



EGYPTOLOGISCHE UITGAVEN • XIII

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

A PROSOPOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE ROYAL WORKMEN'S COMMUNITY

by

BENEDICT G. DAVIES



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

LEIDEN

1999

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community

by

BENEDICT G. DAVIES



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN
LEIDEN
1999

Copyright 1999 by

Nederlands Instituut
voor het Nabije Oosten
Witte Singel 25
Postbus 9515
2300 RA Leiden, Nederland

‘Elle souriait. J’ai perdu d’abord le souvenir de ses yeux, puis celui de son long corps. J’ai retenu, le plus longtemps que j’ai pu, son sourire et puis, il y a trois ans, je l’ai perdu aussi’.

Jean-Paul Sartre, *La nausée*

Davies, Benedict G.
Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen’s
Community by Benedict G. Davies - Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten - (Egyptologische
Uitgaven, ISSN 0927-0043;13)
ISBN 90-6258-213-3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Charts	ix
Preface	xi
Abbreviations and sigla	xii
Introduction	xviii
Chapter 1. The Foremen (§§ 1-7)	
§ 1: The family of the foreman Baki (i)	2
§ 2: The family of the foreman Qaha (i)	12
§ 3: The family of the foremen Neferhotep (i) and Neferhotep (ii)	31
§ 4: The family of the foreman Paneb (i)	34
§ 5: The family of the foreman Anakhtu (ii)	39
§ 6: The family of Sennedjem (i)	43
§ 7: The foreman Amennakht (vi) and the dating of graffito 1860a	58
Chapter 2. The Deputies (§§ 8-10)	
§ 8: The family of the deputy Nebsmen (i)	62
§ 9: The family of the chief craftsman Didi (i) and the deputy Hay (vii)	63
§ 10: The family of the deputy Anuynakht (i)	74
Chapter 3. The Scribes (§§ 11-30)	
§ 11: The family of the scribe Amenemope (i)	76
§ 12: The later scribe Amenemope (xi)	78
§ 13: The family of the scribe Ramose (i)	79
§ 14: The family of the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i)	84
§ 15: The family of the scribe Huy (x), son of Thuthirmaktef (i)	86
§ 16: The family of the scribe Anupemheb (i)	90
§ 17: The scribes Neferhotep	92
§ 18: The scribe Pashedu (vi)	93
§ 19: The family of the scribe Pahemneter (i)	95
§ 20: The scribe Bay (ii)	98
§ 21: The scribe Wennefer (v)	99
§ 22: Amenmose - 'scribe' or 'draftsman'?	100
§ 23: Two scribes of the smdt-staff: Wennefer (viii) and Iufenamun (i), son of Hori	101
§ 24: The scribes Paser	102
§ 25: The scribe Penparei (ii)	104
§ 26: The family of the draftsman and scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii)	105
§ 27: The scribe of the vizier Akhpet (i)	118
§ 28: The two scribes Pa(y)bes	119
§ 29: The scribe Sobeksonb (i)	121

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

§ 30: The scribe Pentahutnakht	121
Appendix A	
The chronology and function of the offices of the scribes at Deir el-Medina	123
Appendix B	
An expedition to mine gold	142
Appendix C	
How many scribes called Hori?	143
 Chapter 4. The Draftsmen (§§ 31-36)	
§ 31: The family of the draftsman Pay (i)	149
§ 32: The family of the draftsmen Pashedu (vii) and Maaninakhtuf (i)	155
§ 33: An earlier Menna	166
§ 34: The family of the draftsman Burekhet-iunef (i)	167
§ 35: The family of the chief draftsman Hori (ix)	168
§ 36: The draftsman Pawer (i)	174
 Chapter 5. The Sculptors (§§ 37-41)	
§ 37: The family of the sculptor Qen (ii)	176
§ 38: The family of the sculptor Piay (ii)	178
§ 39: The families of the sculptors Iyernutef	184
§ 40: The family of the sculptor Amennakht (viii)	187
§ 41: The family of the sculptor Pashedu (iii)	188
 Chapter 6. The Guardians (§§ 42-50)	
§ 42: The family of the guardian Amenemone (iv), son of Amenemwia (i)	190
§ 43: The family of the guardian Tusa (i), son of Amenemope (vii)	191
§ 44: The family of the guardian Khawy (ii)	192
§ 45: The family of the guardian in the Inaccessible Place Penbuy (i)	194
§ 46: The family of the guardian Yipuy (i)	195
§ 47: The family of the chief guardian Penmennefer (i)	197
§ 48: The family of the chief guardian Khay (iv)	198
§ 49: The family of the chief guardian Pakharu (i)	199
§ 50: The family of the guardian Qaydjoret (i)	200
 Chapter 7. The Servants in the Place of Truth (§§ 51-95)	
§ 51: The family of Apatjau (i)	203
§ 52: The workman Apehty in the XIXth Dynasty	205
§ 53: The family of the 'z n ' Amek (i)	206
§ 54: The family of Akhpet (iii)	209
§ 55: The family of Ipy (i)	209
§ 56: The workmen Amenemope	210
§ 57: The family of Amenemone (iii)	212
§ 58: The family of Amenemheb (vi) and Bakenmut (ii)	216

TABLE OF CONTENTS

§ 59: The workmen Amennakht from the XIXth Dynasty	216
§ 60: Two Amenhoteps from the XXth Dynasty: Amenhotep (ix), son of Khay (v), and Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna (i)	217
§ 61: The family of Wadjmose (i)	217
§ 62: The family of Wennekhu (i)	218
§ 63: The family of Bakenamun (i), son of Neferhor	219
§ 64: The workmen Bakenwerel	219
§ 65: The family of Buqentuf (iii)	221
§ 66: The family of Payom (i)	222
§ 67: The family of Pashedu (i), son of Hehnekhu (i)	222
§ 68: One or two Patjauemdiamuns?	225
§ 69: The family of Pennub (i) and its possible association with Harmose (i)	226
§ 70: The family of Pentaweret (vii), son of Nebnefer (vii)	228
§ 71: The two Ptahshedus	228
§ 72: The family of Meryre (v), son of Amenemope (ix)	229
§ 73: A variety of Nebnefers in the late XIXth Dynasty	234
§ 74: Nebnefer during the XXth Dynasty	236
§ 75: The family of Nebenmaat (i)	236
§ 76: Nebnakht in the XIXth Dynasty	239
§ 77: The family of Nakhtmin (iv)	239
§ 78: The family of Nakhtsu (i)	243
§ 79: The family of Nesamun (i), son of Amenkhau	244
§ 80: How many workmen Ruta?	245
§ 81: The family of Roma (i)	247
§ 82: The family of Reshpetref (i)	248
§ 83: Hay (x), son of Siwadjet	249
§ 84: A puzzle of Khaemopes	249
§ 85: The family of Khaemnun (i)	250
§ 86: One or two Khamys?	256
§ 87: The family of Khnummose (i)	258
§ 88: The family of Siwadjet (i)	263
§ 89: The family of Seba (iv)	266
§ 90: Qenna (viii), son of Prehotep	267
§ 91: The family of Kasa (i)	267
§ 92: The later Kasas	273
§ 93: The family of Kel (i) (Karo/Kenro)	274
§ 94: The workmen Telmont	276
§ 95: The family of Turobay (i)	278
 Tables	
Chronology of the Foremen	279
Chronology of the Deputies	281
Chronology of the Scribes	283

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Indices

Names	285
Documents	
A. Late Ramesside Letters	308
B. Ostraca	308
C. Papyri	315
Tombs	316

Genealogical Charts

LIST OF CHARTS

Genealogical Charts

- Chart 1: The family of Baki (i)
- Chart 2: The family of Penamun (ii)
- Chart 3: The family of Qaha (i)
- Chart 4: The family of Huynepfer (ii)
- Chart 5: The family of Hay (ii)
- Chart 6: The family of Neferhotep (i)
- Chart 7: The family of Sennedjem (i)
- Chart 8: The family of Didi (i)
- Chart 9: The family of Amennakht (v)
- Chart 10: The family of Ipuy (v)
- Chart 11: The family of Neferronpet (i)
- Chart 12: The family of Hori (ix)
- Chart 13: The family of Qen (ii)
- Chart 14: The family of Piay (ii)
- Chart 15: The family of Qenymmin (i)
- Chart 16: The family of Apatjau (i)
- Chart 17: The family of Siwadjet (iv)
- Chart 18: Composite of charts 15-17
- Chart 19: The family of Amek (i)
- Chart 20: The family of Amenemope (ix)
- Chart 21: The family of Nebenmaat (i)
- Chart 22: The family of Nebdjefa (i)
- Chart 23: The family of Hori (iii)
- Chart 24: The family of Hehnekhu (i)
- Chart 25: The family of Khaemnun (i)
- Chart 26: The family of Siwadjet (i)
- Chart 27: The family of Simut (i)
- Chart 28: The family of Kasa (i)
- Chart 29: The family of Penbuy (i)
- Chart 30: The family of Mose (vii)
- Chart 31: The family of Ipy (i)
- Chart 32: The family of Turobay (i)
- Chart 33: The family of Amenemheb (vi)
- Chart 34: The family of Nakhtmin (iv)
- Chart 35: The family of Nakhtsu (i)
- Chart 36: The family of Pendua (iii)
- Chart 37: The family of Pameduneternakht (i)
- Chart 38: The family of Iyernutef (iii)
- Chart 39: The family of Seba (iv)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Chart 40: The families of Pennub (i) and Harmose (i)

Chart 41: The family of Prehotep (iv)

Chart 42: The family of Anakhtu (iii)

Chart 43: The family of Pahemneter (i)

Chart 44: The family of Yipuy (i)

Chart 45: The family of Qaydjoret (i)

Chart 46: The family of Penparei (ii)

Chart 47: The family of Bakenwerel (vii)

PREFACE

This publication is a revised version of a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Liverpool in 1996. Thus, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the entire staff of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool, for their help and for the use of the department's excellent facilities; in particular, I am most grateful to both Miss Pat Winker and Dr. Steve Snape. No serious study of Deir el-Medina would be complete without reference to the many unpublished documents transcribed by the tireless and unrivalled Professor Černý, which now reside in the Griffith Institute at the University of Oxford. Consequently, I am beholden to Dr. Jaromir Malek for kind permission to consult and make reference to the invaluable material in the Černý archive. At the same time, I must offer my thanks to Dr. Diana Magee for her patient answers to my many letters, and to all the staff of the Griffith Institute for their warm hospitality during my numerous visits to Oxford. I would also like to thank the committee of the *Egyptologische Uitgaven* who have kindly accepted this work in their series.

This project has benefited from the critical advice and expertise of many people, most notably: Professor Dr. J. von Beckerath; Dr. M.L. Bierbrier (British Museum); Professor J.F. Borghouts (University of Leiden); Dr. P.J. Frandsen (University of Copenhagen); Professor A. Gasse (École des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut catholique de Paris); Professor Dr. E. Graefe (Wilhelms-Universität, Münster); Dr. J.A. Harrell (University of Toledo); Professor J.J. Janssen; Professor C.A. Keller (University of California, Berkeley); Dr. J. López; Dr. Peter Der Manuelian (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Mrs. Sandra Mather (University of Liverpool); Dr. A.G. McDowell; Mrs. D. Michaux-Colombot; Professor Dr. T. Säve-Söderbergh (Uppsala Universitet); Dr. E. Teeter (The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago); Miss Jaana Toivari (University of Leiden) and Dr. P. Wilson (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). My sincere thanks goes to each and every one. Similarly, I cannot over-play enough the contribution made by Dr. Rob Demarée who kindly read the entire manuscript in draft. His many comments have added greatly to the content of this work.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I can now express my indebtedness to those most influential in bringing this work to fruition. Special thanks go to my dear friend, Andrea Davies, whose patience and encouragement have assisted me throughout the course of the writing of this book. To my parents I owe an inestimable debt of gratitude for the many sacrifices they have made on my behalf. Finally, I humbly offer my thanks to my supervisor, Professor K.A. Kitchen, who selflessly committed himself to this project. I hope that one day I will have the opportunity to repay the benefits that have resulted from his friendship, support and inestimable knowledge of the Ramesside Period!

Wallasey, 21st August 1999

Benedict G. Davies

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> , Chicago.
Allam, <i>HOP</i>	S. Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit</i> , (text & plates vols.), Tübingen, 1973.
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> , Berlin, 1974-
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> .
Bierbrier, <i>LNKE</i>	M.L. Bierbrier, <i>The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.)</i> , Warminster, 1975.
Bierbrier, <i>BMHT 10</i>	M.L. Bierbrier, <i>The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.</i> , 10, London, 1982.
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i> , Cairo, 1901 ff.
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , Leiden, 1943-
BM	British Museum.
<i>BMHT 6</i>	E.J. Lambert, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.</i> , in <i>the British Museum</i> , 6, London, 1922.
<i>BMHT 7</i>	H.R. Hall, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.</i> , in <i>the British Museum</i> , 7, London, 1925.
Botti & Peet, <i>Giornale</i>	G. Botti & T.R. Peet, <i>Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe I</i> , Turin, 1928.
Bruyère, <i>Mert Seger</i>	B. Bruyère, <i>Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh I-II</i> , Cairo & Paris, 1929-1930.
Bruyère, <i>Rapport</i>	B. Bruyère, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh</i> , FIFAO, Cairo, 1922-1951.
Bruyère, <i>Sen-nedjem</i>	B. Bruyère, <i>La Tombe No. 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el-Médineh</i> , Cairo, 1959.
Bruyère, <i>Tombes Thébaines</i>	B. Bruyère, <i>Tombes Thébaines de Deir el-Médineh à décoration monochrome</i> , MIFAO 86, Cairo, 1952.
Bruyère & Kuentz, <i>Nakht-Min</i>	B. Bruyère & C. Kuentz, <i>Tombes Thébaines: la Nécropole de Deir el-Médineh, I: La Tombe de Nakht-Min et la Tombe d'Ari-Nefer</i> , Cairo, 1926.
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Brussels, 1925-
Černý, <i>Bankes</i>	J. Černý, <i>Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection</i> , Oxford, 1958.
Černý, <i>Community</i>	J. Černý, <i>A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period</i> , BdE vol. 50, Cairo, 1973.
Černý, <i>Graffiti</i>	J. Černý, <i>Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole Thébaine. Nos 1060 à 1405</i> , DFIFAO 9, Cairo, 1956.
Černý, <i>LRL</i>	J. Černý, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , Bib. Aeg. 9, Brussels, 1939.
Černý, <i>OHNL</i>	J. Černý, <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh, I-VII</i> , 1935-1970.
Černý, <i>Prices and Wages</i>	J. Černý, 'Prices and Wages in Egypt in the Ramesside Period', <i>Cahiers d'histoire mondiale</i> , Paris I (1954).

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

Černý, <i>Répertoire</i>	J. Černý, B. Bruyère & J.J. Clère, <i>Répertoire onomastique de Deir el-Médineh</i> , DFIFAO 12, Cairo, 1949.
Černý, <i>Valley</i>	J. Černý, <i>The Valley of the Kings</i> , BdE 61, Cairo, 1973.
Černý & Gardiner, <i>HO</i>	J. Černý & A.H. Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> I, Oxford, 1957.
Černý & Groll, <i>LEG</i>	J. Černý & S.I. Groll, <i>A Late Egyptian Grammar</i> , Rome, 1975.
Černý & Sadek, <i>GMT IV/1-2</i>	J. Černý & A.A. Sadek, <i>Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine</i> , IV/1-2, Cairo, 1970-1971.
CRIPPEL	<i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i> .
Daressy, <i>Ostraca</i>	G. Daressy, <i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> , Cairo, 1901.
Demarée, <i>Stelae</i>	R.J. Demarée, <i>The šh lkr n R^c-Stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt</i> , Leiden, 1983.
Edwards, <i>Hierogl. Texts</i> VIII	I.E.S. Edwards, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, Etc., in the British Museum</i> , VIII, London, 1939.
f.	female.
Faulkner, <i>MED</i>	R.O. Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> , Oxford, 1962.
Frandsen, <i>LE</i>	P.J. Frandsen, <i>An outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System</i> , Copenhagen, 1962.
Gardiner, <i>AEO</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> I-III, Oxford, 1947.
Gardiner, <i>EG</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> , 3rd ed., Oxford, 1957(&reprs.).
Gardiner & Weigall, <i>Top. Cat.</i>	A.H. Gardiner & A. Weigall, <i>Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes</i> , London, 1913.
Gauthier, <i>Dict. Géog.</i>	H. Gauthier, <i>Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques</i> , I-VII, Cairo, 1925-1931.
<i>Giornale</i>	G. Botti & T.E. Peet, <i>Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe</i> , Turin, 1928.
<i>Gleanings</i>	<i>Gleanings from Deir el-Medina</i> , edited by R.J. Demarée and J.J. Janssen, Leiden, 1982.
<i>Glimpses</i>	<i>Glimpses of Ancient Egypt</i> , edited by J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa & K.A. Kitchen, Warminster, 1979.
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> , Göttingen, 1972-
Goedicke & Wente, <i>OM</i>	H. Goedicke & E.F. Wente, <i>Ostraka Michaelides</i> , Wiesbaden, 1962
Gutgesell, <i>Datierung</i>	M. Gutgesell, <i>Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation</i> , HÄB 18-19, Hildesheim, 1983.
Habachi, <i>Tavole d'offerta</i>	L. Habachi, <i>Tavole d'offerta, are e bacile da libagione. N.22001-22067</i> , Cat. del Museo Eg. di Torino, Serie Seconda - Collezione, vol. 2, Turin, 1977.

