can sometimes be troublesome in translation; 'be asleep',[299] 'be in bed'[300] or 'pass the night'.[301] Naturally the night was thought of as the typical time of misfortune,[302] and the typical time for the commission of crime.[303] Individuals were naturally expected home by nightfall. Unusual events were being recorded when the texts record that the crew 'passed (out) again, when evening came, and carried torches',[304] or that 'they carried torches over their grain rations',[305] or even just that they 'carried torches' without giving any reason for the action.[306] Admittedly they could not be accused of absence from work when it had finished in the evening, but equally the crew could not have expected any regular administrative action to be taken to help them during the night. It may simply have been that they wished to be in the right place first thing in the morning, but it is more likely that they wished to create a powerful impression by their actions. It is far from clear how restricted the people of Deir el Medina were to their village. The isolation of the site of the village itself speaks for a deliberate isolation of its inhabitants from the population in general, and the private transactions of the crewmen recorded on the ostraca rarely mention people unconnected with the Tomb. Such general observations do not, however, justify an assumption that the crew were not normally allowed to leave their village and go off to the cultivation,

or work for and trade with the other inhabitants of the Theban area.[307] It is, however, plausible to argue that there was some real significance in the place where people slept, or passed the night.

On one occasion late in the Twentieth Dynasty the crew crossed over to the east bank of the Nile, looking for grain rations, and spent the night there.[308] The following day the High Priest refused to give them grain, saying[309] that they should be provided for by the 'chief (hry) in whose department (st) they sleep'. It is probable that he was referring to their normal attachment to the Tomb, and that the High Priest was simply stating the general principle that people belonging to any department or institution should be cared for by the head of that department, and not some other. The following payment was made to the crew from grain of the vizier, under the charge of a scribe of the vizier, and the vizier was the person normally referred to as the 'chief' of the crew. It is possible, however, that reference was made here to the need for whichever official had provided the crew with shelter the previous night to provide them also with some temporary relief. Such might be argued from the fact that the chief of police Montumose promised during one of the 'strikes' to help the crew to settle, with their families, inside the temple of Sethi I.[310] It might also explain why, on II shemu 12 of year 29 the crew spent the night in disorder at the entrance to the Ramesseum,[311] and could only enter in the morning. In two other cases where the place the crew slept was recorded as of significance the texts are unfortunately too broken to provide worthwhile information.[312] It is not clear from all this what real significance it had that the crew were away from home at night, but the fact that their officials urged them to return, and that they were not allowed into the Ramesseum at night, implies that it was thought very irregular and undesirable.

Polite respect for officials and deference to a superior under whatever provocation was an Egyptian literary ideal,[313] yet there was also a strong feeling for the ideal that officials of even the very highest rank should be accessible to the very lowest stratum of society, and forcefulness and eloquence of speech, even by the lowest person, was not in itself an offence but a quality that could be admired.[314] In Thebes at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, it is easy to see that any respect for particular offices did not necessarily carry over to their holders, when even the General Payankh could write in a letter to a subordinate,[315] 'As for Pharaoh, whose lord is he still?'. In the Abbott Papyrus[316] it was reported that 'the great magistrates', on finishing their inspection of tombs said by the mayor Paser to have been robbed, sent all the people of the Tomb, officials, crew, police and service-staff, to 'go round' as a 'great report'[317] as far as Town. Paser was clearly, and deliberately insulted by this action, saying to the crew, in the presence of a butler of Pharaoh,[318] "As for this 'report' which you have made today, it is not a 'report' you have made. What you have made is your demonstration of triumph!".[319] Paser was then reported by his rival, the mayor of the west bank, as saying to the crew,[320] "You have rejoiced over me at the door of my office (or 'house', 't). What is the meaning (of this)? For I am the mayor, and so (I) will(?)[321] report to the Ruler." Paser was not convinced by the argument that the dead were protected by Pharaoh's influence,[322] and had promised that, with reference to further charges brought to his notice,[323] "I will send about them to Pharaoh, my Lord, to have men of Pharaoh sent to deal with you all." It was perhaps fortunate for the crew that the mayor was found by his superiors to be in the wrong about the charges.[324] The disrespect they had expressed went unpunished, because tolerated if not actually encouraged by other officials.

Normally the scribes and officials of the Tomb were at great pains to assure their superiors that they were all working to the best of their ability, and neither neglecting nor grumbling about any work they were assigned.[325] It is thus likely that the crew felt confident, when leaving their work over grain rations that their actions, however troublesome, would receive some official sympathy. In this context it is noteworthy that on a particular occasion the statement of the scribe Amonnakhte, that he would put the crew in the wrong before any tribunal, seemed to carry real weight with the workmen, and he succeeded in bringing them back to the village.[326]

There are only very rare examples, and those from the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty, of texts that seem to record refusals of the crew to obey orders from external officials; in one case a dispute with scribes of the vizier[327] and in the other objections made to an order from the High Priest of Amon about going up to work.[328] Disputes between the officials of the crew and their own men are also not well documented. In year 31 of Ramesses III there is a notice in a daybook that the scribe Nekhemmut quarrelled with his people.[329] Nekhemmut was not the main administrative scribe of the Tomb, and it is not clear who his people were. A letter to the same scribe, to which he presumably knew the author although in its preserved form it is anonymous, abused him roundly about his conceit, meanness and lack of sexual prowess.[330] In another letter[331] the draughtsman Parahotep complained bitterly to the scribe Qeniherkhepeshef that he was treating him like a donkey, giving him any work that might be going. The accusations of the Salt papyrus 124 tell not only of the abuses of the foreman Paneb when he was in the post, but also of earlier offences when he was still a crewman, including physical violence against the foreman.[332] The indictments included in the papyrus had apparently been collected

in the first place not because of a disinterested desirefor justice, but because of jealousy over the holding of the post of foreman. A certain level of corruption in the holders of the offices at the Tomb,[333] and jealousies over the appointments to particular posts, will always have been a source of friction. In times of stress also the officials of the Tomb would, in their attempts to carry out their functions, have received the first and strongest expressions of resentment from their own subordinates.

It would hardly be sensible to dissociate from the main series of events recorded in the Turin Strike Papyrus those two occasions when the crew were said to have passed the guardposts for reasons apparently unconnected with their food supplies.[334] On the first of these occasions the crew went past the guardposts and settled down for the day. The leaders of the crew went to fetch them, and were met by a reply from the crewman Mose, son of Aanakhte, that was clearly abusive, even if the precise terms are now obscure. The text records that he was punished, presumably beaten, for swearing by the name of Pharaoh, probably in some way taking the king's name in vain.[335] So much of this affair was left in deliberate obscurity by the scribe that it is difficult to deduce from it anything about the reasons why the crew were on such bad terms with their officials.

The next entry in the papyrus follows after a short gap, but has no new date. There is a distinct possibility that it records a continuation of the same affair, but this is not a necessary conclusion. On this occasion the crew passed by the guardposts, after their leaders made a 'great noise' (hrw '3), that is shouted at them, at, or perhaps because of, the gate into the village. Doubtless the 'great noise' made by the leaders left them with the feeling that a satisfactory reconciliation could better be reached by the means of intermediaries

than if they themselves ran after the crew. The scribe Amonnakhte recorded himself as the person who sent the two deputies and the two w'rty-officials to bring the crew back. They were, however, disappointed, when one of the w'rty-officials returned with the news that two of the men, Qenna son of Ruta and Hay son of Huy, had stood forward as spokesmen. They had told the w'rty-official bluntly to go back and tell his chiefs (thereby implying their own refusal to pay any attention to the officials as their own chiefs) that they would not come back. They stressed that their actions were not caused by hunger, but that they had an accusation to make;[336] "Indeed, there is evil done in this place of Pharaoh". The verb form used here was the rather archaic and deliberately impersonal passive sdm·f.[337] Finally the officials themselves went to listen to what the crew had to say, and if the text is correctly understood, were strongly urged that they should report the affair truthfully. It seems that the body of the statement made by the crew was omitted, and only this rather disrespectful final demand included, so the real cause of the trouble is not made known. At first glance the text simply tells that the crew, as the result of a telling off by their officials, walked out of the village and behaved rudely and disobediently towards them. Yet it is impossible to believe, even from what parts of the story the scribe has told, that he was not omitting something more substantial. If this is so, the scribe has been quite successful at making the crew appear to be in the wrong. There can be no serious doubt that the complaint the crew wished to make would have reflected very badly on their officials.

The date of these events is not certain. The first came some time in month III of peret of year 29 of Ramesses III.[338] If the entries in this part of the papyrus are in chronological order the second could not have come later than the date of the next entry, IV peret 28.[339]

It is an unanswerable question whether these complaints of the crew are to be connected with the formal complaint recorded a little later as made by the crewman Penanqet to the scribe Amonnakhte and the foreman Khonsu, dated to I shemu 16.[340] This dealt with offences committed by a certain Userhet, sometimes alone and sometimes with others. One of his confederates was the Qenna son of Ruta who was mentioned a few months earlier as one of the ringleaders of the 'striking' crewmen, complaining that evil was being done in the place of Pharaoh. The comparison is instructive, between the accusations made by Penanqet and those contained in the much larger Salt Papyrus. In both cases the accusations are wide ranging, diffuse, and presumably to a large extent irrelevant. Userhet was accused of the theft of stone from a royal tomb, debauchery of married women, and the receipt of stolen goods (an ox). Most striking is the manner in which Penanqet quoted the attitude the vizier had taken to his father, the foreman Paneb and the subject of the accusations of the Salt papyrus, in the matter of taking stone. The aim of the accuser in the Salt papyrus was the dismissal of Paneb, and presumably his own appointment as replacement. The first aim seems to have been successful; at least Paneb disappeared from the texts.[341] The second was not. According to the text in the Turin Strike Papyrus, Penanqet insisted that if the officials of the Tomb did not carry out their responsibilities in this matter to his satisfaction, he would report directly to the vizier and to Pharaoh. It is difficult to understand why the scribe Amonnakhte should have recorded Penanqet's words in such a fashion that appeared to reflect so badly on himself and his colleagues in their performance of their duties, unless he was in some way in sympathy with them, or unless he felt that Penanqet had so far overstepped the mark in his accusations that they were likely to bring down more trouble on the accuser than anybody else.[342]

It is easy to understand, on the other hand, that Penanqet should wish to embarass the present holder of the post of foreman, when this had so recently been lost from the possession of his family. No doubt he felt qualified to hold it himself.

There are other indications that Penanqet was given to making reports that would cause serious embarassment to his colleagues and officials. In year 26 of Ramesses III, on III akhet 18,[343] the vizier To arrived and 'the crew were brought down from the field over the words (n3 mdt) of Penanqet'. There were examinations made the following days, finishing on day 21.[344] Finally, on day 29 the crew were taken to the riverbank (mryt), as again on day 30, when the vizier came to examine them.[345] The matter at issue is not stated, but the fact that the crew had, in vain, expected the vizier to follow them up to the field on day 23[346] probably implies that it was something to do with the state of the site. Another reference to Penanqet is to be found in a very broken and obscure context,[347] where the texts tell that on days 25 to 28 there was 'passing by' or 'passing to outside' but notes additionally on day 26 the '[comin]g up by Penanqet, after he had passed by'. His role in the events surrounding the 'strikes' is obscure.

In conclusion some consideration needs to be given to whether the word 'strike' really provides a satisfactory description of the behaviour of the crew, as recorded in these texts, or carries too many anachronistic modern implications.[348] Except perhaps in the cases where the crew quarrelled with their own officials, they were not, so far as one can tell, absenting themselves from work in an attempt to bring pressure on their employers or superiors. They were normally at the greatest of pains to stress their inability to work through hunger. However badly they felt themselves treated, their scribe was able to persuade them not to continue with their action when they had only been

partly paid, even though a foreman had urged them to it. Indeed, except in the short periods following the death, but preceding the burial of a king, it is difficult to see that a delay in the work on a tomb excavation could have brought serious pressure to bear on the responsible high officials. The most unusual element in the behaviour of the crew at the end of the reign of Ramesses III seems to lie in the fact that the crew were acting without the participation, or sometimes even despite the opposition of their own leaders. Their aims, however, seem to have been those normal to the crew; to appeal to the competent and preferably highest possible officials. Their manner of doing it, unusual and presumably disorderly, can be taken to arise from desperation and the failure of approaches through the normal channels. The actual appeals made during such 'strikes' do not differ from those made in letters to the vizier, or from addresses to visiting officials. There seems also to have been a tendency for the crew to go on 'strike' in the first place at the weekend, thereby avoiding the immediate accusation that they were wrongly absent from their work.

Action by the officials of the crew to ensure the payment of the people of the Tomb was part of their duties. A model letter[349] of the Nineteenth Dynasty, from a vizier to one of the officials, stated expressly, 'It is you who takes measures[350] about the dues of the crew, which are (incumbent) upon the Treasury of Pharaoh. Do not let anything of it be delayed, since the controllers (rwdw) of the Tomb have written to me about their[351] dues which are (incumbent) upon the Treasury of Pharaoh, saying, "Have it brought to them!".' Local measures taken or led by their own officials seem to have been proper conduct as far as the state was concerned. Such action does not really deserve to be called a strike. In the terminology of the texts themselves the crew wished to make a 'report' (smi) or a

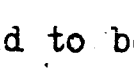
'statement' (r). They were asking for advice and help, not acting against their employer the king, but eager that he should be informed of their difficulties, in the belief that he would do something about it. Doubtless a vain belief, in view of the prevailing economic and social conditions of decline in Egypt during the Twentieth Dynasty.

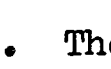
There can be little doubt that the picture of irregular supply and payment, with periods of serious hunger, attested from Deir el Medina during the Twentieth Dynasty was only a reflection of the problems occurring in all parts of the state administration, even though such events are not documented elsewhere in the same way.[352] Such problems would, of necessity, have been more exaggerated for the workforce of the Tomb, living and working remote in their isolated desert necropolis, and dependent for everything on the deliveries made to them from the cultivation. Their position was not so bad, and therefore perhaps their actions not so violent, as that of some workmen involved in a Nineteenth Century attempt, described by Belzoni,[353] to reopen emerald mines at 'Zubara', near the Red Sea. About fifty men were employed, in an area about half a day's journey from water, and seven days' journey by caravan from the Nile, and moreover, in an area where they were threatened by the local nomadic tribesmen. At Belzoni's time their food, which came from Esna, was sometimes very scanty, and often delayed, 'merely by the negligence of the purveyors who are directed to furnish them with it'.[354] As a result they 'cursed the being who had caused them to be sacrificed in these deserts, destitute of all the common necessities of life'. Indeed, 'they rose several times against their leaders, and in one instance two of them were killed'. The crew at Deir el Medina would have recognised such a situation exactly. They were not so isolated,

and there is no record that their reaction, when unpaid, ever became so violent, but their cursing and their feelings of abandonment and betrayal seem to have been identical.

Footnotes.

I. The Documentation of the Tomb.

1. For the development of Egyptian accounting procedures see Megally, Notions de Comptabilité, 1-7 and in Textes et Langages, III, 33-39; Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, passim.
2. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 23.
3. Quibbell, Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912), pl. VII, 3; XXIX-XXXII; cf. Schaefer, Principles, p. 12 and 283; pl. 14 and 15.
4. Clearly related to the holding of temple office, see particularly Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 240-241
5. Cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 186.
6. Ani, 7, 6.
7. See the examples quoted by Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 125 and 126g, and cf. also Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 88, 22.
8. Lichtheim, An. Eg. Lit., I, 184-192.
9. Mostly in school exercises of the type known as Late Egyptian Miscellanies; see, for instance, Lichtheim, An. Eg. Lit., II, 167-175
10. See LEM 107, 6-15.
11. On the prestige of scribes see Morenz, Prestige-Wirtschaft, 16-17. Note also the comments of Capart, CdE 21 (1946), 25-28.
12. Cf. Posener-Kriéger, Archives de Néferirkarê-Kakaï, I, p. X.
13. Note the comments of Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 87.
14. Cf. Gardiner, Wilbour Papyrus, II, Commentary, 201.
15. Černý, CdE 6 (1931), 212-224. The Egyptian name for an ostracon seems to have been , see Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, IX; Hayes, Ostraka, 37. Coptic (see Crum, Coptic Ostraca, xi) used both the Greek word πλάξ and a native word βλλε (Demotic bld), said to be derived from the pot called , see Černý, CED, 23.
16. The restrictions of space on ostraca cause particular problems to the modern editor, in that the scribes often needed to abbreviate their texts to the maximum. On papyrus they could often be more expansive; cf. Préaux, JEA 40 (1954), 83-87.
17. See Černý, CdE 6 (1931), 217-219. For ostraca from the settlement on the col between Deir el Medina and the Valley of the Kings, see Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), 362-363.
18. Note, however, the report of the find of a group of ostraca in tomb no. 1069 (probably belonging to Any), including ostraca 'au nom de  dans ce caveau, faisant mention d'objets fournis pour le mobilier funéraire, parmi lesquels un morceau de toile peinte pour Ani par Houi', Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1926), 32.
19. Bonnet and Valbelle, BIFAO 75 (1975), 435-446; 76 (1976), 318-322.
20. Černý, Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne 2 (1929), 206; Helck, Materialien, 594; Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 198.
21. See Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 320.
22. On the relationship between ostraca and grafitti see Peterson, Zeichnungen, 55-56, 57 and 59. Note especially the graffiti, Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 790 and Černý, Graffiti, 1282 and 1310 which are texts of types normally to be expected on ostraca.
23. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 12-13; Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 11-13.
24. Smith, History, 358; Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 11-12.

25. Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 11-13 and cf. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 12-13 and 22-23.
26. See Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 29-52; Ostraka, passim.
27. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 52 and cf. Helck, Materialien, 849.
28. Černý, CdE 6 (1931), 216; JEA 15 (1929), 198.
29. Černý, CdE 6 (1931), 212; Paper and Books, 23; Bakir, Egyptian Epistolography, 23.
30. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 447-448.
31. P. Turin 2008 + 2016, vs. II, 1 = Janssen, Two An. Eg. Ships Logs, 85.
32. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 259-264.
33. O. Černý 5, vs. 4 = Černý Mss, 17.109.6 and O. Černý 20, 10 = Černý Mss, 17.26.98-99, both quoted by Janssen, Commodity Prices, 447
34. The pupil seems to have been required normally to write 3 to 4 pages a day, see Brunner, Altaeg. Erziehung, 76.
35. Van Regemorter, CdE 35 (1960), 280; Shore, JEA 54 (1968), 196, n.5. The raw materials were cheap and the manufacturing process simple, so that high prices in absolute terms could only be caused by state monopoly or taxation.
36. See Smith, Visit to Ancient Egypt, 15.
37. Lewis, Papyrus, 129-134.
38. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 460.
39. Černý, Prices and Wages, 915-916; Janssen, Commodity Prices, 109-111 and chapter 2.
40. The equation of writing materials against foodstuffs, from P. Geneva MAH 15274, verso IV, quoted in full below n. 68, is too complex to be used as evidence here, but is likely to represent accurately the normal type of small transaction involving papyrus. One should note that the ordinary workman would only require paper very rarely for documents and letters.
41. Černý, JEA 31 (1945), 40, Document IV, lines 7-9.
42. The normal price for such a box () was two to three deben, see Janssen, Commodity Prices, 197-198.
43. See Crum, Coptic Ostraca, p. x; Monastery of Epiphanius, II, index, p. 374, under 'Papyrus, lack of'; Allam, JEA 54 (1968), 128, Nachtrag. For papyrus as the ideal material for letters, even at a very late date when other materials were available, see Turner, Greek Papyri, 16.
44. Černý, Paper and Books, 4; Lewis, Papyrus, 119-129; Turner, Greek Papyri, 2-3. It would perhaps be more accurate to say under royal control.
45. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, VIII, 3 = P. Turin 1881, V, 3 = Černý Mss, 17.16.8-31.
46. See Helck, Materialien, 942, to which perhaps add LES 71, 3.
47. Medinet Habu III, pl. 150, line 548. See Posener, Mel. Masp. I, 333-334; Černý, Paper and Books, 9; Helck, Materialien, 377.
48. On the rates of usage in the Graeco-Roman period see Černý, Paper and Books, 23; Turner, Greek Papyri, 5-6. Turner, JEA 40 (1954), 102-106 gives some idea of the rate of reuse of papyrus.
49. Cf. Brunner-Traut, Egyptian Artists' Sketches, 15-16 for Posener's calculation that the files of the Neferirkare temple at Abusir contained about 10,000 papyri.
50. Z.Y. Saad, Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941-1945), ASAE Cahier 3, pl. XLII-XLIII; Fischer, Or. 29 (1960), 187-190; Goedicke, JEA 54 (1968), 23-30; Smith, History, 358-359; Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 11-12.
51. James, Hekanakhte Papers, pl. 20 and 23 and cf. Abdel Monem A. H.

Sayed, RdE 29 (1977), 174, n. 22*; JEA 64 (1978), 70.
52. For a brief list of the non-literary documents of the New Kingdom see Černý, in Fonti Indirette, 37-40. For sources of ostraca see Černý, CdE 6 (1931), 216-217.
53. See Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 29-30. On the ostraca found by the Polish excavations see the comments of Marciniak, in Abstracts .... First International Congress of Egyptology, 78-79. The British Museum also has a number of unpublished ostraca from this site, obtained through the E.E.F. (Naville and Hall), cf. Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report, 1904-1905, 8.
54. Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri, passim.
55. A small group of ostraca from the Mond excavations at Gourna, similar in style to those from Deir el Medina, are now in the Cairo Museum (see Černý Mss, 17.2.7 - 17.2.15, and note also references in Černý, Valley of the Kings, 20) but their actual provenance is largely unknown to me; see however, Collins, JEA 62 (1976), 36. Note also the comments of Brack and Brack in Abstracts....First International Congress of Egyptology, 13-14; and Grab des Tjanuni, 73-78; Posener, RdE 27 (1975), 194.
56. Cf. the comments and list of Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 1-2 for figured ostraca, and note Daressy, CGAE Ostraca, Index IV, p. 112.
57. Jequier, Mon. Fun. Pepi II, vol. III, p. 44 and 46, found two New Kingdom ostraca at South Saqqara, probably to be connected with nearby Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. Note also Peterson, Zeichnungen, 11-12. For ostraca from Giza see Osing, MDAIK 33 (1977), 109-111.
58. O. Cairo 25183; see Peterson, Zeichnungen, 24.
59. The discovery by the E.E.S. expedition to South Saqqara of a small literary ostracon, with a fragment of the book of Kmyt, parallel to similar school texts from Deir el Medina, (JEA 62 (1976), 12) perhaps indicates that further excavation will change the picture to some extent.
60. CoA II, chapter III. See now Kemp in the editorial to JEA 65 (1979), 2-3.
61. Cf. CoA II, pl. LVII, and pp. 106-107.
62. See the comments of Davies, JEA 4 (1917), 234-235 and Peterson, Zeichnungen, 65-66.
63. For three ostraca from the work on the Abydos temple of Sethi I see Gunn, in Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, I, 92-94 and II, pl. XC and XCII. See also O. Cairo 25670 = Ayrton, Curelly and Weigall, Abydos III, pl. LIV and LV. In other cases statements by Mariette that ostraca came from Abydos are not to be relied on, see Allam, HOPR, p. 55 and Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 171.
64. When this was not, in any case, sandstone.
65. See Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraca and Papyri, pl. I-XVIII and XLVIII-XLIX.
66. Allam, JEA 54 (1968), 121-128.
67. Note the comments of Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 182 and 183. Engelbach remarked also that in difficult weather conditions out of doors, particularly in wind, ostraca would be easier to handle than papyrus, ASAE 27 (1927), 72. Cf. also the text, Hayes, Ostraka, 23, no. 78.
68. In O. Berlin 10630 the scribe Neferhotep was asked to send writing materials (r'-sš). P. Geneva MAH 15274, verso IV = Massart, MDAIK 15 (1957), 172-185, records 'They worked in this place. Arrival of the scribe Nakhtsobek, bringing to me one (piece) of writing-material (w' r'-sš), and I gave him seven assorted loaves, one piece of dried cut meat and one piece of dried entrails(?)'. Another such request

for papyrus to be supplied comes in a letter, P. Northumberland I, vs. 6-8 = Barns, JEA 34 (1948), 35-46. The writer in a place called Per-Djehuty sent, probably (pace Barns) to Memphis, the request 'Will you get Merymose to bring me a roll of papyrus, also pieces of very good ink - and don't let bad be brought!'.
69. See the remarks of Posener, in Černý, Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh, I, p. VIII.
70. Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, vol. I, viii.
71. See the comments of Davies, JEA 4 (1917), 234-235 and note the vivid description of the way in which ostraca of this sort would be used in Hayes, Ostraka, 3.
72. Both Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 2 and 132-135 and Egyptian Artists' Sketches, 2 and Peterson, Zeichnungen, 24-25 note the overwhelming predominance in the use of stone, rather than the more unsatisfactory pottery, as the medium for figured ostraca. See also the comments of Bakir, Egyptian Epistolography, 23 and Crum, Coptic Ostraca, p. x. Letters to the dead on pottery should not be classed as ostraca, see Gardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, p. 10.
73. Cf. Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, 230-231 and cf. the horse from the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Peck and Ross, Drawings, 114. I refrain here from discussing the mason's marks and notes preserved particularly on Old Kingdom blocks, but note the comments of Werner, in Abstracts.... First International Congress of Egyptology, 141.
74. Cf. Posener, RdE 25 (1973), 251-252, and see Top. Bib. I^2, II, 844. Note particularly the board preserved with a canonical drawing, Iversen, JEA 46 (1960), 71 and cf. also Smith, History, 358-359 = CAH plates to vols I and II, New Edition, 31; James, Hekanakhte Papers, 97; Barns, JEA 54 (1968), 72; Gardiner, JEA 3 (1916), 95-96. Note also the Demotic letter of prayer to Amonhotep son of Hapu on a board (Malinine, RdE 14 (1962), 37-43), the temple inventory of the time of Alexander the Great (Varille, BIFAO 41 (1942), 135-139), and the legal text on the Moir Bryce tablet (Griffith, PSBA 30 (1908), 272-275). Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, p. IX and Egyptian Artists' Sketches, 1, suggests that ndr, nd3, 'ostracon' might be determined with the wood sign,  , but this does not seem to be attested when the word was used in that particular sense, for a text written on wood.
75. Note the remarks of Gunn, JEA 3 (1916), 93-94.
76. For general remarks on the archive see Posener-Kriéger, Archives de Néferirkarê-Kakaï, I, p. IX-XI.
77. Ani, 7, 5.
78. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 44. Note also the passage, Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 20, 4 = Gardiner, JEA 34 (1948), 22. 'I gave all my possessions to Amon-Re, King of the Gods, consisting of slaves, male and female, houses, vineyards and cattle, of all that I had made. It is fixed (mn) in every record office (h3 n sš) of the palace and of the Temple of Amon'. See also Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 75 on Old Kingdom registration of tomb ownership and 87-88 on the registration of offering endowments. Note the comments of Goedicke, JEA 54 (1958), 29-30 and Privaten Rechtsinschriften, 188; Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 112-113; Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 75. For a rather later period see Edgerton, in Münchener Beiträge 19, p. 301.
79. See Allam, JEA 54 (1968), 121-128, and especially his conclusion, p. 127. Note also Smither, JEA 34 (1948), 31-34. The system was much more complex and organised in the Ptolemaic period, see Pierce, Three Demotic Papyri, 179-188.
80. See Gardiner et al., JEA 22 (1936), 182-183; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 63; Blackman, JEA 27 (1941), 89, note 38; Malinine,

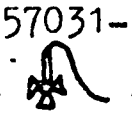
RdE 25 (1973), 207, note w; Seidl, Aeg. Rechtsgeschichte[2], 32. Cf. also Mattha, Demotic Legal Code, IX, 28-29; X, 4. Note also P. Anastasi I, 12, 1.
81. Abb. 7, 16; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, chapter 6; Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 177, note 355; Théodorides, in Legacy of Egypt, 308. The functioning of the vizier in legal transactions is best illustrated in the Middle Kingdom text, P. Berlin 10470, concerning the slave girl Senbet, see Smither, JEA 34 (1948), 31-34.
82. In the Treasury of Pharaoh and the office (st) of the Granary of Pharaoh, Inscription of Mes, N7 and N14-N15; LEM 87, 16 - 88, 1 and cf. also Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 98, 15-16. For legal records in the 'rryt of Pharaoh see Inscription of Mes, S6 and Gardiner, Inscription of Mes, 22 note 69. For the 'Place of writings of Pharaoh' see CoA III, 114-115 and 162; Riedel, OLZ 42 (1939), 145-146; Borchardt, ZAS 44 (1907), 59-61.
83. P. Turin 2021 + Geneva D 409, 4, 2-3 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 112-119.
84. See the Instructions of Merikare, P. Petersburg 1116A, 35. The words of the wise are said to be fixed in writing (mn m sš).
85. Inscription of Mes N9 and N34. Cf. also LEM 87, 16 and Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 98, 23-24.
86. Urk. IV, 693, 11.
87. See above n. 79 and below n. 105.
88. Cf. O. Cairo 25305, 2-5.
89. See below p. 34-35.
90. See Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 125c, 126e, and 1310o; JARCE 6 (1967), 143, note a. Note Urk. IV, 1841 and Megally, Notions de Comptabilité, 40.
91. Note especially the heading to P. Turin 1930, discussed below p.67.
92. Note particularly Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 119 = Smither, JEA 31 (1945), 3-10.
93. See Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 135 and 145. Could Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 4-6 = Černý Mss, 17.151.39-42 be similar. Note also Turner, JEA 40 (1954), 102-106.
94. See also p. 35, 45 and 66-67.
95. P. Turin 1978/208 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 97.
96. Černý, Paper and Books, 30 (P. Vienna 30 referred to there is more usually known as P. Ambras). The depiction of the records office in the Theban tomb of Tjay (Borchardt, ZAS 44 (1907-1908), 59 shows such boxes in position in storerooms. See also Hermann, MDAIK 15 (1957), 112-119, including an illustration of the papyrus chest from the tomb of Sennedjem at Deir el Medina. Cf. also Posener-Kriéger, Textes et Langages, II, 28; Quibell, Ramesseum, 3. For pots, Janssen, Annual Egyptological Bibliography, 1961, no. 61775; Botti, L'archivo demotico, I, 1-2 and plate opposite p. viii; Mattha, Demotic Legal Code, p. x. For dockets on texts see below n. 412.
97. A scribe of 'the place of writings' (t3 st n3 š't) appears in DM 148, 12-13 in an examining commission, but this was an external department of state, not a department of the Tomb.
98. The passage HO LXXV, 8-9 and the keeping of receipts by the 'guardian' are discussed below p. 49.
99. (hry) s3w sš, Wb. III, 418, 4, 10 and 11..
100. Cf. note 18. The Chester Beatty papyri, together with the associated finds, (see Posener, in Černý, Papyrus Hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh, I, p. VIII) appear from the variety of their contents to be just such an archive.
101. Cf. Černý, CdE 6 (1931), 213.
102. On some of the problems of authorship see Eyre, in Studies....