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Helck, <i>Materialien</i>	H.W. Helck, <i>Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches</i> , parts 1-6, Wiesbaden, 1961-1969.
Helck, <i>Verwaltung</i>	H.W. Helck, <i>Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches</i> , Leiden-Köln, 1958.
<i>Hier. Pap. Berl. III</i>	<i>Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin III</i> , Leipzig, 1911.
<i>Hughes</i>	<i>Studies in Honour of George R. Hughes</i> , SAOC 39, Chicago, 1976.
James, <i>BMHT</i> 9	T.G.H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian stelae etc. in the British Museum</i> 9, London, 1970.
Janssen, <i>CPRP</i>	J.J. Janssen, <i>Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period</i> , Leiden, 1975.
Janssen, <i>Village Varia</i>	J.J. Janssen, <i>Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina</i> , Leiden, 1997.
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , New Haven, 1843-
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt</i> , Boston, Cambridge, Princeton & New York, 1962-
<i>JEa</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London, 1914-
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> , Leiden, 1958-
Jourdain, <i>Amenemopet</i>	G. Jourdain, 'La Tombe du Scribe Royal Amenemopet' in J. Vandier d'Abbadie & G. Jourdain, <i>Deux Tombes de Deir el-Médineh</i> , MIFAO 73, Cairo, 1939.
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago.
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> , Toronto.
Kitchen, <i>PT</i>	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Pharaoh Triumphant</i> , Warminster, 1982.
<i>KRI</i>	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical</i> , I-VII, Oxford, 1968-1989.
Kitchen, <i>RITA</i>	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated</i> , Oxford, 1993-
Kitchen, <i>RITANC</i>	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments</i> , Oxford, 1993-
Kitchen, <i>TIP</i>	K.A. Kitchen, <i>The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)</i> , 2nd ed., Warminster, 1986.
Lacau, <i>Stèles</i>	P. Lacau, <i>Stèles du Nouvel Empire (later: de la XVIIIe Dynastie)</i> I, Cairo, 1909 ff. (Catalogue général).
Legrain, <i>Statues</i>	G. Legrain, <i>Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers</i> I-III, Cairo, 1906-1914 (Catalogue général).
Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i>	C.R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> , Abt. I-VI (in 12 volumes), Berlin, 1849-59; reduced repr. Geneva, 1971 ff.
Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler, Textband</i>	C.R. Lepsius, (& eds.), <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Texte</i> , I-V, Berlin, 1897-1913; repr. Geneva, 1975.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

Lesko, <i>DLE</i>	Leonard H. Lesko & B.S. Lesko, <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> I-IV, Providence, Rhode Island, 1982-1989.
<i>Lexikon</i>	H.W. Helck, E. Otto & W. Westendorf (eds.), <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> I-VII, Wiesbaden, 1972-1992.
Lichtheim, <i>AEL</i> II	M. Lichtheim, <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings</i> II, Berkeley, 1976.
López, <i>Ostraca Ier.</i>	J. López, <i>Ostraca Ieratici, N.57001-57568, Tabelle Lignei, N.58001-58007</i> , Cat. Mus. Eg. Tor. Ser. II - Collezioni, Vol. 3, fasc. 1-4, Milan, 1978-1984.
l.p.h.	life, prosperity and health.
LRL	Late Ramesside Letter.
Maystre, <i>Nebenmât</i>	C. Maystre, <i>Tombes de Deir el-Médineh, La Tombe de Nebenmât</i> , MIFAO 71, Cairo, 1936.
McDowell, <i>HO</i>	A.G. McDowell, <i>Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (The Colin Campbell Collection Ostraca)</i> , Oxford, 1993.
McDowell, <i>Jurisdiction</i>	A.G. McDowell, <i>Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medîna</i> , Leiden, 1990.
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> , 1930-
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> , 1953-
Mogensen, <i>Stèles Eg ...</i>	M.P. Mogensen, <i>Stèles Égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm</i> , Copenhagen, 1919.
Möller, <i>HP</i>	G. Möller, <i>Hieratische Paläographie</i> I-III, Leipzig, 1927-1936.
De Morgan, <i>Cat. d. mon.</i> , I	J.J.M. de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique</i> I:1-3, Cairo, 1894-1909.
N.E.	North-East.
N.O.	North-West (Nord-Ouest).
O.BM	Ostrakon British Museum.
O.CGC	Ostrakon Cairo General Catalogue
O.DM	Ostrakon Deir el-Medina
O.IFAO	Ostrakon Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung</i> , Berlin, Leipzig, 1898-
O.Mich.	Ostrakon Michaelides.
O.MMA	Ostrakon Metropolitan Museum of Art.
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (Nuntii ex Museo Antiquario Leidensi)</i> , Leiden, 1920-
O.OIC	Ostrakon Oriental Institute of Chicago.
<i>Orientalia</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> , Nova Series, Rome, 1932-
O.UCL	Ostrakon University College London.
Peden, <i>Ramesses IV</i>	A.J. Peden, <i>The Reign of Ramesses IV</i> , Warminster, 1994.
Peet, <i>GTR</i>	T.E. Peet, <i>The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty</i> , Oxford, 1930.

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

<i>Pharaoh's Workers</i>	Lesko, L.H. (ed.), <i>Pharaoh's Workers. The Village of Deir el Medina</i> , Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1994.
Pleyte-Rossi, <i>Papyrus</i>	W. Pleyte & F. Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> , Text and Plates, Leiden, 1869-1876.
PM	B. Porter, R.L.B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , I-VII, Oxford, 1927ff.; 2nd ed., ed. J. Malek, Oxford, 1960 ff.
P/N	personal name.
Posener, <i>OHL</i>	G. Posener, <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh</i> , DFIFAO I, 18 & 20, 1934-1980.
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> , 1878-1918.
Quibell, <i>Ramesseum</i>	W. Spiegelberg & J.E. Quibell, <i>Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri found by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum, 1895-96</i> , London, 1898.
RAD	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Ramesside Administrative Documents</i> , London, 1948.
Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i>	H. Ranke, <i>Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I-III</i> , Glückstadt, 1935-1977.
<i>Rec. Trav.</i>	<i>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'achéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> , 1-40, Paris, 1870-1923.
Reeves, <i>Valley</i>	C.N. Reeves, <i>Valley of the Kings. The decline of a royal necropolis</i> , London & New York, 1990.
Roeder et al., <i>Äg. Inschr. Mus. Berlin II</i>	G. Roeder et al., <i>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin II</i> , Leipzig, 1913.
rto.	recto.
Sadek, <i>GMT IV/6</i>	A-A. Sadek & M. Shimy, <i>Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine</i> , IV/6, Cairo, 1983.
Sadek, <i>GMT IV/3-5</i>	A.F. Sadek, <i>Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine</i> , IV/3-5, Cairo, 1972-1974.
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg, 1974-
Sauneron, <i>OHNL</i>	S. Sauneron, <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh</i> , [VII], Documents de Fouilles 13, Cairo, 1959.
S.O.	South-West.
Spiegelberg, <i>Graffiti</i>	W. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der Thebanischen Nekropolis</i> , 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1921.
<i>Studies Lichtheim</i>	S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), <i>Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim I-II</i> , Jerusalem, 1990.
TNJ	Turin Necropolis Journal.
Tosi & Roccati, <i>Stele</i>	M. Tosi & A. Roccati, <i>Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina N.50001.50262</i> , Cat. Mus. Eg. Tor. Ser. 2 - Collezioni, vol. 1, Turin, 1972
TSP	Turin Strike Papyrus.
TT	Theban Tomb.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

<i>VA</i>	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i> , 1985-
Valbelle, <i>Catalogue des Poids</i>	D. Valbelle, <i>Catalogue des Poids à inscriptions de Deir el-Médineh. Nos. 5001-5423</i> , DFIFAO 16, Cairo, 1977.
Valbelle, <i>La Tombe de Hay</i>	D. Valbelle, <i>La Tombe de Hay à Deir el-Médineh</i> , Cairo, 1975.
Valbelle, <i>Ouvriers</i>	D. Valbelle, <i>Les ouvriers de la tombe: Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside</i> , BdE 96, Cairo, 1985.
Vandier, <i>Manuel d'Arch.Ég. III</i>	J. Vandier, <i>Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne III, les grandes époques: la statuaire</i> , Paris, 1958.
Vandier & Vandier d'Abbadie	J. Vandier & J. Vandier d'Abbadie, <i>Tombes de Deir el-Médineh. La Tombe de Nefer-Abou</i> , MIFAO 69, Cairo, 1935.
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i> , Moscow, 1937 ff.
Ventura, <i>Living</i>	R. Ventura, <i>Living in a City of the Dead</i> , Freiburg, 1986.
<i>Village Voices</i>	R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds.), <i>Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium "Texts from Deir el-Medīna and their Interpretation"</i> , Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991, Leiden, 1992.
vso.	verso.
<i>Wb.</i>	A. Erman, H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> , and <i>Belegstellen</i> , I-VII, Leipzig & Berlin, 1926-63.
Wente, <i>Letters</i>	E.F. Wente, <i>Letters from Ancient Egypt</i> , Atlanta, 1990.
Wente, <i>LRL</i>	E.F. Wente, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , SAOC 33, Chicago, 1967.
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , 1863-
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig, Wiesbaden, 1847-

Conventions

[.....]	Encloses tentative restorations of texts now lost in the original, or indicates (unrestored) loss, content uncertain.
<.....>	Encloses text omitted by scribal error.
(.....)	Encloses text which is not given in the original Egyptian text but added here to convey a better sense.
{.....}	Encloses superfluous text included by error by the ancient writer.

INTRODUCTION

Nestling in a small and secluded valley in the shadow of the Theban hills lie the remains of the New Kingdom settlement of Deir el-Medina. The 'Village', as it was known to its ancient occupants, takes its modern Arabic name from the Coptic monastery that was subsequently erected there in Christian times. The historic importance of this site has long been recognised by international scholars for it was once home to the corps of workmen, the 'servants in the Place of Truth', who excavated and decorated the royal tombs in both the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens.¹ The term 'unique' is frequently used to describe the place of the village in a social context - not because Deir el-Medina is the sole surviving example of a workmen's community, for doubtless other similar sites were founded during the course of the New Kingdom, e.g., at Abydos and Amarna, mirroring an earlier tradition in which specialised work places were established at the sites of major royal building projects at Giza and Kahun - but rather for the unrivalled wealth of textual, artistic and archaeological evidence that has survived and from which we can reconstruct so many aspects of the daily lives of the workmen.

The initiative for the early phase of the village of Deir el-Medina was undoubtedly the concept of Amenophis I, who was later deified and worshipped, along with his mother Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, as the patron of the settlement. However, it was during the reign of his successor, Tuthmosis I, that building on the site began.² Later, during the Amarna Period it is conceivable that the workers were redeployed at Akhenaten's new capital at Amarna (Akhet-Aten). The abandonment of the village quickly saw the settlement fall into disuse, culminating in its subsequent destruction.³ However, with the eventual anathematization of Akhenaten and his iconoclastic philosophy, both state and religious institutions were gradually restored to their former glories through the principal agencies of a succession of kings - Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb. It was during the latter's reign that we learn of the village's extensive re-organisation and growth,⁴ so much so that by the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, Deir el-Medina was a community of about seventy terraced houses, arranged either side of the winding alleyway that bisected the settlement. It was the responsibility of the state to assign these dwellings to families for use by them and their successors.

The mass of documentation uncovered both in the environs of the village and from the royal work sites affords a detailed insight into the cultural, political and economic identity of Egyptian society, in addition to information concerning the working techniques and bureaucratic organisation employed by the ancient craftsmen. The major sources from Deir el-Medina are extremely varied - tomb and chapel

¹ The workmen were employed in other parts of the Theban necropolis. There is little doubt that their skills would have been recognised and used by the high officials of Thebes. (McDowell, in *Pharaoh's Workers*, pp. 43 ff.).

² Of the few pieces of evidence concerning the history of Deir el-Medina that have survived from the XVIIIth Dynasty, one of the most revealing is the discovery of bricks which were used in the village's surrounding walls and stamped with the name of Tuthmosis I (see Ventura, *Living*, p. 16, n. 99).

³ Bierbrier, *The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaohs*, p. 65.

⁴ O.BM 5624; cf. Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, pp. 160-63.

INTRODUCTION

inscriptions, stelae, funerary and everyday consumables, graffiti, papyri and the thousands of literary, administrative and personal ostraca. The non-literary ostraca exhibit a diverse subject matter - contracts of sale and purchase, judicial complaints and court cases, wills, letters and brief communications, notes on the tomb construction, inventories, prayers and magical spells - all of which offer invaluable information on the lives of the ancient craftsmen and their families. Familiarity with the written language, as a result of the specialised nature of their work, meant that the community had one of the highest rates of literacy in the country. The evidence contained in the letters written by many of the workmen, some of which may even have been the work of the village women, suggest that their education was taken more seriously than the average Egyptian and that many of the villagers were at least semi-literate.⁵ The innumerable graffiti inscriptions, scattered throughout the domain of the Theban necropoleis, bear testimony to the fact that a large proportion of the workcrew possessed the ability to at least write their own names.

The Deir el-Medina workforce was divided into two 'sides', each under the supervision of a 'foreman' and his 'deputy', following the traditional organisation found in maritime crews. There are occasional references to workmen changing sides. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine whether such transfers of personnel would have remained permanent. The core administrative work associated with the construction of the royal tombs was undertaken by the scribe(s),⁶ who, along with the two foremen, made up the collective of so-called 'captains' of the gang. These individuals served as intermediaries between the workmen and the central government agencies and, by virtue of their position within the local hierarchy, they were usually the most affluent members of the community. The recruitment of the workmen, who were employees of the state, was the responsibility of the vizier's office. However, in reality many of the appointments to the gang were overseen by the captains and were based largely on heredity, as certain roles passed directly from father to son. However, there is some evidence in which new recruits to the workcrew were made from outside the village proper; the most notable of which was the appointment of the famous tomb-scribe, Ramose. It is understandable that the number of workmen employed on any one project fluctuated in line with the requirements of the royal administration. By the end of the reign of Ramesses II, when the main royal tombs had already received their last coat of paint, the strength of the workforce employed within Deir el-Medina had shrunk to no more than 30 workmen, whilst in comparison the work-crew was doubled from 60 to 120 during the reign of the ambitious Ramesses IV.⁷

Theoretically the workmen were expected to work a ten-day week, or 'decade', with the tenth day being kept free. However, reality dictated differently as the men were frequently noted as being absent from work on both the ninth day of one week and the first day of the following.⁸ During the course of this working period the gang occupied a small cluster of spartan huts on the path that led from Deir el-Medina

⁵ Janssen, 'Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina', in *Village Voices*, p. 91.

⁶ During the XIXth Dynasty there was probably only one 'tomb-scribe' functioning on the gang, though there were several subordinate scribes under his authority. Later in the XXth Dynasty the responsibility for administrative affairs was divided between two tomb-scribes, one for either side of the gang. For the most recent discussion of the role of the scribe see McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 69-89, esp. pp. 86-89.

⁷ Pap. Turin 1891, rto.

⁸ Janssen, *OMRO* 58 (1977), p. 230.

to the Valley of the Kings, only returning to the village at weekends. These long weekends allowed the workmen the time to pursue personal ambitions. The building of one's own tomb and funerary chapel was without doubt a popular pastime amongst the workmen. The depth of artistic ability displayed by the local artisans is evident from the scenes in these private monuments, many of which are, not surprisingly, comparable to the royal tombs. The workmen could supplement wages that they received from the state through the manufacture of consumer goods, which in turn could be traded with their colleagues within the village. The state wages were paid in kind, the basis of the diet being grain (emmer and barley), supplemented with fish and vegetables. These commodities, together with the delivery of water and fuel etc., were brought to Deir el-Medina from the West Theban temple repositories by an external body of workmen called the *smdt*. The *smdt*-staff lived amongst the inhabitants of West Thebes and, judging from their wages, were obviously less privileged than the workmen. Recent comparative economic studies, both internally and with other cultures, contemporary and modern, have shown that the villagers' income would have been above average for their social class.

Over the past fifty years the list of publications concerned with Deir el-Medina has poured forth from the pens of the most notable scholars of Egyptology with increasing intensity. However, work on material in this field barely scratches the surface of the task that lies ahead. The pioneer in the field archaeology of Deir el-Medina was undoubtedly Bernard Bruyère who excavated the major part of the village proper along with its cemeteries over the course of thirty years under the auspices of the French Archaeological Institute of Cairo. The results of his finds were published in his renowned series of *Rapports*.⁹ The Czech scholar Jaroslav Černý, an erstwhile colleague of Bruyère, similarly devoted the greater proportion of his working life to the study of the people and documents of Deir el-Medina. And it is to his admirable working foundation that so many scholars have turned for guidance and inspiration. Černý's seminal work is *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*. Published posthumously, this volume was intended to have been the first in a tri-partite study of the history of the village and the royal necropoleis.¹⁰ *Community* deals principally with the topography of the Theban necropolis and offers a thorough discussion of the internal organisation of the community and the principal offices that formed its administration. Černý's conclusions concerning the topography of western Thebes have recently been scrutinised, challenged (to some degree) and augmented by Ventura.¹¹ This more recent work provides a survey of the main topographical and administrative terms that were in daily use in the vernacular of the workmen – features such as *p3 hr*, *p3 htm*, *st-m3't*, *t3 int* and *t3 5 int* – and attempts to highlight the different uses of these terms in the administrative records of the workforce. Dominique Valbelle has also attempted to continue the work started by Černý.¹² In her work, Valbelle studies a disparate selection of

⁹ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh*, FIFAO, Cairo, 1922-1951.

¹⁰ The second and incomplete study was *The Valley of the Kings*, BdE 61, Cairo, 1973. It was Černý's intention for this work to concentrate on details concerned with the working practices employed by the royal tomb-builders.

¹¹ R. Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, Freiburg, 1986; other studies into topographical features in West Thebes include E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*, Berlin & Leipzig, 1952, and E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, Princeton, 1966.

¹² D. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers de la tombe: Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside*, BdE 96, Cairo, 1985.

INTRODUCTION

topics relating to Deir el-Medina, including subject matter such as the history of the village in a social context; the nature of the work and the composition of the gang; a discussion of the administrative offices and their relationship with the central administration; the daily life of the community - the customs, religions, the fabric of the local economy and legal matters; and finally a review of the burial customs, funerary goods and the nature and development of tomb architecture and decoration. In a similar vein, Professor Janssen has moved Černý's introductory work forward through the publication of his ten-fold study of the administrative history of the village.¹³

The recent publication of many of the written sources that derive from the village has provided the stimulus for a detailed study of its economic history. In this respect Deir el-Medina was found to be an 'exceptional' example. No other community in the Pharaonic Period has left so much evidence on which to base a study of everyday life in an ancient village. From sources, which contain the simple business transactions of the villagers, it has been possible to accumulate an enormous data bank concerning the relative values of hundreds of products in every day usage. The information gleaned from this corpus of commodity prices offers a unique base from which to study comparative economic fundamentals, both within Egypt and abroad, contemporaneously and with other periods of history. Jac Janssen, following a fundamental study by Černý,¹⁴ has contributed an immense amount of detail on the prices of Egyptian goods, the types of transactions effected between the villagers and an analysis of wage structures in play at Deir el-Medina in his indispensable *Commodity Prices*.¹⁵ In addition to this book's extensive lexicographical worth it is an essential handbook for any student of Egyptian economic history.

Outside the scope of the general books lie those of a more specialised nature. Both Allam¹⁶ and McDowell¹⁷ have put forward their own unique views relating to the role of jurisprudence within the community. They both concentrate on the function played by the local *qnbt*-court and the divine oracle of Amenophis I in the determination of local legal cases. The *qnbt* dealt with civil cases (non-payment of debts) and minor criminal cases (theft), though it soon becomes apparent that its judgements were not always implemented satisfactorily. A study of one of the specialised forms of religion, namely the house-cult for deceased ancestors, was published by Demarée.¹⁸ His results indicate an acute awareness of the past and a particular focus on the ancestor worship amongst the workmen at Deir el-Medina. Religious beliefs and customs at Deir el-Medina have in the past received treatment in articles and wider-reaching works on Egyptian religion, though this area of research is by no means complete.¹⁹ Demarée's work

¹³ Jac. J. Janssen, *Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina*, Leiden, 1997.

¹⁴ Černý, 'Prices and Wages in Egypt in the Ramesside Period', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* I, Paris, 1954.

¹⁵ Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, Leiden, 1975.

¹⁶ Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, Tübingen, 1973 and idem, *Das Verfahrensrecht in der altägyptischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh*, Tübingen, 1973.

¹⁷ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*.

¹⁸ Demarée, *The *ḥt ikr n R*-Stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*, Leiden, 1983.

¹⁹ See Sadek, *Popular Religion*. Frandsen, in *Village Voices*, pp. 48-49, remarked that 'it was becoming increasingly clear that it is high time that more extensive studies were undertaken of the so-called religious texts as

embraced family relationships and pedigrees, an area of research keenly pursued by Bierbrier,²⁰ whose main criterion was the establishment of genealogies in the Late New Kingdom in order to enable him to determine a sounder chronological framework for this period. To some extent, this work has been embraced more recently by Gutgesell.²¹

All of the above-mentioned publications have succeeded in embroidering the rich tapestry of our knowledge of the village of Deir el-Medina and its inhabitants. However, generally speaking they are works aimed at understanding particular administrative institutions, religious beliefs or the mechanisms of law. It is unfortunately rare for these works to touch upon the intimate human element at the heart of the community. Nevertheless, we are sometimes treated to brief glimpses of personal traits, such as specific religious preferences, anecdotes from an individual's career, where a person lived and with whom he associated. Until now there has been no comprehensive study of the 'people', the so-called 'characters' of Deir el-Medina, their loves and hates, their crimes and misdemeanours, their idiosyncratic behaviour. In short the humanity of the villagers has largely gone unnoticed, with the odd exception. Janssen,²² Romer,²³ Kitchen,²⁴ and Bierbrier²⁵ have to some degree re-discovered some of the 'personalities' thrown up by the ancient sources. In commenting upon the villagers of Deir el-Medina, Zivie once remarked, 'Quoi qu'un en dise, la personnalité précise et la vie des ouvriers de Deir el-Médineh ne sont pas des mieux connues, ou du moins ne peuvent pas être aussi bien connues que la masse de la documentation le laisserait d'abord croire'.²⁶ It may be true that compared to figures in recent history we know very little about their ancient predecessors. However, this is hardly surprising when one considers the wealth of material which has since been lost or facts that were simply committed to memory. To some extent this position is similar to that found in modern biographies, where facts are often dismissed in favour of the glamour created by mere speculative rumour. What the ancient sources do contain are brief vignettes taken from the lives of ordinary people. Whilst these facts are all too often disenfranchised from one another, they are nevertheless extremely informative, unlike the evidence for their royal counterparts whose true personalities have maintained a surprising degree of anonymity. In this respect the written material from

well, in that without material bearing upon the religious dimension, our understanding of Deir el-Medina will inevitably remain rather imperfect'.

²⁰ Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.)*, Warminster, 1975; genealogies have also been the focus of studies most notably by Bierbrier in *CdE* 57 (1982), *CdE* 59 (1984) and in *Village Voices*, and within other works such as Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacile da libagione. N. 22001-22067*, Cat del Museo Eg. di Torino, Serie seconda - Collezione, vol. 2, Turin, 1977 and less reliably in B. Bruyère, *op. cit.* (n. 9 above).

²¹ Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*, HÄB 18-19, Hildesheim, 1983. Although a second volume dealing with texts from the XIXth Dynasty had been promised by Dr. Gutgesell, this has failed to appear.

²² Janssen, in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, pp. 109-131; idem, *OMRO* 58 (1977), pp. 221-32.

²³ Romer, *Ancient Lives*.

²⁴ Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, Warminster, 1982, pp. 187 ff.

²⁵ Bierbrier, *The Tomb-builders of the Pharaohs*, London, 1982.

²⁶ Zivie, *La Tombe de Pached à Deir el-Médineh*, Cairo, 1979, p. 125. Conversely, it is worth noting Janssen's comments in *OMRO* 58 (1977), p. 232: 'Without knowledge about the everyday life of the workmen who built and decorated the famous tombs of the Pharaohs a dimension would be lacking in our understanding of the ancient Egyptian civilization'.

INTRODUCTION

Deir el-Medina can often be exploited as a unique source for the study of human beliefs and attitudes in an ancient settlement. Seldom have we been offered the opportunity to determine the moods and thoughts of ordinary people from the surviving literature of ancient Egypt.²⁷

This work is principally concerned with the pedigrees of the major families from the village of Deir el-Medina. What I have attempted to achieve is an extension of the groundwork found in Bierbrier's treatment of family chronologies studied in *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*. In addition to this, it is hoped that some refinement of the successions of the major office holders, as presented by Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, has been achieved. It soon became apparent to me that without detailed scrutiny of each individual family line there is often little hope in highlighting possible relationships between members of the community. The main and primary basis of any genealogical study is the compilation of a basic chronological framework into which the lives of the villagers can be fitted. The initial source of the genealogical information for Deir el-Medina comes from the many formal tomb inscriptions and the funerary stelae erected in the private chapels and shrines in the village. Many of these monuments, bearing the names and images of the king regnant, can be dated with a certain degree of accuracy. Therefore, it is often possible to elicit, through a combination of data from monumental inscriptions and the written sources such as graffiti, ostraca and papyri, the career on the workforce of particular individuals. Unfortunately we seldom know the exact duration of that period of service or when, and at what age, the appointment of a particular person to office was made.²⁸ Owing to this fact, our knowledge of the majority of the careers of the workmen remains limited as a result of our inability to place them with certainty to a particular reign or regnal year.

Throughout the course of this work, the frustration with which one is faced in attempting to reconstruct the family histories is apparent. Unfortunately, very few of the villagers appear to have taken a keen interest in their own family histories. Furthermore, the genealogies outlined in tomb inscriptions often only contain abbreviated lines of succession or ambiguous terms of relationships linking the individuals mentioned.²⁹ The ubiquity of people bearing the same name, combined with the frequency with which the villagers repeated a family name every second generation, exacerbates the problems faced by the genealogist. Another cause for complaint is the tendency of the Egyptians to use a mere handful of terms to express the multiplicity of filial relationships, resulting in complex and bewildering ambiguities. The indicators *sn* 'brother', *snt* 'sister', *s3* 'son', *s3t* 'daughter' and *it* 'father' were often employed to convey different levels of relationship from our normal understanding of these terms, e.g., *it* could describe a father, father-in-law or even a simple ancestor, whereas the use of *sn* may have been used to indicate a brother, brother-in-law, nephew or even a member of the same generation. The true nature of a

²⁷ With the exception of examples from private letters, the Hekanakhte archive and the letters to the dead, (cf. Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 109).

²⁸ The careers of the office-holders at Deir el-Medina are generally easier to trace than those of the ordinary workmen, since their positions within the community were often hereditary and more widely documented.

²⁹ Exceptional cases include the family of the scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), whose interest in ancestry is particularly noticeable in the graffiti, and the foreman Anhurkhawy who proudly listed five generations of his family in the vault of his tomb (see further McDowell, in *Village Voices*, pp. 95 ff.).

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

relationship can sometimes only be determined from supplementary readings in ostraca or from scenes in tombs and stelae where the artistic juxtaposition of two individuals leaves their relationship to one another in no doubt.

Unfortunately the majority of the tombs in the village necropolis were cut in the first half of the XIXth Dynasty, at the height of the village's prosperity. Thereafter existing tombs were employed as family crypts, with the addition of minimal, if any, biographical information to the original reliefs. As a consequence of these later burial customs, the amount of genealogical material available towards the end of the New Kingdom is greatly reduced. Fortunately a less detailed source of biographical data for the later history of the settlement can be found in the countless ostraca that have been recovered from the village and the royal wadis. These sources are further supplemented by material from administrative papyri, the majority of which were preserved in one or other of the West Theban memorial temples, and by the scores of graffiti which adorn the West Theban hills. Although several of these rock inscriptions contain detailed genealogical information, more often than not they rarely reveal more than a name, often without any sign of a family affiliation. Thus, both the identity of their authors and the accurate dating of these texts is rendered extremely difficult. The inherent problems which arise in interpreting the ancient village sources will only be tempered by the discovery of further evidence in the future. Whilst the current work claims to refine and supplement the findings of previous genealogical studies, there is little doubt that this task will remain incomplete until the entire Deir el-Medina corpus appears in published format.

CHAPTER 1

THE FOREMEN

Our first solid documentation from the village of Deir el-Medina arises at the dawn of a new era in Egyptian history, the XIXth Dynasty, more than 250 years after the foundation of the settlement. This sudden visibility in local activity was the result of the re-structuring by Horemheb of the Theban necropolis administration which followed the hejira by the royal court to El-Amarna under the reign of the heretic pharaoh, Akhenaten. This reorganisation was eventually to lead to the implementation of major reforms by the central administration in order to establish regular and formal procedures for the recording of all incidents relating to the construction of the king's tomb.

It nevertheless seems inconceivable that almost all written record of the settlement's early existence up until this time has all but vanished with the shifting sands of time. There remains, however, a fair expectation that future excavators may uncover a hidden or discarded archive from these early years. The initial, though fragmentary, image we obtain of the inhabitants of the village can be gleaned from the records of those craftsmen who served under Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I. There are, however, no extant administrative records from the reigns of Horemheb or Ramesses I.¹ The first signs of the renewed interest and activity in the Theban necropolis apparently occurred during the reign of Horemheb.²

It is regrettable that only a handful of names of the workmen who were employed in the construction of the royal tombs at the close of the XVIIIth Dynasty are known to us today. The foreman Neferhotep (i) (the "elder") unequivocally lays claim to having served as the 'chief workman of the Lord of the Two Lands, Djoserkheper[ure-Setepenre] (= Horemheb)' on an offering table found in the court of his tomb at Deir el-Medina.³ Similarly, a graffito which names the draftsman Pay, son of Ipu, and his colleague Piay beneath the prenomen, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre, Menpeh(ty)re and Menmare, supports the suggestion that both these men served under the successive reigns of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I.⁴ Other officials whose names can be gleaned from the surviving records and who can be said to have served under Horemheb include the deputy Baki,⁵ the foreman Menunefer⁶ and the chief Medjay Menu-niuy.⁷

¹ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, pp. 162 f.

² O.BM 5624 (Blackman, *JEA* 12 (1926), pp. 176 f.). This document represents a later account given by a workman concerning his father's appointment to the gang in year 7 of that reign.

³ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 45 f.; *KRI* I:380.

⁴ No. 817 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 66; *KRI* I:391).

⁵ Černý, *Community*, pp. 135, 144.

⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 76 f., no. 2, fig. 11. The style of the reliefs on this door lintel are certainly characteristic of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

⁷ Menu-niuy claims to have been in office from year 7 of Horemheb (O.Toronto A 11, 19 & 21-22).

The contribution of the 'chief of the workmen' (or to use the simpler appellation 'foreman') to both the welfare of the workforce and the daily management of the royal tomb construction should not be understated. The principal administrative responsibilities of this most senior of offices have been described in detail by both Černý⁸ and Valbelle,⁹ and will therefore require no further discussion here. As far as we are able to ascertain from the village records, there were always at least two foremen. Each foreman was solely responsible for the supervision of half the workforce, which was divided into two sides (the 'right' and the 'left') following a tradition adopted for the crews of the maritime fleets. Towards the demise of the tomb administration in the closing years of the XXth Dynasty, the number of foremen was, on occasion, increased to four. The families of the foremen were amongst the most affluent members of the community. The accumulation of such wealth enabled the foremen to own the largest houses and to build the most impressive funerary monuments within the village confines. Our ability to reconstruct, to a certain extent, the genealogies of these families is largely due to the high rate of survival of inscriptions from these monuments.

§ 1: The family of the foreman Baki (i): chart 1

The dawn of the XIXth Dynasty witnessed the arrival of one of the most prominent families at Deir el-Medina, headed by the influential figure of the foreman Baki (i), son of the workman Wennefer (i).¹⁰ The reliefs from his tomb (TT 298) also name Wennefer (i)'s other sons as Neb'ansu (i), Penamun (i) and Userhat (i). As is common with the families of foremen, the offspring and descendants of Baki (i) dominate the ranks of the workforce. As many as six sons of Baki (i) may have followed their father as workmen during the reign of Ramesses II. The sons in question were Amenmose (i), Mose (i), Paherypedjet (i), Penamun (ii), Seba (i) and Haremwia (i).¹¹ The relative paucity of datable evidence resulting from the early Ramesside period precludes the establishment of any firm chronological framework for the workmen of this period, and particularly for the tenure in office of Baki (i). However, Baki (i) was without any doubt foreman during the reign of Seti I.¹² That said, it is by no means certain whether Baki (i) continued in office under Ramesses II. His direct successor in the office of foremen for the left side seems to have been Pashedu (x).¹³

⁸ Černý, *Community*, pp. 121-132.

⁹ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, pp. 99, 109-112.

¹⁰ For the names and titles of Wennefer (i) and his wife Maya (i) see TT 298 (PM I:1, p. 379; Gauthier, *ASAE* 19 (1920), pp. 11-12; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 88-89, 92-93, figs. 53, 59-61, pl. I; *KRI* I:370-372). There are good grounds for the identification to be made of a second wife of Wennefer (i), namely Nebtnehet (i) (stela Turin Cat. 1543 (now N.50051); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 86, 282; PM I:2, p. 735; *KRI* I:373-374).

¹¹ See TT 298 and stela BM 265 (James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 40-41, pl. 35:2; PM I:2, p. 717 (b); *KRI* III:373). Baki (i)'s daughters included Webkhet (i), Wernuro-hotep (i), Ta-Iunu (i), Tarennu (i), Tenthaynu (i) and Tuy (i), who was eventually to marry the future foreman Qaha (i).

¹² Stela Turin Cat. 1549 (now N.50055): Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 90-91, 285; PM I:2, p. 717 (a); *KRI* I:372-373, on which Baki (i) boasts of having 'made restoration of the name of "my" Lord Amun'. Following on from this, we can infer that Baki (i) served his apprenticeship as a simple workman during the reigns of Horemheb and Ramesses I.

¹³ Černý, *Community*, p. 125; Kitchen, *RITANC* I, p. 280. For Pashedu (x) as owner of TT 3 and TT 326 see Černý, *Community*, p. 292; Kitchen, *RITANC* I, pp. 270 ff.

We can glean from the sparse inscriptional material preserved in TT 213 that a son of a Baki (i) and the lady Taysen (i), a certain Penamun (ii), was married to the lady Nebtuhet (ii),¹⁴ which identifies them as the couple represented in the tomb of Amenmose (i).¹⁵ However, it must be pointed out that the titles of this particular Baki have not been preserved, nor can we be certain that Taysen (i) was the wife of the foreman Baki (i).¹⁶ In conclusion, there is a slight possibility that the Penamun, who was the owner of TT 213, may have been a son of a different Baki. Furthermore, Penamun (ii) is represented on stela Cairo J.72025 with his daughter Merytamun (i).¹⁷ A Nebtuhet and her children, Neb'ansu (i)/(ii) and Mer(y)tamun (i)/(ii), are attested on a stela in honour of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Wennefer, repentantly praying for the return of her sight.¹⁸ In a recent commentary on this stela, Kitchen has proposed that Wennefer here might possibly be Nebtuhet (ii)'s 'grandfather-in-law'.¹⁹ Should this prove to be the case, this stela presents us with an unequivocal example of 'ancestor worship' comparable to the devices used by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina to communicate with their forebears through the so-called *ꜣḥ ḏꜣr n Rꜥ* stelae.²⁰ Alternatively a different, though more contestable, interpretation to that expounded by Kitchen may be offered at this point. It could be suggested that the 'Lady of the House' Nebtuhet (i) of stela Turin N.50051 was a second wife of Wennefer (i), since we already know that Neb'ansu (i) was a son of his. Returning to the parentage of Penamun (ii) for a moment, it is now pertinent to consider a broken inscription from his tomb which may be used to support this line of argumentation. The passage in question reads as follows: '..... Amennakht, justified; his son, the servant in the Place of Truth, Penamun, justified'.²¹ In spite of the lacuna which appears to have erased Amennakht (i)'s preceding titles and affiliations, it is possible to suggest that Penamun (ii) was indeed the true son of Amennakht (i) and hence a son-in-law of Baki (i).²² The result of this argumentation would mean that Nebtuhet (ii), wife of Penamun (ii) and daughter of Baki (i), was named after her paternal grandmother, Nebtuhet (i), and that she in turn named her own daughter, Merytamun (i), after her aunt, Merytamun (ii).

Penamun (ii) built his tomb (TT 213) adjacent to that of his brother/brother-in-law Amenmose (i) (for whom see p. 7 below), both of which are situated in the court of TT 4,²³ and behind the sepulchre of their father Baki (i). The supposition made by Černý²⁴ that Penamun (ii) had a son named

¹⁴ PM I:1, p. 310 at (1); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 93; KRI III:730:13, 731:1-4.

¹⁵ PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (5); KRI VII:41.

¹⁶ The only other attestation of her name occurs on a broken jamb, found in the precinct of Medinet Habu (Brundage, *Notes on Some Blocks Med. Habu*, 1939, no. XXII; KRI VII:32).

¹⁷ PM I:2, p. 698; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 42, 79-81, pls. 10/11, fig. 159, no. 111; *ibid.*, (1935-40) III, pp. 98-99; KRI III:732.

¹⁸ Turin Cat. 1543, now N.50051 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 86, 282; KRI I:373-374).

¹⁹ Kitchen, *RITANC* I, pp. 269-270.

²⁰ On the powers of deceased ancestors to intervene on the behalf of the living in 'earthly matters', see Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 214.

²¹ Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 94; KRI III:731:6.

²² These tentative suggestions may also explain the appearance of the 'chief craftsman in the Place of Truth' Amennakht on stela BM 265 of Baki (i).

²³ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 183.

²⁴ *Community*, p. 292.

Amenmose (ii) is as yet unfounded.²⁵ We learn the names of two other children of Penamun (ii), namely a son Shedamun (i)/Amunshed (i)²⁶ and a daughter Mery(t)amun (i) (see above).²⁷ Penamun (ii) was probably active during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.²⁸ His absence from O.BM 5634 of year 40 of Ramesses II might well reflect a death prior to that date, though there is no firm evidence to substantiate this claim. A Penamun is invoked in a court case of year 66 of this reign,²⁹ though whether he was alive at the time is not clear.³⁰ Alternatively, Penamun (ii) may be the same man as Penamun who is recorded in a delivery list of year 64 of Ramesses II.³¹ However, it is highly implausible that Penamun (ii), the son/son-in-law of Baki (i), was identical with the workman Penamun (iii) who was active in the later reigns of the XIXth Dynasty and at the start of the XXth Dynasty.³²

The 'servant in the Place of Truth', Khaemwaset (i) can certainly be identified as a close colleague or relative of Penamun (ii). He is accorded an honourable mention firstly with his wife Taweretherti (i) in TT 213 of Penamun (ii),³³ and secondly on a stela of Penamun (ii), most probably erected in one of the village chapels.³⁴ Khaemwaset (i) is also attested with Penamun (ii) on an ostrakon,³⁵ alongside the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Wennefer and a 'scribe in the Place of [Truth]', Penamun, on a small limestone shrine,³⁶ and on a stela in the court of the tomb of the 'scorpion controller' Amenmose (i).³⁷ Needless to say there can be no doubting Khaemwaset (i)'s close relationship with members of the family of Baki (i). A workman Khaemwaset is mentioned on several undated ostraca, which can

²⁵ A broken text on a door jamb in TT 213 (PM I:1, p. 310 at (1); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 93; KRI III:731) reads: '..... Penamun, his son (s3.f) Amenmose'. The fragmentary nature of this inscription renders it ambiguous, since the affiliation s3.f before the name of Amenmose may plausibly have referred to a name lost in the lacuna, rather than to Penamun (ii).

²⁶ Stela Cairo J.72020: PM I:2, p. 731 (b); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 101, pl. 16, fig. 173; KRI III:733.

²⁷ Merytamun (i) is represented as a young girl, together with Penamun (ii), worshipping the Moon-Thoth on a stela, Cairo J. 72025, which was recovered from pit 1414 in the *khenu* of Ramesses II (PM I:2, p. 698; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 42, 79-81, pls. 10/11, fig. 159; III, pp. 98-99; KRI III:732).