Fairman, 85-87, and note also Helck, Materialien, 585 and Megally, Recherches, 209-211.
103. See Černý, Community, 222-223. On the hand of Qeniherkhepeshef see Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, I, 23; Černý, Community, 332-333; Sauneron, Cat. Ostr. Hiér., p. XVIII and no. 578; Edwards, JEA 54 (1968), 155-156. See also below p. 40.
104. Cf. Megally, Recherches, 201-213 and Notions de Comptabilité, 22 and 124.
105. Černý, CdE 6 (1931), 214; Allam, JEA 54 (1968), 123-124. Compare the same transaction recorded in both HO XLII, 3 and LXXI, 1 and note the two identical texts related to the will of Naunakhte, published as Documents II and III, Černý, JEA 31 (1945), 47.
106. For general comments and references see Pestman, Marriage and Matrimonial Property, 83-86.
107. See the texts in Goedicke, Privaten Rechtsinschriften. Compare also the Inscription of Mes and Urk. IV 1369 = Helck, Materialien, 528-529. Such also was the purpose of the inscriptions of all periods recording decrees of exemption for temples.
108. LES 66, 8-13.
109. Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, p. 98, especially lines 15-16, and Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 20.
110. See Hammurapi, § 37.
111. See Helck, Materialien, 493
112. Helck, JARCE 2 (1963), 72, line 13 = Materialien, 743-745; a case of land ownership. See also Inscription of Mes, N13-N14, and cf. 'Onchsheshonqy, 9, 5; 16, 25.
113. Ani, 3, 3-9. See Gardiner, JEA 45 (1959), 12-15. For the recording of people, including qualified scribes, see P. Anastasi I, 11, 8 - 12, 6.
114. See the Inscription of Mes. On the relationship between written and oral evidence see Malinine, RdE 25 (1973), 201-202.
115. See Pestman, Marriage and Matrimonial Property, 84-85.
116. P. Berlin 8523, 18-27 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 76-77, and for similar references see Allam, HOPR, p. 275, n. 9. Note also Hughes, Saite Demotic Land Leases, 3 and add the examples LRL 41, 6-7; 51, 3; 70, 3-4; 70, 12-13; Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 147, lines 34-35. Interesting comparisons can be made also with LRL 53, 5-6 and 67, 1.
117. HO LXXVIII-LXXIX, vs. 15. Compare also HO LXXXVIII, vs. and see Spiegelberg, ZAS 53 (1917), 115.
118. Ani, 9, 14.
119. Inscription of Mes, N13. Cf. also LRL 47, 10 and Abb. 6, 23, where the sense 'aide-memoire' rather than 'proof' seems clear.
120. See Pestman, in Droit Egyptien, 75-83, and Seidl, Preuve, passim. Note also Mattha, Demotic Legal Code, VI, 1 - VII, 18; Smith, Visit to Ancient Egypt, 17.
121. Note the comments of Černý, JEA 31 (1945), 42.
122. See Williams, in Gibson and Biggs, Seals and Sealing, 138.
123. Parker, Saite Oracle Papyrus, 12-13; Edgerton, in Münchener Beiträge 19, 290. On the change in legal practices at this period see Malinine, Choix, v-vi.
124. Malinine, Choix, 14, n. 19 and 41, n. 19; Seidl, Aeg. Rechtsgeschichte^2, 14; Pestman, Marriage and Matrimonial Property, 84-85, n. 8; Parker and Černý, JEA 57 (1971), 128, note f.
125. See Newberry, Scarabs, 23; Edgerton, in Münchener Beiträge 19, 288-290 and 299; Goedicke, Privaten Rechtsinschriften, 117-118, 159, 195 and 228-229; Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 19; Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 44, 156, 169-170 and 253-254. Note also

Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 116 = Urk. IV, 1070. With reference to inheritance see also Goyon, Confirmation du Pouvoir Royal, 27-28.
126. See Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 10-12, 14 and 15; Goedicke, Kön. Dok., 6, 12, 107, 178-180 and Privaten Rechtsinschriften, 41 and 195.
127. See Newberry, Scarabs, 24. Note also the office of 'scribe of the seal' attested in the Third Intermediate Period, Janssen, JEA 54 (1968), 169, note r.
128. See Renger, in Gibson and Biggs, Seals and Sealing, 75-88 and note also the contributions of Hallo, (p. 55-60) and Steinkeller (p. 44 and 48-49) to the same volume. See also CAD K, 153b, under kanku and Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 1-4. Note also the regular use of royal seals on treaties; see particularly Langdon and Gardiner, JEA 6 (1920), 198.
129. Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 165-177; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, xi-xii.
130. Newberry, Scarabs, 12-40.
131. Urk. I, 223, 10-13.
132. Note, however, simple transactions such as DM 73, rt. and O. Mich. 3 (pl. LII).
133. On the use of the term 'witness scribe' in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty see above p. 15. On payment received by such a scribe see the passage quoted above p. 7 from a document connected with the will of Naunakhte.
134. For instance the Wills of Naunakhte (Černý, JEA 31 (1945), 29-53) and of Amonkhau (Théodorides, JEA 54 (1968), 149-154 and Allam, HOPR, pl. 112-119).
135. See particularly Allam, JEA 64 (1978), 65-68.
136. Allam, JEA 54 (1968), 123 against Sauneron, Cat. Ostr. Hiér., p. X-XI, note 4 and p. XVII-XVIII.
137. HO XXII, 1.
138. See HO, p. 7, note to the plate. Helck's suggestion, Materialien, 774-776, that the Eighteenth Dynasty accounts papyrus Louvre E3226 was just such a copy from original drafts is refuted, at least in part by Megally, Recherches, 201-213, 57, 68-69, 125-126 and 153. See however his Notions de Comptabilité, 22 and 124.
139. See Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, 26 and also 33-34, 46, 52 and 54. See also, Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 38-41.
140. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 20-21 for measurements of stone extracted. Perhaps also HO LII, 1.
141. See for instance Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 32, 33 and 44-48; O. Berlin 10621; HO XVII, 1 and XXII, 1; Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraca and Papyri, no. 133. Note also the accounts of stone transported from the quarry, op. cit., no.s 134, 135, 136, 137 and perhaps 115. Similarly O. Berlin 11292 and Gunn, in Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, I, 92-94 and II, pl. XC and XCII.
142. Note especially the texts Hayes, Ostraka, p. 23, no. 78 and JEA 46 (1960), 43-44.
143. Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, 36 and see also p. 128, 188, 197 and 198. Note, however, the records on the verso of P. Turin 1923 + 2073/146 + 2082/171 + 2083/180 = Černý Mss, 17.16.46-49, quoted Černý, Valley of the Kings, 25 and 31-32. Cf. also Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 21 for possible marks of daily progress on the so-called 'Grand Puits'.
144. For instance, Lefébure, Hypogées Royaux (Mém. Miss. Arch Fre.), pl. IXa and Hypogées Royaux (Annales du Musee Guimet), Seconde partie, pl. XIV; Guilmant, Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX, pl. LXIV; Černý, Valley of the Kings, 41; Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 83 and 714. Perhaps also van Siclen, in JEA 60 (1974), 132-133 and fig.4

145. See Hayes, Ostraka, 3-4 and pl. XXII, no.s 117-119. K.A. Kitchen has drawn my attention to an unpublished text of this sort from Theban Tomb 113, referring to the completion of painting over a four month period, see Wilkinson Mss, V, 124.
146. See Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 348-349 and cf. p. 326.
147. O. Turin 57036.
148. O. Turin 57037.
149. The Turin plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV, see Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 130-158. The plan of the tomb of Ramesses IX, O. Cairo 25184. For illustration of both see Peck and Ross, Drawings, pl. 129 and 130, and cf. the sketch from Deir el Bahari, op. cit., pl. 127. Similarly Hayes, Ostraka, no. 31-32; Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, no. 148-150. See also Lexikon, under 'Baupläne' and 'Architecturdarstellung'. Note also the limestone architects model of the underground part of an unidentified royal(?) tomb of the late Middle Kingdom, Arnold and Stadelmann, MDAIK 33 (1977), 16 and pl. 3b. Teichmann, in Hornung, Grab des Haremhab, 32 regards them as pre-building architects plans, for which compare Hayes, Ostraka, 3 and 14-15. Note however the comments of Davies, JEA 4 (1917), 194-195 and 196-197, and Černý, Valley of the Kings, 22, and see below p. 174-175.
150. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 23-26 and cf. the text Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 30.
151. Even those texts apparently recording figures by 'baskets' (see Černý, Valley of the Kings, 20-21) are likely to represent calculations from measurements rather than the scribe actually counting baskets as they were carried out. One should compare the formalism of the work accounts in Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, see below p. 21, where the amounts of work and the numbers of days taken are calculated to fixed and unvarying ratios. For the establishment of such a ratio see Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 43-44.
152. HO XXV, 1; XXVII, 1, vs.; O. Cairo 25575.
153. Cf. Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 98-99.
154. Exceptions are probably more apparent than real. See for instance DM 617, recording the absences of the 'physician', found in the 'Kom du Grand Puits' at Deir el Medina. Sauneron, Cat. Ostr. Hiér., p. X-XI suggested that such a text was a draft brought to the village for writing up, but many other possible explanations might be suggested for recording the absence of a specialist, quite separate from the general administration of the work. Note also that Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), fasc. II, 133, no. 329 reported the finding of a workdays account of the scribe Qeniherkhepeshef in one of the shrines to the north of the village.
155. See Černý, CGAE, Ostraca Hieratiques, Index VI, especially p. 128.
156. Cf. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 11.
157. Cf. Hayes, Ostraka, p. 23, no. 78.
158. For instance HO LX, 3.
159. For instance O. Turin 57039 records the absentees of the right side of the crew on consecutive days, one day on the recto and one on the verso, with some names qualified by 𓄿 , 'ill'. Cf. also O. Cairo 25522 and 25523.
160. Note, for instance, the dated list HO XX, 5 and cf. HO LI, 1.
161. For instance O. Cairo 25507 and 25534.
162. Černý, Paper and Books, 20.
163. Megally, Notions de Comptabilité, 6-7 and Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 47-48 and 94.
164. See Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, especially p. 44-46 and note also

p. 26-29. On the work rates see Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 87-88
165. See HO LXIX, 1, discussed at length below, p. 56-57.
166. Note particularly the journal RAD 64-68.
167. HO LXXXIII-LXXXIV.
168. HO LXXXIII, 8, Nb-imntt and 18, M33(·n·i)-nht·f.
169. See Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 115-118; Christophe, BIFAO 52 (1953), 113-144; Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 28-38.
170. The list in the hieroglyphic sign papyrus (see Griffith and Petrie, Two Hieroglyphic Papyri, part I) follows a thematic order, as do the onomastica (AEO passim).
171. Regular orders in which repeated entries should be made in texts are simply sensible documentary practice. For comparable Egyptian examples, see Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 65-69 and 75-86, and compare the geographical order used in the Wilbour and Harris Papyri, Gardiner, Wilbour Papyrus, II, Commentary, 197. The names in the lists of Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, p. 31, 32, 33, 39 and 44 come in set orders, but it is not clear that these are standard orders rather than a result of copying internally from one list to another.
172. On these and related texts see Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 96-99 and see also Valbelle, BIFAO 76 (1976), 108-109 and 77 (1977), 131-135.
173. O. Turin 57033 (from the Valley of the Queens).
174. O. Cairo 25575, 1-2 (from the Valley of the Kings). Also HO XXVII, 1, vs. 1; XXV, 1, 3.
175. Cf. P. Turin 1949 + 1946 = Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 110-111; DM 655. Cf. also DM 633, 656 and 659. P. Turin 2070/133 + 134 and fragments, col. II recto = Allam, HOPR, pl. 120-121 and Giornale 53, 26 are more problematic.
176. At least the ostraca quoted in the previous note came from the village of Deir el Medina, all having been found in the so-called 'Grand Puits'. It is likely that the papyri also all came from the living sites and not the worksites. A particularly problematic text from the Valley of the Queens, O. Turin 57026, opposes m st tn to wsf, and also on other days lists the names of individuals, by side but with no further explanation (absentees? Cf. also O. Turin 57025). This text is a curious mixture of the two basic types of absence register, and its implications remain obscure to me. m st tn may also appear on texts from the Valley of the Kings, note O. Cairo 25575, 1-2 and see Černý Mss, 17.23.52. fragments found by the Davis excavations in workmen's huts there. Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 46-47 and 97 is of the opinion that in some such cases m st tn acts in effect as a set of ditto marks for the preceding substantive entry, 'work' or 'absent'.
177. O. Cairo 25509; 25515, vs. IV, 5.
178. Note O. Turin 57032, vs. 21 (candle use - absence text). Similarly O. Turin 57047, 1-3.
179. O. Cairo 25515, vs. II, 21 - III, 7; IV.
180. See, for instance, O. Turin 57033 and 57034.
181. For instance O. Turin 57033, 22 refers to a court (qnbt). Cf. also O. Turin 57031, 1-2.
182. O. Cairo 25515, vs. I, 5. Note also O. Turin 57044, 5.
183. Note the remarks of Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 97, and cf. p. 102. HO XXV, 2, vs. 2-3 and 11-12.
184. Megally, Notions de Comptabilité, 22 and 124.
185. O. Cairo 25529. In O. Cairo 25515 the signs  or  precede the date on days when the work stopped or started again. The entry at the end of such a block of days absence or days of work often gave a total of the days in the block.

186. For examples from Deir el Medina one turns to lists of names (O. Cairo 25575; RAD 45, 1 - 47, 9) or lists of commodities (O. Cairo 25677-25679). For general remarks about such check marks and notes see Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 60-63 and Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, especially p. 24-25, 30 and 46.
187. O. Cairo 25509, II, 12-13 and 30-31; O. Cairo 25515 recto, above col. II, above col. IV and above col. VI.
188. Černý, Graffiti, 1310 and cf. 1319.
189. Černý's collection and examination of these texts, Valley of the Kings, chapter V, particularly p. 46-51, makes lengthy comment superfluous here. See also Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 100-101.
190. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 52 and n. 8.
191. O. Cairo 25524.
192. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 51.
193. O. Cairo 25547.
194. O. Cairo J 72454, rt. 2 (joins O. Cairo 25545) = Černý Mss, 17.106.5-6, quoted Černý, Valley of the Kings, 51.
195. O. Turin 57031-57034. See Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 101. The use of the sign  in HO XXV, 2 may have a different purpose.
196. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 52.
197. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 50-51.
198. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 52.
199. Černý, BIFAO 35 (1935), 43 = O. Cairo J 59464, and p. 48 = O. Cairo J 59465.
200. Černý, BIFAO 72 (1972), 52-68, no.s 43-94; DM 572-576. Compare also the find of the packet of twelve 'lots' from the area north-east of the village, on the slope opposite the Hathor temple; Černý, BIFAO 40 (1941), 135-141; Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), fasc. II, 151-152 and Rapport (1948-1951), 133-134.
201. Treated at length below p. 82ff.
202. See Davies, JEA 4 (1917), 235-236.
203. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 14-17 and 23-26.
204. See Hayes, Ostraka, 45-46 on ex-voto name stones.
205. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 19-21 and 108-110.
206. Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 5-10.
207. Hayes, Ostraka, 5; Peterson, Zeichnungen, 17-19 and 58-60; Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, p. 71 and pl. XXXVI.
208. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 58-60 compares the tomb of Senmut. The small number of finds from the E.E.S. excavations of the tomb of Horemheb at South Saqqara fit entirely into this category; representations of kings or sacred animals.
209. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 52-56 and 108-110.
210. Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Tiergeschichte, 7-17 for lists of the material, and see also her Egyptian Artists' Sketches, 11-18.
211. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 27-52 lists and categorizes all the basic types of figured ostraca.
212. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 29-30.
213. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 32 and 42-43.
214. Thus many of those found by the German excavators, cf. Peterson Zeichnungen, 29 and Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 15 and 60-64.
215. Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), 337.
216. Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 15, 60-64 and 71.
217. Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 20 and 28-29.
218. See Posener, in Černý, Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh, I, p. VII-VIII = Bruyère, Rapport (1928), 120.
219. Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 131.

220. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 27-30, 43, and 57-61; Rapport (1935-1940), fasc. II, 151-152.
221. The majority of the hieratic ostraca are likely to have come from the rubbish heap nearest to this place.
222. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 46-52. Note that at least the ostraca published in the Cairo Museum catalogues come almost entirely from excavations in the Valley of the Kings.
223. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 45-46.
224. From a worksite, see O. Turin 57032, vs. 21; 57047, 1-3. Cf. also Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 790 and 714. From a daybook from the village, DM 45, 14-17.
225. Cf. Helck, Materialien, 581.
226. For a list of those referring to grain see Helck, Materialien, 580-604. Exceptions are O. Cairo 25620 and 25809 (Carnarvon-Carter excavations), and probably also 25592, 25685, 25689, and 25698 (provenance uncertain, but from the Theodore Davies excavations). See also O. Cairo 25564, apparently noting an absence for receiving grain rations.
227. For example O. Cairo 25591, vs.
228. O. Cairo 25595.
229. For example 25593.
230. For example O. Cairo 25591, recto.
231. For example O. Cairo 25572.
232. Yet note Černý, Graffiti, 1282.
233. It would be quite unreasonable to suppose in these cases wholesale confusion of provenance among the collections of Carter and Davies now in the Cairo Museum.
234. See Janssen, Commodity Prices, 455-493.
235. See Janssen, Commodity Prices, 460-466.
236. See Christophe, BIFAO 65 (1967), 177-199.
237. See Menu, in Droit Egyptien, 130-135; Mueller, JNES 34 (1975), 249-263 and Saffirio, Aegyptus 57 (1977), 14-78 for collections of the basic material.
238. See Gelb, JNES 24 (1965), 230-243 and Studies....Landsberger, 57-62
239. Cf. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 456-457.
240. See Černý, Community, chapter 16.
241. Cf. below p. 37-38.
242. But not always. Note HO LI, 1, both sides have the same scribe.
243. See Černý, Community, 101-103.
244. Černý, CAH II, 2, 620. Note particularly the comments of Kozloff, in Abstracts....First International Congress of Egyptology, 66. Possibly relevant texts are O. Cairo 25536, 25537, 25651, vs. and 25743. It is reasonable to presume that some of the separate recording for the two sides was because they worked in different places, see Černý, Valley of the Kings, 48.
245. Note the piece discussed by Schaefer, Principles, 65, 355 and pl. 36.
246. Černý, Community, 99-101 and 103 regarded the word as a term originally designating a band of men working together, secondarily used of a boat's crew, and then later transferred back from this usage by analogy to the workforce of the Tomb. His comments there are relevant for the whole of this paragraph. For examples of the use of the word in the Old Kingdom see Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 132. Op. cit., 127-129 contains a full discussion of the use of the relevant phraseology, with examples.
247. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 28 and 31, with note 76.

248. KRI I, 60, 10-11.
249. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 129; Černý, Community, 100-101.
250. Gunn, in Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, I, p. 92-94, and II, pl. XC and XCII.
251. Hayes, Ostraka, p. 23, no. 78 and JEA 46 (1960), 39-41, no. 13. See also Megally, Recherches, 267, n.1.
252. P. Louvre E3226. See Megally, Le Papyrus Hiératique Comptable E. 3226 du Louvre. Helck interprets the papyrus in a rather different fashion, see Materialien, 763-792.
253. Megally, Recherches, 37, 57, 68-69, 125-126, 153 and 201-213. Note also Megally, Notions de Comptabilité, 22 and 124, where he argues that sometimes only single lines were written at a time, but sometimes considerable sections. He does not seem to be clear whether he thinks the text was entirely the primary register, or whether it was not copied up, at least partly, from sets of notes.
254. Megally, Recherches, 37, 57, 60, 144 and 211.
255. See Megally, Notions de Comptabilité, 13-16 and Recherches, 267, 274 and 278.
256. P. Boulaq XI = P. Cairo 58070, see Megally, BIFAO 74 (1974), 161-169, especially 163-165. For the continuation of the text, P. Cairo 58081, see Megally, BIFAO 75 (1975), 165-181.
257. See especially O. Cairo 25521, HO LI, 1 and HO LXXXIII-LXXXIV(?). For comments on O. Cairo 25520 see Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 99. For grain ration texts see DM 179 and 381. In O. Cairo 25542, verso the entries for each side were made in parallel columns.
258. Thus, for absences, see for instance O. Turin 57039; O. Cairo 25522 and 25523.
259. For instance, O. Cairo 25509, I, 15-20.
260. For instance, O. Cairo 25542, rt. 15-17 and vs. passim.
261. HO LXV, 2, vs. 6-7.
262. The best examples are P. Turin 2018 = Černý Mss, 17.15.49-63, and see Černý, Community, 189; grain payments to each side of the crew and each side of the service-staff, grouped separately, and each of the four groups under the charge of a scribe. For the service staff alone see DM 323 and RAD 45, 1 - 47, 9 and 49, 4-12, and cf. Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), 118-119.
263. For a probable example with fats see HO LVII, 3, vs.
264. For instance O. Cairo 25753.
265. Exceptions such as the brief note O. Cairo 25808 are difficult to fit into a coherent pattern because of their lack of explanatory text.
266. See the following pages.
267. See O. Cairo 25719 and P. Greg = Černý Mss, 17.48.2-14.
268. Cf. below p. 35.
269. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 461. For examples where payment for the right side was recorded on the recto and payment for the left side on the verso see DM 179 and 381. For the rarer examples of such payments listed as a unity see DM 141; 180, vs; 272; 276; 377, vs. and 378, rt. The records of payments kept on ostraca are discussed further in the following pages. It is not clear whether they were meant as notes for later writing up, for records on papyri seem more often to associate all the payments to both sides. Note particularly P. Turin 2018 = Černý Mss, 17.15.49-63 (see previous page), P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, vs. I = Allam, HOPR, pl. 122-127, P. Turin 2081 + 2095 = Černý Mss, 17.23.49-54 (quoted Janssen, Commodity Prices, 98), and P. Turin 2062 = Černý Mss, 17.23.59-61. The recording of grain deliveries by side may also be connected with the fact that the grain seems to have been brought up to Deir el Medina by members of the service-staff, working under their

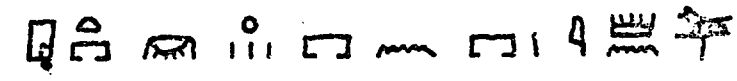
own scribes, and presumably only bringing up grain for the side for which they worked.
270. Note the references of Černý, Community, 109.
271. See, for instance, Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 790; DM 252; 380; 386; O. Mich. 73, 2-3; O. Ash. Mus. 131 (formerly O. Gardiner 131) = Černý Mss, 17.45.32. See Helck, Materialien, 606.
272. After the move of the crew to Medinet Habu late in the Twentieth Dynasty the gatehouse ceases to be mentioned in the texts. There is a note from that period of the scribe of the Tomb Horisheri writing up the accounts of a fisherman 'in the office ('t) of the scribe Wennefer', doubtless the scribe then in charge of the service-staff, see Giornale 35, V, 1-5.
273. Wb. II, 500, 26.
274. See Černý, JEA 31 (1945), 32, a.
275. P. Berlin 10496, vs. 15 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 80-83. This line, like that in the Will of Naunakhte, was a docket.
276. Urk. IV 693, 11.
277. LES 68, 1-2.
278. Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, p. 97, 3. See also n. 94.
279. See Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 28-38; Christophe, BIFAO 52 (1953), 113-144; Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 115-118.
280. Note the comments of Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 26 on Abusir papyri.
281. Helck, Materialien, 869 compares a pair of texts where the deliveries of a woodcutter are recorded both in a daybook, DM 154, and in a separate account, O. Cairo 25635. The parallel entries in the daybook seem to be one day later than those of the account. Helck takes this to imply that the daybook was written up a day after the deliveries were made.
282. See, for instance, DM 145, a record of wood; the record of the complete month's deliveries for one of the sides of the crew?
283. See also the following page.
284. See below p. 183-186.
285. DM 152.
286. For the 10 day recording period, cf. O. MMA Field no. 23001.66 = Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 43-44, no. 16, quoted below p. 169.
287. DM 152, II, 4.
288. DM 36, additional text at the bottom left; 144, 1-3 and 147, vs. 4.
289. Abb. 7, 16; Leop. Am. IV, 3; P. Turin 1903, vs. II, 6 = Černý Mss, 17.15.16-20 (in the heading of a report listing 'all dues' paid to the Tomb).
290. Giornale 35, V, 1-5.
291. Černý, Community, 200-201.
292. Cf. above p. 33.
293. Černý, Community, chapter XVIII.
294. See the table, Černý, Community, facing p. 230.
295. For Deir el Medina see Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 86 to which add O. Cairo 25364 = Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 193-194; O. Cairo 25349; Posener, RdE 7 (1950), p. 72 = O. Moscow 4478 + O. Berlin 9026, and p. 75 = DM 1106; O. Berlin 1268, 15-16 = Černý Mss, 17.32.43, quoted Černý, Community, 192.
296. Cf. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 19 and 55. The formula iri•n X, 'made by X' on a figured ostracon, or indeed any piece of craft work, is not necessarily a signature of the artist, but in essence that of the dedicator. Naturally at Deir el Medina the two will often have coincided. Cf. Schaefer, Principles, 63-64; Roeder, ZAS 50 (1912),

76-78; Ware, AJSL 43 (1926-1927), 194-199; Wilson, JNES 6 (1947), 233 and 238-243. Cf. also Anthes, JEA 54 (1968), 31-39.
297. See Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 85-87 and Černý, Community, 222-223. Cf. also n. 102.
298. Note, for instance, Valbelle, BIFAO 77 (1977), 135-136; four ostraca showing confusion in writing between the signs  and  probably came from the same hand. Cf. also the remarks of Green, in Studies .... Fairman, 115. The possibilities for stylistic analysis of drawings and tomb painting are obvious, but have never been approached in any systematic way; see for instance Schaefer, Principles, 42, 65 and 355; Vandier d'Abbadie, Catalogue, fasc. III (1946), 101; Peterson, Zeichnungen, 52-55; Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), 321-322; Tosi, Stirpe di Pittore, 14; Kozloff, in Abstracts....First International Congress of Egyptology, 65-66.
299. Helck, Materialien, 585-586. One should also note his comments on changes in the formulae for the recording of work days and absences in the Giornale of the reigns of Ramesses IX to XI, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 97-98.
300. Černý, Community, 216. Confusion slipt into Helck's text in the discussion of this subject.
301. See Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 86 to which now add Zonhoven, JEA 65 (1979), 97.
302. O. Berlin 1268, 15-16 = Černý Mss, 17.32.43, quoted Černý, Community, 192, n.1; The record of a donkey transaction, written by the draughtsman Hori. In Giornale 29, 4-7, three people, of whom two were draughtsmen, 'received' the deliveries of a fisherman. The background to this is obscure, but it is noteworthy that draughtsmen were apparently earlier included in the duty roster where it is attested at an earlier date.
303. In the unpublished Papyrus Greg = Černý Mss, 17.48.2-14 the deliveries of various commodities were 'received' by two men, one receiving for each side of the crew. These men were probably the men 'on watch', there being short periods for which a two man watch is attested. This papyrus is discussed at length on p. 47-48.
304. Černý, Community 332-333. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), fasc. II, 133, no. 329, records the find of an account of work days of his in one of the shrines to the north of the village of Deir el Medina. For a register of the issue and use of wicks in his hand see Černý, Valley of the Kings, 47. On the question of who recorded what see the text Hayes, Ostraka, p. 23, no. 78.
305. DM 38, 10.
306. DM 38, 1-6.
307. P. Ashmolean Museum 1960.1283; see Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), 108-119.
308. Five obscure lines at the beginning of the verso dealing with small quantities of grain are perhaps exceptions to this.
309. P. Turin 1949 + 1946 = Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 110-111. The limited range of content in this papyrus indicates that it is not simply to be classed in the same group as the 'Giornale' of the late Twentieth Dynasty. See the following pages.
310. DM 39.
311. O. Cairo 25515, II, 7; 25783, vs. 12-17. Perhaps to the contrary O. Cairo 25529, III, 11.
312. Giornale 58, 1.
313. See also above p. 22-23.
314. Botti-Peet, Giornale. Other fragments have been published in Allam, HOPR, or remain unpublished in Turin.
315. RAD 64, 10 - 65, 1.