²⁸ He is named on the verso of an ostrakon (O.Gardiner 239, vso. 3: KRI VII:192:9) which contains a letter to the scribe Ramose (i) on its recto. Although Ramose (i) is known to have been incumbent in office between years 5 and 38 of Ramesses II, his appearance is insufficient to date confidently the text on the reverse. See Davies & Toivari, *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 76, note (l).

²⁹ O.CGC 25237, rto. 6.

³⁰ Cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 292.

³¹ ODM 621, rto. 1, 4. (Sauneron, *OHNL* VII, 1959, p. 14, pl. 31; KRI III:528-529).

³² Year 3 of Amenmesses (O.CGC 25782, vso. 19), year 5 of Seti II (O.CGC 25556, 1), years 1-2 (O.CGC 25521, vso. 13), and 5-7 (Pap. Greg, rto. B, 17) of Siptah and year 15 of Ramesses III (O.DM 406, I:10). It is likely that it is this Penamun whose house is listed in a water delivery, dated by Janssen to the latter part of the XIXth Dynasty (O.Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet MM. 14126, II:7, in 'The Water Supply to a Desert Village', *Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979), p. 12).

³³ PM I:1, p. 310 at (2); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 186, fig. 124; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 94; KRI III:731:11-12. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 119, has incorrectly associated Khaemwaset here with the homonymous workman known from between year 15 of Ramesses III and year 5 of Ramesses IV.

³⁴ Cairo J.43564: PM I:1, p. 698 end; Bruyère, *ASAE* 25 (1925), pp. 80-81, pl. I:2; KRI III:732. Khaemwaset and Penamun, named on this monument, may have been the later combination of father and son (see below).

³⁵ O.CGC 25342, 3-4.

³⁶ Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1910-82: KRI VII:212.

³⁷ PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (1); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 70; KRI VII:40:13.

confidently be dated to the first half, or so, of the reign of Ramesses II.³⁸ A Khaemwaset is named with the appellative 'his brother' after the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Huy on a libation basin of Harnefer, though a clear link between Khaemwaset and this family can not be established.³⁹ A Khaemwaset also occurs in a text from this period, which may have dated from year 60 of Ramesses II.⁴⁰

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Khaemwaset, son of a Wennefer (ii), and Mutemopet (i), is named with his wife Taweretherti on a stela dated to the reign of Ramesses III.⁴¹ Also named on this monument are Khaemwaset's son, Penamun (iv), and his daughters Henutnofret (i) and Mutemopet (i). This man is undoubtedly to be identified with the Khaemwaset (i) who is named, with his wife Taweretherti (i), in the tomb of Penamun (ii), son of Baki (i). Because of this correlation the dating of this stela to the reign of Ramesses III would appear to raise certain irreconcilable chronological difficulties. The most simple resolution to this problem would be to propose that this stela was intended as a posthumous commemoration of the workman Khaemwaset (i) by his son Penamun (iv); in which case Khaemwaset (i) can be identified with the workman who served during the reign of Ramesses II, whilst his son, Penamun (iv), is probably to be identified with the workman of that name known from the reign of Amenmesses through to that of Ramesses III, and whose own son was called Wennefer (iii). A more tenuous solution would have us identifying Khaemwaset (i), who appears in TT 213, as a grandson of Penamun (ii). However, this proposal can only be satisfied if Wennefer (ii), the father of Khaemwaset (i), had been a son of Penamun (ii). Khaemwaset (i), son of Wennefer (ii), may therefore have been active as early as year 60 of Ramesses II (see above) and continued in office until the reign of Ramesses III. Penamun (iv), son of Khaemwaset (i), may then be identified with the workman who occurs between year 3 of Amenmesses and year 15 of Ramesses III (see above). This would mean that the workman Khaemwaset who is attested between years 14/15⁴² and 31⁴³ of Ramesses III, down to year 2 of Ramesses V,⁴⁴ may be a later man and not Khaemwaset, son of Penamun, son of Baki, as suggested by Demarée.⁴⁵ In fact, he is probably to be identified with Khaemwaset (iii), son of Penamun.⁴⁶ Furthermore this Penamun may be correlated with Penamun (iv), son of Khaemwaset (i).⁴⁷

³⁸ O.DM 641, vso. 1; O.DM 338, rto. 5 (which includes the scribe Ramose (i)); O.Gardiner 199, I:1 (pre-year 40); his name can tentatively be restored on O.J.G. Milne [2], II:5 (which also mentions the foreman Nebnefer (i)).

³⁹ BM 28 (PM I:2, p. 746; James, *BMHT* 9, p. 39, pl. 34; *KRI* III:796-797).

⁴⁰ O.Turin 57451, rto. 3.

⁴¹ Liverpool City Museum M.13829 (PM I:2, p. 724; *KRI* V:669).

⁴² Graffito no. 1891 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 23; *KRI* V:458:13) and O.DM 253, vso. 2.

⁴³ O.DM 36, rto. 6.

⁴⁴ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 6; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁴⁵ Demarée, *Gleanings*, p. 102, note (c).

⁴⁶ Pap. Turin 2065, vso. 3.

⁴⁷ In a text dating to year 27 of Ramesses III (O.Petrie 21, rto. 4) a workman Khaemwaset makes reference to the ʿt-hut of his 'father' Baki. The term of relationship used in this instance, *it*, probably signified Khaemwaset's relationship to one of his distant forebears.

A further question mark can be placed against the relationship to this family of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Wennefer, who is cited on a stela of Baki (i),⁴⁸ and on two monuments of Penamun (ii), though on each occasion without reference to any affiliation.⁴⁹ In each of these instances Wennefer may have been the father of Baki (i), or a hitherto unknown son of Baki (i) who had been named after his grandfather; a third possibility is that Wennefer might even have been a collateral relative of either Baki (i) or Penamun (ii), perhaps the son of Penamun (ii) as suggested earlier. Despite the fair degree of uncertainty present in these comments, there is no doubt that a workman called Wennefer was a contemporary of the family of Baki (i), since he is certainly attested in year 40 of Ramesses II.⁵⁰ It is possible that he is to be identified with Wennefer (ii), son of Penamun (ii).

A Wennefer also appears in village life towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty. Firstly he is named with Penamun, perhaps a relative(?), as an accuser against the foreman Hay (iv) in what appears to have been a case of treason during the reign of Seti II.⁵¹ He is likely to have been the same man who is implicated as an accomplice of the culprit Paneb (i).⁵² It remains improbable that a young workman serving in year 40 of Ramesses II⁵³ could have remained active until the close of the Dynasty. On these grounds it may be suggested that during the later XIXth Dynasty there were two Wennefers. The first, Wennefer (ii), known from the middle of the reign of Ramesses II, may have been a son of Penamun (ii) (see above); the later Wennefer (iv), attested towards the end of the Dynasty, may have been, as yet, an unknown member of the family of Khaemwaset (i), perhaps the latter's grandson. The 'stripling' Wennefer, who is mentioned in year 5 of Siptah,⁵⁴ could therefore be synonymous with the workman Wennefer (iii), son of Penamun (iv),⁵⁵ who appears in a legal dispute concerning the ownership of a tomb in year 24 of the reign of Ramesses III.⁵⁶ In this scenario, it would follow that Wennefer (iii), son of Penamun (iv), may then have been a grandson of Khaemwaset (i). A workman Wennefer is attested from year 22 of Ramesses III⁵⁷ up to years 2 and 3 of an unnamed king, possibly Ramesses IV,⁵⁸ and the name finally appears in year 6 of Ramesses IX.⁵⁹ Actually the name of a Wennefer, son of Pen[...] does appear in the *Stato Civile*,⁶⁰ though it is not possible to positively identify this individual with Wennefer (iii). The identity of the 'scribe of the Place of Truth', Wennefer (v), who appears in a graffito commemorating the visit of the vizier Panehsy to West Thebes in the reign of Merenptah poses yet more questions than it resolves.⁶¹ This appearance amongst such exalted

⁴⁸ BM 265.

⁴⁹ In TT 213 (Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 94; KRI III:730:16) and on a small shrine in Edinburgh (Royal Scottish Museum, 1910-82; KRI VII:212).

⁵⁰ O.BM 5634, rto. 16. The same man probably appears as a 'stripling' in O.DM 352, vso. 2 and also in O.DM 445, 1 (both of which are undated).

⁵¹ O.CGC 25556, 2.

⁵² Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:12.

⁵³ This Wennefer may have been the father of Khaemwaset (see below).

⁵⁴ Pap. Greg, rto. C, x + 16.

⁵⁵ Probably the Penamun attested from year 3 Amenmesses to year 15 Ramesses III (see n. 32 above).

⁵⁶ Pap. Berlin 10496, vso. 7.

⁵⁷ O.DM 222, 5:17.

⁵⁸ O.DM 634, I:4; O.Gardiner 56, rto. 6.

⁵⁹ Pap. Turin 2013, rto. 9.

⁶⁰ Černý Nb. 15, p. 78.

⁶¹ Graffito no. 764 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 62; KRI IV:158:13); see p. 99 for Wennefer (v).

company as the vizier and the scribes Qenhirkhopshef (i) and Tjay (i) is unlikely to have been that of a simple 'workman' employing the title of 'scribe' as an indication of his literacy.

A shabti, now in Milan,⁶² records the titles of Amenmose (i) as 'servant in the Place of Truth' and 'scorpion-controller in the Place of Truth'.⁶³ This Amenmose (i) can undoubtedly be identified with the owner of TT 9, who held exactly the same titles.⁶⁴ Demarée has expressed doubt concerning the line of descent of the owner of TT 9, and has suggested that he was the father-in-law of the foreman Baki (i) 'who married his (=Amenmose (i)'s) daughter Taysen (i) and named two of his children after her parents'.⁶⁵ Whilst Demarée's argumentation agrees well with the archaeological evidence at hand, it seems more likely that Amenmose (i) was the son (or son-in-law)⁶⁶ of Baki (i). Likewise Amenmose (i)'s wife, Tenthaynu (i), is named in TT 298 as a child of Baki (i) (see n. 11 above), and both are attested as husband and wife in that tomb along with a son of theirs Mahuhy (i), and his wife Hunero (i).⁶⁷ Amenmose (i)'s remaining children included at least two more sons: the scribe Meryre (i)⁶⁸ and Piay (i),⁶⁹ and the daughters Isis (i), Ta(y)sen (ii),⁷⁰ Taysennofret (i)⁷¹ (synonymous with Taysen(?)) and Baket-Isis (i).⁷² It is possible that the appearance of Amenmose (i)'s son-in-law Neferabu (i), husband of Isis/Ta-Isis (i), in years 36 and 40 of Ramesses II can lend additional support to the view that Amenmose (i) was the son/son-in-law of Baki (i), and not the foreman's father-in-law. Additional confirmation of this line of argumentation may likewise be found in the attestation of Penamun (ii), son/son-in-law of Baki (i), and his wife Nebtuhet (ii), and the daughters of Baki (i), Wernuro-hotep (i) and [Ta]rennu (i)(?), in TT 9.⁷³

Due to the popularity of the name Amenmose throughout the history of Deir el-Medina, we are confronted with serious difficulties in attempting to make positive differentiation between the various Amenmoses who occur in the written sources. To my knowledge the following Amenmoses are known from the village during the first half of the XIXth Dynasty:

- ❖ Amenmose (xiii), son of the chief draftsman Pashedu, who was active under Seti I.⁷⁴

⁶² KRI VII:39.

⁶³ For a detailed discussion on the role played by the holder of this title, see Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 27-29.

⁶⁴ PM I:1, pp. 18-19; Černý, *Répertoire* I, p. 69:1; KRI VII:39-44. He also appears with this unusual title on stela BM 265 of Baki (i) (his father/father-in-law; for this relationship see below).

⁶⁵ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 19.

⁶⁶ For Amenmose (i) as the son-in-law of Baki (i) see Kitchen, *RITANC* I, p. 266.

⁶⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 92; KRI I:371.

⁶⁸ PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (2); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 69; KRI VII:40:7.

⁶⁹ PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 71; KRI VII:42:6.

⁷⁰ PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (2); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 69; KRI VII:40:8, for Isis (i) and Ta(y)sen (ii). It is probably Ta(y)sen (ii), daughter of Amenmose (i) and not her grandmother, Taysen (i), who is recorded in a text dated to year 36 of Ramesses II (O.Gardiner 133, vso. 4).

⁷¹ PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 71; KRI VII:41:16.

⁷² PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 71; KRI VII:41:8.

⁷³ PM I:1, pp. 18-19 at (5); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 70; KRI VII:41:2-4.

⁷⁴ Stela Hermitage Museum 8726, St Petersburg (PM I:2, pp. 732/33 (a); Bogoslovsky, *VDI* 119 (1972/1), pp. 96-103, pl. 2; KRI I:394-95).

- ❖ Amenmose (iii), son of the servant in the Place of Truth Pashedu (i) and Mekhay-ib.⁷⁵
- ❖ The servant in the Place of Truth Amenmose (vii), father of Nebmehyt (iii), and a brother of Amennakht (xxi), son of Nebenmaat (i).⁷⁶
- ❖ Amenmose (ix), son of Siwadjet (i).⁷⁷
- ❖ Amenmose (x), son of Irynefer (i).
- ❖ Amenmose (ii), son of Penamun (ii) (see below).
- ❖ Amenmose (v), son of Penbuy (i).⁷⁸
- ❖ Amenmose (xii), son of Khabekhnet (i).

Dated examples of the name Amenmose are restricted to a text of year 3 (Seti I/Ramesses II),⁷⁹ a badly preserved ostrakon of year 11 of Ramesses II which alludes to the preparations for the Opet festival,⁸⁰ and an appearance in year 40 of the same reign.⁸¹ Three other ostraca in which Amenmose appears can each be dated prior to year 40 of Ramesses II from internal evidence,⁸² whilst Amenmose (iii), son of Pashedu (i), is cited in O.CGC 25627, 'a', rto. 2 and 6. A final observation worth noting is that the correspondents of O.UCL no. 3, the 'scorpion controller' Amenmose (i) and the 'temple scribe and god's father Piay of the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermare-Setepenre' may prove to have been father and son.⁸³

The scribe Meryre (i), who served as an administrator for the *smdt*-personnel and not as one of the 'captains' of the workforce (i.e., the 'senior' scribe) is attested in years 35 (with his colleague, the scribe Amenemope (xvi))⁸⁴ and 37⁸⁵ of Ramesses II. Piay (i) can plausibly be identified with the so-called 'scribe',⁸⁶ who together with the *ms-hr*⁸⁷ Mahuhy,⁸⁸ addressed a letter (O.DM 126)⁸⁹ in which

⁷⁵ Stela BM 262 (PM I:2, p. 733 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, p. 40, pl. 35:1; *KRI* I:406-407).

⁷⁶ See p. 237 below.

⁷⁷ See pp. 263 ff. for a comprehensive study of this family.

⁷⁸ See p. 194 below.

⁷⁹ O.DM 18, 4.

⁸⁰ O.DM 354, vso. 2.

⁸¹ O.BM 5634, rto. 14.

⁸² O.Gardiner 116, rto. 2; O.Gardiner 199, I:5; O.J.G. Milne [2], II:6.

⁸³ A later Amenmose, perhaps a distant descendant, is also known from the XXth Dynasty to have been a 'scorpion controller'.

⁸⁴ O.Gardiner 24, 3, 5, 8-9. The scribe Meryre (i), is again mentioned, alongside Amenemope (xvi), in an undated ostrakon (O.DM 1045, vso. 3).

⁸⁵ O.OIC 17007 (=O.Nelson 11), rto. I:12, 22.

⁸⁶ Piay's use of this title was purely indicative of his literacy.

⁸⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 117, suggested that the *msw-hr* were 'boys of the community who could reasonably expect to become workmen of the Tomb' and translated the term literally as 'child of (the) Tomb'. Conversely Ventura, *Living*, p. 36, adopts the stance that the activities in which the *msw-hr* were involved do not suggest that they were not adults. Thus he believes that this title, which referred 'to the origin of these people (i.e., the villagers)' was adopted by both men and children who had no recourse to another title. The term has also been discussed by Gardiner, *PSBA* 31 (1909), p. 11; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 79; cf. Frandsen, *LE*, pp. 141-42, Exs. 12-13.

⁸⁸ This name was probably contracted elsewhere as Mahu. Since his only other appellation was *ms-hr*, Mahuhy may possibly be correlated with the 'sandalmaker' of O.DM 240, rto. 8. There also exists a stela (Turin N.50028: Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 60-61, 271; PM I:2, p. 725; *KRI* III:748-749) which records the name of a 'servant in

report is made to the foreman Neferhotep (ii) and the workman Pennub concerning the death of Harmose (i). As noted above, Piay (i) and Mahuhy (i) were brothers,⁹⁰ which resolves the abnormality of the co-authorship of the letter quoted above. It is possible that Mahuhy (i) named a son of his, Meryre (ii), after his own brother, Meryre (i),⁹¹ and was closely associated in two documents with his uncle, Paherypedjet (i).⁹²

Although Demarée,⁹³ Bierbrier⁹⁴ and Janssen⁹⁵ have each identified Paherypedjet (ii) as the son of Huy (ii) and a brother of the foreman Qaha (i) they have unfortunately failed to acknowledge the existence of a second Paherypedjet (i), who was the son of Baki (i).⁹⁶ To my knowledge only a single monument can definitely be attributed as the work of Paherypedjet (i).⁹⁷ However, Paherypedjet (ii) is represented on Bankes stela no. 2, dedicated by his brother Qaha (i) in honour of their father, leading Qaha (i)'s son Kharu (i).⁹⁸ Although the name occurs in numerous ostraca, a precise identification with either Paherypedjet (i), (ii) or (iii) can not always be confirmed. Paherypedjet (i)/(ii)/(iii) is notorious for his long absences from work in year 40 of Ramesses II,⁹⁹ which are explained by a number of excuses. These annotated explanations ranged from his being away with either Apehty, Khonsu or Haremwia (his own brother, if we assume that this individual was Paherypedjet (i)) to taking the day off to 'prepare a remedy'.¹⁰⁰ Paherypedjet occurs in ostrakon O.DM 61, a record of an agreement with a fellow workman Siwadjet, in which he swears a promissory oath. Paherypedjet (i) is twice mentioned with his nephew, Mahuhy (i). The first occasion occurs in a letter from Neb(et)-Iunu(t) to Pennub,¹⁰¹ the second in a list of vegetable deliveries.¹⁰² A Paherypedjet is attested making

the Place of Truth', Mahu, whilst the 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands' Mahu appears in the tomb of Amennakht (xxi), son of Nebenmaat (i) (PM I:1, p. 317 at (1); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 64; KRI III:709:1-2).

⁸⁹ Černý, *OHNL* II, p. 4, pl. 7; KRI III:532. This ostrakon can be dated to year 40 because of the reference made to the death of Harmose, cf. O.BM 5634, vso. 2. For a full philological discussion of O.DM 126, see Green, 'The Passing of Hormose', *Orientalia* 45 (1976), pp. 395-409.

⁹⁰ Cf. Green, *Orientalia* 45 (1976), pp. 396/98. Furthermore, an inscription from the burial chamber of TT 298 shows that Mahuhy (i) was married to Hunero (i) (PM I:1, p. 379; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 92; KRI I:371:11).

⁹¹ In O.DM 581, 7, Meryre is referred to as: '[.....] of Mahu'. Unfortunately the signs in the lacuna are damaged, though the traces are more consistent with *s3* than *sn* (which may have been reasonably expected); cf. Allam, *HOP*, p. 138. On the reading of the signs *s3* and *sn* see Möller, *HP* II, p. 19, no. 216 and p. 53, no. 596 respectively.

⁹² O.DM 116, vso. 1 and O.DM 445, 4.

⁹³ Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 151-152.

⁹⁴ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 36.

⁹⁵ Janssen, in *Village Voices*, p. 88, n. 46.

⁹⁶ The existence of a third Paherypedjet (iii) can also be added here. He is known to have been employed in the tomb administration as a 'draftsman' and was the son of Nebre (i) (see p. 153).

⁹⁷ A fragmentary offering table (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1931-32), p. 64, fig. 47; *ibid.*, (1934-35) III, p. 263, fig. 137, p. 165, no. 3; Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 151).

⁹⁸ Černý, *Bankes*, No. 2.

⁹⁹ O.BM 5634, rto. 21.

¹⁰⁰ This last example led Janssen, *Village Varia*, p. 26, n. 87, to suspect that Paherypedjet was the village physician.

¹⁰¹ O.DM 116, vso. 1.

¹⁰² O.DM 445, 2.

wood deliveries to the village in year 37 of Ramesses II,¹⁰³ undoubtedly as a member of the staff of the *smdt*. This man is therefore unlikely to have been identified with the workman Paherypedjet, unless he was promoted as a full member of the workforce in the interval between years 37 and 40. An undated water account, which mentions Paherypedjet,¹⁰⁴ must be dated posterior to year 40 of Ramesses II, because of the appearance of the workman Paneb (i). It is also likely that Paherypedjet (i), (ii) or (iii) was the author of letter O.DM 316 to the scribe Huy.¹⁰⁵

Seba (i), son of Baki (i), was mistakenly attributed by Černý¹⁰⁶ as Seba (ii), husband of Nofretiyti (i).¹⁰⁷ Seba (ii)'s children included the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Huy (iv),¹⁰⁸ and probably Amenemone (i), who is attested as a son of the 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands', Seba, on a stela executed for Huy (iv) during the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁰⁹ Huy (iv) was married to the lady Takharu (i)¹¹⁰ and had at least two sons, the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Seba (iii),¹¹¹ and the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Wadjmose (i),¹¹² and as many as four daughters: Duaemmeres (i), Nofretiyti (ii), Hemtneter (i)¹¹³ and Tal (i).¹¹⁴ It is conceivable that Seba (iii) was the husband of Iyinoftre(t)i.¹¹⁵ Duaemmeres (i) was married to the sculptor Ipuy (i), son of Piay (ii) (see p. 179 below). The aforementioned stela Neuchâtel no. 12 provides further evidence for the pedigree of Seba (ii).¹¹⁶ The

¹⁰³ O.OIC 17007, rto. I:8, *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ O.Gardiner 195, rto. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Most probably Huy (x), son of Thuthirmaktes, who was incumbent during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Consequently we may be justified in dating this document to that same period.

¹⁰⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 315 (chart).

¹⁰⁷ Stela Louvre C. 86 (PM I:2, pp. 719-720 (b); Boreux, 'La Stèle C.86 du Musée du Louvre et les Stèles Similaires', in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud par ses amis et ses élèves* II, pp. 673 ff., fig. 1; KRI III:791-792; cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188). A study of the family of Seba is given by Letellier, *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 150 ff., in which he is right to doubt that Seba (i), son of Baki (i), was the father of Huy (iv) (p. 162).

¹⁰⁸ The owner of TT 339 (PM I:1, pp. 406/407; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 73-75; *ibid.*, (1924-25), pp. 51-61; *ibid.*, (1927), pp. 120-22, fig. 82; KRI III:789-790). Huy (iv) was married to Takharu (i) (stela Turin N.50077: PM I:2, p. 720 (d); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 116, 296; KRI III:790-791; and stela BM 446: PM I:2, p. 720 (e); *BMHT* 6, pl. 39; KRI III:793) and had a daughter named Duaemmeres (i) (stela BM 446).

¹⁰⁹ Stela Turin N.50030 (PM I:2, p. 720; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 62-63, 272; KRI III:790). See the comments of Letellier, *RdE* 27 (1975), p. 157, who identifies this Seba with Seba (iii), the son of Huy (iv) and not with Seba (ii). However, on stela Neuchâtel No. 12, Ég. No. 238, Amenemone (i) appears to be referred to as a brother of Huy (iv) (cf. Janssen, *BiOr* 32 (1975), p. 292).

¹¹⁰ Stela Turin N.50077. Janssen, *BiOr* 32 (1975), pp. 291-92, has suggested that Huy (iv) later married the lady Iyinoftre, whom he identifies with Iyi of O.DM 225. Due to the appearance of the 'scribes' Pentaweret, Paser and Amennakht, O.DM 225 can probably not be dated before year 16 of Ramesses III. Consequently, if Huy (iv) had been active at the very end of the reign of Ramesses II it is conceivable that his assumed widow, Iyi, was still alive under Ramesses III.

¹¹¹ Stela Louvre C. 86.

¹¹² Stelae Turin N.50030 and N.50077. For the genealogy of this family see Bierbrier, *LNKE*, pp. 21 f.

¹¹³ Hemtneter (i) may be identified with Hemtneter (ii), the wife of the *ḥ n ḥ* Harnefer (i) (see p. 87). A 'mourning woman' Hemtneter is mentioned with her daughter, Iy, on stela BM 150+1754 which belonged to Neferabu (i). It is interesting to note that Wadjmose (i), brother of Hemtneter (i) and son of Huy (iv), was the son-in-law of the 'foreman' Nebnefer (i) and Iyi (i).

¹¹⁴ Stela Louvre C. 86. Tal (i) is the wife of Pendua (i), son of the sculptor Qen (ii), who is named as a son (-in-law) of Huy on stela Neuchâtel No. 12, Ég. No. 238.

¹¹⁵ Stela Neuchâtel No. 12, Ég. No. 238; Letellier, *RdE* 27 (1975), p. 157.

¹¹⁶ PM I:2, p. 719 (a); Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 209, fig. 108; KRI III:793-94.

stela is dedicated by the 'servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes' Huy (iv), son of Seba (ii), and is divided into three registers. In the middle register we meet, amongst others, Huy (iv), his son Seba (iii) and his wife Takharu (i). Also named here is 'his sister' Iyinoftre(t)i (ii), who may indeed have been the sister of Huy (iv), or less likely, as was noted above, the wife of Seba (iii). The bottom register consists of twin vignettes. At left we meet two seated women who are referred to as 'his mother Kar' and 'her mother Tenro'. These ladies are being offered to by 'her daughter Taweret'. Unfortunately we can only tentatively speculate as to the identities of these women. The lady Kar is precluded from being the mother of Huy (iv) by the existence of Nofretiyti (i). However, it is possible that Kar (i) and Tenro were the mothers of Seba (ii) and Nofretiyti (i) who appear together in the right hand scene, along with Pendua, receiving offerings from Baketmin. It is therefore likely that Pendua (vi) and Baketmin (ii) were the children of Huy (iv). In fact it will be shown below (pp. 65, 177) that Pendua (i) was married to Tal (i), daughter of Huy (iv), and consequently is probably to be identified with Pendua (vi).

Since Wadjmose (i) and Seba (iii) (see below) were active with the workforce in the middle of Ramesses II's reign, we can assume that their grandfather Seba (ii) may have been born during the reign of Horemheb or earlier.¹¹⁷ Seba (iii) probably appears amongst the workmen in year 40 of Ramesses II,¹¹⁸ together with his brother, Wadjmose (i).¹¹⁹ Further mention of the workman Seba (iii) is limited mainly to documents which definitely fall in the period before year 40 of Ramesses II.¹²⁰

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Haremwia (i), whom we can presume to be the son of Baki (i), names his son, Baki (ii) and grandson, Nebnefer (iv) on a stela found by Baraize in the Ptolemaic temple enclosure.¹²¹ A seat of the 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth' Baki, found in hut J in the eastern group at the workmen's 'col' settlement, may be attributed to either Baki (i) or (ii).¹²² The appearance of a second 'servant in the Place of Truth', Haremwia (iii), son of the workman Pashedu, during the first half of the XIXth Dynasty complicates any attempt to positively identify either of these men.¹²³ Several ostraca, dated to year 40 of Ramesses II, or earlier, mention a Haremwia.¹²⁴ Haremwia (i) appears on a stela¹²⁵ of Neferronpet (i) and the latter's son Neferabu (i).

¹¹⁷ Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188. Huy (iv) was active during the early years of the XIXth Dynasty (Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 130) and had another brother, Djoserka (i) (stela Turin N. 50022).

¹¹⁸ O.BM 5634, vso. 7. There is the possibility that Seba (i) was meant here (cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188). It is interesting to note that Seba's illness, as a result of a scorpion sting, may have been temporary, since he is not attested as absent from duty on any of the subsequent days.

¹¹⁹ Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188.

¹²⁰ O.CGC 25573, II:2; O.Gardiner 92, 4; O.Gardiner 116, rto. 3.

¹²¹ Stela Cairo J.43565: Bruyère, *ASAE* 25 (1925), pp. 78-80, pl. 1; PM I:2, p. 698; *KRI* III:796; for Haremwia and Baki as father and son see also O.Petrie 61.

¹²² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 355, pl. 40 [3]; PM I:2, p. 589; *KRI* III:796. Bruyère, *op. cit.*, p. 355, has suggested that this was the seat of the foreman Baki (i). Also found at this spot was the seat of Apatjau.

¹²³ See the standard-statue of Pashedu which includes Haremwia (iii) in relief on the side, together with a text for the 'chief of workmen in the Place of Truth' Qaha (i) and his son Huynefer (i) (Turin 3047: PM I:2, p. 712-13; Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), p. 175, § XXIX, 176; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 114; *KRI* III:607).

¹²⁴ O.Varille 20, 5 (year 32); O.Turin N.57082, vso. 2 (year 36); O.BM 5634, rto. 5 (year 40); O.CGC 25573, I:10 (undated, but pre-year 40).

¹²⁵ BM 150+1754: PM I:1, p. 14; *BMHT* 9, pp. 34 f., pl. 30/30A; *KRI* III:774-776. Vandier & Vandier d'Abbadie, *Tombe de Nefer-Abou*, p. 70, suggest that Haremwia (i) was a colleague of Neferabu (i).

It would be forgivable to confuse, as James did, Haremwia (i), son of Baki (i), with his namesake who was operative in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty.¹²⁶ It is probably Baki (ii), son of Haremwia (i), who is recorded taking an oath in year 66 of Ramesses II concerning the misappropriation of 'service days',¹²⁷ and who is listed amongst other workmen in a laundry list.¹²⁸ However, he should not be confused with Baki (iii), a member of the *smdt*-staff, who is recorded on several occasions making various deliveries to the villagers.¹²⁹

The name Haremwia next appears amongst the tomb records of the second half of the XIXth Dynasty.¹³⁰ In the contemporary Pap. Salt 124, the 'stonemasons' Haremwia (iv) and Haremwia, son of Baki, are both implicated as accomplices of the foreman Paneb.¹³¹ Here the latter is without doubt to be identified with Haremwia (ii), son of Baki (ii). The Haremwia who is named alongside the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i) in a graffito¹³² could, in theory, have been any one of several individuals: the son of Baki (i), the son of Baki (ii), the son of Pashedu, or the unidentified workman of that name who occurs in the late XIXth Dynasty. It is possible that this was Haremwia (v), the son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Reweben (i),¹³³ who can be attested as late as the reign of Amenmesses.¹³⁴ It is possible that, besides the two Haremvias from the late XIXth Dynasty, the Haremwia who appears in the newly found Papyrus Greg, dated to years 5-7 of Siptah,¹³⁵ and also in year 14 or 24 of Ramesses III,¹³⁶ is to be identified with Haremwia (vi), the son of Iyernutef (i), who is attested in year 20 of that same reign.¹³⁷

§ 2: The family of the foreman Qaha (i): chart 3

One of the foremen for the left side during the reign of Ramesses II was Qaha (i).¹³⁸ He was a man of undoubted influence and the head of a quite remarkable family that was powerful enough to

¹²⁶ James, *BMHT* 9, p. 41.

¹²⁷ O.CGC 25237, rto. 10-11; on this text see Davies & Toivari, *SAK* 24 (1997), pp. 69-80.

¹²⁸ O.DM 338, rto. 6.

¹²⁹ O.OIC 17007 (=O. Nelson 11), rto. I:20 (year 37 of Ramesses II) and O.DM 333, 3 *passim*. (year 37 of Ramesses II).

¹³⁰ O.Mich 13, rto. 1 & 5 (year 2 of Merenptah; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 85-86); O.CGC 25779, vso. 9; O.CGC 25784, 5 (years 1 & 4 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25512, rto. 9 (year 6 of Seti II(?)); O.CGC 25516, vso. 6 (year 1 of Siptah).

¹³¹ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:10-11. In O.Gardiner 57 one Haremwia is named on the right side of the gang under Paneb (i) (rto. I:17), whilst the other appears under Hay (iv) on the opposite side (vso. I:10).

¹³² No. 656 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 53; *KRI* IV:185:6).

¹³³ See the fragmentary architrave, Turin N.50185 (=old Suppl. 6179): Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 167-68, 332; *KRI* III:785:13.

¹³⁴ O.CGC 25779, rto. 3; O.CGC 25783, vso. 19; O.CGC 25784, 4.

¹³⁵ Pap. Greg, rto. B, 6.

¹³⁶ O.Turin N.57173, 1.

¹³⁷ O.Gardiner 54, rto. 4-5.

¹³⁸ Qaha (i) is called 'chief workman of Usermare-setepenre in the Place of Truth' on a stela in the north court of his tomb (TT 360: PM I:1, p. 424 at (B); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pls. 33, 34, pp. 86-88; *KRI* III:598-600). Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 27-30, has suggested that Qaha was likely to have been the owner of tomb 1126, from where fragments bearing the names of Qaha and Qenhirkhopshef were recovered. His argument (p. 27) is founded on the basis that the tomb (TT 299) of Qaha's son and successor, Anhurkhawwy (i), is situated nearby.

retain the office of foreman for a number of generations. The wealth of religious and funerary monuments erected by the family of Qaha (i) at Deir el-Medina provides invaluable information on the genealogy of this foreman. Qaha (i)'s father was the 'chief craftsman in the Place of Truth in West Thebes' Huy (ii),¹³⁹ his grandfather and grandmother are named as Hay (i) and Takhat (i),¹⁴⁰ and his great grandparents were Huy (i) and Mehyt-khati (i).¹⁴¹ One stela in particular (Turin N.50069)¹⁴² contains extensive details concerning the relationships of this complex family. On it there are named Hay (ii),¹⁴³ Paherypedjet (ii) and Aia (i), some of Qaha (i)'s brothers. Also mentioned are Huy (ii)'s grandson Merwaset (i) and his granddaughters Baketwernuro (i), Tentpakhenty (i) and Tentamentet (i), who is listed with her own daughter Huynofre(t) (i). It is possible that Mutemwia (vi), who is named on the northern stela in the north court of TT 360, was a daughter of Huy (ii) and Tanehsy (i). However, because of the broken nature of this inscription this relationship is by no means certain.¹⁴⁴ An inscription on stela BM 191 seems to confirm that Merwaset (i) was the son of Qaha (i), whilst a fragmentary text from a block/stela suggests that Tentamentet (i) was possibly the daughter of Qaha (i).¹⁴⁵ Qaha (i)'s other siblings included a brother Huynfefer (ii)¹⁴⁶ and a sister Takhat (ii).¹⁴⁷

Qaha (i) and his wife, Tuy (i), founded a large family, which included at least six sons: the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Merwaset (i),¹⁴⁸ the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Anuy (i), Khaemope (i)(?),¹⁴⁹ Anhurkhawy (i), Kharu (i) and Huynfefer (i); in addition to five daughters: Sitmeht (i), Henutnofret (ii), Tentamentet (i), Tamehyt (i) and Na'ay (i).¹⁵⁰ It would appear that Anuy (i) held the affection of his father above all his siblings, and was most likely the eldest.¹⁵¹ Qaha (i)'s status within the community is reflected in the spacious family home (N.E. VIII), built in the XVIIIth Dynasty as one of the largest in the village, and where his name appears on the base of a column in room III.¹⁵²

However, this assumption can not be substantiated with any degree of confidence. The tomb could equally have been the work of Qenhirkhopshef, whose statue once stood in the entrance chapel. The only other extant evidence from this sepulchre is a sketch of an Egyptian cargo-boat on the entrance wall (see Bruyère, *ibid.*, (1927), fig. 20).

¹³⁹ The tomb of Huy (ii) and his wife Tanehsy (i) is TT 361: see PM I:1, p. 426; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 82-84, 92:16, 94:4, 95:2; KRI I:397-98.

¹⁴⁰ Stela Turin Cat. 1609/N.50069: PM I:2, p. 720 (end); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 105/6, 292; KRI I:399.

¹⁴¹ Offering table, Louvre E.13996: PM I:2, p. 743 (a); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 110:1, fig. 61; KRI I:401-402.

¹⁴² PM I:2, p. 720; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 105/06, 292; KRI I:399.

¹⁴³ Hay (ii) was married to the lady Tamehyt (ii) (James, *BMHT* 9, p. 46; Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188).

¹⁴⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pls. 33 top, 34; KRI III:599:15.

¹⁴⁵ BM 69089 (KRI VII:37).

¹⁴⁶ PM I:1, p. 424 at (10); PM I:2, p. 743 (b); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 77, 101-102, pl. 28:1; KRI I:401.

¹⁴⁷ Stela Turin Cat. 1609/N.50069.

¹⁴⁸ Stela Turin 1609/N.50069.

¹⁴⁹ This conjectural relationship is based on the reading of the name 'Khapa' in TT 360 (PM I:1, p. 424 at (7); KRI III:600:8).

¹⁵⁰ For attestations of all of these names see Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 75-76, 86-88; PM I:1, p. 313 at (3) & (4), *ibid.* I:1, p. 424; BM 69089; stela BM 144; stela Turin 3047; Bankes stela no. 2.

¹⁵¹ Anuy (i) dedicated a stela in TT 360 in honour of his father (PM I:1, p. 424 at (B)). He is attested with Qaha (i) on a wall fragment from pit 1060 (PM I:2, p. 687; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 41:8, fig. 29:1; KRI III:605), and on the base of a Hathor statue (DM 269; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 114, no. 269).

¹⁵² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 43, 251-53, figs. 128 & 129; *ibid.*, (1927), fig. 29; PM I:2, pp. 702, 704. Qaha (i)'s name was found on the base of a column in room III of this house.

His popular standing amongst his work colleagues is witnessed by the presence of twin statues of himself and Tuy (i) in the court of the tomb of his opposite number, the foreman Neferhotep (ii);¹⁵³ a graffito with the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i);¹⁵⁴ and by his inclusion in the tombs of Kasa (i)/Penbuy (i),¹⁵⁵ and Khabekhnet (i).¹⁵⁶

Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the exact date of Qaha (i)'s appointment to the foremanship, though a stela inscription points to a likely date early in the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁵⁷ Qaha (i) was a contemporary of the foremen Nebnefer (i)¹⁵⁸ and Neferhotep (ii)¹⁵⁹ and the celebrated scribe Ramose (i).¹⁶⁰ A considerable proportion of the documents in which the name of Qaha appears are both undated and in general uninformative.¹⁶¹ However, the occurrence of the name Qaha on the 'recto' of O.Carnarvon 300 PP may indicate that Qaha (i) had been active during the reign of Merenptah.¹⁶² Černý certainly seems to believe that Qaha (i) could have been incumbent early in Merenptah's sovereignty.¹⁶³ Were this true, Qaha (i) would have been about 80 years of age, assuming that he was 30 years old when he was appointed as foreman in the first part of Ramesses II's reign. Although this does not stretch the limits of credence too greatly, the argument remains particularly tenuous. However, Qaha (i) can definitely be dated to year 38 of Ramesses II,¹⁶⁴ whilst O.CGC 25573, in which Qaha is again cited, can safely be dated to within a few years of this.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵³ PM I:1, p. 313 at (3) & (4); KRI III:602.