316. Essentially the collection of the Turin Museum.
317. Černý, LRL XV-XVII concluded that they came from Deir el Medina itself, but both their dating and internal evidence (particularly letter no. 12) speak against that and for Medinet Habu.
318. Cf. Černý and Peet, JEA 13 (1927), 37-38; Gardiner et al., JEA 22 (1936), 176, note to line 17; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 62-64; Materialien, 109-110; Hölscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu V, 1, n.2. Borchardt, ZAS 73 (1937), 116 was strongly against this conclusion, and cf. also Schaedel, Die Listen des Grossen Papyrus Harris, 10. For the early history of the papyri see also Dawson, JEA 35 (1949), 163-164.
319. P. Ambras, 1, 5-6. On the documents recorded there see Peet, Great Tomb Robberies, 3-4.
320. P. Turin 2021 + P. Geneva D 409 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 112-119 (now all in Turin, see Massart, MDAIK 15 (1957), 172); Černý and Peet, JEA 13 (1927), 30-39; Černý, BIFAO 37 (1937-1938), 41-48; Theodorides, JEA 54 (1968), 149-154.
321. Col. IV, 2-3.
322. Černý, JEA 13 (1927), 38. On archives see above n. 94.
323. See Giornale, pl. 4-5.
324. Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 672.
325. RAD 64 - 68.
326. In this case it cannot possibly be 'cream' or 'curd', for which see Janssen, Commodity Prices, 353-355.
327. See Černý Mss, 17.48.2-14. Present whereabouts unknown, see the editorial forward in JEA 65 (1979), 3. The dating is based on the appearance of the scribe Paser (cf. Černý, Community, 204-205).
328. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 51, n. 7
329. See Černý, in Parker, Saite Oracle Papyrus, 45-46, and note the 'lots' published by Černý, BIFAO 40 (1941), 135-141.
330. See Černý, Community, chapter XIII.
331. HO LXXIV-LXXV.
332. HO LXXV, 8-9.
333. O. Cairo 25831.
334. See Černý, Community, 159-160.
335. See LRL 21, 9; 32, 5-12 and 51, 4-8.
336. LRL 16, 14 - 17, 1.
337. See Černý, Community, 159.
338. Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 621; Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, passim.
339. Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 1-2.
340. See Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 10-11.
341. Poids DM 5306. Or might this example not be a weight at all? In the publication no weight is given, but to judge from the measurements the stone can hardly have been big enough to represent the weight of all the tools listed.
342. Poids DM 5196.
343. Using wh3, Poids DM 5182, 5196, 5226 and 5227. Using šdi, Poids DM 5233 and 5310. ?Using tsi, Poids DM 5189.
344. Poids DM 5235, 5239 and 5311.
345. Poids DM annexe 9.
346. GG §266, 4.
347. See Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 64.
348. See Janssen, Commodity Prices, 542-543.
349. See particularly BM 10052, 3, 7-8 and 12 and 5, 19-20.
350. See Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, p. 103-119, weights no. 5315-5395, p. 124-125, weights no. 5416-5423 and p. 30-32, weights no. annexe 1, 2 and 5.
351. Cf. Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 64-65. If necessary more than

one stone might be used, cf. Poids DM 5167, 5395 and annexe 4.
352. From Černý, see CAH³ II, 2, 621. References by other writers (see Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 5) depended on verbal communications from Černý. On tool weights and smelting see also Simpson, Papyrus Reisner II, 25-26 and Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 45. For tool control in the Ptolemaic period, cf. Edgar, in Studies....Griffith, 211-215.
353. Poids DM 5135, 5136, and annexe 10.
354. Poids DM 5130, 5132, 5133 and 5138.
355. Poids DM 5131 and 5134. Note that in the latter case they were said to be in the charge of the two foremen and the guardian.
356. See Poids DM 5001 - 5157, 5396 - 5405 and annexe 10, 12 and 13.
357. For a particularly fine example of a coppersmith commissioned with his work, see HO XXVI, 4 and see also Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), 114, note n. On the work of the coppersmiths see below, p. 185-187.
358. Poids DM 5092. Note also Poids DM 5143, a weight of metal that was 'in the care of the foreman ////'.
359. Poids DM 5158, 5159 and annexe 11.
360. Poids DM 5160.
361. Poids DM 5162 -5178 and annexe 4 and 6.
362. Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 21-22.
363. Poids DM 5165, 5167 and 5169.
364. Especially HO XXXV, 3. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 53-54.
365. Poids DM 5182. The name is  , Dw3(?) or Sb3(?). Černý, Valley of the Kings, 54, n.1 preferred Seba.
366. Poids DM 5179 - 5181 and 5406.
367. Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 623-624; Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 2. For the objects themselves see Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1931-1932), 90; Rapport (1934-1935), 219-221; (1945-1947), 50; (1948-1951), 64-65. See also Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 184.
368. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1931-1932), 90; Rapport (1948-1951), 64-65.
369. Bruyere, Rapport (1934-1935), 219-221.
370. Christophe, BIFAO 65 (1967), 177-199; Janssen, Commodity Prices, 478-481.
371. Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 22-25; Poids DM 5186 - 5235; 5407 - 5413 and annexe 7, 8 and 14.
372. Poids DM 5235, and cf. 5195 and 5203.
373. Poids DM 5233.
374. Poids DM 5192, 5193 and 5202.
375. Poids DM 5191, and cf. 5194.
376. m-'; Poids DM 5212. m-drt; Poids DM 5232.
377. Poids DM 5199, 5219, 5221, 5222, 5223 and 5225.
378. Poids DM 5197, 5202, 5205 - 5210, 5407 and annexe 8.
379. Poids DM 5207.
380. Poids DM 5186 A, and 5188.
381. Poids DM 5186 B, 5187, 5189 and 5190.
382. See Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 196-197, and Valbelle, BIFAO 77 (1977), 129-131.
383. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 348-350 and 478-481.
384. HO LXVII, 2. See Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 5, n.6.
385. Poids DM 5237, 5238, 5239(?) and 5244.
386. Poids DM 5236.
387. Cf. Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 22, n.9.
388. Poids DM 5053, 5079, 5080, 5105, 5131 and 5397.
389. Poids DM 5179.
390. Poids DM 5264 and 5265. Cf. also 5247, 5254, 5257 and 5309.
391. Poids DM 5255 and 5269; both use the word jsw, not f3i, for 'weight'.

392. Poids DM 5259.
393. Exceptions from the Valley of the Kings are the Poids DM annexe 1-3, 5, 6 and 9, all failing to note what objects they represented, Poids DM 5014 and 5016, referring to chisels, and possibly Poids DM annexe 11, referring to azurite or blue frit. Poids DM 5377 and annexe 10 came from Medinet Habu.
394. Note particularly HO XXXIV, 2.
395. HO LXX, 1, vs. 6-8 and LXXII, 3. On 'witness scribes' see above p. 15.
396. HO LXIX, 1.
397. Černý, Community, 209-210.
398. The argument is set out by Allam, JEA 54 (1968), 121-128.
399. O. Berlin 12654 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 12-15.
400. RAD 45 - 58.
401. Note the comment of Federn, JNES 11 (1952), 83, and compare the comments of Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom, 127-129, on the even more seemingly disparate contents of a Brooklyn papyrus.
402. RAD 58, 13-16.
403. RAD 58, 9.
404. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 18. Does the difference in dating imply that Amonnakhte was absent on the worksite at the time of death, and only returned to the village and wrote up the papyrus some days later.
405. See Federn, JNES 11 (1952), 83 and Černý, Community, 207-208 and 346. At the first of these references Černý's text is obscured by an editorial error. See also below, p. 201.
406. RAD 57, 6 - 58, 6; 58, 11-12.
407. RAD 47, 15 - 48, 13.
408. After divorce?
409. The difficulty about this explanation is that the record of the court case would seem to have been written up earlier than the list of accusations.
410. See Gardiner, RAD xiv -xvii.
411. I have been unable to consult the original papyrus in Turin. Personal examination might solve this question.
412. See Gardiner, RAD xvii, note 1. Cf. the dockets on the verso of the Will of Naunakhte, Černý, JEA 31 (1945), pl. IX, and at the bottom of the verso of P. Berlin 10496 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 80-83. For a very similar Demotic example see Crawford and Easterling, JEA 55 (1969), 187 and cf. Erichsen, in Firchow, Aeg. Stud., 76-80. See also Malinine, RdE 6 (1951), 158-159 and Pierce, Three Demotic Papyri, 179-188.
413. See below p. 192 and 210.
414. See below p. 193-197 and 228.
415. Note, however, Černý, Valley of the Kings, 51 and n. 7. He describes Papyrus Greg as 'the journal of the work, written on papyrus, such as was sent to higher authority'. Cf. also the 'Semnah Dispatches', Smither, JEA 31 (1945), 3-10 and LEM 31, 4-8.
416. On letters of report see below p. 72, 120 and 179-183.
417. O. Berlin 11238.
418. LEM passim.
419. See LRL passim, although admittedly these texts belong to a rather unusual period when the normal occupations of the people of the Tomb seem to have been somewhat disturbed.
420. The references to the supply of weapons to the army, having been made by workmen of the Tomb under the control of the scribe and the guardian were given above, p. 49-50.
421. Cf. LRL 45, 7 - 47, 1; excuses are made about a specific failure, and the enthusiasm of the crew for the work in general emphasised.

Compare also the text published by Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257, especially recto 11 - verso 7, and P. Chester Beatty III, vs. 4-5, which are perhaps the drafts of original letters rather than models.
422. See below p. 106 and 107.
423. For the remains of what seems to have been an actual letter from the vizier see Edwards, JEA 54 (1968), 156-157.
424. Cf. below p. 120.
425. LRL 45, 11 - 46, 1. See below p. 181.
426. See the comments above p. 14 on letters as 'witnesses' (mtr).
427. P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, rt. II, 9-10 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 122-127.
428. O. Berlin 12654, rt. 11 - vs. 6 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 12-15.
429. See Borchardt, ZAS 44 (1907-1908), 59-61. The Amarna letters came from such an office at Amarna, see Riedel, OLZ 42 (1939), 145-146 and CoA III, 114-115 and 162. On deposit of documents see above p. 11-12.
430. Theban tomb 57. See Urk. IV, 1841 and note Megally, Notions de Comptabilite, 40.
431. ; HO LXVIII, 1, and see below p. 99-100.
432. Cf. RAD 54, 1-3.
433. See Giornale 25, 6-11.
434. See below p. 172-173.
435. Abb. 6, 21-23 and cf. also 23-24. Note also the record, Mayer A, 12, 6, that a tomb robber was dealt with by the king, and not brought before the officials 'in writing'.
436. O. Gardiner 108 = Černý Mss, 17.45.7.
437. Peet, Mayer Papyri A and B and Great Tomb Robberies; Gardiner et al., JEA 22 (1936), 169-193.
438. Cf. Peet, Great Tomb Robberies, 72-79.
439. P. Turin 1903 = Černý Mss, 17.15.16-20.
440. 
441. Taking the years of the era 'whm-mswt' to be totally equated with those of Ramesses XI, they will have begun about the middle of IV shemu, cf. Helck, Stud. Bib. et Or., III, 128-129.
442. Cf. above p. 11-12.
443. P. Turin 1978/208 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 97, quoted above p. 12.
444. See above p. 62-63.
445. O. Turin 57036.
446. See the papyrus published by Megally, Le papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre, and also P. Turin 1907 +1908, rt. III, 13-14 = Janssen, JEA 52 (1966), pl. XVII. On annual accounts in general cf. Postgate, Taxation, 235-236. A text possibly beginning on I akhet 1 is P. Turin 2072/142 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130. On the accession dates of kings in relation to texts see below p. 100.
447. Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 22. Cf. also the group of ostraca with writing very different from normal hieratic or hieroglyphic. Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), pl. XVIII suggested that those bearing signs such as  might be clothing inventories, others with obscure signs perhaps food inventories. Such texts one could only presume to have been used by illiterates.
448. See the comments of Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 257-258.
449. For instance HO CVI, 1 has a hymn on the recto and a type of daybook on the verso.
450. HO XXXVIII, 1.
451. The 't sbȝyt, see Williams, JAOS 92 (1972), 215 and add Ani 7, 20 - 8, 1. Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri, Introduction,

wished to identify a group of rooms at the Ram[illegible]eum, in which literary ostraca were found, as a school. On schools of artists see Schaefer, Principles, 60. Note also Brunner-Traut, Egyptian Artists' Sketches, 8-9; Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, 229-230.

452. Williams, JAOS 92 (1972), 214-221. It is not clear how advanced the education was in the 't sbȝyt. The practical and specialized education of the scribe would have taken place when he worked as a hry-', 'assistant' or 'apprentice', to a regular scribe. The title is frequently used by pupils writing the more advanced exercises that are now spoken of as model letters or miscellanies, see also Caminos, LEM, 125. On education as a whole see Brunner, Altäg. Erziehung, passim, and Lexikon II, 22-27, under 'Erziehung'.

453. Černý, Community, 346. Cf. also Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 87.

454. The scribe Ramose was appointed scribe of the Tomb from scribal appointments outside the Tomb, see Černý, Community, 317-318.

455. Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, 1-3; Junker, Gesell. Stellung, 22 and 60; Der Maler Iry, 60-62; Smith, History, 353. See also Černý, Community, 191-193.

456. See Peterson, Zeichnungen, passim.

457. See Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, 52-58, and cf. Schaefer, Principles, fig. 325, p. 329; Peck and Ross, Drawings, pl. 125 and 128.

458. Černý, Paper and Books, 7; Valley of the Kings, 13-14; Morenz, Prestige-Wirtschaft, 47, n.146; Egyptian Religion, 217.

459. See Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, p. III.

460. See above p. 18 and below p. 174-175.

461. Junker, Der Maler Iry, 60-62 and cf. Gesell. Stellung, 22 and 60.

II. Pharaoh.

1. Černý, Community, 13, n.1; Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs, 52; earliest in the reign of Amonhotep II, see Edel, ZDMG 69 (1953), 145. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 128, n.8, would, perhaps wrongly, make an exception in the case of mortuary temples, where he believes that 'Pharaoh' may sometimes refer to the temple's deceased owner.
2. GG, p 75. Cf. also Janssen, JEA 54 (1968), 168, note f, and Edwards, Or. Am. Dec., p. 48, note 17.
3. Hornung, Der Eine und Die Vielen, 181 stresses that the word '3. as in the phrase ntr '3, may bear the sense 'greatest'.
4. Helck, Materialien, 337.
5. Note the early Middle Kingdom use of 'House of So-and-So' for local ruling houses; thus 'House of Khuu', Fisher, Kush 10 (1962), 333 and 'House of Kheti' in the stela of Antefnakhte, Clère and Vandier, Textes, 44, no. 30.
6. In English terminology including both 'real' and 'personal' estate. Thus in the deed imyt-pr, 'what is in the estate'; see Mrsich, Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde, passim; Goedecken, Eine Betrachtung der Inschriften des Heten, 211-218; Lexikon III, 141-146.
7. What the Wb. describes, I, 511, sense A IIc as 'Verwaltungseinheit'. Cf. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, Register, p. 36, 'Gutsanlage'; Wb. I, 511-515; Goedecken, op. cit., 212; Helck, Lexikon II, 1061-1062.
8. Wb. I, 516, under pr-'3, I. Cf. Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 178-179. There is no shortage of other words. The residence city was niwt as in the title of the vizier, imy-r niwt, 'City Overseer', or in the name of Thebes, niwt rsy. Note particularly 'h, 'palace' and hnw, 'interior', 'residence', and cf. Wb. VI, 116, under 'Palast'. Each individual palace had its own name, at least in the New Kingdom (for example Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 177-180), compounded with the word pr, 'house'.
9. Cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 172; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 1; Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 157; Kaplony, Studien....Methethi, 41; Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, chapter 2. For more general treatments of this subject see articles in Spooner, Population Growth, Anthropological Implications, noting particularly the remarks of Adams (p. xxii-xxiii) on ancient Mesopotamia.
10. Cf. Admonitions, 10, 4; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 173; cf. also Urk. I, 2
11. Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 97, n. 173; Helck, Materialien, 117-119.
12. See Smith, in Man, Settlement and Urbanism, 711.
13. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 77; Materialien, 234-235; Geschichte, 127 sees such a division as arising at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.
14. Černý, Community, 22-23.
15. Černý, Community, 1-28. The journal P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, rt. II, 9 = Allam, HOPR, 122-127, talks specifically of b3k m p3 hr n pr-'3, 'work in the tomb of Pharaoh'.
16. For the references see Černý, Community, 99, n.3. In the model(?) letter to Pharaoh, O. Berlin 12337, 2-3 they are described as 'his crew'.
17. Černý, Community, 13.
18. Wb. I, 516, 8-9.
19. RAD 58, 5-6. Pharaoh is called a hry only when referred to with contempt, LEM 36, 12.
20. For visits by kings to various works in progress in the Old Kingdom see Junker, Gesell. Stellung, 79-83.

21. O. Cairo 25560; year 1 of Sethi II, perhaps a tour of the country following his accession. Ramesses II also visited Thebes in his first year. It seems that the purpose of such royal visits was to attend the great festivals on the east bank, see Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 4-9. O. Cairo 25254 = Helck, Materialien, 122 = Černý Mss, 17.101.35 records a visit of Ramesses V to the west bank in a year 2, but it is said there iw.f m qrs, and the text might refer to the occasion of his burial. Cf. also the damaged O. Cairo 25508, 1-2.
22. See below chapter IV.
23. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 4-9.
24. Cf. O. Berlin 10621 and the texts published by Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 44-47.
25. For surveys see the articles of von Bissing, in Studi Rosellini I, 123-234 and Forschungen und Fortschritte 21/23 (1947), 134-136. See also below p. 109-110 and 125.
26. O. Berlin 12337, a model letter from the overseer of the Treasury, Sethi, to Pharaoh, reporting on the annual dues of 'his crew'. Note 'the letter office of Pharaoh' (t3 st n3 š't pr-'3) depicted in the tomb of the 'memorandum scribe of the Good God, the letter scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, T3y', Borchardt, ZAS 44 (1907), 59-61.
27. RAD 58, 5-6. For the reporting of offences to Pharaoh cf. also BM 10383, 1, 2 and 5; P. Salt 124, vs. II, 4-5.
28. Mayer A, 12, 12 and 26; LRL 59, 4-9; 60, 1-2; P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, vs. I, 11 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 122-127.
29. shr. Cf. O. Berlin 12337, 2 and the Manshiyet es Sadr stela, line 10 = KRI II, 360-362 and see Hamada, ASAE 38 (1938), 220.
30. Abb. 6, 13-14; cf. DM 592, 5-6.
31. See below p. 137-138.
32. Urk. IV, 1841-1842; cf. Megally, Notions de Comptabilité, 40.
33. See below p. 131 and 133 and cf. O. Cairo 25744, 3; 25745, 4.
34. LRL 36, 12.
35. HO LXXXVIII, 9 and 15; O. Berlin 12337; O. Cairo 25562; DM 114, 5-7.
36. Giornale 25, 6-8.
37. HO XXVIII, 1, 3-5; DM 149; Giornale 55, 24 - 56, 4.
38. DM 647. For , 'stockyard(?)' see Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 91-92 and 181. Might 'slaughter house' or 'butchery' be more accurate?
39. Cf. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 458.
40. Line 7. See KRI II, 361-363; Hamada, ASAE 38 (1938), 220.
41. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 457.
42. RAD 57, 1-5.
43. RAD 36, 3-7.
44. The entry in a ration list, P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960 = Allam, HOPR, 122-127, vs. I, 11 is obscure to me. In HO LVIII, 1, a letter to the vizier, the grain rations were included with wood, vegetables, sesame oil, fish, clothes and fats, which 'my Lord' (with the divine determinative, implying that the king was meant) provided. In the unpublished P. Gardiner 4, vs. 2-3 (now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) = Černý Mss, 17.48.26-27, the writer, a draughtsman from Deir el Medina, complained about someone not working, hr iw.f (hr) wnm p3y.i diw irm.i (m)-hmt(?) wpt Pr-'3 mi-qd t3y, 'And he is eating up my grain rations with me, and not (doing)(?) any work of Pharaoh like this'.
45. Giornale 53, 24-28.
46. Giornale 25, 9. Probably also Giornale 14, 14. See also O. Berlin 12337 and RAD 53, 15 - 54, 3; 57, 4-5. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 456-457.

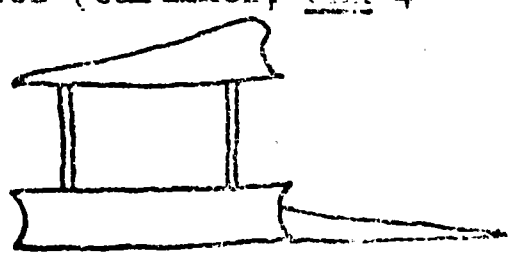
47. O. Berlin 12406, vs. 2 = Černý Mss, 17.32.3.  in a text listing privately made payments.
48. P. BM 10335, vs. 11-13 = Dawson, JEA 11 (1925), 247-248 and Blackman, JEA 11 (1925), 249-255.
49. HO LII, 2 (2nd text), vs. 8.
50. HO LVI, 2, 5; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 279. On the possibility that this term refers rather to the quality of the sandals see Junker, Weta, 19-24, especially 23-24.
51. They clearly did not belong to Pharaoh because they were listed in commodity transactions. See also JEL 60, 1-2.
52. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 261-263, no. 5; 293-296 and note 215.
53. HO LXX, 1, 5.
54. DM 314, vs. 4-9. Said to be for cloth, presumably to be used as a bleach, cf. Lucas-Harris, Materials, 267.
55. O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 5; O. Colin Campbell 6, 5 = Černý Mss, 17.36.61.
56. Cf. particularly the Manshiyet es Sadr stela, line 15; see KRI II, 361-363; Hamada, ASAE 38 (1938), 217-230. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 489-490 would, however, distinguish these payments from the normal dues, treating them as special rewards.
57. O. Cairo 25552. Cf. HO CXV, 4, vs.
58. Valbelle, Catalogue des Poids, 14-15 and cf. especially HO LXXXVIII; XLVII, 1.
59. DM 647; see the preceding page.
60. See above p. 24-25.
61. Note O. BM 5625, vs. 4 = Blackman, JEA 12 (1926), pl. XXXVI; HO XXIII, 4, 6-7; DM 314, rt.. See Helck, Materialien, 337; Smith, in Man, Settlement and Urbanism, 709-711. Note Smith, op. cit., 712 that the 'street of Pharaoh' was the public street.
62. Perhaps HO XLVII, 1, vs. 8-9; rt. 13-15.
63. O. Geneva 12550, 4-5 = Allam, HOPR, 54-56.
64. O. Cairo 25832, vs. 2-3 and probably also O. Cairo 25831, 5-6; see Černý, Community, 81-82. The old word k3t might also be used, HO XCII, 2, 5.
65. HO XLVIII, 1, 6-9; fans.
66. O. Cairo 25564.
67. See below p. 120.
68. O. Cairo 25518, 5-8.
69. See Helck, JESHO 7 (1964), 136-166 for a collection of the material.
70. HO LXVIII, 4, recto. Note also Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), 230-231.
71. DM 114.
72. O. Cairo 25676, apparently found at the Ramesseum, but concerned in a general way with the Tomb; DM 161, 3-4 + O. Strassburg H 82, 4-5 = Černý, Valley of the Kings, 18-19, and Mss, 17.35.64.
73. O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 3-4; O. Cairo 25258 = Černý Mss, 17.101.34, the mayor of Western Thebes came with a message about clothes. In O. Cairo 25310 = Černý Mss, 17.101.25 the High Priest Ramessesnakhte and in O. Cairo 25291 = Černý Mss, 17.101.8 the vizier Neferronpet visited the crew before reporting to Pharaoh.
74. For instance P. Cairo 58092, 11 = P. Boulaq 10 = Allam, HOPR, 88-91. See Théodorides, RIDA 14 (1967), 107-152.
75. P. Turin 2021, III, 4 = Allam, HOPR, 112-119; O. BM 5625, vs. 4 (see JEA 12 (1926), pl. XXXVI and Helck, Materialien, 342-343). I do not take this for certain to refer to laws, but perhaps rather to tenure belonging to the job, see n. 61.
76. The distinctions made here are of a different qualitative nature to those of Allam, JEA 64 (1978), 65-68.

77. HO LXXIV, particularly 4-8 and 13-15. In the investigation of the tomb robberies late in the Twentieth Dynasty the commissions seem to have been relatively unconcerned that the private tombs had been completely plundered, interesting themselves effectively only in the royal tombs, but see Leop. Am., IV, 9 and BM 10052, 8, 2-6 and 13-16.
78. Edgerton, JNES 6 (1947), 219-230; Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 25-27 and cf. pages 27-28. See also Harari, in Droit Egyptien, 57-73.
79. Many of the offences noted in the Nauri Decree fall into this category. See also the Horemheb Decree, Helck, ZAS 80 (1955), 109-136. For Pharaoh himself hearing cases and appeals, cf. Peet, Great Tomb Robberies, 17; Smith, Visit to Ancient Egypt, 17.
80. HO LXXV, vs. 16-19. Perhaps also O. Cairo 25237 = Černý Mss, 17.101.69.
81. BM 592 seems to be a complaint against a scribe that he had not ensured the supply of materials that normally appear in the 'dues' of the Tomb, with reference to the attitude Pharaoh will take to his failures.
82. See below, p. 106-107.
83. See Wilson, JNES 7 (1948), 129-156 for an extensive collection.
84. The references are collected by Green, in Studies....Fairman, 108-109.
85. P. Berlin 10496, vs. 1-5 = Allam, HOPR, 80-83; RAD 55, 1-2; O. Cairo 25556, 4-9, but see also LRL 36, 11-12.
86. Cf. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim., (1924-1925), 17-18; Rapport (1933-1934), 4; (1934-1935) (2), 3; Peterson, Zeichnungen, 39.
87. Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 159-203.
88. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 53, tried to identify the chapel of this form of Amonhotep actually at Deir el Medina.
89. The adoration of this king was naturally carried over to Medinet Habu when the crew moved there late in the Twentieth Dynasty; thus the columns from the house of Butehamon there shows Amonhotep and Nefertari together with Amon, see Hölscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu V, 5. For possible evidence for a shrine of Amonhotep at Karnak, see Jacquet, BIFAO 74 (1974), 179-180. Cf. also the stelae published by Wente, JNES 22 (1963), 30-36 which do not come from Deir el Medina, but in at least one case (see p. 35) further attest to his cult at Karnak.
90. Note, for instance, that of Montuhotep II, with its particular local associations, see Naville, XIth. Dynasty Temple, 57-62 and pl. XXIV-XXVI. Cf. also the depiction of the festival of Min at the Ramesseum, LD III, 163, and the ostracon, discussed by Sauneron, CdE 26 (1951), 46-49.
91. See Radwan, Darstellungen des regierenden Königs, especially 3-10 and 41. Note also Peterson, Zeichnungen, 39. Compare also encomia on kings, listed Condon, Seven Royal Hymns, 55-57. See also the list in Rowe ASAE 40 (1940), 37-45. See also Habachi, Features of the Deification, 45-50 and note Morenz, Egyptian Religion, 40-41.
92. See Kemp, ZAS 105 (1978), 130-131 for chapels called hnw as at Deir el Medina. For chapels called qni see Helck, Materialien, 119-122; Habachi, ASAE 47 (1947), 272-274. Cf. also Marciniak, Deir el Bahari I, 14.
93. Roeder, ZAS 61 (1926), 57-67; Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 514-557; Features of the Deification, 28-34; Stadelmann, MDAIK 29 (1973), 228. Cf. also the stelae and inscriptions of the Viceroy of Nubia, Setau, from Wadi es Sebua, Barsanti and Gauthier, ASAE 11 (1911), 64-85; KRI II, 87-98. Other monuments from Qantir show a cult of Ramesses II, see Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 479-482 and 490-500.
94. See Habachi, Features of the Deification, 40-45. See below also p. 89.