¹⁵⁴ No. 2609: Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 111; KRI III:608.

¹⁵⁵ For TT 10 see Černý, *Répertoire*, I, p. 76; PM I:1, pp. 19/21.

¹⁵⁶ Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 13; PM I:1, pp. 6-9 at 8/9; KRI III:802.

¹⁵⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 87, fig. 23 & pp. 90 f., no. 7; PM I:1, p. 425; KRI III:609. This stela, erected in the confines of TT 360 by the 'chief workman Qaha', includes a vignette showing the vizier Paser and king, [Seti I/Ramesses II]. The presence of the vizier Paser does not exclude the very remote possibility that Qaha (i) was active as early as Seti I, though this is unlikely. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 37, suggests Qaha (i)'s promotion as 'foreman' took place early in the reign of Ramesses II. Both TT 10 (Kasa (i) and Penbuy (i), see pp. 267 ff.) and TT 2 (Khabekhnet, see p. 44), in which Qaha (i) is mentioned, can be shown to have undergone construction after year 5 of Ramesses II due to the presence of the name of the scribe Ramose (i).

¹⁵⁸ Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 76; PM I:1, pp. 19/21 at (4); cf. O.CGC 25802, 1-2.

¹⁵⁹ O.CGC 25573, I:2-3.

¹⁶⁰ O.Gardiner 92, 2. In year 38, Qaha (i) and Ramose (i) are known to have presided on the council of the *qnbt n pꜣ hr*, together with another scribe, who may have been Huy (x), son of Thuthirmaktef (O.Mich. 47, rto. 4).

¹⁶¹ O.CGC 25802, 2; O.Gardiner 92, 2; O.CGC 25615, 2; O.CGC 25616, 2; O.CGC 25627, vso. 1.

¹⁶² I have followed Černý's convention of 'recto' here, although the usage is not strictly correct. Since the texts are not continuous, it is not possible to ascertain in which order the texts on the 'recto' and 'verso' were compiled. Černý, *Community*, p. 295, identified the traces of Merenptah's cartouche on the 'verso' as the handiwork of Qenhirkhopshef (i). It seems reasonable to argue that the scribe may have employed a discarded or redundant ostrakon for writing practice.

¹⁶³ *Community*, p. 295. However, in the same work (p. 298), he contradicts this assumption by placing Qaha (i)'s son, Anhurkhawy (i), as foreman late in the reign of Ramesses II.

¹⁶⁴ O.Mich. 47, rto. 4.

¹⁶⁵ Fourteen names of the nineteen workmen who are cited in this text also appear in O.BM 5634, which is dated to year 40 Ramesses II. Furthermore, it is likely that Kha was an abbreviated form of Anhurkhawy (Černý, *Community*, pp. 137, 300, 306), which would account for a fifteenth workman. The workmen who are not named in O.BM 5634 are Penbuy, Mose, Penpakhty and Ipu. The appearance of the scribes Ramose (i) and Huy (x) certainly points to a date for O.CGC 25573 before year 40, by which time Qenhirkhopshef (i) was the 'senior' scribe (see p. 84 below). Taking the evidence collectively, O.CGC 25573 can probably be dated within the fourth decade of Ramesses II's reign.

Whilst Qaha (i) served as foreman, his eldest son Anuy (i) acted as his deputy.¹⁶⁶ Anuy (i)'s titles included 'servant in the Place of Truth',¹⁶⁷ 'deputy of the Lord of the Two Lands'¹⁶⁸ and 'deputy of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth'.¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately we have no clear dates for Anuy (i)'s tenure in the office of deputy, though he undoubtedly served during the second half of Ramesses II's reign. An Anuy is named in an undated roster, which can be placed shortly before year 40 of Ramesses II,¹⁷⁰ and Anuy (i) may be synonymous with an Anuy who is attested in that same year 40.¹⁷¹ As we mentioned earlier, Anuy (i) certainly did not succeed his father as foreman, this particular duty falling to his brother, Anhurhawy (i). The reason behind the sudden disappearance of Anuy (i) is not apparent from the surviving record, though we can surmise that he either predeceased Qaha (i) or fell out of favour with the village administration.

The majority of documents which allude to Anuy (i) provide us with very little concerning his true identity. Consequently, texts such as these must be studied with a modicum of care: Anuy (i) appears to give evidence at a deposition in year 47 of Ramesses II;¹⁷² he is mentioned giving payments to the craftsman Huy,¹⁷³ and is named in an obscure letter;¹⁷⁴ another Anuy is included in a name roster for the 'right' side,¹⁷⁵ and is represented with his wife [Tet]ia(?) in TT 216 of Neferhotep (ii),¹⁷⁶ and with the workman Huy on a libation basin.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 135, posited that Qaha (i) established Anuy (i) as his deputy whilst reserving the succession of his own office for another of his sons, Anhurhawy (i). However, a more natural state of affairs would have been for the prospective foreman, in this case Anuy, to gain experience initially as a deputy. Consequently, it seems quite possible that Anuy (i) predeceased his father and was replaced as 'deputy' by his younger brother Anhurhawy (i).

¹⁶⁷ In his father's tomb no. 360: PM I:1, p. 424 at (B). This man is not to be confused with a second workman, Anuy (ii), son of Kasa (i) (see stela Louvre E. 16341: Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 362, fig. 211, p. 44, fig. 12 & p. 273:1). A third Anuy (iii), a sculptor and son of Ipuy (i), was likewise active during the reign of Ramesses II (see TT 216: PM I:1, p. 316 at (6); KRI III:662:1-2).

¹⁶⁸ Graffito no. 1072: Černý, *Graffiti*, 1956, p. 1, pl. 2; KRI III:612.

¹⁶⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-51), pp. 49 f., nos. 42 & 44; PM I:2, p. 692.

¹⁷⁰ O.CGC 25573, I:6; for the dating of this document see n. 165 above.

¹⁷¹ O.BM 5634, rto. 15. It is tempting to follow a suggestion made by Janssen (*SAK* 8 (1980), p. 131) that the 'deputies' were not listed in this list of absentees. If this was true, we may then correlate this Anuy with the homonymous Anuy (ii) son of Kasa (i). We learn from stela Louvre E. 16341 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 361-62, fig. 211, p. 44, fig. 12, p. 273:1) that Anuy (ii) had at least three brothers: Nebamentet (i), Nefersentut (i) and Nebsetau (i), two of whom (Nebamentet (i) and Nefersentut (i)) also appear in O.BM 5634. It will be demonstrated below that Ptahmose (i) was a brother-in-law of Anuy (ii) (see p. 271).

¹⁷² O.Turin N.57062, vso. 1.

¹⁷³ O.DM 50, rto. 1.

¹⁷⁴ O.Louvre N.697, vso. x+3.

¹⁷⁵ O.J.G. Milne [2], II:8. This is unlikely to have been the deputy Anuy (i) who would presumably have served on the left side of the workforce under his father Qaha (i).

¹⁷⁶ PM I:1, pp. 312-315 at (9-10); Černý, *Répertoire*, I, p. 103; KRI III:588:8. This may be the same Anuy who is mentioned on an ostrakon in a year 2 [of Merenptah], giving a door to Neferhotep (O.Mich. 13, rto. 8). Anuy is further recorded in a number of absentee lists from the reigns of Amenmesses (O.CGC 25782, vso. 23; O.CGC 25783, vso. 11) and Seti II (O.CGC 25512, rto. 14) and is attested as a 'workman' paying an unnamed woman for 480 'service days' in year 3 of Amenmesses(?) (O.Gardiner 123, 2). This person can not possibly have been the deputy Anuy (i) and is therefore likely to be correlated with Anuy (v), son of Nakhy, who appears in the reign of Siptah(?) in O.CGC 25796, rto. II:20 (cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 71).

¹⁷⁷ Turin N.22032: Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 41, 140; PM I:2, p. 709; KRI III:795.

Following his service on the gang in the shadow of his brother Anuy (i), Anhurkhawy (i) was promoted to the foremanship either in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II,¹⁷⁸ or in the first years of Merenptah.¹⁷⁹ It is from his tomb, built close to those of his father and grandfather,¹⁸⁰ that we are offered one of the precious pieces of evidence that demonstrate that this promotion in office took place. Here Anhurkhawy (i) is accorded, amongst others, the title of 'chief of workmen of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth'. A doorframe names him as 'servant in the Place of Truth' along with his wife, Henutdjui (i), the daughter of Kel (i) (Karo/Kenro) and Takhat (ii).¹⁸¹ The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Kel (ii) (Kenro)¹⁸² and the future foreman Hay (iv) can be identified as children of Anhurkhawy (i),¹⁸³ as can Qaha (ii),¹⁸⁴ and Huy (v).¹⁸⁵

The extant documentation gives the rather biased impression that Anhurkhawy (i) spent an unmemorable career on the workforce. As a workman he was recorded absent from work in year 40 of Ramesses II.¹⁸⁶ He is also recorded in an undated water delivery from this same period.¹⁸⁷ His position as one of the foremen is limited to a single appearance in the official record,¹⁸⁸ and it is rather ironic that even here his title is not explicitly stated, but can only be inferred from the contextual evidence.

Merwaset (i), son of Qaha (i), first appears as a boy accompanying his grandparents, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' (who is also known to have held the title of 'chief craftsman') Huy (ii) and Tanehsy (i), both of whom are shown receiving offerings from the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Qaha, who we can assume to be the future chief workman, Qaha (i).¹⁸⁹ Merwaset (i) is similarly entitled 'servant in the Place of Truth' on a stela of Qaha (i)¹⁹⁰ and can be identified, together with his sister (or wife?) Tentamentet, on stela BM 144 of Qaha (i).¹⁹¹ He appears on the workforce in year 40 of

¹⁷⁸ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 37.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 298.

¹⁸⁰ TT 299: PM I:1, p. 380 (cf. I:2, p. xvii); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 34-36, fig. 22, cf. *ibid.*, (1922-23), p. 67; *KRI* III:609-610.

¹⁸¹ BM 597 and Turin Suppl. 9506/N.50220: Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 188 f., 344; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 165, fig. 89; PM I:2, p. 721 (a); *KRI* III:610.

¹⁸² Graffito no. 589: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 48; Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, 1887, pl. 18:651; *KRI* III:611.

¹⁸³ From an inscription in Anhurkhawy (i)'s tomb, the name of Hay (iv) follows what appears to be traces of the name of his mother '[Henutdj]ui'. The precedence given to these names must mean that the suffix *f* or *s* has been omitted from *s3 H3y*. The text can thus be amended to read *s3 < f/s > H3y* 'his/her son Hay' rather than 'son of Hay' (see *KRI* III:609:15-16; PM I:1, p. 380 (cf. *ibid.* I:2, p. xvii); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 35, fig. 22).

¹⁸⁴ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 3.

¹⁸⁵ As the 'son of Khau' from year 1 of Amenmesses (O.CGC 25779, rto. 2) until year 1 of Siptah (O.CGC 25521, rto. 2); cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 37. (see p. 275 below).

¹⁸⁶ O.BM 5634, vso. 3.

¹⁸⁷ O.DM 189, I:3. Of the eight fully preserved names listed in this text, all are attested in the absentee-list of year 40 (O.BM 5634). Consequently, we can expect a similar date for both documents.

¹⁸⁸ O.Strasburg H.110, rto. 2-3.

¹⁸⁹ Stela Turin 1609/N.50069: PM I:2, p. 720 (a); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 105/06, 292; *KRI* I:399; cf. lintel BM 448: Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 28-29.

¹⁹⁰ BM 291: PM I:2, p. 723 (b); *BMHT* VI, 1922, pl. 32; *KRI* III:604; cf. stela BM 144: PM I:1, p. 424 at (2); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 46 f., pl. 39:1; *KRI* III:602-603.

¹⁹¹ PM I:1, p. 424 at (2); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 46 f., pl. 39:1; *KRI* III:603:3.

Ramesses II.¹⁹² It is conceivable that his son is synonymous with Hori (i), son of Merwaset, who appears before the court of law headed by the foreman Qaha (i) in year 38 of Ramesses II.¹⁹³

Although we possess no firm proof that Qaha (i) had a son called Khaemope (i), this individual may well have been the owner of TT 321,¹⁹⁴ though a similar case may be made for Khaemope (ii), son of Buqentuf (i) and Iyi (iii), who appears in the tomb of Nebenmaat.¹⁹⁵ Khaemope (i)/(ii) built for himself a small and crudely fashioned shrine on the footpath, west of the workmen's settlement on the 'col'. There he erected his own votive stela¹⁹⁶ following the practice of his predecessors and his colleagues. Besides this monument, mention of him is confined to a solitary graffito,¹⁹⁷ and an appearance as a 'stripling'.¹⁹⁸

The popular use of the name, Huynefer, throughout the family of the 'foreman' Qaha (i) makes positive differentiation between these men extremely difficult. Both Qaha (i) and Huynefer (ii) are attested as sons of the chief craftsman Huy (ii),¹⁹⁹ whilst Qaha (i) himself had a son named Huynefer (i). A positive identification of the Huy, son of Huynefer who is cited in year 26/36 of Ramesses II, is as yet uncertain.²⁰⁰ The workman Kel (i) (Karo), a brother-in-law of Qaha (i), likewise named his son Huynefer (iii), who may have been active in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.²⁰¹ During the second half of the XIXth Dynasty and into the early years of the succeeding Dynasty we meet the workman Huy (vii)/(ix), son of Huynefer (iv).²⁰² It may be surmised, without fear of contradiction,

¹⁹² O.BM 5634, vso. 14.

¹⁹³ O.Mich 47, rto. 5. According to Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29, Merwaset, the owner of stela BM 444, is probably to be identified as the son of Qaha (i).

¹⁹⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 72-73, pl. xviii; *ibid.* (1924-25), pls. i, ii, vi; *KRI* III:817-818. His titles include 'servant in the Place of Truth' and his wife is named as Maani.

¹⁹⁵ Maystre, *Nebenmaat*, pp. 9-10; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 70, fig. 49; PM I:1, pp. 320-322 at (5) II.

¹⁹⁶ Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1942.46-7: PM I:2, p. 590; N. de Garis Davies, 'A High Place at Thebes', in *Mélanges Maspero* I, Cairo, 1935-38, pp. 244-245, 248, pls. 3:2, 4:2.

¹⁹⁷ Graffito no. 1888: Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 23.

¹⁹⁸ O.DM 352, rto. 4. For the term *mnḥ* see *Wb* II, 83:13 ff., which offers the translation 'youth, lad'; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 111, suggests 'adolescent' (cf. *Enchoria* 7, p. 6, n. 6). As a title used in front of a name see *Wb* II, p. 83:16.

¹⁹⁹ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 36, chart IX.

²⁰⁰ O.Turin N.57082, vso. 1. The year date is more likely 36 than 26. However, for a later dating of O.Turin N.57082 in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty see pp. 257, 270 below.

²⁰¹ Stela BM 328 (PM I:2, p. 723; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 48-49, pl. 40:1; *KRI* III:826), where Huynefer (iii) is referred to as a 'servant in the Place of Truth' (cf. stela BM 144: James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 46-47). Whether Huynefer (iii) is to be associated with the workman named in the ostraca of this reign (namely O.BM 5634, vso. 1 of year 40; O.DM 189, I:7; O.DM 370, I:1; O.J.G. Milne [2], I:3) is open to conjecture (cf. Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 142).

²⁰² O.CGC 25782, rto. 21 (year 3 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25512, rto. 8, 11 (year 6 of Seti II); O.CGC 25519, vso. 10 (year 1 of Siptah); O.Berlin 11241, rto. 3 (year 5 of Siptah); O.Gardiner 57, vso. I:5 (undated); Pap. Greg., rto. A:12 (year 5 of Siptah). In the last two texts Huy (vii)/(ix), son of Huynefer (iv), is a member of the left side of the workforce. He also appears in Pap. Bulaq 10. In their commentary of this text, Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 142, suggest that Huy (vii)/(ix)'s father, Huynefer (iv), is probably not to be identified with the workman Huynefer who appears in the reigns of Seti II and Siptah since the name does not occur in the records of the reign of Amenmesses. They therefore propose that Huynefer (iv) may have died during the reign of Merenptah and that the later Huynefer may have been his son or grandson. A Huynefer is in fact attested in year 2 of Merenptah (O.DM 621, vso. 6).

that he was a close relative of either Kel (i) (Karo) or Qaha (i). It is possible that he is to be identified with Huy (vi), son of Qaha (i)'s brother Huynefer (ii). Outside the family of Qaha (i), I am aware of yet another Huynefer (v), one of the sons of the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Thutmose (i), and Airetanen (i).²⁰³ The scribe Huynefer (vi), who is depicted in a funerary scene in TT 335 of the sculptor Nakhtamun²⁰⁴ may be identified with the 'scribe' who was the recipient of a letter addressed by a certain Werel.²⁰⁵ If Kitchen's tentative restoration of an inscription on a stela of Neferabu (i) is to be accepted, we then have to do with yet another Huynefer (vii), who dates from the first half of the XIXth Dynasty and who was a 'sculptor'.²⁰⁶

The family origins of the workman Huynefer (viii), who appears towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty, are similarly unclear.²⁰⁷ He may be one and the same man as the contemporary Huynefer (ix), son of Tji'a (i).²⁰⁸ The name Huynefer appears in a number of documents from the reigns of Seti II²⁰⁹ and Siptah.²¹⁰ It is in an undated name-list from the late XIXth Dynasty/early XXth Dynasty that we meet him on the left side of the gang.²¹¹ He appears between years 15 and 27 of the reign of Ramesses III.²¹² According to Gutgesell, Huynefer (viii) disappears from the turnus records in year 27 to be replaced by Nekhemmut.²¹³ Based on these grounds it is probable that the workman Huynefer who re-appears in the records during the reigns of Ramesses IV²¹⁴ and Ramesses V/Ramesses VI²¹⁵ is a different man. The workman Huynefer who appears between year 13 of Ramesses IX²¹⁶ and year 3 of Ramesses X²¹⁷ is probably to be identified with the 'deputy' for the 'right side' Huynefer (x), son of Hori, who occurs in year 8/9 of Ramesses XI.²¹⁸ Hori (ii) who was the father of this Huynefer (x) is no doubt synonymous with the workman Hori, son of Huynefer (xi), who appears between year 10 of Ramesses III²¹⁹ and year 4 of Ramesses V.²²⁰ He also appears in the undated O.DM 593 which may

²⁰³ From a stela in the City Art Museum of St Louis, No. 1095:20 (published in *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St Louis*, No. 2 (1921), pp. 25-28; *KRI* VII:214-215).

²⁰⁴ PM I:1, pp. 401-404 at (16) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 132, fig. 89; *KRI* III:672.

²⁰⁵ O.DM 560.

²⁰⁶ *KRI* III:776:8 (stela BM 150 + 1754; cf. James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34 f., pls. 30/30A).

²⁰⁷ Cf. Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 142.

²⁰⁸ O.CGC 25505, vso. 4, 7.

²⁰⁹ O.CGC 25510, rto. 11.

²¹⁰ O.CGC 25516, vso. 4 (year 1); O.CGC 25521, rto. 14 (year 2); Pap. Greg, rto. B:17.

²¹¹ O.Gardiner 57, vso. I:13.

²¹² E.g., O.DM 406, I:5 (year 15); O.Varille 36, rto. 1 (year 18); O.DM 162, II:8 (year 24); O.Vienna Aeg 1+O.IFAO 628, 13 (year 25); O.DM 34, rto. 6, vso. 9 (year 27).

²¹³ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 62.

²¹⁴ O.DM 160+O.Berlin P.12642, vso. 4a; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 126, on the dating of this document.

²¹⁵ O.Gardiner 160, rto. 6 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 78).

²¹⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 6, l. 3.

²¹⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 52, l. 9.

²¹⁸ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 1:10, rto. A, 2:4, rto. A, 3:4, rto. A, 4:5, vso. B, 1:5 *passim*. For the 'year 9' dating see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 150-51.

²¹⁹ O.Mich. 1, 4; see also O.Mich. 2, 2 (year 16); O.BM 5624, rto. 5; Pap. Berlin P.10496, rto. 10; O.Florence 2621, rto. 4 (all year 21); O.DM 222, II:10 (year 22).

²²⁰ O.CGC 25598, rto. 7a; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 306, and Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 76. He appears in year 6 of Ramesses IV (Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:10).

possibly post-date year 2 of Ramesses VI.²²¹ Huynefer (xi) is probably the workman of that name who was active during the reign of Ramesses III. Because of the proliferation in the use of the name Hori during the XXth Dynasty, it can merely be surmised that Hori (ii), son of Huynefer (xi), was the workman of the 'right side' attested in the turnus records towards the end of the reign of Ramesses III.²²² An entry in the *Stato Civile* records that Huynefer (x) was married to Merutanqet (ii), daughter of Harshire and Ta[neferhor]. Huynefer (x)'s two daughters are also named as Henutdjuu (iv) and Wasetemheb (i) in this passage.²²³

The workman Kel (Kenro), who is mentioned in an ostrakon datable to the reign of Seti II, may not have been identical with Kel (ii), son of the foreman Anhurkhawy (i).²²⁴ A Kel (Kenro) is also named amongst the administrative records serving on the 'left side' during the reign of Siptah.²²⁵ We learn, however, that by year 11 of Ramesses III, Kel (ii) (Kenro), son of Anhurkhawy (i) had died.²²⁶ Nevertheless we may be able to place a more precise date on his death. In O.Geneva MAH 12550 it appears that Kel (ii) had died before his brother Hay (iv) had been promoted to the foremanship in about year 1 of Amenmesses. It is therefore likely that Kel (ii) had been the eldest child of Anhurkhawy (i) since he was the primary beneficiary of his father's storehouse. A legal text of year 13 of Ramesses III²²⁷ mentions the 'division of the storehouse of Kel (Kenro)' between Hay, son of Huy²²⁸ and Pentaweret. It is possible that this is the same Hay (v), son of Huy (vii)/(ix), son of Huynefer (iv) who is attested in Pap. Bulaq 10.²²⁹ A workman Kel (iii) (Kenro) is further attested in years 22²³⁰ and 31²³¹ of Ramesses III. The workman Kel (note Karo, not Kenro) is mentioned in 'years 1-2', probably of Ramesses IV²³² and until year 6 of Ramesses IX.²³³ We can therefore suggest the existence of a single workman Kel (Kenro) from c. year 22 to at least year 31 of Ramesses III, and a second workman Kel (Karo) from 2 of Ramesses IV to year 6 of Ramesses IX. This Kel (iii) (Kenro) may have been synonymous therefore with Kel (Kenro), son of Amenkhau,²³⁴ or with Kel (Kenro),

²²¹ Contra Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 327, who dates this text in the reign of Ramesses V. For a dating of this document after year 2 Ramesses VI see p. 74.

²²² E.g., O.Turin N.57039, vso. 2; O.DM 330, 3; O.DM 74, 4; O.DM 153, rto. 13; O.DM 38, 4; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 76.

²²³ Černý Nb. 15, p. 67; 17, p. 18. For the restoration of the name of Ta[neferhor] see Černý MSS. 17.15.69.

²²⁴ O.CGC 25510, rto. 13.

²²⁵ O.CGC 25522, rto. II:7; O.CGC 25507, I:10.

²²⁶ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 2-3.

²²⁷ O.CGC 25555, rto. 1.

²²⁸ For Hay, son of Huy see O.DM 222, I:9 (year 22 of Ramesses III); O.Turin N.57026, vso. 10 (year 23 or 24 of Ramesses III on the 'left side'); O.DM 398, rto. 4 (year 3 of Ramesses IV).

²²⁹ Pap. Bulaq 10, vso. 1 (year 8 of Ramesses III). See Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 150, for the genealogy of this family.

²³⁰ O.DM 222, 3:12.

²³¹ O.DM 55, rto. 4.

²³² O.Mich. 6, vso. 1; O.DM 44, rto. 15; O.Berlin P.12651+O.Vienna H.4, rto. 14; O.DM 46, rto. 14; O.Gardiner 113, rto. 15; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 85.

²³³ Pap. Turin 2013, rto. I:8 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 135).

²³⁴ O.Mich 7, vso. 2.

son of Huy,²³⁵ or less likely a Kel (Kenro) who is named as a son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Userhat on a libation-basin from the reign of Ramesses III.²³⁶

Huy (v), son of Khau (undoubtedly an abbreviated form of Anhurkhawy (i)²³⁷) appears, like his contemporary and namesake, the son of Huynefer, in numerous texts dating from the second half of the XIXth Dynasty.²³⁸ Either of these men may be identified with the 'workman' Huy who appears in an ostrakon which possibly dates from the reign of Merenptah.²³⁹ The first definitive appearance of Huy (v), son of Khau, occurs in year 1 of Amenmesses.²⁴⁰ He again appears in years 5 and 6 of Seti II²⁴¹ and year 1 of Siptah.²⁴² We learn from two texts that both Huy (v), son of Khau, and Huy (vii), son of Huynefer (iv), were members of the 'left side' of the workcrew.²⁴³ It has been noted above that Huy (v), son of Khau, may have been synonymous with the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Huy who is named on a stela as being the father of Kel (iv) (Kenro) and the grandfather of the three brothers Bay (i), Huy (viii) and Paser (i).²⁴⁴

The workman, Qaha, who appears during the latter half of the XIXth Dynasty is probably identical with Qaha (ii), son of the foreman Anhurkhawy (i). He makes his first appearance in year 3 of Amenmesses²⁴⁵ and thereafter during the reigns of Seti II²⁴⁶ and Siptah.²⁴⁷ His name occurs in an undated ostrakon as a member of the 'left side', which was under the supervision of his brother, the foreman Hay (iv).²⁴⁸ We also learn that by year 11 of Ramesses III Qaha (ii) had died.²⁴⁹ A second Qaha, who later appears during the reign of Ramesses III,²⁵⁰ is likely to be identified either with Qaha (iii), son of Hay (v),²⁵¹ or with the 'sculptor' Qaha (iv).²⁵²

The 'chief workman' Hay (iv), son and successor of the chief workman Anhurkhawy (i),²⁵³ is first mentioned in year 1 of Amenmesses,²⁵⁴ and his career can be traced through to the reign of Ramesses

²³⁵ PM I:2, p. 724; Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), p. 202:69; Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 182-85, pl. IV:4, no. 4; *KRI V*:670-71. For the difficulties associated with this monument see p. 275 below.

²³⁶ PM I:2, p. 700; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 18:5 c, 52, no. 216; *KRI V*:663.

²³⁷ Cf. O.CGC 25556, 3 in which Huy (v), son of Anhurkhawy (i), is mentioned.

²³⁸ Cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 39; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 37.

²³⁹ O.CGC 25524, rto. 16.

²⁴⁰ O.CGC 25779, rto. 2 *passim*; cf. O.CGC 25783, rto. 9 (year 3).

²⁴¹ O.CGC 25556, 3 and O.Nash 2, rto. 8-9 respectively.

²⁴² O.CGC 25520, vso. 9; O.CGC 25521, rto. 2.

²⁴³ O.CGC 25522, rto. II:6/II:5 and O.Gardiner 57, vso. I:5/I:8.

²⁴⁴ PM I:1, p. 724; Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 182-85, pl. IV:4, no. 4; *KRI V*:670-71.

²⁴⁵ O.CGC 25780, 8.

²⁴⁶ O.MMA 14.6.217, rto. 10 (year 1); O.CGC 25512, rto. 12 (year 6).

²⁴⁷ O.CGC 25517, vso. 5 (year 1).

²⁴⁸ O.Gardiner 57, vso. II:5.

²⁴⁹ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 3-4.

²⁵⁰ This Qaha was probably active into the reign of Ramesses IV or later (O.Cairo 209, 7, which is dated to a 'year 5'; O.CGC 25607, rto. 8; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 270, 351).

²⁵¹ Pap. Bulaq 10, vso. 7 (Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 150).

²⁵² O.Gardiner 4, rto. 1.

²⁵³ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 3.

III.²⁵⁵ His death probably occurred between 1 Shomu 7 of year 21 and 3 Shomu 8 of year 22 of that reign (see below),²⁵⁶ though his last definite dated appearance occurs several years earlier in year 17.²⁵⁷ The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (iii) is named as a son of Hay (iv),²⁵⁸ whilst a second son of the chief workman is called the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (ii) on a stela base recovered from hut R' (E) at the col settlement.²⁵⁹ Also mentioned on this stela base is the name of 'his son, the 'servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes A[m]en[...]''. He may possibly be correlated with an Amennakht (iv), <son of> Mose, who appears in a document probably from the later years of Ramesses IX.²⁶⁰ However, it is equally likely that this A[m]en[nakht] is to be accepted as one of the sons of the foreman Hay (iv).

The principle source from which we can base the family history of the 'chief workman in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes and overseer of the works of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth' Anhurkhawwy (ii) is surely his impressive tomb (TT 359). Although many firm affiliations can be established from the extensive scenes and inscriptions, several anomalies still linger to confound the genealoger. Fortunately a unique inscription is preserved in which five generations of the family are enumerated - the foreman Anhurkhawwy (ii), his father the foreman Hay (iv), his grandfather the foreman Anhurkhawwy (i), his great grandfather the foreman Qaha (i), and his (=Anhurkhawwy (ii)'s) son Qenna (i).²⁶¹

The identification of Anhurkhawwy (ii)'s wife as the 'chantress of Amun' Wab(et) (i) is undeniable.²⁶² Elsewhere the two ladies Tanodjemkhaba (i) and Nefertari (i) are each named as 'his sister, Lady of the House'.²⁶³ It has been suggested that both women were the former, though now deceased, wives of Anhurkhawwy (ii).²⁶⁴ An alternative view is that Tanodjemkhaba (i) (named with her daughter Henutenkhenu (i)) and Nefertari (i) (named with her daughters Mereramundua (i), Henutneteru (i), Henutdjui (ii) and Taweret (i)) were in actual fact the true sisters of the foreman, since both are referred to as such in another scene in TT 359.²⁶⁵ Both of these arguments appear to be contradicted by an inscription which names the 'chantress of Amun' Nefertari as the daughter of Henutdjui (i).²⁶⁶ In the same scene Tanodjemkhaba is referred to as the 'sister' of Nefertari. We already know that Henutdjui (i) was the grandmother of Anhurkhawwy (ii), which would mean that

²⁵⁴ O.CGC 25779, rto. 6. The earliest dated ostraca which mention Hay (iv) (O.CGC 25782-783), and which were formerly dated by Černý, *Community*, p. 295, n. 6, to 'year 3 of Merenptah', can now be attributed with certitude to the reign of Amenmesses.

²⁵⁵ E.g., O.CGC 25553, rto. 2-3; O.Florence 2619, vso. 9.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, p. 89, where he has permitted Hay (iv)'s encumbency in the foremanship up until year 20 of Ramesses III.

²⁵⁷ O.CGC 25584, I:1; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 306, n. 4.

²⁵⁸ O.Cairo J.49865, 4-7.

²⁵⁹ PM I:2, p. 589; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 358, fig. 208; KRI V:625.

²⁶⁰ O.CGC 25534, 2:4; Gutgsell, *Datierung*, p. 349.

²⁶¹ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) II, 8; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 53, VIII, pl. 15; KRI VI:192:15-16.

²⁶² PM I:1, p. 421 at (1), 422 at (3) I; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 36, 38; KRI VI:184:3 & 14.

²⁶³ PM I:1, p. 422 at (3) I; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 38, KRI VI:184.

²⁶⁴ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 235.

²⁶⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 44; KRI VI:187.

²⁶⁶ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56; KRI VI:193.

Tanodjemkhaba (i) and Nefertari (i) may have been his aunts. The suggestion that the daughters of Henutdjuu (i) are to be identified with the so-called 'sisters' of Anhurkhawy (ii) is strengthened by virtue of the fact that one of the daughters of Nefertari (i) is once again named as Taweret (i) (see above).

Anhurkhawy (ii)'s eldest and most favoured sons were without doubt Qenna (i) and Harmose (ii). The wife of Qenna (i) is named as Mertseger (i) and their daughters are probably Tanodjemkhaba (iii) and Nefertariemheb (ii).²⁶⁷ Qenna (i)'s son, Harnefer (iii), is also accorded a mention in TT 359.²⁶⁸ The Qenna who occurs on a stela/half-lintel,²⁶⁹ with his wife Takhyheruy²⁷⁰ and his son Amenpahapi, is probably not the son of Anhurkhawy (ii) as assumed by Kitchen,²⁷¹ provided that Anhurkhawy (ii) did not re-marry. The titles of Qenna (i), which include 'servant in the Place of Truth'²⁷² the 'priest of Ptah in the Place of Beauty'²⁷³ and 'deputy of the workforce in the Place of Truth [on] the West of Thebes',²⁷⁴ suggest that he was the elder of the two sons and was therefore predestined to succeed his father in the office of foreman. Nevertheless, it would appear that Qenna (i) either predeceased his father, or fell out of favour with the family, since it was his brother, the 'servant in the Place of Truth (on) the West of Thebes' Harmose (ii),²⁷⁵ who eventually received the foremanship (as we shall discuss below). It is likely that Anhurkhawy (iii), son of Qenna, who appears in an undated graffito,²⁷⁶ is to be identified as a son of the deputy Qenna (i).²⁷⁷ Also named in this inscription is the 'scribe' Wennefer. Since I am unaware of another workman called Anhurkhawy, son of Qenna, from an earlier generation of this family, Wennefer is most likely to have been the scribe of that name who was active in year 17 of Ramesses IX,²⁷⁸ and not one of the earlier scribes.

In his discussion of the use of terms of relationship at Deir el-Medina, Bierbrier has cast certain doubt on the parentage of the six men who are referred to as 'sons' of Anhurkhawy (ii) in TT 359.²⁷⁹

²⁶⁷ PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) II, 5; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 45, pl. 10:2; KRI VI:187:12-13. However, there is a strong possibility that Tanodjemkhaba and Nefertariemheb were the daughters of Anhurkhawy (ii) and Wabet (i) (cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 44; KRI VI:187:5-6).

²⁶⁸ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56; KRI VI:193:16.

²⁶⁹ Zagreb no. 582 (PM I:2, p. 724; J. Monnet-Saleh, *Les Antiquités Égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 1970, pp. 32-33, no. 16; KRI VI:198).

²⁷⁰ For the reading of this name see Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 121, n. 2.

²⁷¹ KRI VI:198.

²⁷² PM I:1, p. 421 at (1); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 36; KRI VI:184:3.

²⁷³ PM I:1, p. 423 at (11) III, 15; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 68, pl. 22; KRI VI:190:9-10.

²⁷⁴ PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) II, 5; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 45, pl. 10:2; KRI VI:187:12.

²⁷⁵ For this title see PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) I, 2; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 42; KRI VI:186:9.

²⁷⁶ No. 2665 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 115); cf. graffito no. 2096 which reads: 'The *wa'b*-priest of Ptah of the Valley of the Queens and lector of king Amenophis (I)(?), god's father(?) Qenna, his son Khau (>Anhurkhawy)' (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 39).

²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the possibility that a scribal error should be restored as: 'Anhurkhawy, <his> son Qenna' can not be dismissed.

²⁷⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pls. 31, l. 2; 34, l. 12; 35, l. V:2. The scribe Wennefer (viii) also appears in year 19 of this reign (Pap. Turin 2075, rto. 2:1), and during the reign of Ramesses XI, as a member of the *smdt*-personnel and as the son of Ankhtu (Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 1a:4; vso. A, 1:3; rto. D, 13). The only other occurrence of the name Ankhtu of which I am aware is graffito no. 1388 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 71).

²⁷⁹ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 102-03.

These are the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth' Harmin, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Seti, Nebamenet (Bierbrier's Nebamun), Amenemheb, the 'prophet of the Lord of the Two Lands, Heqmare-Setepenre, and servant in Place of Truth' Amenpahapi and the 'sculptor in the Place of Truth' Pashedu.²⁸⁰ To these we may add the other so-called sons, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Anhurkhawy (called Iryu), the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Huneria,²⁸¹ Patjir²⁸² and Kaempehtyefmontu.²⁸³

It is possible that the wife of the draftsman Harmin (i), who is named in TT 359 as Meramundua (i),²⁸⁴ may be synonymous with Mereramundua (i) (see above), the daughter of Nefertari (i). We have discussed that Nefertari (i) may have been the aunt, wife or sister of Anhurkhawy (ii). However, Bierbrier, who identifies Harmin (i) as the son of Hori,²⁸⁵ believes that the parents of Meramundua (who should not be identified with the woman of that name referred to in TT 359) were Bakenwerner (*sic*) and Mertseger, and therefore discounts the possibility that Harmin (i) was either the son or the son-in-law of Anhurkhawy (ii). Corroborative evidence supporting this argumentation can be found in a fragment of the *Stato Civile*.²⁸⁶ A closer scrutiny of the relevant entries in this text reveals that a [Har]min was the son of Hori²⁸⁷ and Isis and that his wife's name was [.....]dua, daughter of Kel

²⁸⁰ The 'sculptor(?)' Pashedu appears in graffito no. 1209 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 11, pl. 25; KRI VI:199:2). According to Černý, the inscription 'his son Minkhau' was written above the name of Pashedu for convenience. In graffito 1221 the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Hori appears with his son Pashedu and his brothers Minkhau, Meryre, Harmose and Huy[...] (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 12, pl. 28). It is possible that these were the brothers of Pashedu and consequently sons of Hori. In what appears to have been a continuation of graffito 1221, the name of the 'sculptor' Pashedu is placed in apposition to that of Minkhau, who is probably the son of Hori (graffito no. 1221 A: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 12, pl. 28). It is possible that the 'sculptor' Pashedu is therefore a second son of Hori and consequently synonymous with the Pashedu who is named in the preceding inscription. The three brothers, Minkhau, Mery<re> and Pashedu, who are named in graffito 333 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 30; KRI VI:215:6), may possibly be identified as brothers or three sons of Hori. (For Pashedu, son of Hori, see p. 189 below). Another 'brother' of Minkhau, the 'scribe' Pagafy, appears in graffito no. 774 a (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 63 (not Pagefed); KRI VI:215:8). Černý & Gardiner, *HO*, pl. VII, note 3 (a), suggest that the name of the 'scribe' and the son of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i), who appears in O.Petrie 6, 4-5, may be restored as Pa[g]afy. We shall note below that Minkhau was married to a daughter of Anhurkhawy and consequently could not have been a brother-in-law of Pagafy (assuming that Pagafy did not marry a sister of Minkhau). Therefore the term of relationship *sn* in graffito 774 a may have simply meant 'colleague'. The name of Pagafy is further attested in an undated document (O.CGC 25716, rto. 2; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 434, fails to recognise this as a personal name). Gutgesell's suggestion that the remnants of the name in O.Petrie 6 fit the restoration of Pakanafy is however less certain (*Datierung*, p. 238, n. 1). Similarly, in light of the fact that Pagafy/Pakanafy is not otherwise attested as a son of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i), the restoration of Pa[maaninakht]uf, proposed by Kitchen, *RI* VII:271:3a, seems reasonably plausible (see pp. 252-53 below for Maaninakhtuf (iii); cf. Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 48, for a possible attestation of Pamaaninakhtuf as a son of Khaemnun).