95. Roeder, ZAS 61 (1926), Tafel IV, 3, no. 377; see Morenz, Egyptian Religion, 41.
96. For bibliography see Schmidt, Ramesses II, 33-34.
97. Habachi, Features of the Deification, passim.
98. Cf. Habachi, Features of the Deification, 42
99. Cf. Habachi, Features of the Deification, 40-45. Cf. also the papyrus BM 10447 (=RAD 59) recording the grain delivered to one of these statues near Nefrusi in year 55 of Ramesses II, and see also Helck, Materialien, 226.
100. P. Petersburg 1116A, vs. 118; see Helck, Materialien, 626 and 632.
101. Cf. for instance LD III, 229 and Brenkhahn, SAK 3 (1975), 43-44 for an endowment of a statue of Ramesses VI by the 'Deputy of Wawat', comparable to the establishment of temples and cults of the king in Nubia by the Viceroy of Nubia, Setau, in the reign of Ramesses II.
102. See Lexikon I, 208b. Compare the stela of the Viceroy of Nubia, Huy, under Tutankhamun, Rowe, ASAE 40 (1940), 47-50 with those of Setau. Note also the comments of Caminos, The Shrines and Rock Inscriptions of Ibrim, 26-27, on the cults there. That of Ramesses II followed those of Tuthmosis III, Hatshepsut and Amonhotep II.
103. Cf. particularly the small temple at Abu Simbel (Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, Le petit Temple d'Abou Simbel) which belonged to her. Note also Habachi, Aspects of the Deification, 7 and 10-11.
104. See Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, 64. Urk. IV, 2170-2171.
105. For examples see Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 55, no. 113; p. 67-68, no. 88; p. 68-70, no. 79, all connected with the scribe Ramose. Cf. also Nagel, Rapport Prélim. (1928), 1, noting blocks and column fragments associating the names of Ramesses IV and Horemheb.
106. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), 314; Wildung et al., GM 9 (1974), 41-48.
107. Top. Bib. VI, 25, (229)-(230) and 35-36, (27). CAH, plates to vol. I and II, New Edition, pl. 26.
108. David, Religious Ritual at Abydos, 146-150. The list of kings included in the Chester Beatty Papyrus, see Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, vol. I, p. 90 is remarkably similar to to the series of statues of kings taking part in a festival of Min, depicted at the Ramesseum, LD III, 163. A most notable addition to the latter is Menes. Cf. also the ostracon discussed by Sauneron, CdE 26 (1951), 46-49.
109. See Mayer, Aegyptische Chronologie, Tafel 1.
110. Tomb C7 (unpublished) of Hormose, the head of the treasury of the current mortuary temple (hwt pr-'3), temp. Ramesses II (Top. Bib. I, 1, 459); Tomb 19, of Amonmose, first prophet of Amon of the Forecourt, temp. Sethi I (Champollion, Monuments II, CLXXXIV, 2); Tomb 65, of Iiemseba shows Ramesses IX making the offerings (LD III, 235); Tomb 284, of Pahemnetjer, the scribe of god's offerings (Top. Bib. I, 1, 366); Tomb 306, Iridjanyny (Top. Bib. I, 1, 384). Cf. Top. Bib. I, 1, index, p. 464, 3, c.
111. Tomb no. 2 of Khaibekhnet, LD III, 2, a.
112. Tomb 359 of the foreman Anherkhau, LD III, 2, d and cf. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1930), pl. VIII-IX.
113. See Top. Bib. I, 1, index, p. 464, 3a, 2.
114. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, pl. V, XV, XVI and XVII and p. 22-24.
115. Or at least as members of families associated by office, cf. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 407-408.
116. For general comments see Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1926), 7-8; Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 170; Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 3-50; (1931-1932), 56-72. More recently see Peterson, Zeichnungen, 36-37.
117. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 72-80 and 85-89; II, especially

p. 35-42 for finds around the building, but passim for the finds belonging to this shrine scattered over the surrounding area, and mixed inextricably with those belonging elsewhere. Note that Schiaparelli had already dug at this place, and removed quantities of material from there to Turin (Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 3, n.1). See also Bruyère, Rapport (1945-1947), 75-76.
118. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 64 and pl. XXX.
119. For example Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1922-1923), pl. XII; (1924-1925), 179, no. 1; Rapport (1935-1940), II, 15-16; p. 39, no. 87 and pl. XXXVI; p. 39, no. 88; p. 111, no. 254; p. 112, no. 257; (1948-1951), 39-40, no. 17. Cf. the large statue of the king protected by the Hathor cow from the sanctury at Deir el Bahari, Naville, XIth. Dynasty Temple, I, 63-67, pl. I and XXVII-XXXI (also Top. Bib. II, 380-381), and cf. pl. XXV. On the importance there of Hathor see Marciniak, Deir el Bahari, I, 43-53.
120. Rapport (1935-1940), II, 65 and pl. XXX.
121. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 56-57, no. 115 = Helck, Materialien, 200 and 462. Cf. also the scene in his tomb (no. 7 = Top. Bib. I, 1, 15-16) of Ramose adoring deceased kings.
122. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 3, n.1.
123. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 61-63. One of the stelae of Ramose from this chapel shows him praying to the king, depicted striking down foreigners, Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 72, no. 80 and pl. XXXVIII and III, 53-64.
124. Cf. Stadelmann, MDAIK 29 (1973), 221-242; Kemp, JEA 62 (1976), 81-82 and 91-92. Cf. also below n. 174.
125. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 53-54, no. 112 and pl. XXXII. Note also wigs of such statues, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 103, no. 234 and Rapport Prélim. (1931-1932), 33-34.
126. HO CXV, 4, vs. 3-5.
127. O. Cairo 25552.
128. Cf. the examples quoted on p. 85, and see Fischer, University Museum Bulletin, Philadelphia 20 (1956), 26-42; 21 (1957), 35-40.
129. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 40, no. 94.
130. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 77-78, no. 63; p. 78, no. 133a; p. 117, no. 276; p. 143-144, no. 383. Cf. also p. 105, no. 242 and Rapport (1948-1951), 111, where the lost name of the king is probably Ramesses II. Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 116, no. 273 shows the ka of Ramesses II with Ptah, and p. 116, no. 274 with Horakhty.
131. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 136, no. 344. Cf. III, 65-71 for a general discussion of the king's ka at Deir el Medina.
132. See Helck, JNES 25 (1966), 40-41.
133. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 123, no. 286.
134. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 42, no. 123.
135. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 82-83, no. 51 and Drioton, ASAE 39 (1939), 133-144 believed that they could see cryptographic writings of the name of Nefertari in two reliefs from the shrine.
136. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 151, no. 438.
137. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 151, no. 439.
138. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 32-33, translated by Helck, Materialien, 197. Černý Mss, 17.150.7-10 adds extra pages.
139. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1926), 7-8; Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 170; Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 92-95.
140. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 120-121; II, 44, no. 145b.
141. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 97-104 - Hathor. Cf. also Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), p. 24-25, fig. 4 and 38-44. The text here is obscure, but probably read Sethi I for Sethi II, passim.

142. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 81-82; II, 85-86, no. 176 and p. 138, no. 352.
143. Sauneron, CdE 26 (1951), 46-49; Černý, Community, 334-335. Cf. also the kings listed in the Chester Beatty ritual papyrus, and see above n. 108.
144. Note possible comparisons with the 'tomb chapels' at Amarna, Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 5.
145. Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 38-39, no. 14.
146. Baraize, ASAE 13 (1914), pl. X = Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 3.
147. Turin 6128. See Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 105-106 and 97-98 - including other similar fragments.
148. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 4 and cf. the wig fragment, p.51, no. 11.
149. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 143, no. 382.
150. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 5 = Rapport Prélim. (1923-1924), 92-93.
151. P. BN 231, carton 1, 8-12 = Černý Mss, 17.46.2.
152. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 103-104.
153. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, 63-68 and pl. XXXI and XXXVIII.
154. Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 159-203; on the side of the chapel, p.170.
155. P. Chester Beatty IX = Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, I, 78-106 and II, pl. 50-58.
156. Bacchi, Il Rituale di Amenhotpe I.
157. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), 201-232 and 310-345; David, Religious Ritual at Abydos, 146-150.
158. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), 343-345; Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, I, p. 83, n. 10-11, p. 92 and p. 101-102..
159. Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, I, 89-90; Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), 313-319.
160. See below n. 178.
161. See Schott, Schöne Fest vom Wüstentale; Marciniak, Deir el Bahari, I, 18-19, and see also below p. 88.
162. Cf. Blackman, JEA 3 (1916), 31-34.
163. P. Geneva MAH 15274, vs. III. See Massart, MDAIK 15 (1957), 182-183 (Year 6, III shemu 16).
164. O. BM 50744 = Černý Mss, 17.10.71.
165. See for instance the fragment from the tomb of Khaibekhnet, Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1926), 84.
166. Note especially the two prayers to Amonhotep published by Wente, JNES 22 (1963), 30-36.
167. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), 344.
168. See Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, I, p. 83, n. 11; p. 92 and p. 101-102. Note Wente, JNES 22 (1963), 34, Amonhotep worshipped as the son of Amon, probably at Karnak.
169. Cf. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1926), 63-65.
170. Tomb chapel 219; Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1927), 72-74.
171. Note a similar argument could be made about Senwosret III in Nubia, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, JEA 35 (1949), 54-55.
172. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1924-1925), 183.
173. Cairo 46367, quoted by Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1928), 118-119.
174. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 105, Chapelle D, and pl. XVIII-XX, and II, 53 and 99-100. A stela purchased at Thebes (Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 188-189) depicts Ahmose and Ahmose Nefertari in a shrine with the shape



This may be a stylized representation of the type of shrine at Deir el Medina. Cf. also above, p. 85.
175. P. Chester Beatty IX, vs. 3, 3-4 = Gardiner, Hierat. Papyri, Third Series, I, 101.
176. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), I, 121-126.
177. Nelson, JNES 8 (1949), 343-344.
178. See Nelson, JNES 1 (1942), especially 144-146 and 154-155; Christophe, BIFAO 49 (1949), 177-180; Habachi, Features of the Deification, 24. Cf. also Helck, Materialien, 116-117.
179. O. Cairo 25265, IIeme face = Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 186, n.1.
180. See Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 9, 10-15 and 33-35.
181. See Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), 79-83.
182. It should also be noted that the Turin map of the gold mines shows, as well workmen's villages, a stela to King Menmaatre (=Sethi I), and a hnw-chapel to 'Amon ⟨of⟩ the pure mountain', (see Scamuzzi, Museo Egizio di Torino, pl. 88). For the actual structure see Goyon, ASAE 49 (1949), 351-356. For the relationship of the Temple of Amon to the goldmines, see below p. 128.
183. Compare the titles of the dedicators of the 'Horbeit' stelae, see above, and especially Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 545-548. Note also an 'Overseer of the Works of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Montu Temple', from the time of Sethi I (Helck, Materialien, 65) and a 'scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Temple of Re' (Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 532 and Helck, Materialien, 126).
184. Cf. Habachi, Features of the Deification, 40-41.
185. Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 191-192; Bruyère, Meret Seger, 69-70.
186. Horemheb; Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1923-1924), 45-46. Ramesses IV; Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 12 quoting tomb no. 359 of Anherkhau.
187. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1930), 46. Note also a w'b-priest of Merenptah, Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 978. Cf. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 9 and 12.
188. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 129, no. 317.
189. Cf. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 9 and 12. Note particularly the graffiti in chapel 1194 of the hm ntr n nb t3wy Nfr-hr, Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 7 and 46. For other examples of the title, Bruyère, Rapport (1933-1934), 95 and (1934-1935), 357 and 360. Note also the figured ostracon recording the burial of a hm ntr of Amenhotep (Year 42, II shemu 8), Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1931-1932), 10.
190. Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 184-195.
191. For basic bibliography see n. 296 to chapter I (Documentation).
192. See particularly Junker, Gesell. Stellung, 52-64 for depictions of artists bringing offerings; Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, pl. VIII for depiction of the tomb offerings to the artists of his tomb, who were led by his son; Junker, Gesell. Stelling, 64-69 for artists with the titles of mortuary priests, See also the comments in Kaplony, Studien....Methethi, 79 on the nature of the htp di nsw formula, and p. 86 on the part taken by royal officials in the ritual of private tombs in the Old Kingdom.
193. Cf. for instance the inscriptions of Iikhernofret (Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 70-71) and Amenysonb (Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 76-77).
194. Note for instance Huy, the mayor of Memphis, builder and imy-r pr 'steward' of the temple of Ramesses II at Memphis, see Helck, Materialien, 138.
195. See Helck, Materialien, 196-199. Further remarks, Drenkhahn, SAK 3 (1975), 45-46; Helck, JNES 25 (1966), 34 and 38-41.
196. Helck, Materialien, 226-233; 238-239; 458-459.

197. Cf. the statues of Amonhotep son of Hapu set up at Karnak, Varille, Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep, chapter 1.
198. See above, p. 82.
199. Note also stelae of people from Deir el Medina, deposited in west bank mortuary temples, especially the Ramesseum, Bruyère, Meret Seger, 223-224.
200. Cf. Bruyère, Rapport (1945-1947), 53-54, fig. 38-39; a collection of pot stamps, many containing cartouches, from the area round the shrines to the north of the village. Perhaps they should be connected with the offerings.
201. O. IFAO 1424 = Černý Mss, 17.116.(23).
202. O. Berlin (K) = Černý Mss, 17.32.28; rt. 5, p3 htp ntr and vs. 4, p3 ntr, against rt. 8 and vs. 8, nb t3wy.
203. O. Cairo 25559.
204. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1926), p. 50; (1927), fig. 77; (1928), p. 6; Rapport (1933-1934), 13; (1934-1935), (2), 93. The texts seem generally to be of Eighteenth Dynasty date, but some examples bearing the name of Tuthmosis III seem to be of Ramesside date, cf. Bruyère, Rapport, (1933-1934), 44 and 63.
205. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1926), 53, no. 13; (1927), 13, no. 9; 41, no. 13; 110, no. B; (1928), 111, no. 7; 135-136; Rapport (1934-1935), (2), 95; (1934-1935), (3), 343.
206. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1924-1925), 46; t3 hwt R'-ms-sw Mry-imn.
207. Ani 3, 4-9; see Gardiner, JEA 45 (1959), 12-15.
208. See Posener, in Černý, Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh, 2-4 for a list of the known texts.
209. Ani 7, 12-17.
210. Ani 3, 7-9. O. Cairo 25234 = Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 183-184.
211. Bruyère, Meret Seger, 57 and 84-86; de Cenival, Associations Religieuses, 141; Enchoria 7 (1977), 31; Hughes, MDAIK 16 (1958), 154; Lüddeckens, Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 20 (1968), 196-198; Roberts, Skeat and Nock, Harvard Theological Review 29 (1936), 49, 53-54 and 85-87; the earliest examples date from the Saite period, see Muszynski, in Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 8 (1977), 145-177.
212. See particularly Hughes, MDAIK 16 (1958), 154 and Roberts, Skeat and Nock, Harvard Theological Review 29 (1936), 53-54 and 85.
213. Roberts, Skeat and Nock, Harvard Theological Review 29 (1936), 53-54, quoting Pirenne, Histoire des Institutions, I, 175ff, noting a Fourth Dynasty funerary foundation where, as in the late cult guilds, the members were not permitted to go to court against each other.
214. De Cenival, Enchoria 7 (1977), 31 notes similarities between the organisation of the crew, particularly in relation to the titles used; '3, h3wty, hry, mnh and rwd are all used in the late documents. They were, however, all part of the normal vocabulary of the language.
215. Hughes, MDAIK 16 (1958), 154; de Cenival, Associations Religieuses, 141.
216. Many graffiti contain prayers to the gods, cf. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 135, 780, 904 and 914; Černý, Graffiti, 1285, 1345, 1394 and 1396.
217. See Peterson, Zeichnungen, 19-20.
218. See the indices to Spiegelberg, Graffiti and Černý, Graffiti.
219. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 12-13 and 22-23.
220. Bruyère, Meret Seger, 14, 15, 20-22, 32-37, 37-39, 45-46 and 46-47.
221. See Habachi, Features of the Deification, 43
222. See above, p. 85-86.
223. See the stelae, Peterson, Zeichnungen, 80 and Or. Su. 14-15

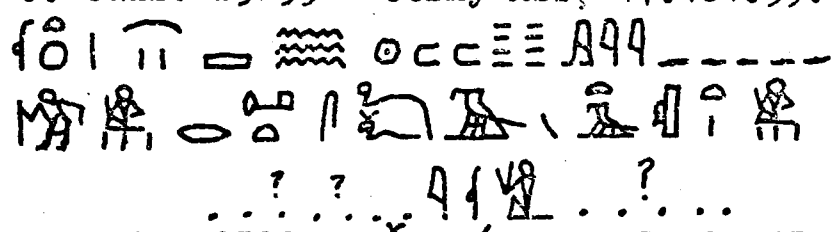
(1966), 3ff, comparing the scene in the tomb of Neferabu, Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), pl. V, p. 174-175.
224. Cf. however, for instance the stela published by Wente, JNES 22 (1963), 30-36. The distinction may perhaps be rather too fine when considering the mental attitude of the simple worshipper.
225. P. Salt 124, I, 11; see Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 243-258; Allam, HOPR, no. 266.

III. Changes of Reign and the sdf3 tryt.

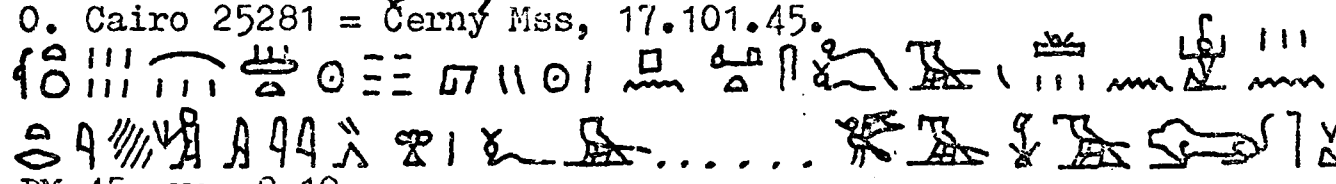
1. See above p. 70.
2. See Otto, Welt des Orients 3 (1964-1966), 164-166. Note also Bell, AJA 75 (1971), 20-21. There is, of course, nothing exceptional about this. Note the comments of Rheinstein, in City Invincible, 414; in England the concept of the 'King's Peace' - effectively the national legal system - was until 1272 only recognised in its relation to the individual king. It lapsed completely in the interregnum between the death of one king and the accession of another. See also Morenz, Egyptian Religion, 38.
3. Smith, JEA 54 (1968), 211-213.
4. Note the reactions of the crew to the announcement of a new king, quoted below, p. 99-100. For hymns celebrating the accession of kings see Condon, Seven Royal Hymns, 38-49 and 55-57 (the Turin ostraca containing copies of hymns to Ramesses IV and V are now published as O. Turin 57001 and 57002); Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 176; Bleeker, Egyptian Festivals, 94-96.
5. See Otto, Welt des Orients 3 (1964-1966), 162; Björkman, Kings at Karnak, 121-122 and passim.
6. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 226.
7. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 242. For a possible Old Kingdom example see Goedicke, Report about the Dispute, 26-28 and note 109 = Urk. I, 246, 11.
8. See Théodorides, RdE 24 (1972), 189 and RIDA 18 (1971), 219-221. Cf. also Posener-Kriéger, Archives du Néferirkarê-Kakaï, 622, n.2.
9. The initial date seems to be a later addition (see Borchardt, ZAS 73 (1937), 114-117), and fell a week earlier than the known accession date of Ramesses IV. The simplest solution would, no doubt, be to emend the date in the Harris Papyrus from III shemu 6 to 16, the date following the actual accession, but the date on which the news of it was announced at the neighbouring Deir el Medina.
10. See the remarks of Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 241 on the endowments listed there.
11. For royal progresses see Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 5-9.
12. This, at least, is the impression to be gained from the Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II from the temple at Abydos.
13. See below, p. 100-101.
14. Urk. IV, 79-81; cf. Gardiner, JEA 31 (1945), 23.
15. On the force of the royal name see Urk. IV, 260, 12-13 and the texts collected by Green, in Studies.... Fairman, 108-109.
16. Cf. Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 121; this seems to have been a normal formula at the end of royal letters.
17. See Bothmer, JEA 46 (1960), 10-11 and Jaquet-Gordon, JEA 46 (1960), 20-21.
18. DM 39, 16.
19. Note DM 44, 1 and see Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 112; Helck, Stud. Bib. et Or., III, 124-125 against Borchardt, ZAS 73 (1937), 60-66.
20. P. Turin 1949 + 1946 = Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 110-111.
21. Presumably so with Černý. On the word see below n. 319 to chapter XI (Labour Troubles II).
22. O. Cairo 25515, vs. II,221 - vs. III, 9.
23. O. Cairo 25515, vs. IV. It is curious that the name of Siptah is not mentioned in either of these passages.
24. Probably also the chief of police of that name, see Černý,

Community, 268.
25. HO LXIV, I, 1-3.
26. This phrase is closely connected with the phrase sndm ib pw n nb.i, used regularly in letters and conventionally translated on the lines of 'it is a message/greeting for my Lord'. It has therefore seemed better to translate rather freely, as I have here, than to take the passage to mean something like 'in rejoicing'.
27. Cf. above p. 58 on O. Berlin 12654.
28. See Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 49 and 73-76; Einfluss der Militärführer, 57-59; Labib, MDAIK 25 (1969), 74, d; Kees, Kulturgeschichte, pl. 5. Note especially Theban Ostraca, A11, rt. 12-30.
29. HO LXVIII, 1.
30. Or 'cause to go up (to the field)'.
31. They seem to have been the main festival days in the kings' mortuary temples, see Helck, JNES 25 (1966), 38.
32. See Gardiner, JEA 31 (1945), 23. DM 55, vs. 1-2 seems to imply that in his 31st year the accession date of Ramesses III was a holiday; a holiday that was still being celebrated at Medinet Habu in the reign of Ramesses X, see Giornale 53, 26 and Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 114.
33. DM 152, II, 1, years 29-30 of Ramesses III; DM 55, vs. 1-2, year 31 of Ramesses III, perhaps a holiday; DM 44, 1 and 9-10, year 2 of Ramesses IV.
34. See Gardiner, JEA 31 (1945), 23. O. Turin 57033, I, 1-2, years 24-25 of Ramesses III; Giornale 6-7, III, 1, years 13-14 of Ramesses IX; Giornale 34, 11-19, years 16-17 of Ramesses IX.
35. In the continuous series of registers, dating to late in the Nineteenth Dynasty, O. Cairo 25782-25784, the first two texts are dated to year 3, the third begins on Year 4, III shemu 18. Helck, Stud. Bib. et Or. III, 121-123 thinks this was the accession date of Amonmesses.
36. Urk. IV, 1235, 16-19.
37. Urk. IV, 1303, 19 - 1304, 2.
38. Helck, Beziehungen^{2}, 247.
39. CAD A I, 131-135, adû A and B; AHw, 14a, adû I. Wiseman, Iraq 20 (1958), 81; Gelb, Bib. Or. 19 (1922), 161-162.
40. See Wiseman, Iraq 20 (1958), 23-28; Cogan, Imperialism and Religion, 42-49. I am deliberately avoiding here the thorny, but related problem of the concept of 'covenant' in Hebrew religion; note Tadmor, in Goedicke and Roberts, Unity and Diversity, 48, note 54 and the rather extreme remarks of Mendenhall, op. cit., 174-176.
41. Cogan, Imperialism and Religion, 122-125, lists references in Neo-Assyrian historical texts to violations of the adû.
42. Wiseman, Iraq 20 (1958), 49-52, lines 283-301.
43. See Wiseman, Iraq 20 (1958), 27-28, and for the following remarks see Tadmor, in Goedicke and Roberts, Unity and Diversity, 42-43.
44. Wiseman, Iraq 20 (1958), 3-9; Tadmor, in Goedicke and Roberts, Unity and Diversity, 42-43.
45. CAD A I, 135-136, adû C; AHw 14a, adû(m) III.
46. Weisberg, Guild Structure, 42 and passim. Note particularly the discussion in chapter 3.
47. For the following see particularly Kaplony, Studien....Hethethi, p. 37-38 with note 91, and p. 40-41; Lexikon I, 1190-1191. For literary material relating to loyalist concepts see Condon, Seven Royal Hymns, 55-57.
48. See the preceding note and also Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 56; Kaplony, CdE 46 (1971), 266-269 and Or. 37 (1968), 16. Badawy, JARCE 6 (1967), 103-104.
49. See Fischer, JEA 65 (1979), 44-46. Note Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 27

on the withholding of ritual burial as a punishment.
50. Pirenne, CdE 6 (1931), 205-206. Helck, SAK 1 (1974), 220-221; Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 31-32 and index under im3hw.
51. KRI II, 361, 15 - 362, 1 = Harari, ASAE 38 (1938), p. 220, line 11, where the connection with the provision of food is explicit. In line 13 shpr and s'nh are closely connected.
52. The main discussions are Wilson, JNES 7 (1948), 130, 136 and 142; Edel, ZDPV 69 (1953), 143 and 165-166; Helck, Beziehungen^2, 246; Goedicke, JEA 49 (1963), 79-80; Baer, JEA 50 (1964), 179-180; Kaplony, Or. 37 (1968), 16; Lexikon I, 1191-1193; Studien....Methethi, n. 91. Note also Allam, HOPR, p. 285, n. 25.
53. Goedicke, JEA 49 (1963), 79, notes 8 and 10.
54. Baer, JEA 50 (1964), 180.
55. Kaplony, Lexikon I, 1192; Studien....Methethi, n. 91.
56. Goedicke, JEA 49 (1963), 79-80.
57. Baer, JEA 50 (1964), 179.
58. As in the so-called Negative Confession, chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, where innocence is negatively defined by denial of what is guilty. One may note also that in Egyptian terminology one cannot talk about 'freedom' in an absolute or general sense, merely about being šw, 'empty' of specific restrictions, cf. Kaplony, Studien....Methethi, 40-41.
59. O. Cairo 25255 = Černý Mss, 17.101.39.



60. O. Cairo 25281 = Černý Mss, 17.101.45.



61. DM 45, vs. 8-10.
62. O. Cairo 25580.
63. Note also the hesitation of Kaplony, Studien....Methethi, note 91.
64. DM 45, vs. 8-10.
65. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 49, 1-5. See Černý, Community, 103.
66. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 15-17.
67. See the texts quoted p. 99-100.
68. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 16-17; ZAS 72 (1936), 112-113.
69. HO LXVIII, 1; DM 40, 12-15; see Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 115-116.
70. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 49, 1-5; see Černý, Community, 103.
71. O. Berlin 12654, rt. 11 - vs. 6 = Allam, HOPR, 12-15; see Černý, Community, 104.
72. See below p. 171.
73. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 217.
74. RAD 57, 6 - 58, 6.
75. Or 'hear of (any) affair'.
76. P. Salt 124, I, 15-16.
77. Restoring tentatively [iw iry·f] sdf3 tryt. For iry as auxiliary to sdf3 cf. Urk. IV, 1304, 2: iw·tw ḥr rdit iry·sn sdf3 tryt.
78. Abb. 6, 16-17. One might also note the text of the Second Intermediate Period from Coptos (Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, no. 34, p. 98; see Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 19) recording an inscription and audit in the temple because the priests reported that there was wrong in the temple.
79. Devéria, Le Papyrus Judiciare de Turin et les Papyrus Lee et Rollin,

pl. VI and VII. For the reading see Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 247, 16 and for the interpretation Baer, JEA 50 (1964), 179-180. The transcription and translation of Goedicke, JEA 49 (1963), 78 and pl. XI are not to be relied on.

80. Amonemope XXI, 9-12.

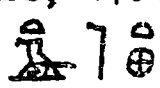
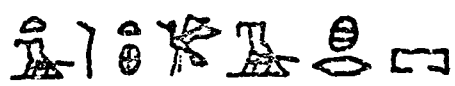
IV. The Vizier.

1. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 46-47. For the vizier and vizierate of the New Kingdom see particularly Weil, Veziere, 57-127; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 17-64 and 433-465; Labib, MDAIK 25 (1969), 68-78; Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 209-212.
2. For comparative material from the Old Kingdom see Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 1-8 and for the vizier in charge of works in the Middle Kingdom see Menu, in Droit Egyptien, 125 and 128. Note especially Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 76, 4-9 for a description of the vizier summoning an official, and giving the orders for the work.
3. O. Berlin 10621, 9 = Urk. IV, 1174-1175.
4. See Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 44-47, ostraca with MMA field numbers 23001.51, 23001.132, 23001.50 and 23001.176.
5. For his hidden portraits in the chapels of the temple of Deir el Bahari see Hayes, MDAIK 15 (1957), 80-84.
6. Hayes, Ostraka,
7. See Bonnet and Valbelle, BIFAO 75 (1975), 435-436 and 439.
8. Urk. IV, 57, 69 and 72.
9. See Varille, Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep, noting particularly text no. 28, p. 87, which seems to refer to the assignment of workers for building his own tomb.
10. See Carter, The Tomb of Tut.Ankh.Amen, III, 83-86; Thomas, Royal Necropoleis, 147-148. Note also Carter's comments on the General Nakhtmin, for whom see Helck, Materialien, 102, no. 19
11. Urk. IV, 2170-2171.
12. See von Bissing, in Studi....Rosellini I, 127-234; Forschungen und Fortschritte 21/3 (1947), 134-136.
13. The High Priest Hapusonb, a great builder of the reign of Hatshepsut, also bore the title vizier. One is essentially referring here to the Theban area. A connection between the Temple of Amon and the control of work at Deir el Medina may have been fairly strong in the Eighteenth Dynasty, cf. Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), 79. Cf. also above p. 71 and below p. 125. In other parts of the country the financial departments of the local temples were of more importance.
14. Cf. Hayes, CAH^3 II, 1, 359-360; Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, 34-37.
15. Cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 213-218. One of the explanations for the huge multiplication of titles held by individuals in the Old Kingdom may lie in the use of titles held by individuals in the Old Kingdom given in order to free people from particular levels of control in the bureaucratic organisation, and to give them unhindered access to the resources necessary to carry out particular works, cf. Helck Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 127
16. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 45.
17. See below, chapter V (The High Priest of Amon).
18. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 13-14 and 19-28.
19. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 24-25; Gardiner, Inscription of Mes, 38. Note also Davies, Tomb of Rekhmire, 89.
20. See, for example, Abb. VI, 20-23.
21. On the office of the vizier see Helck, Zur Verwaltung, chapter 6, and p. 20-21.
22. Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 177 suggests a building at Malqata for the reign of Amonhotep III.
23. P. Turin 2072/142, rt. I, 5-9 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130.
24. BM 10383, 1, 6.

25. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 26 and 62-64 sites the vizier's office at Medinet Habu in the Twentieth Dynasty. Note Abb. 6, 1, where it is far from clear whether the mayor's office or home is referred to.
26. For example Giornale 17, 26-31.
27. See Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 21-22. Note also p. 28 on the division of the functions.
28. Turin 9498; see Bruyère, Meret Seger, 62, n.1.
29. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 460-462; ZDMG 105 (1955), 45-46.
30. O. Cairo 25504, vs. I, 8-9, departure of Panehsy, IV shemu 20, year 7; vs. II, 1-4, arrival of Pensakhmet, II akhet 13, year 8, in the reign of Merenptah.
31. Kees, in Rowton, JEA 34 (1948), 74, notes c and d; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 28 and 325-326.
32. Panehsy is not otherwise attested at a later date, nor Pensakhmet at an earlier, see Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 458-459.
33. O. Berlin 10633, 6-8.
34. O. Berlin 12337, 10.
35. RAD 54, 1-3; cf. RAD 58, 5-6.
36. Cf. above p. 71.
37. RAD 57, 7. hry is frequently used at Deir el Medina in titles such as hry sš qd, 'chief draughtsman', cf. Bruyère, Rapport (1933-1934), 94-95. It is not really clear whether this distinction really refers to a supervisory position or is merely a claim to higher status.
38. Giornale 55, 25.
39. LRL 36, 12.
40. DM 592, 5-6.
41. Abb. 6, 13-14.
42. O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 3.
43. O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 4. A coronation decree, HO LXVIII, 1.
44. Cf. Giornale 55, 24-28. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 3, n.6 notes that the pyramid city of Illahun, in the Middle Kingdom, may have been a domain of the vizier's office.
45. Or was it rather the institution to which they belong that was 'under the charge of' the official? The basic formula was 'X of such and such an institution, under the charge of Y'.
46. Cf. however O. Berlin 10621, 9 (reign of Tuthmosis III) where 31 crewmen were included in a list of people 'in the charge of' the vizier Rekhmire, already quoted above p. 109.
47. O. Louvre N 696, vs. See Maspero, Mémoire, 109-110 + 3rd unnumbered plate; Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 15 (1893), 68-69; Devéria, Catalogue, IX, 9; Černý Mss, 17.35.43. Cf. Černý, Community, 341.
48. Cf. P. DM 26 A 10 = Allam, HOPR, 92-96.
49. For the vizier's function in supervising official appointments cf. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 48 (priests) and 71-72 (officials).
50. HO LXVIII, 1.
51. O. Cairo 25515, IV.
52. For the remarks here see above, chapter III.
53. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 49, 1-5. See Černý, Community, 103-104.
54. O. Berlin 12654, rt. 11 - vs. 6 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 12-15; Černý, Community, 104.
55. See Černý, Community, 204-205.
56. Černý, Community, 114-116; cf. DM 320 and 352, HO XLVIII, 1, vs. 2-5 with correction, Černý, Community, 115, n.8, and see also below p. 148.
57. O. Cairo 25800.
58. O. IFAO 693 = Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 17-18.
59. Cf. also O. Cairo 25566.

60. P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, rt. II, 10 = Allam, HOPR, 122-127.
61. HO LXVIII, 1. See also above p.99-100.
62. See above p. 104.
63. HO CXV, 4, 4-5; O. Cairo 25303 = Černý Mss, 17.101.18; O. Cairo 25515, I, 1-5; O. Cairo 25517, rt. d, 1.
64. O. Cairo 25565, 3-4. Cf. DM 45, 15-17.
65. O. Cairo 25515, 1-5.
66. O. Cairo 25792, 5-7.
67. O. Cairo 25290, 1re face = Černý Mss, 17.101.49; O. Cairo 25291 = Černý Mss, 17.101.8.
68. O. Cairo 25537, where the work is itemised as measurements cut in certain parts of the tomb. Also O. Cairo 25536, rt.; O. Cairo 25792, 1-2; O. Turin 57047, 1-3 (formerly O. Turin 5681); O. Ash. Mus. (formerly O. Gardiner) 118, vs. = Černý Mss, 17.45.19; O. Strassburg H. 112 = Černý Mss, 17.35.67 (see Černý, Valley of the Kings, 22) is a summary of work done in a tomb over a period of 1 year, 8 months, 14 days, [controlled] by the vizier To.
69. In HO CXV, 4, edge, he is asked for copper for lamps. HO LXIX, 1, 4-5 mentions thread sent by the vizier.
70. DM 148.
71. See below, p. 171-172. For inspection, O. Cairo 25274 = Černý Mss, 17.101.44; receipt, Giornale 25, 6-8; RAD 64, 10-11; installation of equipment in the tomb, Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 104-105 = Allam, HOPR, 132-133; in O. Cairo 25504, II, 6 the vizier apparently did this alone, but other people were present with him on his visit.
72. See Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 81-82, e.
73. O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 5-6.
74. Giornale 4, 7.
75. O. Cairo 25291 = Černý Mss, 17.101.8.
76. RAD 55, 15 - 56, 3.
77. O. BM 50744 = Černý Mss, 17.10.71.
78. O. IFAO 849 = Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 15-16.
79. Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 243-258. For recent bibliography see Allam, HOPR, no. 266.
80. Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 255-256.
81. I, 3-4.
82. II, 17-18.
83. Vs. I, 6-8.
84. RAD 58, 4-6. For appeals to the wrong authority as a source of offence, cf. Abb. VI, 20-23.
85. See Černý, Community, 340-341; Bierbrier, LNKE 39, and n. 186.
86. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 24, 82, 84, 87, 91(?), 93, 96, 98(?), 99-100, 245, 508, 524-525, 545, 646; Černý, Graffiti, 1140A, 1141, 1142, 1146, 1149(?), and 1170.
87. Černý, Graffiti, 1111 and 1143; Community, 341, n.1.
88. O. Louvre N 696. See above n. 47.
89. P. Berlin 10496, 7 and vs. 8 = Allam, HOPR, 80-83. See Černý, Community, 341.
90. Černý, Community, 341 and 346, n. 8 and see Bierbrier, LNKE, note 186 to p. 39, pace Bruyère, Meret Seger, 16-17 and Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 138.
91. O. Berlin 10633, 6-8; see Černý, Community, 341.
92. Śliwa, Zabytki Archeologniczne....Krakow, 31-32. On the succession of the viziers see Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 460-463.
93. Bruyère, Meret Seger, fig. 10 and 11, p. 14-16.
94. The tomb also included fragments from probably the mortuary temple of Amonmesses. 3 ostraca noted as found nearby are lost or unidentifiable;

see Anthes, MDAIK 12 (1943), 22. A stela attributed to him before becoming vizier (Top. Bib. I, ii, 692) almost certainly belonged to the son of the scribe Amonnakhte, see Černý, Community, 221, no. 62 and 346.
95. Tomb no. 106. Note also that fragments from the tomb of Khai, of the time of Ramesses II were found in the Asassif, Top. Bib. I, ii, 620. Nebmaatrenakhte may possibly have usurped tomb no. 293 of the High Priest Ramessesnakhte, see Lefebvre, Histoire des Grands Prêtres, 183.
96. See Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 447-451.
97. Černý, Community, 319, and notes 2 and 3. Almost certainly to be added is the letter of report to the vizier Paser from the scribe Mose (HO LIV, 3), whether this was an abbreviated form of his name or merely a slip of the pen.
98. O. Mich. 62 (pl. XXXIX). The term ḫry-ꜥ, 'assistant' often carries also the implication 'pupil', 'apprentice'.
99. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 46.
100. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 528. For ꜣḫt nḥḥ in reference to the tomb, see Černý, Community, 74-78.
101. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 46.
102. See above p. 82-83 and see Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), III, 21 for a list of the titles of Paser.
103. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 91, no. 56.
104. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, 77-78, no. 63, and cf. no. 133a.
105. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 56-57, nos 115 and 86; p. 63-65, no. 70; p. 85, no. 41; p. 129, no. 317; p. 141, no. 369; p. 149, no. 421. For other pieces bearing Paser's name see p. 40, no. 94; p. 91, no. 98; p. 98-99, no. 185; p. 112, no. 255; p. 141, no. 369, and see the note on Schiaparelli's finds there, p. 3, n.1.
106. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 94, no. 104 and p. 97-98, no. 210.
107. Theban tomb no. 7; see Top. Bib. I, i, p. 16, (9).
108. Theban tombs no. 4 and 10; see Top. Bib. I, i, p. 11, (6) and p. 21, (6).
109. Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1930), 87-88, 90-91, no. 7.
110. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 1 and 2.
111. Partially collected Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 446-465.
112. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 99-100 and 646.
113. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 764.
114. For instance Bruyère, Meret Seger, 14; cf. Bierbrier, LNKE, 32.
115. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 54-55, no. 91 and pl. XXIX.
116. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), II, p. 107-109, no. 250 and pl. XLI.
117. See Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 55; Peterson, Zeichnungen, 18 and 33.
118. See for instance the vizier Khay, who bears the title ꜣḫ iqr (Rowe, ASAE 40 (1940), 33), which is sometimes found for private people whose cults were maintained at Deir el Medina.
119. See Peterson, Zeichnungen, 33 and n. 44a.
120. See the taxation scene, Davies, Tomb of Rekhmire, I, 33-36 and 103-106 (= Urk. IV, 1137-1138). Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 42; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 47; Labib, MDAIK 25 (1969), 72-73. Note particularly O. Chicago 16991, vs. 8-9 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
121. HO LXIX, 1, 4-5 mentions thread sent by the vizier. See Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 46-47.
122. O. Berlin 12337, 10.
123. O. Berlin 11238. O. Cairo 25515, vs. IV, 4-5.
124. RAD 64, 12 - 65, 1; Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 790; HO LXVIII, 1; O. Cairo 25515, IV; O. Cairo 25271 = Černý Mss, 17.101.24; O. Turin 6631 = Černý Mss, 17.18.65; O. BM 50744 = Černý Mss, 17.10.71.

125. Giornale 55, 24-28.
126. RAD 55, 15 - 56, 7. Note also P. Turin 2074, II, 7-9 = Černý Mss, 17.17.11-12. The two doorkeepers were sent with a letter to the vizier and the accounts scribe to ask for grain rations.
127. For example HO XLVIII, 1, vs. 3-4; P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, rt. II, 9-10 = Allam, HOPR, 122-127; P. Turin 2072/142, rt. I, 1 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130; Giornale 54, 7-8; O. Cairo 25515, IV, 4; O. Cairo 25308, 4 = Černý Mss, 17.101.37.
128. Note particularly HO XXX, a letter from a scribe to the vizier reporting the completion of his commission to deliver the dues to the Tomb.
129. See Allam, JEA 54 (1968), 121-128. For the beginning of an actual letter see Edwards, JEA 54 (1968), 156-157. For the sending of letters of report to the vizier cf. Abb. 6, 20-23.
130. The best example is O. Chicago 16991 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257. For variations on the theme see O. Cairo 25832; Theban Ostraca, A 11; HO LVIII, 1; LIV, 3; CXV, 4; O. Louvre N 696 (see above n. 47). Note particularly LRL no. 28, p. 44-48, written to the General and High Priest Payankh, after he had taken over the vizier's functions at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. Note also Giornale 5, 14-15, when a letter, apparently connected with difficulties over payments to the crew, was handed over to the vizier's scribe, together with a bed the crew had been commissioned to make.
131. Cf. HO LXVII, 1; P. Salt 124. Cf. Weigall, Glory of the Pharaohs, 224-228 for examples written to the author in the capacity of an English official in Egypt early this century.
132. Černý, BIFAO 72 (1972), 51, no. 41.
133. Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 17 = O. IFAO 692.
134. Cf. RAD 56, 10-11; the 'children' of the vizier, and cf. RAD 54, 1-3 and 58, 5-6.
135. This seems to be the entire purpose of O. Cairo 25794. Cf. also O. Cairo 25538, 1-4; 25504. Perhaps also O. Cairo 25529, V, 1; O. Berlin 12654, vs. 8 = Allam, HOPR, 12-15. Cf. also Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 714, 'the general', late in the Twentieth Dynasty.
136. Cf. Giornale 4, 4-7; HO XXV, 2, vs. 5a; RAD 55, 15 - 56, 1.
137. See O. Cairo 25504, 7-11.
138. O. Ash. Mus. (formerly O. Gardiner) 115, 1-3 = Černý Mss, 17.45.16.
139. RAD 64, 8-9. Cf. also above n.135.
140. Giornale 4, 4-7.
141. RAD 55, 15 - 56, 7.
142. Giornale 4, 10 - 5, 11.
143. HO LXXII, 4, 6.
144. Arrivals of the vizier at the gatehouse are recorded O. Cairo 25726; HO LXVIII, 1, 2-3; Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 790.
145. O. Turin 6631 = Černý Mss, 17.18.65.
146. O. Turin 57032, vs. 21: 
147. O. Turin 57047, 1-3: 
148. Officials, O. Cairo 25272 = Černý Mss, 17.101.33, and cf. Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 76, 4-9. Crew, DM 148, vs. 5-6(?).
149. O. Cairo 25504, II, 7-11.
150. O. Cairo 25792, 5-7.
151. O. Cairo 25538, 1-2; 25515, I, 1-5.
152. P. Turin 2072/142, rt. I, 5-9 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130.
153. RAD 64-68, noting especially 64, 10 - 65, 1.
154. RAD 35 - 44.

155. See above p. 49-50.
156. See O. Cairo 25504, vs. II.
157. HO CXV, 4, vs.; O. Cairo 25552.
158. Giornale 55, 17.
159. Giornale 5, 12-15.
160. 'fdt, O. Cairo 25512, 8.
161. O. Cairo 25517, d, 1-4; vs. 15; P. Turin 2072/142, rt. I, 3-4 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130.
162. Giornale 14, 13 and similarly 55, 17.
163. In O. Berlin 10633 = Endesfelder, Forschungen und Berichte 8 (1967), 65-66 = Černý Mss, 17.32.42 the vizier sent the gatekeeper with a command about 'the 3 doorways (?sb3y)'. It is not clear whether this refers to woodwork or to some element of a tomb.
164. O. Cairo J 72475, original text, 1-2 = Černý Mss, 17.106.99. Cf. also O. Cairo 25517, d, 4.
165. Cf. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 263.
166. Note P. Salt 124, II, 19; the accusation that Paneb had people making furniture for a deputy of the Temple of Amon.
167. O. Berlin 12654, vs. 6-8 = Allam, HOPR, 12-15; see Valbelle, Catalogue de Poids, 14, n. 6 and Černý, Community, 131. Cf. also O. Cairo 25676, 8-9.
168. Cf. Davies, Tomb of Rekhmire, I, 30-32; Théodorides, in Legacy of Egypt, 306-312; RIDA 14 (1967), 107-152; Labib, MDAIK 25 (1969), 71-72. See especially Urk. IV, 1840, 15-19. Note the vizier wearing the maat sign round his neck, Allam, Das Altertum 25 (1979), 106-107.
169. Compare RAD 57, 16 - 58, 1 with P. Salt 124.
170. HO XLVI, 2 verso.
171. P. Turin 2021, passim = Allam, HOPR, 112-119.
172. See above p. 11.

V. The High Priest of Amon.

1. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 213-214. On the following paragraph see also above p. 109-110.
2. See n.193 to chapter II ('Pharaoh').
3. Urk. IV, 57, 69 and 72.
4. See above p. 71. Note also Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), (2), 67 and 142 for a scarab in his name from the eastern cemetery at Deir el Medina.
5. See Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 286-289.
6. See Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), 79-83.
7. Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 41 suggests that the Temple of Amon acted as a central financial clearing agency for several temples.
8. Cf. Morenz, Prestige-Wirtschaft, 37.
9. Cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 256; also Bruyère, Meret Seger, 231-232.
10. Cf. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 240-241, suggesting that temple land grew to such an extent that it became quite impossible to endow purely civil officials of high rank from 'state' resources.
11. See Bierbrier, LNKE, 16-17.
12. See Bierbrier, LNKE, 11; JEA 58 (1972), 195-199; Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 138-139. For a collection of secondary references see Vernus, BIFAO 75 (1975), 105, c.
13. See below p. 258.
14. Cf. Sethe, ZAS 44 (1907), pl. 1, 5-6 and p. 31; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 239; Gardiner, Wilbour Papyrus II. Commentary, 116-117.
15. RAD 51, 15 - 52, 3.
16. Cf. KRI I, 61, 3-4.
17. Černý, in Fonti Indirette, 48, quotes texts post Ramesses III in which the High Priest was noted as present at ration distributions; 'an unheard of thing at the time of the XIXth Dynasty and a clear indication that the high-priest was now contributing to the workmen's salaries'. See also CAH^3 II, 2, 626-628 on the power growth of the High Priesthood, and on Ramessesnakhte's relationship to the Tomb in particular.
18. See Christophe, BIFAO 48 (1949), 1-38 = Couyat-Montet, Inscr..... du Ouâdi Hammâmât, no. 12.
19. See Christophe, BIFAO 48 (1949), 20 and cf. 29-31.
20. But cf. Couyat-Montet, Inscr.....du Ouâdi Hammâmât, no. 223.
21. See Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les Grands Prêtres, 43-45; cf. also p. 6, no. 2, 1-2; p. 20-22, no. 9, and p. 33, no. 16, 9-11 for his control of works.
22. Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 135-151.
23. Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 147.
24. See Harris, Minerals, 174-176 and 234.
25. Cf. Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 138 and cf. 145.
26. Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 148-150. Note KRI I, 61, 3-4, a quarrying expedition to Gebel Silsila (temp. Sethi I) was financed by diversion of revenues due to the king from a temple of Sobek.
27. See Top. Bib. II, index, and Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 138 for references.
28. Hölscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu IV, 48.
29. O. Cairo 25030. For the following comments see Peterson, Zeichnungen, 17-18
30. See Peterson, Zeichnungen, 18. Note, however, Schiaparelli, Relazione, I, 165, a figured ostracon from the Valley of the Queens

depicting the prince Sethiherkhepeshef, presumably a votive piece.
31. For damaged and unclear examples see O. Cairo 25267 and 25311.
32. O. Cairo 25271 = Černý Mss, 17.101.24. Cf. also P. DM 24, 3 = Allam, HOPR, 87, and also the following note.
33. Giornale 25, 6-11.
34. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 104-105, 10-17 = Allam, HOPR, 132-133.
35. O. DM 161, 3-4 + O. Strassburg H 82, 4-5 = Černý Mss, 17.35.64, quoted Černý, Valley of the Kings, 18-19.
36. Continuation to Pleyte Rossi, P. Turin, 32-33 = Černý Mss, 17.150.7-10.
37. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 29 = P. Turin 1883 + 2095 = Černý Mss, 17.53.55-56; see Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), 168-170.
38. The text has, pleonastically, in n3 htyw n n3 rwdw n p3 hr.
39. Note that in P. Turin 2008 + 2016, vs. 1-2 = Janssen, Two An. Eg. Ships Logs, 63 there is reference to the loading of a boat of the High Priest of Amon, under the charge of a scribe of the treasury, Hori, and others.
40. Černý-Sadek, Graffiti, 1860; see Bierbrier, JEA 58 (1972), 195-199; the case is not clear either way.
41. P. Gardiner 4 (now in the Ashmolean Museum) = Černý Mss, 17.48.26-27.
42. Yet note that at the end of the Dynasty the scribe of the Tomb and the scribe of the army of Medinet Habu wrote (LRL no. 12, p. 23-24) to a deputy of the Temple of Amon to get missing men sent back.
43. O. Cairo 25310 = Černý Mss, 17.101.25.
44. Literally, 'to hear the speech' (r sdm r).
45. DM 571, 6, or perhaps here the successor to Ramessesnakhte, his son Amonhotep, was the High Priest called by the crew to the gatehouse of the Tomb. The reign is almost certainly that of Ramesses IX.
46. O. Sydney R 97, 1 = Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 79-91, especially p. 81, note e, and cf. P. DM 24, 3 = Allam, HOPR, 87 and Giornale 25, 6-11.
47. See above p. 128.
48. P. Turin 2044 = Černý Mss, 17.16.1-7. See Černý, Community, 277-278; CAH^3 II, 2, 612-613.
49. See Peet, JEA 12 (1926), 254-259; Černý, CAH^3 II, 2, 630-634. Wente's suggestion, JNES 25 (1966), 73-87, that Amonhotep was eventually restored to office cannot be taken as certain, for Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 138 would attribute the vital text to his predecessor, Ramessesnakhte, rather than Amonhotep. Note however the remarks of Bierbrier, JEA 58 (1972), 199, n.5. For the latest contribution see Aldred, in Studies....Fairman, 92-99.
50. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 242 and cf. 240.
51. RAD 36, 1-5; cf. Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 185.
52. O. Cairo 25744, 1-5 and 25745, 1-6.
53. See Kees, Herihor und die Aufrichtung des Thebanischen Gottesstaates, 14.
54. Giornale 53, 15-17.
55. Giornale 53, 20-21.
56. Unfortunately usually in broken or insufficiently informative contexts, cf. Giornale 51, 15-17 and 52, 1 (Year 3 of Ramesses X); 42, 2-4 and 12, and 43, 19 (Year 17 of Ramesses IX).
57. Giornale 52, 11-14.
58. Giornale 55, 23 - 56, 4. Cf. Giornale 60.
59. RAD 64 -68.
60. Notably RAD 64, 8 - 65, 1; 65, 5-6; 65, 11; 66, 5-8; 66, 12-15; 67, 2-3; 67, 16 - 68, 1.
61. P. Turin 1932 + 1939, vs. 1-3 = Černý Mss, 17.15.31-33.
62. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 1001.

63. Abb. 7, 3-4; EM 10053, 1, 4-6; Giornale 15, 21-25.
64. Abb. 7, 7 and 15-16; Leop. Am. 4, 1 and 10-11. For other places of imprisonment, cf. Giornale 15, 21-25.
65. Cf. Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 81-82, note e.
66. RAD 35 - 44.
67. See above p. 49-50.
68. LRL no. 37, p. 57-60.
69. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 714.
70. For instance Giornale 25, 6-11.
71. LRL 43, 3-4.
72. Cf. Černý, JEA 32 (1946), 24-30.
73. O. Cairo 25243, rt. 8 = Černý Mss, 17.101.10. The only possible indication for dating this text is the mention there of a policeman Anherterī, otherwise only known from year 12 of Ramesses XI, see Černý Community, 271.

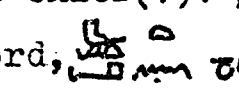
VI. The Mayors of Thebes.

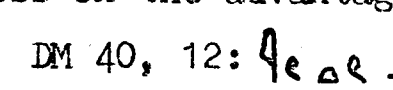
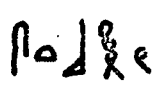
1. Abb. 6, 20-23.
2. Abb. 1, 7 and 9; 4, 5 and 9; 5, 19; Leop. Am. 1, 4. Cf. Černý, Community, 262.
3. Giornale 14, 1-5; cf. also Mayer A, 6, 9.
4. Cf. Peet, Great Tomb Robberies, passim.
5. Giornale 15, 21-25.
6. Abb. Dockets A, 1-3
7. Černý, Community, 280-281.
8. In the Turin Taxation Papyrus, RAD 37, 1-5; 37, 15-38, 1; 40, 3-11.
9. O. Berlin 11238.
10. O. Cairo 25258 = Černý Mss, 17.101.34. Cf. also Giornale 54, 7-8 when he brought a letter from the vizier.
11. DM 79.
12. Note however Gardiner, JEA 24 (1938), 124 on P. Berlin 3040A, commented on by Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 429, but cf. op. cit., 237, n. 7.
13. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 429-432.
14. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 237 (and see the previous note), takes the view that the mayors of Western Thebes were subordinates of the mayors of Thebes proper, noting cases where people on the west bank seem to have been under the control of the mayor of Thebes proper. Note especially his comment on P. Berlin 3040A (= Gardiner, JEA 24 (1938), 124), and Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 76, 4-5 (=Černý Mss, 17.15.84).
15. RAD 53, 9.
16. RAD 52, 1.
17. RAD 57, 1-5.
18. DM 44, 18-22.
19. O. Cairo 25252.
20. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 522-533.
21. See Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 234-239.
22. Verso 7; see Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 220-221; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 237-238. For the text see Helck, ZAS 80 1955), 109-136
23. O. Mich. 15, rt. 5 and 9 (pl. XLV), probably not from Deir el Medina, lists where missing members of boats crews were found, on two occasions this being the charge of local mayors. Cf. the part taken by the mayor interrogating the crew, DM 148, 11-15, and in the investigations of the tomb robberies.
24. Helck, Materialien, 543; 575-576; 612; Zur Verwaltung, 234-236, and cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 37. Note particularly Davies, Tomb of Rekhmire, p. 33 and 34.
25. RAD 26, 15 - 27, 2; cf. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 236.
26. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 235; Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 42; 209-210.
27. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 4-6 = Černý Mss, 17.151.38-41. See Helck, Materialien, 56.
28. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 421-422. Note also an Eighteenth Dynasty receipt of stone(?) from the mayor Ahmose and the imy-r s3wt, O. Cairo 25665, 1-4.
29. O. Cairo 25580.
30. Černý and Sadek, Graffiti, 1860 = Bierbrier, JEA 58 (1972), 195-199.
31. Giornale 54, 7-8.

VII. Recruitment and Appointments.

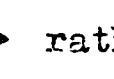
1. See Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 160-161.
2. See Bonnet and Valbelle, BIFAO 75 (1975), 435-436 and 439.
3. Cf. O. Toronto A11, 18-23 = Černý, Community, 265-266 and Urk. IV, 2170-2171.
4. See especially the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies, Tomb of Rekhmire, 27-30; 47-48 and 55. Cf. Steinmann, Das Altertum 24 (1978), 40). Foreigners are often mentioned as groups of workmen on particular projects, cf. for instance Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), p. 32-33, no. 4, vs. 4; p. 39-41, no. 13, line 9 and commentary; p. 44-45, no. 17, vs. 3. The impression from the names of the men recorded in these texts from Deir el Bahari is that the workforce was very largely of foreign origin. Cf. also the text KRI III, 95, 4-15 = Yoyotte, BSFE 6 (1951), pl. 1 and see Helck, Materialien, 208-209, 251-254 and 512-524; Lefebvre, Histoire des Grands Prêtres, 87 and note the endowments of the great Harris Papyrus. For material of this sort going back to the Old Kingdom see Helck, SAK 1 (1974), 217-218 and 223-225.
5. See Oded, Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo Assyrian Empire.
6. Connections between the people of Deir el Medina and the cult of Ptah are not sufficient to suggest that they were of Memphite origin; cf. Peterson, Zeichnungen, n. 81 to p. 37.
7. See below p. 154-155.
8. P. Turin 2074, of a year 8 of the Twentieth Dynasty; see Černý, in Studi....Rosellini, II, 29-31.
9. Herodotus, II, 164; Diodorus, I, 74. Cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 104-105.
10. See Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 88, 21-22
11. Cf. the Kahun papyrus, Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 90, a; Théodorides, RIDA 5 (1958), 38-43, and Legacy of Egypt, 304-306. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 217 sees an attempt at 'nationalization' of of offices previously held as salable and heritable private property, using texts from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Cf. also his Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 124-125 noting also p. 126, g (= Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 98).
12. Cf. Hayes, Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom, 146-147.
13. Cf. Bierbrier, LNKE, 2-5, 6-13 and 16-18, and see above p. 126.
14. Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernants les Grands Prêtres, 9-12, no. 3.
15. Lefebvre, op. cit., 32, no. 16, line 6.
16. On the inheritance of high office in the New Kingdom, see Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 211.
17. Ani, 7, 5-6; see Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 211.
18. The stress on long genealogies is closely connected with the inheritance of office within the family, see Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 259-260 and Bierbrier, LNKE, 113-115.
19. See Murnane, Ancient Egyptian Coregencies, especially 253-257 and 263-264.
20. See Griffith, Hierat. Pap. from Kahun and Gurob, p. 30 and cf. Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 90, 5-6; Gardiner, in Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 28 (1906), 171-173; Zába, Maximes de Ptahhotep, 111; Vanille, Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep, p. 36, texte no. 13, line 15 and p. 41, with notes 1 and 2; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 249-250.
21. Ptahhotep, no. 28-29.
22. See Brunner, Altaeg. Erziehung, 10-11 and 36-37; JEA 45 (1959), 3-5 and see below on the scribes Ramose and Qenherkhepeshef.

23. See Wolf, Problem des Kunstlers, 55; cf. Erman and Ranke, Aegypten, 506 for the title 'Overseer of Painters of Amon' passing through 7 generations.
24. Louvre C 14, lines 13-15; see Barta, Selbstzeugnis, 126 and 131. Compare also the father and son Men and Bak, chief artists of Amenhotep III and IV (see Aldred, Akhenaten, 87 and 161, where there is also reference to other similar cases of the same period). Another possible example is suggested by Kaplony, Studien....Methethi, 87; the Iry who painted the tomb of a nomarch of Heir (see Junker, Der Maler Iry) may have been descended from the Iry depicted in the tomb of Methethi.
25. For the eldest son as heir see Mattha, Demotic Legal Code, IX, 29-33 and the notes to the passage.
26. Peterson, Zeichnungen, 53; Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 8; Brunner, Altaeg. Erziehung, chapter I, particularly section C.
27. See especially Peterson, Zeichnungen, 55.
28. See the preceding note and Peterson, Zeichnungen, 57; Hayes, Ostraka, 6; Brunner-Traut, Altaeg. Scherbenbilder, 8 and 10; Hall, in Naville, XIth. Dynasty Temple, I, 24.
29. Cf. Tosi, Stirpe di Pittori, 8-14 and 32-34.
30. See Černý, Community, Appendix D; Bierbrier, LNKE, 39-42.
31. Černý, Community, Appendix B.
32. Černý, Appendix C; Bierbrier, LNKE, 26-28.
33. Černý, Community, 317-318 and 329.
34. Černý, Community, 319.
35. Černý, Community, 325-326; Bierbrier, LNKE, 27-28 does not see the matter quite so simply.
36. Father Panakhte and mother Senetnefer, see Bierbrier, LNKE, 27 and n.61.
37. Černý, Community, 333
38. Černý, JEA 15 (1926), 257-258 and see above p. 67-68.
39. See Černý, Community, 346.
40. Cf. Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 86, notes 54-56.
41. Cf. Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 84 and 87.
42. LRL 10, 13-14.
43. See Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 84 for the following. See also Černý, Community, 361-363 and 371-373; Bierbrier, LNKE, 41-42. Cf. also Wente, LRL, 1-15.
44. Černý, Community, 373.
45. Horisheri certainly remained officially a 'draughtsman' long after his earliest appearances in administrative contexts as 'scribe'. His earliest appearance with the title 'scribe of the Tomb' is in the codicil to the will of Naunakhte, when his father was presumably already dead (see Černý, Community, 343 and 352-353). O. Cairo 25563, rt. 3 - vs. 1 may perhaps refer to the appointment of the 'draughtsman Horisheri to the office of his(?) father' in a year 3, but the text is broken and the reading uncertain; see below p. 147. Butehamon already appeared in the letters to and from his father as 'scribe Butehamon of the Tomb' (see LRL, index, p. 76, refs. to before p. 44).
46. Černý, Community, 356.
47. See Černý, Community, appendix A and Bierbrier, LNKE, 21-23 and 30-39.
48. Černý, Community, 144-146 and Bierbrier, LNKE, 32.
49. Commenting on the text, Theban Ostraca A11, vs. 1-13, p. 16k-16m, a letter from the workman Anherkhau to the vizier Khai, Bierbrier (LNKE, 37) believes that Anherkhau was acting as deputy to his father Qaha. This conclusion probably overstates the case, for the text seems to be a model letter, a 'school' exercise and need not be

interpreted as more than evidence that the son was being trained in the type of duty he would have to perform as a prospective future foreman or minor official.
50. Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 243-258. For bibliography see Allam, HOPR, no. 266 and note Denisty, in Droit Egyptien, 181.
51. P. Salt 124, I, 1-4.
52. P. Salt 124, II, 14. Cf. Černý, Community, 302 and Bierbrier, LNKE, 22.
53. Černý, Community, 301-305; Bierbrier, LNKE 22-23 and see below p. 156.
54. RAD 57, 6 - 58, 6.
55. See below p. 157 and 284.
56. See Radwan, Darstellungen des regierenden Königs, 17-23.
57. Urk. IV, 1618-1619; Davies, Tombs of Two Officials, pl. 26. Cf. Helck, Materialien, 237; Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 235.
58. Effectively pension.
59. P. DM 26, A, 10 = Allam, HOPR, 92-96.
60. Černý, Community, 223.
61. DM 38, 2.
62. O. Cairo 25671; cf. also Černý, Graffiti, 1140.
63. Černý, Graffiti, 1111; cf. also 1143.
64. It is curious that the conjunctive is used here rather than the iw·f hr sdm of the past or a non-initial prospective sdm·f. If I am right in emending here  (for which cf. RAD 51, 15-16, where I would restore 'Date; ph/spr r t3 hwt...'), then the formulation (Groll, Negative Verbal System, 176-177) that the conjunctive interchanges with the iw·f hr sdm of the past only for grammatical reasons will not be absolutely correct. A semantic explanation must be sought here. Apparently the close connection is stressed between the visit and the appointment, as its purpose and result.
65. O. IFAO 849 = Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 15-16.
66. Another oracle question, O. IFAO 720 = Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 16, 'Will I be made chief(?)?', may be relevant here, but the interpretation of the final word, , as 'chief' is little more than a guess, and the interpretation uncertain.
67. P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960 = Allam, HOPR, 122-127.
68. O. Geneva 12550, 1-5 = Allam, HOPR, 54-56; see below p. 152-153.
69. O. Cairo 25563, rt. 3 - vs. 1.
70. The verso begins here.
71. O. Cairo 25284.
72. O. Mich. 66, recto (sic) (pl. XLIII).
73. Wb. distinguishes between ts, 'recruit', 'call up! (Wb. V, 404, 5-6) and tsi, 'promote' (Wb. V, 406, 3) which latter Černý, Community, 115, n. 1 takes to be the present word. There does not seem to be any relationship to the word wts, 'raise up'. P. Gardiner 4, 7 = Černý Mss, 17.48.26-27 (now in the Ashmolean Museum) has tsi used transitively for 'bring to work' a worker. See also Goedicke, Kon. Dok., 207-208; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 87, n. 29.
74. DM 320.
75. HO XLVIII, 1, vs. 1-5; cf. Černý, Community, 115.
76. O. IFAO 693 = Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 17-18.
77. Cf. O. Cairo 25566.
78. Ani, 7, 18 - 8, 1.
79. It seems to be quite distinct from the word mnh, 'farmer', for which see Černý, Mel. Masp. I, i, 235; Caminos, LEM, 52-53.

80. The question of the recruitment of the 'ddw and the mnhw is discussed fully by Černý, Community, 113-116. Compare also his remarks on the 'children of the Tomb' (ms hr), Community, 117-120. The only reference I know of a payment being made to 'ddw is a distribution of vegetables (O. Černý 22 = Černý Mss, 17.77.14) where fifty 'boys' received one bundle each, against five each for groups of 31 and of 12 men. For the foreman there were 10 bundles.
81. DM 352; see Černý, Community, 114-115 for restoration, translation and commentary.
82. See Černý, Community, 113-114; Janssen, Commodity Prices, 460-461.
83. For his genealogical purposes Bierbrier, LNKE, 20 presumes that the young men joined the crew at the age of about 15, married generally at about 20, and that the holders of important offices were generally about 30 when first appearing in their functions. Although reasonable guesses for statistical purposes, they are not reliable for individual cases. It is worth noting that New Kingdom wisdom literature laid great stress on the advantages of early marriage.
86. DM 40, 12: . Černý, Community, 115 can hardly be right to take the  here as a covert reference to Pharaoh, although the absence of the divine determinative after it is no absolute argument.
85. Cf. Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 115-116.
86. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 49, partially quoted and translated by Černý, Community, 103-104.
87. O. Cairo 25581, vs..
88. , probably to be read sdbh.
89. Cf. O. Cairo 25504, vs..
90. O. Berlin 12654, rt. 11 - vs. 6 = Allam, HOPR, 12-15. Partially translated and commented on by Černý, Community, 104. See also the following chapter.
91. O. Berlin 12654, 1-3.
92. See the two Eighteenth Dynasty lists of workmen assigned duties for specific days, O. Berlin 10621, 4 and O. MMA field no. 23001.51, vs. 1 = Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 44-45, no. 17. Perhaps see also RAD 65, 7. On the word see Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 131, pp.
93. See Varille, BIFAO 41 (1942), 136; snh3 as the heading of a list of cultic equipment from the Temple of Maat, in the time of Alexander the Great.
94. Another possible example of this is O. Cairo 25566 (and cf. Černý, Community, 116), but it seems more likely that the word here should be read as swh3, 'praise' than snhy, 'register'.
95. The word snh3 was used of registering lands and people for taxation purposes, see Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 75.
96. See Bruyère, Rapport Prélim. (1929), 79; Černý, Community, 117-120. It is fairly clear that at Deir el Medina the term simply referred to the ordinary members of the crew, although one would expect from other contexts that the term ms meant something like 'youth', 'trainee' or 'apprentice', cf. Blackman, JEA 19 (1933), 203; Wente, LRL 69, c (53/10) and 76, d (63/13); Edwards, Or. Am. Dec., 13, n.7.
97. P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, II, 10 = Allam, HOPR, 122-127.
98. Černý, Community, 109.
99. Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 192-193.
100. O. Berlin 12654, rt. 11 - vs. 6 = Allam, HOPR, 12-15.
101. O. Cairo 25800. See Černý, Community, 115-116.
102. P. Gardiner 4, rt. 6 - vs. 1, quoted by Černý, Community, 116.

VIII. Punishment, Demotion, Transfer and Dismissal.

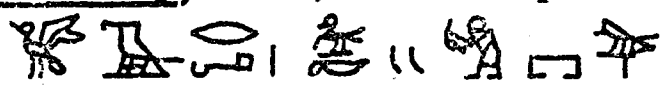
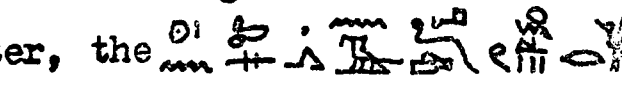
1. Giornale 12, 1-13.
2. P. DM 24, 5 = Allam, HOPR, 87.
3. O. Mich. 79 (pl. XLII). From Hormin to Maa(n.i)nakhtef. Both are there called scribe, but neither were administrative scribes, and both were probably simple crewmen.
4. See Allam, HOPR, p. 253, note 2 and 11.
5. Compare the range of meanings of ⲕⲱ ⲃⲱⲗ in Coptic, Crum, 96b - 97b.
6. See Černý, Community, 103-104.
7. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 49, 1-5; see above p. 149.
8. O. Berlin 12654, 1-4 = Allam, HOPR, 12-15.
9. Rt. 11 - vs. 6.
10. Reading shn.
11. hr ir s3, see Eyre, SAK 4 (1976), 103, n. 2.
12. Read  rather than .
13. But see also below p. 157.
14. HO XLVI, 2, vs. 10-11.
15. The name is well known as that of a crewman.
16. See Černý, Community, 64 (?).
17. This was clearly the sense in the context of the text of Kamose from the Carnarvon tablet, lines 14-15; see Gardiner, JEA 3 (1916), 106, and Smith and Smith, ZAS 103 (1976), 60 and note g.
18. O. Geneva 12550, 4-5 = Allam, HOPR, 54-56.
19. See the preceding chapter.
20. O. Berlin 12654, 4-11 = Allam, HOPR, 12-15. See Černý, Community, 60.
21. Černý, Community, 60-62. For prisons and the associated forced labour see Hayes, Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom, 36-42.
22. Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 45 has a totally different interpretation of this passage.
23. P. Geneva MAH 15274, vs. III, 1-2 = Massart, MDAIK 15 (1957), 172-185; see Černý, Community, 60. But compare also the oath, P. DM 27, vs. 9-10 = Allam, HOPR, 98-99.
24. Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 243-258; Allam, HOPR, no. 266. See also Denisty, in Droit Egyptien, 181.
25. P. Salt 124, vs. II, 1.
26. P. Salt 124, vs. II, 4-5.
27. P. Salt 124, I, 7-8.
28. See Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 247, n. 8 and Peet, JEA 10 (1924), 125 commenting on RAD 76, 4-5. Cf. also Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 224. Allam, HOPR, p. 284, n. 15 expresses doubt about the reality of the punishment in this case, quoting the same expression in reference to cattle, RAD 74, 2-7.
29. P. Salt 124, II, 17-18.
30. See Černý, Community, 301-305; Bierbrier, LNKE, 22-23. Cf. also Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 39-40.
31. RAD 57, 6 - 58, 6.
32. RAD 57, 7-10.
33. See above p. 100ff.
34. DM 148. For the dating see Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 28 and see Christophe, BIFAO 52 (1953), 113-144.
35. DM 148, rt. 10 - vs. 6.
36. DM 148, vs. 5-6.
37. Or possibly 'taking', if in such a construction t3i is used in the

present tense, as is ini, Černý-Groll, Late Egyptian Grammar, 570-571
38. See P. Salt 124, I, 1-4.
39. For the following see Bierbrier, LNKE 34 (with note 123) and 114.
40. See the comments of Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 52.
41. Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 98; Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 18-23; see also Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 226.
42. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 90-94 for Old Kingdom evidence.
43. KRI I, 45-58. See Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 25-27, and reference there to other decrees, p. 27-28. See also Helck, Materialien, 252.
44. See above p. 156.
45. See above p. 144.
46. O. IFAO 561 = Černý, BIFAO 35 (1935), 50. Černý translated 'Remove him from the post of deputy of the crew'.
47. HO XLVI, 2, vs. 4.
48. Leop. Am. 4, 11 and cf. 3, 19.
49. Cf. Diodorus III, 12-14 on the goldmines. It cannot be asserted with certainty that criminals were sentenced to the quarries or mines in the Pharaonic period, but it seems quite likely, if from nothing more than the frequency of the threat of banishment to Nubia as an expected punishment for serious offences in the New Kingdom. See particularly Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 126; Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 130 and 224; Hohlwein, CdE 6 (1931), 232, n. 1 and 2; Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 17, 25 and 33-38. The Old Kingdom example quoted by Lorton (p. 6-7) is to be discounted as the most dubious of restorations.
50. Cf. RAD 76, 4-5.
51. Cf. the case quoted above p. 154-155 from O. Berlin 12654, 4-11 =Allam, HOPR, 12-15, but note also that Paneb, although beaten, seems not to have been expelled from the crew, P. Salt 124, II, 17-18.
52. For a selection of references see Allam, HOPR, p. 37, n. 9-10; 63, n. 10-11 (and for impaling, p. 279, n. 12). The number 100 seems to be a conventional figure, see Spiegelberg, ZAS 63 (1928), 111, no. 18, and Studien....zum Rechtswesen, 69. It is perhaps noteworthy that Neo-Assyrian contracts, like those from Ramesside Egypt, seem to contain unrealistically high penalty clauses, cf. Cogan, Imperialism and Religion, 83. For examples of the actual imposition of punishment of this sort see below on O. IFAO 1357 and O. Cairo 25556 and above on O. Berlin 12654, 4-11, and note also the literary example, LES 36, 5-9. See also Allam, in Droit Egyptien, 153-160 and the general comments of Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 50-53.
53. O. Cairo 25572, 12-17.
54. HO XLIX, 1.
55. Cf. also O. IFAO1282 = Allam, HOPR, 22 and O. Berlin 10655, 7-12.
56. P. BM 10335, vs. 13-15; see Dawson, JEA 11 (1925), p. 247-248 and Blackman, JEA 11 (1925), 252.
57. P. Munich 809 = Allam, HOPR, 102-103 (formerly P. Mook); see Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 23-24.
58. Col. II, 2-9.
59. It is suggested that the term  , 'in the charge of', used regularly in the New Kingdom to indicate the official under whose supervision people and institutions came, meant in origin 'under the stick of'; see Wb. III, 340; GG § 178; Megally, Recherches, 115-117.
60. Urk. I, 75, 14; see Hassan, Hymnes Religieux, 107-108. Urk. I, 223, 10-16 refers similarly to being guarded or imprisoned.
61. Ani, 7, 10.
62. Best in the tomb of Mereruka, see Duell, Mastaba of Mereruka, pl. 36-38. See also Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, p. 138-140 and 172 (Theban tombs no. 92 and 145). Cf. Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 24.

63. Urk. I, 217, 3-4 = Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 5.
64. The letters LRL no. 21, 34 and 35, from the general to various persons, telling them to deal with two policemen, if necessary by dropping them in the river by night, clearly refer to the abuse, not the proper exercise of administrative authority.
65. O. Turin 57058.
66. Or 'carry out punishment for a watercarrier on the two washermen'?
67. HO XXVII, 5.
68. RAD 54, 13 - 55, 2.
69. O. Cairo 25556. See Černý, ASAE 27 (1927), 200-205, from whose interpretation mine differs in a number of respects.
70. P. Salt 124. I, 20 and vs. I, 4-5 and 17.
71. P. Salt 124, II, 14-16 and cf. 21.
72. O. IFAO 694 = Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 18-19.
73. Cf. Abb. V, 6-8.
74. Peet, Great Tomb Robberies, 20-22.
75. Cf. P. Salt 124, II, 18.
76. For instance DM 223, vs. 2. See Janssen, Commodity Prices, 441-442.
77. Cf. HO LIII, 2, vs. 9-10.
78. Cf. HO XLIX, 3, vs. 5; P. Salt 124, II, 16; LES 45, 5.
79. LRL no. 26. Tjaroy is the well known abbreviated form of the name of the scribe of the Tomb, Djehutimose.
80. Cf. HO LIII, 2, recto; a complaint before a court that a husband has been beating his wife.
81. See O. Cairo 25517, d, 6; 25518, vs. 6; 25779, vs. 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18; 25783, 28-29.
82. HO XXVI, 3, 2.
83. HO XXVI, 3, vs. 2.
84. O. Cairo 25521, 12.
85. O. Cairo 25506, recto.
86. O. IFAO 1357, recto = Allam, HOPR, 58.
87. It is not quite clear from the text whether this drinking took place only on the fourth day, or on each of the four days.
88. LEM 3, 6-10; cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 48.
89. On flight and the punishment of fugitives see Hayes, Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom, 46-51; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 153; Anthes, ZAS 65 (1930), 110, note b; Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 16-17 and 37; O. Mich 15, recto (pl. XLV). See also the El Hibe letters (Spiegelberg, ZAS 53 (1917), 1-30), P. Strassburg 26 and 39 (= Allam, HOPR, 104-105), and note also references to manning troubles in the papyri numbered 31 and 33. It is possible that in the Middle Kingdom Papyrus Reisner I that w'r was used simply to mean 'absent', see Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 149 and Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 39 and 128. For other reasons for flight cf. Smith, Visit to Ancient Egypt, 15.
90. See however Giornale 11, 4. The unpublished P. Turin 2078/161, 4 = Černý Mss, 17.16.65, a list of names, gives before that of Anherkhau son of Sethi the word w'r.
91. Leop. Am. 4, 10-12.
92. LRL no. 12.
93. For the references see Peet, JEA 12 (1926), 254-257.
94. LRL 8, 6-8.
95. See HO LXXIV, 20-23.
96. See Černý, Community, 345-346. Bierbrier, LNKE, 34 suggests that the 'temple scribe Nekhemmut' father of Panakhte (cf. Černý-Sadek, Graffiti, IV/1, 2002) was the earlier known draughtsman of that name.
97. Černý, Community, 117; Bierbrier, LNKE, 21.
98. O. Cairo 25566, but see also above p. 148.

99. See below, p. 188.
100. Cf. Černý, Community, 223-224.
101. Cf. Eyre, in Studies....Fairman, 90, n.16.
102. See Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), 115, note u and 118-119.
103. See Černý, Community, table facing page 230. Cf. for instance, Černý, Community, 198, Amonkhau appointed scribe of the Tomb in year 32 of Ramesses III, when Amonnakhte was the main scribe, and Hori apparently the scribe responsible for the service-staff.
104. Note for instance Paneferemdjed (Černý, Community, 203-204), a son of the scribe Amonnakhte, who is mentioned in graffiti both as scribe of the Tomb and as scribe of the treasury. This might, however, refer to the storage facilities of the Tomb itself, and cannot therefore be taken as certain proof of external employment.

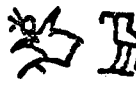
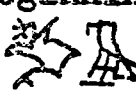
IX. The Commissioning and Control of the Work.

1. Naville, Inscr. Hist., plate, passim. Cf. Kees, Hohenpriester, 64. See however Janssen, JEA 54 (1968), 169, note o and de Cenival, Associations Religieuses, 174.
2. HO XVII, 1. Cf. also O. Berlin 10621; Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), p. 32-33 = O. MMA field no. 23001.48; p. 33-34 = O. MMA field no. 23001.208; p. 44-45 = O. MMA field no. 23001.51; p. 46-47 = O. MMA field no. 23001.176; p. 47-48 = O. MMA field no. 23001.108.
3. Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 43-44 = O. MMA field no. 23001.66 (temp. Tuthmosis III).
4. Of the above examples O. MMA field no.s 23001.51 and 23001.176, as well as O. Berlin 10621, mention that the men were working under the control of the vizier.
5. The Manshiyet es Sadr stela, especially lines 3, 6 and 10 = KRI II, 360-362; Hamada, ASAE 38 (1938), 217-230.
6. See above p. 19-21.
7. See above p. 22-24.
8. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 105. The texts show no deductions in wages for absences or failures to work. Cf. also Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, p. IV, and note Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), 230-231.
9. LRL 69, 15.
10. LRL 70, 2-3; similarly 69, 2. Cf. Černý, Community, 84-85.
11. LRL 47, 3-4.
12. Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), (3), 80 and cf. Rapport Prélim. (1924-1925), 156, 157 and 158, fig. 104, 105 and 106.
13. Giornale 58, 4-5.
14. See Černý, Community, 81-84. Note especially the writing of HO XLVIII, 1, 5: .
15. HO CXV, 4, 4-5.
16. See above, chapter III.
17. O. Cairo 25515, vs. IV, 5.
18. O. Cairo 25515, V, 1-2.
19. O. Cairo 25517, d, 1.
20. Cf. also O. Cairo 25787.
21. O. Cairo 25515, I, 1-5. The construction, in the phrase *iw.f hr dd n sš P3-šd shn t3 ist* is probably to be compared with the construction of phrases such as *dd smi*, literally 'speak report'. The whole should therefore be translated rather as 'he verbally, to the scribe Pashed, commissioned the crew', than as 'he said to the scribe Pashed, "Commission the crew!"'.
22. O. Cairo 25568; cf. O. Cairo 25515, vs. IV, 5 - V, 2.
23. For clear examples with the service staff see below p. 183-187. The expansion of the crew by Ramesses IV early in his reign is naturally to be presumed as a move to speed up the work, see Černý, Community, 103-104. DM 320 has two entries. The first records the arrival of a message from the vizier on IV *shemu* 19, the second, five days later, the , perhaps the 'day of recruiting the youths for the commission', but perhaps more likely 'for the left (side of the crew)'.
24. Cf. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 46 and 55.
25. O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 1-6.
26. DM 45, 14-17; Černý, Valley of the Kings, 17.
27. O. Cairo 25290, 1re face = Černý Mss, 17.101.49.

28. O. Cairo 25274 = Černý Mss, 17.101.44.
29. O. Cairo 25291 = Černý Mss, 17.101.8 tells that the vizier Neferronpet came to look at the commissions, 'while he was going north to where One was'.
30. O. BM 50744 = Černý Mss, 17.10.71 tells that the vizier Neferronpet came to make libations, and that he then looked at the commission, and delivered some loaves.
31. O. Cairo 25792, 5-7. This particular note comes after the 'receipt' of the work, and handing over of tools, and precedes some final preparations(?) for the burial three days later.
32. See Davies, Tomb of Rekhmire, 36-59.
33. Smith, History, 356; Wreszinski, Atlas, I, 73.
34. Ani, 4, 15: imi sw r-h3t·k m n3y·k wpwt nty ip m irt·k.
35. See Megally, Recherches, 247-249.
36. P. Ash. Mus. 1960.1283, vs. 6 and 7 = Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), 108-119. Cf. also O. Colin Campbell 2, 3 = Černý Mss, 17.36.58.
37. Cf. O. Cairo 25792.
38. See the following pages and my note in JEA 66 (1980), 116-117, jj. For a similar usage from the Ramesseum see Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri, no. 133.
39. Giornale 25, 6-8.
40. O. Cairo 25792, 1-2; 25536, 1; 25537, 1 and 4 for examples where the vizier alone is mentioned.
41. Note especially RAD 64, 10 - 65, 3.
42. O. Cairo 25566; the recto is only partly preserved, and is transcribed in the text, not in the plates. In vs. 1 I read swh3, 'praise' rather than snh3, 'census'. Perhaps see also O. Cairo 25284, bis = Allam, HOPR, 31.
43. O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 5-6.
44. O. IFAO 187 = Černý, BIFAO 41 (1942), 20.
45. See already above, p. 18-19.
46. O. Cairo 25536, rt.; 25537 and 25538.
47. O. Cairo 25536, 3.
48. O. Strassburg H 112 = Černý Mss, 17.35.67, quoted by Černý, Valley of the Kings, 22. The broken heading refers to the vizier To. O. Turin 57036 (formerly 5660) referred in a similar fashion to a prince's tomb, but the dates are broken.
49. O. Turin 57027.
50. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 20-21.
51. O. IFAO 1206 = Černý Mss, 17.61.6, an account of work done, measured in , for years 29, 30 and 31, with measurements, totals and deficits. The text is referred to, but not described, by Černý, Valley of the Kings, 21.
52. Hayes, Ostraka and Name Stones, no. 78. Note also no. 70, the record of a change in duty of the recording scribes.
53. See above, p. 18-19.
54. O. Cairo 25565, 3-4; Černý, Valley of the Kings, 22. It is perhaps worth noting that the only other note in this text is that 16 days earlier a royal butler had come to 'praise' the crew.
55. O. Berlin 10663 = Endesfelder, Forschungen und Berichte 8 (1967), 65-66 = Černý Mss, 17.32.42.
56. HO XLVIII, 1, 1-4; cf. Černý, Community, 12.
57. O. Strassburg H 112 = Černý Mss, 17.35.67; see Černý, Valley of the Kings, 22.
58. See Gardiner and Carter, JEA 4 (1917), 130-158.
59. Cf. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 24.
60. See Gardiner and Carter, JEA 4 (1917), 139. Note also the remarks

of Peterson, Zeichnungen, 25, on the ostraca published by Carter, ASAE 6 (1905), 118, and pl. 3 - a depiction of the royal sarcophagus(?) with measurements - perhaps to do with the progress of the work.
61. Cf. Gardiner and Carter, JEA 4 (1917), 137.
62. See the preceding page, and also above p. 18-19 and p. 69, and see Černý, Valley of the Kings, chapter III.
63. See above, p. 18-19.
64. Giornale 24, VIII, 2-10.
65. On the inspection of royal burials see van Siclen, JEA 60 (1974), 130-131 and Černý, JEA 32 (1946), 24-30.
66. Abb. 4, 11-13.
67. Abb. 1, 3 and 8; 2 and 3 passim.
68. HO LIV, 3 - overseer of the Granaries.
69. Giornale 14, 1-5.
70. P. Berlin 10496 = Allam, HOPR, 80-83; O. Florence 2621 = Allam, HOPR, 36-39. Probably also O. Vienna 1 = Zonhoven, JEA 65 (1979), 89-98.
71. Abb. 4, 1-4; Leop. Am. 1, 14 and 3, 5-6, but note Leop. Am. 4, 9 and BM 10052, 8, 2-5 and 13-16.
72. See Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 48, 51, 914 and 1001; Černý, Graffiti, 1110, 1359, 1393 and 1396; cf. Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 46.
73. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 49, 1-5 = Černý, Community, 103. Cf. also O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 3 and DM 161, 3-4 + O. Strassburg H 82, 4-5 = Černý, Valley of the Kings, 19.
74. See above p. 72 and 98. For Old Kingdom royal inspections of work see Wilson, JNES 6 (1947), 241-242; Junker, Weta, 29-32; Der Maler Iri, 76-77; Gesell. Stellung, 79-83.
75. O. Cairo 25504; Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 104-105, 12-17 = Allam, HOPR, 132-133. O. Strassburg H 42, 3-4 = Černý Mss, 17.35.74 tells of a royal butler coming to the work in progress to introduce some equipment. DM 40, to which the text joins, tells (line 3) of the arrival of more equipment, and (line 15) of the actual burial. Note also Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 83, recording the dragging of monuments of Merenptah.
76. P. Salt 124, I, 4-13.
77. The background to this is quite obscure.
78. See van Siclen, JEA 60 (1974), 132-133, and cf. Martin, JEA 64 (1978), 7.
79. Černý and Sadek, Graffiti, 1860; see Bierbrier, JEA 58 (1972), 195-199.
80. O. Cairo 25651, verso; Černý, Valley of the Kings, 18.
81. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 11-13.
82. See Thomas, Royal Necropoleis, p. 1.
83. See however Romer, MDAIK 31 (1975), 315-351 and Teichmann in Hornung, Grab des Haremhab, 32ff.
84. See especially Mackay, JEA 7 (1921), 154-168; Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, 225-233; Peterson, Zeichnungen, 38-39. Cf. also Sinuhe B, 300-305.
85. See Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, p. IV.
86. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 10.
87. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 13-14.
88. See Černý, Valley of the Kings, 11.
89. Cf. Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, 38 and 225-233, and for an illustration see p. 223-224, fig. 110.
90. See Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 136-137; Černý, Valley of the Kings, 35.
91. Černý, Valley of the Kings, chapter V.

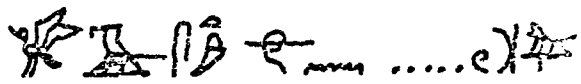
92. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 53-54. A weight for wicks was found in the excavation of a tomb near the village (Bruyère, Rapport (1933-1934), 62, no. 6), but it cannot be clear whether it was connected with issues for the work there, or came originally from the village and referred to wick making.
93. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 47-49.
94. Černý, Valley of the Kings, 52-53.
95. Černý, Valley of the Kings, chapter IV. Are texts referring to [illegible] related?; see op. cit., 87.
96. Note particularly HO LXIX, 1 and O. Cairo 25247 = Černý Mss, 17.101.5-6. Cf. also O. MMA field no. 27057, 3 = Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 39. See also the find of paints in a pot belonging to the scribe Pentaweret, at Deir el Medina, Bruyère, Rapport (1934-1935), (3), 221.
97. See above, p. 31.
98. As apparently was the case in the Ptolemaic period, cf. Edgar, in Studies....Griffith, 209-210.
99. DM 114. See above p. 120.
100. See above p. 100ff., and cf. particularly O. Cairo 25831 and 25673.
101. Abb. 6, 16-17
102. P. Turin 167 + $\frac{2087}{219}$ 198, rt. 7-8 = Allam, HOPR, 106-107. The text is 'pointed' and therefore perhaps a model letter. The verso contains notes about private commercial transactions.
103. Cf. RAD 58, 5-6.
104. Abb 6, 20-23.
105. LRL 19, 2-5.
106. LRL 19, 15-16.
107. See above p. 65-66, 72 and 120. For particularly extreme examples of such school exercises, where the text consists only of formulae of salutation, see O. Cairo 25744 and 25745.
108. HO LIV, 3, 1-2.
109. Literally, 'cause that my Lord'.
110. HO CXV, 4, vs. 1-2.
111. O. Chicago 16991, rt. 11 - vs. 3 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
112. LRL no. 28, p. 44-48., The text is damaged at the point where the senders were listed, but they included also the guardian, and probably to be restored in the gap [the entire crew].
113. O. Cairo 25745, 2.
114. LRL 45, 5-7.
115. Literally, 'consisting of their great, consisting of their small'. I take this to refer to the members of the crew, rather than the commands. On iry·n sp 2, "We will do, we will do (it)!", cf. the Manshiyet es Sadr stela, line 10 = KRI II, 360-362.
116. LRL 45, 16 - 46, 1.
117. LRL 46, 13-14.
118. 'r'r is the regular term, cf. Caminos, LEM 452 and the passages Helck, MIO 4 (1956), 162, line 10 and 167, C, line 1, with commentary on p. 165.
119. See Černý-Groll, Late Egyptian Grammar, 20.7.9. It is not really clear whether b' is a verb, or a noun governed by iri (cf. Černý-Groll, Late Egyptian Grammar, 20.7.2), but the general sense of the work is hardly open to doubt.
120. LRL no. 18, p. 34. Djehutimose was here addressed by the shortened form of his name, Tjaroy.
121. 'r'r wp(t) nb shn nb ink nty r-iwd·k.
122. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 714.
123. RAD 55, 15 -56, 6.

124. O. Berlin 12654, rt. 11 - vs. 3 = Allam, HOPR, 13-15. See Černý, Community, 104.
125. LRL no. 47, p. 68-70.
126. LRL 69, 15 - 70, 3.
127. LRL 69, 1-5.
128. LRL 69, 14-16.
129. The phrase shnw 'ȝw also occurs in the broken context O. Mich. 79, vs. 2-3 (pl. XLII).
130. Literally, 'go away from'.
131. Cf. Wente, LRL, 1-2.
132. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 4-6 = Černý Mss, 17.151.38-41.
133. O. Mich. 66, recto (labelled as verso on the plate, XLIII). A copy or a model letter. The verso (pl. XXX) contains a copy of part of the Nile hymn.
134. The reading of a doubtful part of the sender's title as  in the published transcription is untrustworthy.
135. At the beginning of the line the scribe evidently omitted by mistake the  of . The writing of this word on the right edge of the ostracon will therefore be a correction.
136. Cf. also the letter from the vizier, DM 114.
137. O. Berlin 12654, rt. 11 - vs. 3 = Allam, HOPR, 13-15. See Černý, Community, 104. See above, p. 152-153.
138. Literally, 'us'.
139. RAD 45, 1 - 47, 9; particularly 46, 7-8. I take the promise of the doorkeeper Khaiemwaset to 'put' so many workmen of each type on each side (RAD 49, 4-12) as most probably a promise to recruit the men, rather than to control the manner and amount of their work.
140. Giornale 32, 9-26. In Giornale 38, A, 1-11 the left side only is mentioned.
141. Giornale 62, 18-19.
142. O. Černý 22 = Černý Mss, 17.77.14.
143. tp n shn•w(?) r irt•w(?).
144. The totals are the same, but in fact there is a mistake in the accounting. The sub totals of issues add up to 10 bundles more than the given total, therefore 10 bundles more than the quantity commissioned.
145. RAD 46, 9-15.
146. DM 152, 1; cf. DM 151, 1-2 and DM 147, 1.
147. DM 154, vs. 1-4; O. Cairo 25635, II, 1-4.
148. DM 47, 12-13.
149. DM 151, vs. 1-2.
150. DM 144, 1-2. It is not clear who this Nebsmenu was.
151. Christophe, BIFAO 65 (1967), 194-198: his conclusions are not the most detailed that could be obtained from the evidence.
152. HO LVII, 4; see Helck, Materialien, 690.
153. DM 32, 11-13.
154. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 29 = P. Turin 1883 + 2095 = Černý Mss, 17.53.55.
155. Only the account for the right side is preserved.
156. DM 625. Year 23 (of Ramesses III).
157. HO XXVI, 4; Year 2 of Ramesses III.
158. O. Ash. Mus 176 (formerly O. Gardiner 176) = Černý Mss, 17.45.79. O. Ash. Mus. 180 (formerly O. Gardiner 180) = Černý Mss, 17.45.80 is similar, but probably not part of the same text. Cf. also P. Ash. Mus. 1960.1283 = Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), 108-119. Note also Simpson, Papyrus Reisner II, 25-26 and Helck, Altaeg. Aktenkunde, 45.
159. LRL 19, 14-15.

160. LRL 20, 10-14. The manufacture of a spear mentioned in LRL 52, 3-4 is probably another, unconnected, affair.
161. LRL 32, 5-10.
162. LRL 72, 9 - 73, 4; 74, 2-4.
163. LRL 21, 4-13.
164. LRL 16, 14 - 17, 1.
165. LRL 51, 4-8; cf. LRL 37, 11; 56, 10-11; 72, 10.
166. Cf. for instance O. Chicago 16991 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
167. See LRL 47, 3-4; O. Cairo 25243.
168. O. Cairo 25518, 5-8.
169. RAD 64-68.
170. LRL 45, 16 - 46, 4; LRL no. 20, p. 35-36, clothing for bandages.
171. LRL 50, 9-12.
172. Cf. the Turin Taxation Papyrus, RAD 35-44; LRL, no. 19, p. 35. Also LRL 36, 13-16; 37, 9-12.
173. HO CXV, 4, vs. 3-6.
174. O. Cairo 25552.
175. Giornale 5, 12-15. Cf. also P. Turin 2072/142, vs. I, 7-9 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130, the account of a woodworking job.
176. DM 253, 1-2.
177. O. Cairo 25517, d, 11-12.
178. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 263; Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), 231-232. For lists of jobs (wpwt) done in this way, see for example DM 687; O. Berlin 14222 = Allam, HOPR, 20-21. Giornale 40, 1-12 is an account of work done in the west by scribes of the Tomb for the divine adoratrice of Amon, Tanedjmet. Cf. also Giornale 58, 6-7.
179. HO XX, 6; DM 558.
180. DM 155, vs. texte b.

X. Labour Troubles at the Tomb, I. A Survey.

1. P. Salt 124, I, 2. See Černý, Community, 289-290.
2. Especially P. Salt 124, passim; RAD 57, 16 - 58, 2. See Černý, Community, 300-305.
3. See Černý, Community, 330-332 and 337.
4. O. Turin 57072. See Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 301-306.
5. DM 156, 6.
6. DM 35, 9-10, dated by Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), p. 36 and 31 to this year. Perhaps civil disturbances underlie the lack of payments over these two months.
7. O. IFAO 536 = Černý Mss, 17.101.24a.
8. O. Berlin 10633. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 137; Helck, Materialien, 582.
9. See Černý, Community, 106-107.
10. Note also the Munich ostracon quoted by Černý, Community, 106.
11. O. Cairo 25594 + DM 389.
12. O. Turin 57007 (formerly 2168).
13. HO XXXV, 3, 4 and cf. also O. Turin 57007 (formerly 2168).
14. DM 180 (see Helck, Materialien, 594-595): 2 foremen, 1 scribe and 43 men; O. Turin 57072, vs. 8-9: 3 leaders, right 18 men and left 19 men, in year 29, month III of peret; DM 376; DM 182; O. Cairo 25608. The contemporary duty roster contained 19 names, see Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 34-37
15. RAD 50, 1-12.
16. Cf. Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 305
17. O. Cairo 25594 + DM 389.
18. Cf. Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 35-37 uses most of the available texts, although he does not restrict himself to daybooks. Further unpublished material exists, some referred to in the following pages.
19. O. IFAO 1404 = Černý Mss, 17.116.9. The first text, with date, records in its present form four deliveries from him. The second, at right angles, gives a total between I akhet 20 and III akhet 30 of 4,000 units with the note that 'each was 500' perhaps the total of weekly deliveries from the one individual rather than the week's deliveries by eight different woodcutters.
20. DM 152.
21. See line 12.
22. HO XXXV, 3.
23. DM 330.
24. See Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 31-32 and 36. Amonemopet should have been on duty on day 15 and Hori on day 21, but the order of deliveries in the text would then be wrong. Helck suggests reading Hori⟨sheri⟩ and presuming that his duty day was day 19. Perhaps it would be better to presume that Amonemopet had already changed places in the order with Ramery, and the days at issue were days 21 and 25. It is also possible that Hori was serving out of turn, for somebody else, between days 10 and 14.
25. O. Cairo 25530.
26. O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39 = Černý Mss, 17.61.40 + 17.108.73-74.
27. O. Cairo 25530, 1-3. See Helck, Materialien, 582.
28. RAD 49, 15-18; 52, 14 - 53, 3. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 143 and 139, XX and I. For the texts in the Strike Papyrus concerned with grain see Helck, Materialien, 582-583. See also the early translations and collections of material related to 'strikes' of Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 16 and 18-22. See also Erman-Ranke,

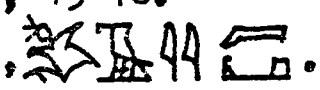
Aegypten, 140-142; Wilson, Culture, 275-279.
29. O. IFAO 1255, 1-2.
30. RAD 49, 15; 52, 14 says they passed 'the 5 guardposts', O. Cairo 25530, 1 and O. IFAO 1255, 1 simply 'the guardpost'.
31. The number is a serious problem. Most recently see the comments of Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 306-308, to which I do not entirely subscribe.
32. RAD 49, 16.
33. RAD 52, 16; 49, 17-18.
34. RAD 49, 18: m t3 w3t bnr. O. IFAO 1255, 2:  On st3 cf. Wb. IV, 354-355.
35. RAD 49, 16-17; 52, 16 - 53, 1.
36. RAD 53, 1-3.
37. O. Cairo 25530, 3; O. IFAO 1255, 2.
38. RAD 53, 4-5. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 139, II.
39. RAD 48, 17 - 49, 1. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 143, XXI.
40. The size and type of a s'b-loaf is unfortunately not known for certain, see Helck, Materialien, 674, no. 49; Caminos, LEM, 23-24; Janssen, Two An. Eg. Ships Logs, 20. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 346 quotes the unpublished O. Gardiner 172 (now O. Ash. Mus. 172) as possible evidence that such a loaf weighed 3 deben = c. 270 gm. Such loaves are, at any rate, unlikely to have been large.
41. O. IFAO 1255, 3; RAD 53, 6; O. Cairo 25530 has no entry dated to this day.
42. RAD 53, 6 - 54, 4. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 139-140, III and IV.
43. O. Cairo 25530, 4-5: 'r'r p3y·tn ....
44. O. IFAO 1255, 4: 'r'r p3y·tn ⟨s?⟩hm.
45. RAD 53, 4-7.
46. O. Varille 39, 11-14.
47. RAD 50, 3-12 and O. Varille 39, verso.
48. RAD 54, 7-12. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 142, XI.
49. O. IFAO 1255, 5-6.
50. O. IFAO 1255, 5-9.
51. His position is unknown to me, but he also appears in O. Berlin 12630, 4 = Allam, HOPR, 10-11 as a person of some authority, appealed to by a workman in a dispute with the wife of the scribe Amonnakhte.
52. Now the broken beginning of the Varille ostracon.
53. O. Varille 39, 4a; day 15, added above the line.
54. O. Varille 39, 10-11.
55. O. Varille 39, 11-15; the content of the final two broken lines, mentioning the scribe Hori, the mayor of Town, and 'sleeping', is obscure.
56. RAD 53, 12 - 54, 4.
57. RAD 54, 3-4.
58. RAD 50, 3-12. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 144, XXIII.
59. The fragmentary remains of two lines of text included at the bottom of the page, RAD 50, 11-12, seem to consist of payments of rations to auxiliary members of the crew.
60. RAD 50, 14 - 51, 3. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 143, XVIII.
61. Cf. Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 305.
62. RAD 54, 13 - 55, 14.
63. The order of entries is month III, rt. 2, 6-10 (= RAD 54, 13 - 55, 2); undated, rt. 2, 11-17 (= RAD 55, 5-14); month IV peret 28, rt. 2, 18 - 3, 5 (= RAD 55, 15 - 56, 7).
64. RAD 54, 13 - 55, 2. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 140, V.
65. The examples are conveniently collected by Green, in Studies.... Fairman, 108.
66. O. Cairo 25556; cf. Černý, ASAE 27 (1927), 200-205. See also below p. 162.

67. RAD 55, 5-14. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 140, VI.
68. O. Turin 57072, vs. 1-2.
69. RAD 55, 15 - 56, 7. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 140-141, VII.
70. O. Turin 57072, 2.
71. Perhaps he had come up from the vizier at the same time as the chief of police Nebsmenu.
72. RAD 56, 8-16. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 141, VIII and Allam, HOPR, p. 310.
73. The names are common at Deir el Medina, and no certain identifications are possible, but it should be noted that there were water carriers of these names, known from the correct period. Amonkhau, see DM 244, 4 (year 28). Userhetnakhte, see O. Cairo 25721, 4; O. Berlin 14214, vs. 4; DM 645, 4 and 6; O. Mich. 12, 7 (pl. LXIV).
74. Apparently there is an error in the text here. If this text were the account of an official (cf. Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 303) he would have received more than the 2 khar on this occasion, and so the record here of 3½ khar would be explicable. Otherwise a partial extra payment must be included (cf. Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 306), possibly the emergency provision made in the middle of the month by the mayor, see the end of the page.
75. Against Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 141, n. 26, but see Brunner, Altaeg. Erziehung, 21-22 and 181; Allam, HOPR, p. 311, n.1.
76. On the phrase see Parant, in Droit Egyptien, 38.
77. Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 144-145. See above p. 39 and 59.
78. RAD 57, 1-5. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 141, IX.
79. RAD 57, 6 - 58, 6. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 141, X.
80. RAD 58, 11-12. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 142, XIII, and Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 16-22.
81. RAD 51, 15 - 52, 3. See Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 144, XXIV.
82. See above, p. 191.
83. The accession date of Ramesses III was day 26 of month I of shemu, see Helck, Stud. Bib. et Or., III, 124.
84. O. Turin 57072, vs. 5-6.
85. Thus Černý, his remarks being noted on the publication of Lopez without comment. Also Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 301, who for that reason does not translate.
86. Cf. Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 36-37 for references to published texts.
87. DM 159, 6.
88. DM 36, 9. The verso had contained entries for month I of peret, but the text is almost completely lost.
89. Černý, Community, 212-213.
90. Spiegelberg, Graffiti, 306; Černý, Graffiti, 1082.
91. O. Berlin 10627; see Černý, Community, 212-213.
92. DM 37. The text of the verso is illegible.
93. Lines 8-9 and cf. line 17.
94. DM 38.
95. Line 10.
96. Lines 21-22.
97. DM 39 + 174; see Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 37; Stud. Bib. et Or. III, 124-125; Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 606.
98. See Faulkner, CAH³ II, 2, 246-247.
99. O. Berlin 12631 = Černý Mss, 17.32.51-56. See also Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 624.
100. Recto 11.
101. Recto 13.
102. Recto 14.

103. See Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 607.
104. O. Berlin 12631, line 15. See above, note 99.
105. Recto 20.
106. Verso 7.
107. Černý's transcription shows in rt. 5 a reading 'month IV' in a wood account, that should clearly read 'month III'.
108. O. Strassburg H 42 (= Černý Mss, 17.35.74) + DM 40.
109. DM 40, 14-15. See Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 607 for the events of this and the following months.
110. DM 40, 18-19.
111. DM 40, vs. 1-6.
112. DM 41.
113. Verso 10.
114. DM 40, 12; Černý, Community, 115.
115. Černý, ZAS 72 (1936), 115-118; Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 37-38.
116. See the following page.
117. DM 42, 43, 47, 160, 161 + O. Strassburg H 82 (= Černý Mss, 17.35.64), and 162. See Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 38.
118. DM 162, 8.
119. DM 44, 18-19. Cf. Helck, Materialien, 583.
120. DM 44, 19-22.
121. DM 45, 14-20.
122. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 49, 1-5; see Černý, Community, 103-104; CAH³ II, 2, 607.
123. DM 45, vs. 8-10. See above, p. 105
124. O. Chicago 16991 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
125. HO LVIII, 1. Neferronpet is attested in office from year 1 of Ramesses IV until late in the reign of Ramesses IX, see Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 329-335 and 462-464. For similar appeals for food, cf. Theban Ostraca, A11, end of letter I and letter III, and P. Chester Beatty III.
126. O. Sydney R 97. See Eyre, Studies....Fairman, 80-91.
127. Eyre, Studies....Fairman, 81 and 84-85.
128. DM 45, 16; cf. Eyre, Studies....Fairman, 82, note f.
129. P. DM 24 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 87.
130. The verb is lost. Černý's preliminary transcription suggests šsp, 'received', but in view of the text at the end of line 4, restored very plausibly by Černý iw·w hr [dd imi n·n (better than n·i)] inn, 'They [said, "Give us] our needs"', it is better to interpret the whole text as an appeal rather than a record of payments.
131. O. Cairo 25301, face II = Černý Mss, 17.101.41.
132. O. IFAO 1413 = Černý Mss, 17.116.(14). The dating is only from the fact that it was found in the so-called Grand Puits, and that the Penanqet mentioned may be the same as that of the Turin Strike Papyrus, RAD 57, 6 and cf. DM 148, 11.
133. O. Cairo 25290 bis = Černý Mss, 17.101.99.
134. O. Cairo 25533. Cf. Helck, Materialien, 584; Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 137, n. 2; Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 624. The appearance there of the foreman Nekhemmut (Černý, Community, 125), the scribe Amonnakhte, and the guardian Khay (Černý, Community, 156-157) indicate a date in the reign of Ramesses IV or soon after. It is certainly not contemporary with the Strike Papyrus, for the foreman Khonsu there mentioned held office as late as year 31.
135. The term dni, 'portions' is used to refer to the cubic cubits of stone removed from the tomb excavation, see Černý, Valley of the Kings, 20-21.
136. HO XXV, 2. The names mentioned do not help to date the text. The

reign of Ramesses IV can probably be excluded, as no change of year date is noted on III shemu 15, his accession day.
137. O. Cairo 25709.
138. For instance DM 45, 18-20.
139. O. Mich. 40 (pl. LIX).
140. O. Cairo 25643.
141. O. Cairo 25235 = Allam, HOPR, 29.
142. Attested between year 24 of Ramesses III and year 4 of Ramesses V, see Černý, Community, 166.
143. P. Chester Beatty XVI, verso. See the comments of Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Third Series, vol. I, 127-129.
144. O. IFAO 556 = Černý, BIFAO 35 (1935), 52.
145. O. IFAO 874 = Černý, BIFAO 72 (1972), 62.
146. Note P. Turin 2074, quoted on the following page.
147. O. Varille 39, 10-11; O. DM 44, 18-19.
148. O. Cairo 25307 = Černý Mss, 17.101.37.
149. O. Cairo 25278 = Černý Mss, 17.101.17.
150. Černý Mss, 17.17.20.
151. The references are collected in note 31 to chapter XI ('Labour Troubles II').
152. P. Turin 2074 = Černý Mss, 17.17.11-12. The other side of the papyrus is referred to by Černý, in Studi....Rosellini, II, 29-31.
153. II, 11 mentions the draughtsman Amonhotep, perhaps the son of the scribe Amonnakhte, last attested in that job in year 17 of Ramesses IX; Giornale 10, 2; Černý, Community, 197-198; 346; 352.
154. DM 571. Cf. Helck, Materialien, 585; Černý, CAH^3 II, 2, 624. The reign of Ramesses III seems improbably early for this text, and those of Ramesses X and XI improbably late, since the text comes from Deir el Medina. No other Ramesside king is known to have reigned into a ninth year. The only name is damaged, but read by Sauneron as Montuemtawey. The well known overseer of the Treasury of that name does not seem to be at issue here, as the surviving end of his title associates this man with the administration of the god Amon.
155. P. Turin 2072/142 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130.
156. Again the dates of the first column are lost. The texts of the second column give this month. The accession date of Ramesses IX, and therefore the date on which the number of the year changed, was between days 17 and 23 of the first month of akhet, see Helck, Stud. Bib. et Or. III, 128.
157. Vs. I, 3.
158. Vs. I, 7-8.
159. Giornale, pl. 4-7. Note the comments of Helck, Materialien, 584.
160. Giornale 4, 4-5.
161. Giornale 4, 6-7.
162. Giornale 4, 10 - 5, 11.
163. Giornale 4, 1.
164. Giornale 7, II, 16 seems to record another delivery by the same man on I akhet 18.
165. Giornale 5, 12-13.
166. Giornale 5, 14-15.
167. Giornale 5, 16.
168. Giornale 5, 17.
169. Giornale 5, 18-20.
170. Giornale 6-7, verso, column II.
171. Giornale 7, column III.
172. Line 5.
173. Lines 11-12.

174. Line 8.
175. Line 10.
176. HO LXIX, 1. The royal name is not mentioned, but the mention of pigments left over from the work on the tomb of Ramesses VII makes a dating to any other reign unlikely. See Helck, Materialien, 584.
177. P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960 = Allam, HOPR, 122-127.
178. Rt. II, 9-10.
179. Rt. II, 11.
180. Rt. II, 12.
181. Rt. II, 13-15.
182. Rt. II, 19-20.
183. The other narrative texts of this papyrus are even less usable. The verso (vs. I, 1-12) contains the record of tiny issues of grain on II akhet 15 of year 15, noting at the end that somebody was sent to (m-b3h) Pharaoh, refers to Libyan incursions and has (vs. II) an account of the appearance of the leaders of the crew before high officials (royal butler, High Priest of Amon, and vizier), but the sense of the discussions is not clear from the remains of the text.
184. Giornale, pl. 14-17, with lines continued on plates 19 and 20, and Giornale, pl. 24-26. The preceding text, Giornale, pl. 8-13 preserves only a few fragments of the journal entries for the preceding months. The other entries on the recto, and the entries of the verso of the papyrus are likewise not normal 'journal' entries, but individual memoranda. See Helck, Materialien, 584-585.
185. Giornale 14, 6 (day 7?) and 14, 13 (day 13?). Cf. also 15, 15 (day 15) and 15, 16 (day 16).
186. Giornale 14, 9 (day 9?) and 14, 14 (day 14).
187. Giornale 14, 8; 14, 11 and 15, 15.
188. Giornale 15, 18. Occasional deliveries of fish are mentioned Giornale 15, 28-29; 16, 12; 16, 15 - 17, 18. Not so frequent as those recorded in the daybooks of the earlier Twentieth Dynasty, there is no way of knowing whether these were the full deliveries due or were only partial, and whether they were punctual or late.
189. Giornale 14, 12.
190. Giornale 17, 26-31 with continuation of the lines on plates 19 and 20.
191. Perhaps in view of the following texts Nesamon is here referred to. As he was also Overseer of the Treasury of Pharaoh it would be easily understandable why he should have been approached.
192. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 676-677; Saffirio, Aegyptus 57 (1977), 31. According to BM 10054, 4 = Peet, Great Tomb Robberies, 56 and 65-66, 1 khar gave 60 kyllestis loaves. Cf. also Chabas, Oeuvres Diverses IV, 40-43, a kyllestis loaf weighed 3-4 deben.
193. The figure is mentioned as due for month II of peret in Giornale 14, 6; 15, 16, and does not include the barley due to them, cf. Giornale 14, 7.
194. Giornale 24, VII, 1-4.
195. Giornale 24, VII, 5-10.
196. Giornale 24, VIII, 1.
197. Giornale 24, VIII, 2-11.
198. Giornale 25, 1-5.
199. Černý, Community, 235-237.
200. Giornale 25, 6,11.
201. Giornale, pl. 50-63 = P. Chabas-Lieblein I and additional fragments.
202. Giornale 50, 1 + 52, 1.
203. Giornale 51, 15-17.

204. Discussed below, p. 270-273.
205. Giornale 51, 18.
206. Giornale 51, 21.
207. Giornale 52, 7-10; s'y bit 23 (sic) divided among the crew, 12 to the right and 13 to the left.
208. Giornale 52, 11.
209. Giornale 52, 12.
210. Giornale 52, 12-13.
211. Giornale 53, 15-21.
212. Giornale 53, 22.
213. Giornale 53, 27.
214. Giornale 54, 7; day 16.
215. Giornale 54, 14 - 55, 15.
216. Giornale 55, 15-18.
217. Or 'stolen', .
218. Giornale 55, 20-22.
219. Giornale 55, 23.
220. Giornale 55, 24-25.
221. The text has 'we'; the pronoun refers to the crew.
222. Giornale 55, 25 - 56, 4.
223. The same Amonkhau mentioned a few pages above (Giornale 51, 16).
224. Giornale 56, 5 - 59, 18.
225. For instance Giornale 58, 9-12, an inspection of tools; Giornale 58, 4-5, commissioning a particular piece of work.
226. Giornale 59, 18-19.
227. Giornale 59, 19-20.
228. Giornale 59, 20 - 60, 3.
229. Giornale 60, 3-17.
230. Giornale, pl. 61-62.
231. Giornale 62, 19.
232. Giornale 62, 20-21.
233. Giornale 62, 21-22 and 24-25.
234. Giornale 62, 25-26.
235. RAD 64-68. See above, p. 47.
236. RAD 68, 2.
237. RAD 67, 16.

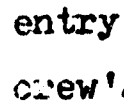
XI. Labour Troubles at the Tomb, II. An Analysis.

1. See above, p. 193-197.
2. Notably RAD 54, 13 - 55, 2 and 55, 5-14.
3. Cf. Helck, Materialien, 618-619; Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 202 and 259; Morenz, Prestige-Wirtschaft, 59.
4. BM 10403, 3, 5-7.
5. BM 10052, 11, 7-8.
6. See Aldred, Studies....Fairman, 96 and note 66, to which add especially BM 10053, 3, 13-15.
7. BM 10052, 6, 18-20.
8. BM 10052, 1, 8-10 and 3, 8-17. BM 10052, 6, 7-13 tells how a woman was made to give up her share by violence.
9. Peet, Great Tomb Robberies, p. 158, n. 4; cf. particularly BM 10052, 3, 4; 14, 6.
10. Cf. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 259; Materialien, 618.
11. BM 10052, 6, 1-7.
12. Cf. BM 10052, 10, 15.
13. BM 10052, 3, 19.
14. BM 10052, 10, 6-7.
15. Cf. BM 10052, 3, 15-17.
16. Mayer A, 8, 3-9 is the clearest statement of its effects. Cf. also BM 10052, 12, 16-21 and Mayer A, 6, 17.
17. Cf. Abb. 6, 12-13; BM 10052, 4, 9-10; 8, 4-5.
18. Cf. BM 10052, 8, 17-24; 10, 8-9.
19. Note the comments of Aldred, in Studies....Fairman, 92-99.
20. See Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 23-24; Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 169-170.
21. Giornale 25, 6-11.
22. Cf. Bell, AJA 75 (1971), 9; 15, no. 6.
23. James, Hekanakhte Papers, pl. 5, 26-28 and p. 39, n. 19 and 20.
24. dd·tw ḥqr r ḥqr.
25. On famine, see Vandier, Famine, passim, and Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 6.
26. See Butzer, Early Hydraulic Civilisation, 33 and 91; Bell, AJA 75 (1971), 1-2; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 4 and 205. Note, however, Vercoutter, Egyptologie et climatologie.
27. O. Chicago 16991, vs. 10-12 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
28. Giornale 20, bottom (continuing from 17, 29 + 19, 29).
29. DM 607, 2; see Helck, Materialien, 585. Cf. also O. Cairo 25644, rt. 6.
30. Cf. Butzer, Early Hydraulic Civilisation, 29.
31. Černý, Arch. Or. 6 (1934), 173-178; Prices and Wages, 921; Helck, Materialien, 616-619; Janssen, Commodity Prices, 551-552; JEA 52 (1966), 92-93; Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 27-30. Note, however, the comments of Helck, Materialien, 619 and Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 185, that the rise in price of grain is not yet visible at the end of the reign of Ramesses III. See also Butzer, Early Hydraulic Civilisation, 55-56. Although possible seasonal fluctuations in the price of grain should be allowed for, these are not clearly visible in the preserved texts.
32. See the attempts made by Janssen, Commodity Prices, 117-119 and 125-127.
33. See Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 232.
34. Peet, JEA 12 (1926), 254-259; Wente, JNES 25 (1966), 73-87; Helck, JARCE 6 (1967), 138; Bierbrier, JEA 58 (1972), 199, n. 5.
35. Cf. Aldred, in Studies....Fairman, 92-99.

36. Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 243-258; Allam, HOPR, no. 266.
37. Černý, CAH³ II, 2, 612-613 and 616-619.
38. See the remarks of Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 202 and Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 185. If the figures in the Turin Indictment Papyrus (RAD 73-82; see Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 60-62) for grain embezzled by minor officials be given some credence as typical losses to the administration, the deficits in the supply of corn could only have been very serious. Faulkner, CAH³ II, 2, 246, attributes the failures in supply, leading to the troubles of year 29, less to positive misconduct than to inefficiency and neglect of duty.
39. For the bribery of officials by tomb robbers see Leop. Am. 3, 2-6 and BM 10053, 3, 13-15.
40. Cf. Černý, Arch. Or. 6 (1934), 177-178 for this and the following remarks. See also Janssen, Commodity Prices, 117-119 and 125-127.
41. The date for the death of Ramesses III by a middle chronology, see Hornung, Untersuchungen zur Chronologie, 97 and 108, and for comparative purposes his table at the end of the book.
42. Using an unpublished set of tables provided by K. A. Kitchen; III shemu 30 would have been 1st May. See also the preceding note.
43. Cf. Parker, Calendars of Ancient Egypt, 8.
44. RAD 60-63.
45. Cf. Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 74-76. A number of depictions of the measurement scene are listed there, p. 76, n.1. By his calculation fields at Harageh in the Middle Kingdom were being measured in January. In the Ptolemaic period official land surveys were made before, or at the time of sowing, but crop surveys were also made just before the harvest, see Crawford, Kerkeosiris, 24-28. Note also Helck, Zur Verwaltung, 138-139.
46. Hughes, Saite Demotic Land Leases, 10-13 and 74-75. Also Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 31-33 and cf. 42-43. In the Saite period the landlord more usually paid the tax. Probably on land run by temples, the temples paid any sums due to the state from that which they collected. Mes (quoted by Baer) paid his own taxes, but his land was 'private' land. In most cases it is unrealistic, in the New Kingdom, to distinguish between rents and taxes, and in the present context unnecessary. See Helck, Lexikon I, under 'Abgaben und Steuern', but note also the reservations of Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 173-174.
47. RAD 36, 1.
48. RAD 43-44.
49. RAD 41, 9.
50. See P. Wilbour, 44, 1; 75, 1; Gardiner, Wilbour Papyrus, II, Commentary, 10.
51. There is a great difficulty here, and other possibilities are plausible. Cf. Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 39-40. A relationship between the land listed and summer crops seems to me most unlikely.
52. See the preceding chapter.
53. O. Turin 57072.
54. DM 35, 9-10.
55. O. Berlin 10633.
56. O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39 = Černý Mss, 17.61.40 + 17.108.73-74; O. Cairo 25530; RAD 49, 15-18; 52, 14 - 54, 12.
57. RAD 55, 15 - 56, 7.
58. RAD 56, 8-16.
59. RAD 57, 1-5.
60. RAD 51, 15 - 52, 3. The crew appear at the Ramesseum.
61. DM 36, 9. The entries for days 5 to 13 of this month are lost.
62. DM 38, 21-22.

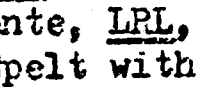
63. O. Berlin 12631, 15 = Černý Mss, 17.32.51-56.
64. DM 44, 18-19.
65. O. Sydney R 97.
66. O. Chicago 16991 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
67. HO LVIII, 1.
68. O. IFAO 556 = Černý, BIFAO 35 (1935), 52.
69. O. Cairo 25235 = Allam, HOPR, 29. A very fragmentary text.
70. Unnumbered papyrus fragments in Turin, see Černý Mss, 17.17.20.
71. O. IFAO 1413 = Černý Mss, 17.116(.14). Little of the text preserved.
72. O. Cairo 25709.
73. O. Cairo 25643. The only dates preserved.
74. O. Mich. 40, 1-2 (pl. LIX). The earlier dates are lost.
75. O. Cairo 25278 = Černý Mss, 17.101.17.
76. O. Cairo 25301 = Černý Mss, 17.101.41.
77. O. Cairo 25533, vs. 9-10. The earliest date is lost, but the entry follows the list of absentees for day 8 in a register of absentees.
78. HO XXV, 2, vs. 2-3.
79. P. DM 24 = Allam, HOPR, 87.
80. P. Chester Beatty XVI, verso.
81. O. Cairo 25290, bis = Černý Mss, 17.101.99.
82. O. Cairo 25307 = Černý Mss, 17.101.37.
83. P. Turin 2074, II, 7-8 = Černý Mss, 17.17.11-12. The entries for the previous six days contain no mention of grain rations.
84. DM 571.
85. P. Turin 2072/142, vs. I, 7 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130. The events of the following column belong to II shemu.
86. Giornale, pl. 4-7, especially 4, 4-5.
87. HO LXIX, 1, vs. 2-4.
88. Giornale, pl. 14-17. The absences are at least partly a result of tomb robbery investigations.
89. Giornale 17 + 19 + 20, 26-31.
90. Giornale 53, 22 records the return to work.
91. Giornale 51, 15-21.
92. Giornale 52, 11.
93. Giornale 52, 12-13.
94. Giornale 55, 23 - 56, 2.
95. Giornale 59, 19-20.
96. Giornale 60.
97. Giornale 62, 20-22.
98. RAD 67, 16 - 68, 2.
99. Cf. O. Turin 57072, II, 1-2; vs. 1-2. II peret is the month of the beginning of the 'strikes' in the Strike Papyrus.
100. RAD 56, 5.
101. Giornale 25, 9; similarly 14, 9; 14, 14.
102. Giornale 4, 4-5; 14, 6-7; 14, 13.
103. Giornale 15, 15.
104. RAD 53, 15 - 54, 1.
105. See above, p. 193.
106. O. Sydney R 97, vs. 2-3.
107. O. Chicago 16991 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
108. HO LVIII, 1. In both cases they asked for ꜥ n ꜥnḫ, 'the means of life', for which cf. RAD 54, 3; 57, 4-5. See also P. Chester Beatty III; Theban Ostraca A11, letters I and III.
109. P. DM 24 = Allam, HOPR, 87.
110. O. Cairo 25301, II face = Černý Mss, 17.101.41.
111. See Černý, Community, chapter XVI.
112. Notably Christophe, BIFAO 65 (1967), 177-199. Cf. also Saffirio,

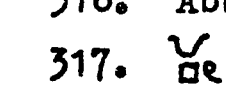
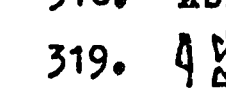
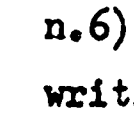
Aegyptus, 57 (1977), 45-51 and 72-75; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 166.
113. See above, p. 59-63.
114. RAD 46, 7 - 47, 9. See Černý, Community, 185-188; Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 142, XVI.
115. See above, p. 191-192.
116. RAD 45, 1 - 46, 5. See Černý, Community, 185-188; Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 142, XV. Possibly the same name occurs for one of the fishermen in each group. One list gives 3 gardeners, the other 3 gardeners each with an assistant.
117. A more plausible explanation than that of Černý, Community, 185-188, who thought the different groups were rotating duty rosters.
118. Cf. HO LXV, 3 = Černý, Community, 163-164 for a similar example, where three contemporary gatekeepers are attested, Note also the distinction made in RAD 53, 8. It is possible, however, that 'the 2 gatekeepers' mentioned there belonged to the Ramesseum, and not the Tomb.
119. RAD 49, 4-12. See Černý, Community, 188-189; Edgerton, JNES 10 (1951), 143, XIX.
120. RAD 53, 15 - 54, 1.
121. P. Chester Beatty XVI, vs.. Cf. also the delivery of vegatables from a chief of police, DM 37, 8-9 and 17, and note also Giornale, 4, 1.
122. O. Cairo 25530, 2-3; O. IFAO 1255, 1.
123. See Janssen, Or. An. 18 (1979), 306-308, but some of his objections are too strong, and it is clear that the grain rations, whenever actually paid, were due before the beginning of the new month.
124. Janssen, Commodity Prices, 460-466. The calculations of Saffirio, Aegyptus 57 (1977), 39-42, attribute a slightly lower real value to the rations. Cf. also Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 206-207, and note Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 42-43.
125. Other private enterprises, craftwork or the hire of donkeys, seem to have been carried on for 'monetary' gain, the acquisition of wealth in goods. They can have been of little help in replacing unpaid wages.
126. O. IFAO 556 = Černý, BIFAO 35 (1935), 52. Cf. Schenke, Das Altertum 9 (1963), 67.
127. See above, p. 240 and note 107 to chapter IX ('Commissioning and Control'), and cf. Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 17.
128. Notably RAD 54, 1-3; 56, 11. See also P. Turin 2074, II, 7-9 = Černý Mss, 17.17.11-12.
129. Cf. Černý, Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne 2 (1929), 206-207; Bruyère, Rapport (1933-1934), 2-3. Note, however, the appeal about food in Theban Ostraca A11, letter I, which refers to the Nineteenth Dynasty.
130. P. Salt 124, I, 2.
131. RAD 56, 8-16.
132. Cf. RAD 52, 14 - 53, 3.
133. Abb. 5, 10-18.
134. O. Berlin 10633, 1-3.
135. RAD 52, 15-16.
136. Cf. O. Turin 57072.
137. Giornale 5, 17.
138. Giornale of that year. For references see the following pages. Note also P. Turin 2074, II, 7-9 = Černý Mss, 17.17.11-12.
139. Giornale 53, 27.
140. Giornale 62, 24-26.
141. Giornale 55, 23 - 56, 4.
142. DM 38, 21-22.
143. RAD 49, 15; 52, 14.
144. Verso 9-10.

145. DM 44, 18-19.
146. O. Varille 39, 10-11.
147. A number of wooden torches were found in the debris around the 'Grand Puits' at Deir el Medina, but the excavator concluded that they must have been of rather later date than the Ramesside period, Bruyère, Rapport (1948-1951), 67-68, 90 and 131.
148. See Helck, JESHO 7 (1964), 141-155.
149. O. Berlin 12631, 15 = Černý Mss, 17.32.51-56.
150. On day 11, recorded in line 11.
151. O. Cairo 25533, vs. 9-10. Other possibly early examples are O. Cairo 25235 = Allam, HOPR, 29; O. Mich. 40, 1 (pl. LIX) and perhaps so to be restored, O. Cairo 25643, 1-2.
152. The juxtaposition is best demonstrated in HO LIV, 4, for which see Janssen, Commodity Prices, 510. Note also O. Cairo 25678, vs. 11-12; O. Gardiner 165, vs. = Allam, HOPR, 44-45.
153. Cf. Poids DM 5182, 5196, 5226 and 5227.
154. See for instance HO LXXVII, vs.; DM 558.
155. LES 37, 3.
156. O. Sydney R 97.
157. On the phrase and its implications see my note in Studies.... Fairman, 83, note w.
158. LRL 29, 11-16; cf. also LRL 14, 8 and 17, 11; Wente, LRL 35, b; 39, b; 49, i, j and k.(He has reservations about the translation here preferred, thinking it better to take 'nh as the word for food.) Note also Ani, 7, 13.
159. Hamada, ASAE 38 (1938), 220, lines 12-13; KRI II, 362, 1-3. For the sense, cf. Ani, 4, 3: if you behave well the god will iry hrt·k, 'look after you'.
160. O. Sydney R 97, vs. 4-5.
161. Giornale 25, 6-11.
162. RAD 56, 8-16.
163. For the phrase see Parant, in Droit Egyptien, 38.
164. Cf. RAD 55, 5-14.
165. Giornale 55, 23 - 56, 4.
166. However judicial an Egyptian court, the contending parties were disputing with each other in front of it, and naturally addressed each other directly, not through the court.
167. Giornale 4, 10 - 5, 11.
168. Giornale 52, 11 and cf. O. Cairo 25235, 4-5 = Allam, HOPR, 29.
169. HO LXIX, 1, vs. 3-5.
170. O. Cairo 25530, 4-5 corresponding to the broken entry O. IFAO 1255, 4.
171. RAD 53, 6-7.
172. RAD 54, 7-12.
173. O. Varille 39, 9.
174. RAD 48, 16 - 49, 1.
175. RAD 55, 15 - 56, 7.
176. DM 37, 8-9 and cf. 17.
177. RAD 51, 15 - 52, 3.
178. For a setem-priest involved in such matters cf. O. Sydney R 97, 3; Giornale 26, 15; O. IFAO 1413 = Černý Mss, 17.116(.14).
179. RAD 57, 1-5.
180. See above p. 253-254.
181. O. Berlin 10633. In O. Berlin 12631 = Černý Mss, 17.32.51-56, not long after the crew 'passed the guardposts' and received grain rations, an entry (rt. 20) records that 'the god gave payments () to the crew'. This entry I presume to be unconnected with the

'strike'. Perhaps an issue of foods at a festival is indicated.
182. For a possible example of this see P. Louvre 3171, 2, 5 = Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 56-59.
183. See above, p. 192.
184. Helck, Materialien, 102, nr. 20 connects the payment from this temple (for which see Hölscher, Excavations at Medinet Habu II, part II) with sealings naming that temple found at Deir el Medina, see Bruyère, Rapport (1945-1947), 53.
185. RAD 49, 17-18 and O. IFAO 1255, 2(?) and RAD 52, 16, but note the comments of Helck, Materialien, 94 and 118.
186. RAD 54, 11.
187. RAD 57, 2.
188. RAD 53, 5, 6 and 10; O. IFAO 1255, 3; RAD 51, 15.
189. RAD 49, 16.
190. This standard qualification, t3 hwt (X) m pr imn, is expressly used for the temple of Horemheb in the O. Berlin 10633.
191. Cf. Černý, in Fonti Indirette, 48, and see below p. 127 with n.17.
192. Giornale 55, 24-25, discussed above p. 254-255. Cf. also Giornale 60, 1-3. Not long before the scribe of the High Priest, Userhet, was concerned with a delivery of grain rations, Giornale 52, 12-13.
193. The problem of the meaning of his words is discussed below, p. 278.
194. DM 571, 5-8.
195. RAD 52, 1.
196. RAD 51, 15 - 52, 3.
197. For instance, compare the examples collected by Janssen, Traditioneele Autobiographie, vol. I, p. 78-81, and note also the Book of the Dead, chapter 125, Naville, Aeg. Todtenbuch, I, pl. CXXXVII, 11 = Lichtheim, An. Eg. Lit. II, 128. Cf. also Ani, 8, 5.
198. Helck, Materialien, 606 regards any provision the crew received from the temples as a loan to tide them over. On the role of temples and the state in mitigating famine, cf. Butzer, Early Hydraulic Civilisation, 88-89, and note also Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 185. On the role of temples in supplying the crew see Janssen, Commodity Prices, 458 and Janssen, in Lipiński, State and Temple II, 509 and 514-515.
199. RAD 48, 16 - 49, 1.
200. O. Varille 39, 4a.
201. O. Varille 39, 9:
202. Cf. above, p. 192.
203. RAD 57, 4-5. For the phrase, what the crew asked for, cf. RAD 54, 3; HO LVIII, 1, 5; O. Chicago 16991, vs. 10-11 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
204. Giornale 17 + 19 + 20, 26-31.
205. See above, p. 221.
206. P. Chester Beatty XVI, verso. See above, p. 243.
207. DM 44, 18-22.
208. RAD 53, 4-11.
209. RAD 57, 1-5.
210. RAD 51, 15 - 52, 3.
211. O. Cairo 25252, according to the description of Daressy.
212. See above, p. 135-138
213. See above, p. 136.
214. See above, p. 135.
215. RAD 55, 15 - 56, 6.
216. Giornale 4, 4-7.
217. Giornale 4, 10 - 5, 11.
218. Giornale 5, 12-15.
219. Giornale 5, 16-17

220. Giornale 5, 18-20.
221. Cf. P. Turin 2072/142, vs. I, 7-12 = Allam, HOPR, 128-130.
222. O. Varille 39, 11-14.
223. RAD 53, 12 - 54, 4.
224. RAD 54, 4-5.
225. O. Turin 57072, 2.
226. O. Chicago 16991, vs. 9 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
227. Cf. Sethe, Aeg. Lesestücke, 98, 13; Urk. I, 13, 3-6 = Goedicke, Privaten Rechtsinschriften, 45 and pl. 5 = Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 57, ex. i.
228. See the Horemheb Decree, 27 = Helck, ZAS 80 (1955), facing page 114 = Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 56, ex. g.
229. gm nhm appears to mean 'found guilty', 'found (to be a) thief', cf. O. Turin 9754, rt. 5 and vs. 4 = Allam, HOPR, pl. 72-73 and p. 252, no. 255. See also Lorton, JESHO 20 (1977), 43-44.
230. RAD 56, 3-4.
231. As well as P. Salt 124 note the complaints about short measure in grain rations given according to a measure provided by the scribe Paser, HO XXXIV, 4.
232. O. IFAO 1296 = Černý Mss, 17.61.70.
233. Lines 6-7.
234. Lines 9-10.
235. RAD 56, 5-7.
236. See above p. 71-75, and note especially the remarks in the inscription of Ramesses II from Manshiyet es Sadr, ASAE 38 (1938), 217-230; KRI II, 361-362.
237. RAD 56, 8-16.
238. Cf. Giornale 4, 4 - 5, 11 and 25, 6-11.
239. HO LVIII, 1. Awkwardnesses in the translation reflect the severe difficulties in understanding the connection between different clauses.
240. nb has the divine determinative, indicating that Pharaoh is intended, provided that the scribe has not made a spelling mistake. Is it possible that the letter was addressed to [Pharaoh and the vizier] Neferronpet?
241. O. Chicago 16991 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
242. Verso 7-12.
243. O. DM 114, quoted below, p.285. Cf. also P. Chester Beatty III and Theban Ostraca A11, letters I and III.
244. Note particularly O. Chicago 16991, rt. 11 - vs. 5 = Wente, JNES 20 (1961), 252-257.
245. See above p. 149 and 208-209.
246. Cf. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 213-214 and 217.
247. See the Turin Taxation Papyrus, RAD 36, 10; 37, 3; 37, 12; 41, 6; 41, 9-10; 42, 8; 43, 15.
248. O. Sydney R 97, 1-3.
249. Giornale 55, 24 - 56, 2.
250. Giornale 56, 3-4. See also Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 23 and cf. also the series, Giornale 56, 12; 58, 6-7; 59, 15-16.
251. Giornale 17 + 19 + 20, 26-31.
252. Giornale 25, 6-11.
253. See Faulkner, CAH^3 II, 2, 236, 238 and 240-241, to which add P. Salt 124, I, 2 and Černý, CAH^3 II, 2, 612-613 and 616-619.
254. See above, p. 25, 44 and 45-46.
255. See Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 22-23.
256. Note the remarks of Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 6-7 and n.15, stressing the significance and importance of possessing a boat in times of food shortage.

257. For attempts at an understanding of the system of taxation as a whole see Helck, in Lexikon, under 'Abgaben und Steuern' and Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 173-177.
258. RAD 1-13. Cf. Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 37-58 and especially p.47. Also Helck, Materialien, 545-553.
259. For the subject as a whole see Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 19-73; Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 268-269. In Materialien, 47-48 he gives a list of boat personnel from various institutions.
260. Lines 13-20. See Helck, ZAS 80 (1955), facing page 114, and Hari, Horemheb, 312-313.
261. LEM 94, 3-6. Cf. Helck, Materialien, 555. Note also the text P. Louvre 3171 = Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 56-59.
262. P. Turin 1978/208 = Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin 30 + fragment = Allam, HOPR, 97.
263. P. Turin 2072/142, I, 1-4 = Allam, HOPR, 128-129.
264. Verso I, 3.
265. Giornale 51, 15-21.
266. Giornale 62, 24-25.
267. Giornale 62, 20-22.
268. P. Turin, without catalogue number, known to me from Černý Mss, 17.159.19-20, where it is noted 'Label has '27(H)' - Frame: 'P.N. 109''. The dating to the reigns of Ramesses VI, VII or IX is assured by the fact the scribe was Horisheri, the date a year 7, and that 4 leaders (htyw) of the Tomb are mentioned.
269. RAD 35-44; Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 22-37.
270. RAD 36, 1-6.
271. RAD 36, 7. Cf. Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 23.
272. RAD 36, 10-11; 37, 6-7 and 12; 38, 3-4, 10 and 12; 39, 5-6; 40, 4 and 42, 2. They are referred to constantly as 'the 2 gatekeepers' with no qualification 'of the Tomb', but as they are always listed after 'the scribe Djehutimose of the Tomb' it is a natural presumption that they belonged to the same institution. They were (RAD 40, 8-9) Khonsumose, and probably Nesamonemope, although the latter is not given a title and does not appear in Černý's list, Community, 163. Cf. also Černý, Community, 168.
273. RAD 40, 14. See, however, Černý, Community, 168.
274. RAD 37, 11 and note also 41, 3-5. The boat Tjaudjehutishebyt; RAD 39, 3-4 and 12-13; 40, 5 and 10-11. The boat of the fisherman Qaidjeret; RAD ⟨39, 3-4⟩ and 14-15; 40, 5 and 7. The fisherman Itnefer received a grain ration as payment, RAD 40, 7.
275. LRL 69, 16 - 70, 2.
276. LRL 69, 6-10. See Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 23. For the former view see Černý, Community, 193-194 and for the latter, Wente, LRL, 81-82.
277. Cf. P. Louvre 3173, especially 2, 5 = Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 56-59. Grain was collected from the cultivator by boats delivering to the granary at Memphis, but also a sum was collected by a 'quartermaster of the army....'.
278. DM 44, 19-22.
279. RAD 36, 10; 37, 3 and 12; 41, 9-10; 42, 8; 43, 15.
280. RAD 37, 1-2 and 15; 40, 6.
281. RAD 36, 4-5. Cf. Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 185.
282. LRL 69, 16 - 70, 3 (see above n.275). Cf. also LRL 69, 7-10 and note Wente, LRL, 1-2.
283. Spelt with the house determinative, 
284. w3h mdt nb hr·k. Cf. also LRL 68, 11. It is not absolutely certain that the phrase means 'lay the blame on you' rather than 'complain to you'.

285. LRL 69, 1-3.
286. LRL 8, 6-8.
287. The whole crew? Cf. also LRL 10, 9 - 11, 7. Wente, LRL, 26, o translates 'conscript soldiers', referring to Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 45, but it is difficult to see how such a translation could be relevant in the present context.
288. Hamada, ASAE 38 (1938), 217-230; KRI II, 361-362.
289. Hamada, ASAE 38 (1938), 223; KRI II, 362, 3-8.
290. Pleyte-Rossi, P. Turin, 4-6 = Černý Mss, 17.151.39-42. The text seems to be part of an archive roll.
291. m di 'q hrw w' sp 2 m p3y·sn diw m p3y·sn sgnn. The phraseology is the same as that used of late payments in O. Berlin 10633, and the Turin Strike Papyrus, RAD 52, 15.
292. Cf. the Ptolemaic text, P. Petrie II, 4, 8 (=III, 42 C, 1), published by Edgar, Studies....Griffith, 210-211.
293. For the difficulties likely to be caused by such quarrels compare the letter of the Ptolemaic period, P. Petrie II, 4, 6 (= III, 42 C, 11), published by Edgar, Studies....Griffith, 212-213.
294. See above, p. 116.
295. Černý, Community, 125.
296. RAD 56, 8-16.
297. RAD 52, 16 - 53, 3; cf. 49, 16-18.
298. Cf. de Cenival, Associations Religieuses, 27, and compare Abb. 5, 7; DM 148, 10-11; Giornale 5, 18-20; 54, 14 - 55, 15.
299. DM 569, 5; O. Cairo 25556, 4.
300. P. DM 27, 6-7 = Allam, HOPR, 98-99; HO XLVII, 2, 2; DM 581, 7-8. HO LXV, 3, 4 could be either.
301. Gunn, Rec. Trav. 39 (1921), 108.
302. Lebensmüde, 71-75.
303. See LRL 36, 9-11 and 54, 2-3 and 54, 13. Note also the rather obscure passage, P. Salt 124, vs. I, 4-5.
304. O. Varille 39, 10-11.
305. DM 44, 18-19.
306. O. Cairo 25307 = Černý Mss, 17.101.37; O. Cairo 25278 = Černý Mss, 17.101.17 may have given a reason, but it is now to broken to be sure; unnumbered papyrus fragments in Turin, Černý Mss, 17.17.20.
307. See the remarks of Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), 231.
308. Giornale 55, 23.
309. Giornale 55, 25.
310. RAD 54, 7-12.
311. RAD 53, 6-7.
312. O. Varille 39, 15; Giornale 52, 12.
313. For example see Ptahhotep, no. 60-83; 119-130; 220-231; 441-456. Amonemope, I, 1-7; XXIII, 13 - XXIV, 7; XXIV, 21 - XXV, 9. Ani, 3, 17 - 4, 1; 9, 7-10.
314. Cf. Ptahhotep, no. 58-59, and the story of the Eloquent Peasant.
315. LRL 36, 11-13.
316. Abb. 5, 10-11.
317.  . The sense seems to be that of a body of men announcing the news of the favourable findings of the investigations.
318. Abb. 5, 14-15.
319.  can only be (as Gardiner, ZAS 41 (1904), 131, n.6) the word  , 'rejoicing', for which Wb. I, 119 records a writing , and to which there is a cognate word hby, 'festival'. Here the determinative should be given the fullest force

in showing the hostile sense of the word.
320. Abb. 6, 1-2.
321. Reading dd•i. The usual translation here as a participle is difficult. A past tense here would not seem to make sense, and a participle with present tense could only be explained as a relic of an earlier stage of the language, cf. Černý-Groll, Late Egyptian Grammar, 48.4.
322. Abb. 6, 5-7.
323. Abb. 5, 17-18.
324. Abb. 7, 14.
325. Cf. particularly LRL 46, 14-16; 'We do not say "Bah!" () in any job of his we are doing ..... Do not we work for you from the bottom of our hearts?'
326. RAD 56, 14-16.
327. Giornale 54, 14 - 55, 18.
328. Giornale 53, 16-22.
329. DM 36, 1-2.
330. O. Berlin 10627. See Černý, Community, 212-213.
331. DM 303. See Černý, Community, 337.
332. P. Salt 124, II, 14-18.
333. As well as the accusations against Paneb in P. Salt 124, compare the texts referring to the scribe Qeniherkhepeshef, Černý, Community, 331-332.
334. RAD 54, 13 - 55, 2 and 55, 5-14.
335. Cf. particularly O. Cairo 25556, 5, for which see above, p. 198-199 and 162.
336. RAD 55, 12-13. Cf. the comments of Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), 228.
337. Černý-Groll, Late Egyptian Grammar, chapter 16 for examples.
338. RAD 54, 13.
339. RAD 55, 15.
340. RAD 57, 6 - 58, 6 and cf. 58, 11-12. Compare also Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 16-22.
341. See Černý, Community, 303-305.
342. Compare the report in the Abbott papyrus, made by the mayor of Western Thebes, of the accusations made by the mayor of Thebes proper, accusations that eventually led to the accuser's own discomfiture, Abb. 5, 19-20, with the accusations following, down to the conclusion, 6, 15-20, and cf. 7, 14.
343. DM 148, 10-11. For the year see Helck, ZDMG 105 (1955), 28.
344. Recto 11-16.
345. Verso 5-6.
346. Recto 18-19.
347. O. IFAO 1413 = Černý Mss, 17.116(.14).
348. See Spiegelberg, Arbeiter and Arbeiterbewegung, 25, and cf. the remarks of Morenz, Prestige-Wirtschaft, 59; Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), 228.
349. DM 114. Cf. also P. Turin 1978/208 = Allam, HOPR, 97.
350. šni, 'inquire into', with a distincly legalistic flavour.
351. The text in fact has 'our', the correct pronoun from the point of view of the copyist of this model letter at Deir el Medina.
352. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, 236, n.6 quotes P. Anastasi V, 206 f = LEM 67, 10 - 68, 6 as an example of contemporary problems in military supply. More immediately relevant is LEM 75, 12-14. Helck, Materialien, 572 and Zur Verwaltung, 150 quotes an unpublished Cairo papyrus, from a slip Wb. Nr. for trouble over the payment of boats crews collecting taxes.
353. Narrative, II, 48-52 (= Second Edition, 313-316). Quarrying and

mining work in the deserts will always have suffered from supply difficulties, cf. the Petrie Papyri discussed by Edgar, in Studies... Griffith, 209-213.

354. Cf. the comments of Spiegelberg, Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung, 17.

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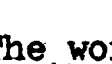
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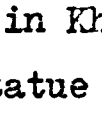
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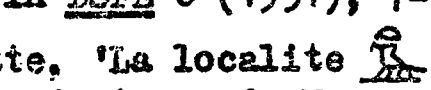
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