²⁸¹ For both see PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) I, 1; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 41; KRI VI:186:2-3. Unfortunately, Huneria is not attested elsewhere as a workman of the gang.

²⁸² PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) I, 4; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 44; KRI VI:186:15.

²⁸³ PM I:1, p. 423 at (11) III, 15; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 68; KRI VI:190:12-13.

²⁸⁴ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 14; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 58, pl. XVII; KRI VI:194:11.

²⁸⁵ *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 102. In fact Harmin and Meramundua named one of their sons after Hori, whilst their two daughters are named Henutneteru and Isis (see PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 14; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 58, pl. XVII; KRI VI:194).

²⁸⁶ Černý Nb. 15, p. 79, fragment no. 74.

²⁸⁷ The only possible restoration that I am aware of would be Harmin (i), son of Hori (ix).

(Kenro) and possibly Mertseger. This interpretation which suggests that Mertseger was the mother of [.....]dua is not altogether certain. However, Dr. Rob Demarée has suggested to me that line 3 of this fragment may have related to a sister of Meramundua (i), the wife of Harmin (i): '[Her sister, P/N, daughter of P/N], her mother, Mertseger'.²⁸⁸ Therefore, the parents of Meramundua (i) would have been Kel (Kenro) and Mertseger. This Kel (Kenro) may have been identified with Kel (ii), the paternal uncle of Anhurkhawy (ii). Consequently, Harmin (i) was probably married to a cousin of Anhurkhawy (ii), namely Meramundua (i). Thus Mereramundua (i), the daughter of Nefertari (i), might have been a completely different person.

On a stela dedicated by Anhurkhawy (ii) to Amun, Montu and Amenophis I, the workman Seti (i) appears together with his father Amenemone (iii) and his son Kaempeht(y)efmontu (i).²⁸⁹ Bierbrier has already accepted the possibility that Seti (i) was the son-in-law of Anhurkhawy (ii) and that his son Kaempehtyefmontu (i) may then have been the grandson and not a son of the foreman.²⁹⁰ However, he has not considered the possibility that in this instance, Seti (i) may have named his own son, Kaempehtyefmontu (i), after his brother-in-law, Kaempehtyefmontu (ii). Seti (i), son of Amenemone (iii), appears in an ostracon dated simply to a year 7.²⁹¹ Gutgesell dates this text to the reign of Ramesses IV,²⁹² whilst Kitchen prefers Ramesses VII²⁹³ and Janssen offers Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII.²⁹⁴ The name Seti appears in numerous texts from the reign(s) immediately following that of Ramesses III.²⁹⁵ Some or all of these attestations may have referred to Seti (i) the son of Amenemone (iii). It seems certain that Seti (i) named one of his own sons, Anhurkhawy (iv), after his father-in-law.²⁹⁶ In fact this man may be synonymous with a grandson of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii) who appears in TT 359 and whose nickname is Patjir.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, it is noticeable that another son of Anhurkhawy (ii) was named Patjir (i).²⁹⁸ A second 'son' of Anhurkhawy (ii), who is also called Anhurkhawy (v), went by the sobriquet 'Iryu',²⁹⁹ which conveniently avoids confusion with the son of Seti (i). Anhurkhawy (iv), son of Seti (i), occurs in the Turin Necropolis Journal from year 17 of Ramesses IX,³⁰⁰ and a year earlier (on the left side of the gang) together with his brother Kanakht (i),

²⁸⁸ Personal correspondence, 27/10/1995.

²⁸⁹ PM I:2, p. 721 (b); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 64, 273; KRI VI:196; cf. stela Brussels E. 755 which was dedicated by the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemone and his sons, Huy, Pentaweret, Hori(?), Nebamun, Seti and Qeny (PM I:2, p. 715; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 156, fig. 83; KRI VI:437).

²⁹⁰ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 102.

²⁹¹ O.Gardiner 36, rto. 2.

²⁹² Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 277-78.

²⁹³ KRI VI:429.

²⁹⁴ Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 69.

²⁹⁵ E.g., O.Gardiner 20, rto. 5; O.Mond 209, 8; O.Brussels E.301, rto. 24.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38.

²⁹⁷ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 14; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 58; KRI VI:194:7.

²⁹⁸ PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) I, 4; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 44; KRI VI:186:15.

²⁹⁹ PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) II, 6; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 45/46; KRI VI:188:2. Elsewhere in TT 359 Anhurkhawy (v), son of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii), is referred to as a 'servant in the Place of Truth' (PM I:1, p. 422 at (6-7) I, 1; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 41; KRI VI:186:2). Furthermore, an entry in an unpublished text most probably refers to the mother of Anhurkhawy (v) as 'Wab(et), the mother of Khau (>Anhurkhawy)' (O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 9).

³⁰⁰ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11, l. 4.

son of Seti (i).³⁰¹ The Anhurkhawy who appears in several documents from the reign of Ramesses IX can probably be identified as either the son of Seti (i) or as the son of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii).³⁰² Anhurkhawy (iv) is also mentioned in the *Stato Civile*.³⁰³ Kanakht (i), son of Seti (i), is first mentioned in year 16 of the reign of Ramesses IX.³⁰⁴ He further occurs in year 2 of Ramesses X³⁰⁵ and on the 'left' side of the workforce in years 8-10 of Ramesses XI.³⁰⁶ He is most probably to be correlated with a Kanakht who is attested in year 17 of Ramesses XI.³⁰⁷ Whilst Gutgesell upholds reservations, Kanakht may also be synonymous with a Kanakht who appears in an undated copper account.³⁰⁸ Bierbrier maintains that another son of Seti (i) was Sobeknakht.³⁰⁹ However closer study of this passage reveals that the actual entry reads 'the fisherman Sobeknakht, son of Suti'.³¹⁰ Nevertheless, the name of a son of Seti (i) may possibly occur in an entry in a 'year 4' which reads: 'Minmose, [son of?] Seti'.³¹¹

As highlighted in our earlier discussion, it transpires that Bierbrier evidently mis-read the name of Nebamenet (i), another so-called son of Anhurkhawy (ii), as Nebamun; he subsequently identifies this man as either the son of Amenemone or Weskheth, and therefore not as a true son of Anhurkhawy (ii).³¹² Should it be proved that the Amenemheb (i), who is named as a son of Anhurkhawy (ii) in TT 359 (where he occurs together with his wife Henutshenu (i)³¹³ and their son Telmont (ii)),³¹⁴ had been the son of Telmont (i) as proposed by Bierbrier,³¹⁵ then he can confidently be identified as a son-in-law of Anhurkhawy (ii).

A discussion of the identities of the daughters of Anhurkhawy (ii) is less problematic, though not without its difficulties. They include Sheritre (i), Tuy (ii), Tanodjemkhaba (ii), Nefertariemheb (i) (perhaps abbreviated to Nefertari),³¹⁶ Nubemheb (i) and Tabetetinet (i).³¹⁷ The 'daughter' Mertseger who appears with this group is without doubt the wife of Qenna (see above). According to Bierbrier, Nubemheb (i), the wife of Harmose (ii), son of Anhurkhawy (ii), was in fact a daughter of

³⁰¹ Pap. Turin 2057, II:7 (for Anhurkhawy), II:6 (for Kanakht).

³⁰² E.g., Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 4:14 (years 1-8); Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. 2:6 (year 9/10).

³⁰³ Černý Nb. 15, p. 66.

³⁰⁴ Pap. Turin 2057, rto. 2:18 (KRI VI:651:13-14).

³⁰⁵ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 3:2.

³⁰⁶ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 3:19; vso. B, 2:5.

³⁰⁷ Pap. Turin 1888, 2:9.

³⁰⁸ O.CGC 25642, rto. 2:2. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 428, dates this text between years 5/7 Ramesses IV and 7 Ramesses VII.

³⁰⁹ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38.

³¹⁰ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 30, l. 4.

³¹¹ O.CGC 25599, II:8; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), p. 206 and Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 264.

³¹² Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 102.

³¹³ See below pp. 255-56 for the identity of this lady.

³¹⁴ PM I:1, p. 423 at (6-7) II, 7; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 46, pl. XI; KRI VI:188:9-10.

³¹⁵ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 102.

³¹⁶ PM I:1, p. 423 at (11) III, 17; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 69; KRI VI:191:10-11.

³¹⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 44; KRI VI:187.

Qenymin.³¹⁸ Similarly, it is likely that Tuy (i) was the wife of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep (iii).³¹⁹ It has been suggested³²⁰ that the Henutenkhenu (ii) who is named in TT 359 as the wife of Minkhau (i),³²¹ was yet another daughter of Anhurkhawwy (ii).³²² With this possibility in mind (see above under Tanodjemkhaba) it seems most likely, judging by the same inscription, that Minkhau (i) was the son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Hori (iii), not Anhurkhawwy (ii).³²³ The fact that Minkhau (i) was indeed the son of Hori (iii) is corroborated by a bandeau text which was added to TT 2 of the foreman Nekhemmut, and which also names another son of Hori (iii) as the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Qedakhtef (i).³²⁴ The workman Minkhau (i) can definitely be dated between year 31 of Ramesses III³²⁵ and year 2 of Ramesses IV.³²⁶

The difficulty in identifying the lady Henutenkhenu is however further complicated by a fresco from TT 355 in which an Henutenkhenu (iii) is named as the wife of Amenpahapi (i).³²⁷ Fortunately the name of Amenpahapi (i)'s mother can be restored as Hun[ero] (ii), which precludes this man from having been a son of Anhurkhawwy (ii).³²⁸ However, the possibility does remain that this Henutenkhenu (iii) was a member of the family of Anhurkhawwy (ii).³²⁹ To add further to this confusing state of affairs we can quote an undated papyrus, now in Vienna, in which an Henut(en)khenu (iv) is named as the daughter of Neferhotep.³³⁰ Although a positive identification of this lady with either Henutenkhenu (ii), wife of Minkhau (i), or wife of Amenpahapi (i), is not certain, an unpublished ostrakon makes mention of an Amenpahapi (vi) as the son of Neferhotep,³³¹ which

³¹⁸ Černý Nb. 15, p. 65; Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 101; idem, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212. Consequently Paankhau (ii) was the son of Harmose (ii) (see below p. 96 for this individual).

³¹⁹ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56; *KRI* VI:193.

³²⁰ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38.

³²¹ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56; *KRI* VI:193:10.

³²² In fact the name of 'Minkhau, the husband of Henut[....]' appears in a fragment of the *Stato Civile* (Černý MSS. 3.659.41).

³²³ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56; *KRI* VI:193.

³²⁴ PM I:1, p. 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 36; *KRI* VI:199; cf. the stela set up by Minkhau (i) for his father Hori (iii) (PM I:2, p. 719; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), pp. 52-53:2, fig. 27; *KRI* VI:214-15) and graffito no. 333 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 30; *KRI* VI:215:6) which names Minkhau (i) and 'his brother' Pashedu (iii).

³²⁵ O.Prague H.14, rto. 4; O.DM 154, rto. 14.

³²⁶ O.DM 44, vso. 8.

³²⁷ PM I:1, p. 419; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 115-17, fig. 79; *KRI* VI:434-35.

³²⁸ Also named in TT 355 are Amenpahapi (i)'s sisters: Webkhet and Tanodjemtjau (i), his brother Akhpet (iv), and his daughters Taweretherti (iii) and Nefertariemheb (iii); that Nefertariemheb is the daughter, and not the sister, may be shown by an inscription on a stela (PM I:2, p. 716 (a); Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. 15; *KRI* VI:435). Because of his sister, Webkhet, the possibility suggests itself that this Amenpahapi was the son of Hunero (iii) and Hesysunebef (i), who had a daughter of that name. It is possible that Taweretherti (iii) is to be identified with Taweretherti (ii), the wife of Pentaweret (iv) (see below p. 111, n. 367).

³²⁹ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 118, certainly believed so when he assumed Henutenkhenu (iii) to have been the daughter of Anhurkhawwy (ii) and Wabet (i). Is it therefore possible that Anhurkhawwy (ii) had two daughters called Henutenkhenu, one married to Minkhau (i), the other to Amenpahapi (i). Or was the same lady married to both of these workmen?

³³⁰ Pap. Vienna, vso. I:4; *KRI* VII:348.

³³¹ O.Berlin 12635, rto. 3-4; cf. graffito no. 1376 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 71).

may suggest that Henut(en)khenu was in fact the daughter-in-law of this man.³³² Bierbrier has concluded that Amenpahapi (ii) was either a son or grandson (possibly as the son of Qenna (i), for which see above) of Anhurkhawy (ii).³³³ Contemporaneously we find two further Amenpahapis, (iii) and (iv), the respective sons of Anakhtu (i) and Reshpetref (i),³³⁴ which means that accurate identifications of Amenpahapi in the records are extremely difficult to make in the absence of a patronymic. An Amenpahapi is first mentioned in year 23 of Ramesses III,³³⁵ and can be traced down to year 3 of Ramesses V,³³⁶ and finally to year 8 of Ramesses IX.³³⁷

Anhurkhawy (ii) is probably first attested as the workman Khau on the left side of the gang at the end of the XIXth Dynasty.³³⁸ His first definite appearance in the XXth Dynasty comes after his promotion to the post of 'deputy of the workforce'. In this capacity he is witness to a property dispute in year 17 of Ramesses III.³³⁹ During the following year he is named, with his so-called 'brother', the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (v) son of Ipuy (ii), in graffito no. 1296.³⁴⁰ Bierbrier has assumed *a priori* that Anhurkhawy (ii) is the brother-in-law of the famous scribe through his marriage to Wabet (i).³⁴¹ Anhurkhawy (ii) can still be seen operating as 'deputy' in 1 Shomu 7 of year 21 of Ramesses III.³⁴² His promotion to the foremanship was made at some point during the next 61 days, since by 3 Shomu 8 of year 22, at the latest, he is mentioned as 'chief workman'.³⁴³ Anhurkhawy (ii) is last firmly attested as foreman in year 1 of Ramesses VI.³⁴⁴ Although there is no doubt that Anhurkhawy (ii)'s son, Harmose (ii), succeeded his father as foreman, considerable speculation has been voiced as to the date on which this event took place. Anhurkhawy (ii) appears as foreman in a 'year 4', possibly of the reign of Ramesses VII, though a date in the reign of Ramesses VI, or earlier, can not be dismissed.³⁴⁵ However, by the '25th day of the fourth month of Shomu' in year 8 of Ramesses VII, Harmose (ii) had definitely been installed as one of the foremen.³⁴⁶ Harmose (ii)

³³² This would preclude Amenpahapi having been the son of Hesysunebef (i) and Hunero (iii) as surmised above (n. 329), unless Neferhotep (v), son of Hesysunebef, named his children Amenpahapi and Henutenkhenu after his brother and sister-in-law(?)

³³³ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 103.

³³⁴ O.DM 413, 2 & 3. Either of these may have been the Amenpahapi who challenges his wife(?) Tentpa[...] in a court case in O.Petrie 18, where a possible son of theirs is named as Amenwa.

³³⁵ O.Turin 6540, vso. 2.

³³⁶ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, I:16.

³³⁷ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 2:10.

³³⁸ O.Gardiner 57, vso. II:12.

³³⁹ O.Florence 2620, 3.

³⁴⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 18, pl. 54; *KRI* V:468:4-5.

³⁴¹ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38.

³⁴² Pap. Berlin P.10496, rto. 2-3.

³⁴³ O.DM 222, 3:18.

³⁴⁴ Graffito no. 1269 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 16, pl. 40).

³⁴⁵ O.DM 133, rto. 7 (see *KRI* VI:425). Eyre, 'The reign length of Ramesses VII', *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 169, has dated the text of O.DM 133 to the reign of Ramesses VII on the appearance of the 'scribe' Harshire (i), assuming that his father, Amennakht (v), had already passed away. However, the possibility remains that Harshire (i) was simply deputising here for his father and that the text may be dated to an earlier reign (cf. Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 10-12).

³⁴⁶ Pap. Turin 1883+2095, rto. 6; on the dating of this document to the reign of Ramesses VII see Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 170, followed by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 249.

appears as foreman in a 'year 7' which most probably dates from the reign of Ramesses IX.³⁴⁷ Bell's suggestion³⁴⁸ that Harmose (ii) could have been in office as foreman as early as year 8 of Ramesses VI, on the basis of evidence from Pap. Turin 1883+2095 and Pap. Turin 1881, is therefore seriously weakened. The appearance of Anhurhawwy (ii) as foreman in a 'year 7' text certainly belongs to the reign of Ramesses IV,³⁴⁹ and not Ramesses VI/Ramesses VII as previously suggested.³⁵⁰ The foreman Harmose (ii) is probably to be identified with attestations of an earlier workman of that name. This Harmose appears in a document which has been dated as early as year 1 of Ramesses IV.³⁵¹ Harmose (ii), son of Anhurhawwy (ii), definitely appears in year 1 of Ramesses VI.³⁵² His tenure as foreman can be traced in detail up until at least year 17 of Ramesses IX.³⁵³ His eventual death (or demise) is not recorded, though we do learn that by year 1/2 of Ramesses X Harmose (ii) may have been succeeded as foreman by Amennakht (vi).³⁵⁴ It is surprising that, in spite of the length of time he spent in this office, not a single graffito bearing the name of Harmose (ii) with his title 'chief workman' has yet to be found. A pair of door-jambs in tomb no. 1159 at Deir el-Medina, which bear his name, suggest that the foreman Harmose (ii) may have usurped this monument, which belongs to an earlier period.³⁵⁵ Amongst the finds uncovered in this building was a piece of funerary furniture, perhaps from a coffin, which bore the names of the lady Tewosret, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nakhtmin and Mehyt-khati.³⁵⁶ We know that during the reign of Ramesses II, Tewosret (i) was the mother of Nakhtmin (ii) and Irynefer (i), and that the wife of the latter was a certain Mehyt-khati (ii). Irynefer (i)'s own tomb was TT 290 which means that certain other members of his family may have once occupied tomb no. 1159. Pawaamun (i), a son of the foreman Harmose (ii), appears in year 17 of Ramesses IX.³⁵⁷ He is probably to be identified with the workman Pawaamun who occurs in a text from this period,³⁵⁸ though he is to be differentiated from an earlier Pawaamun (ii), who was a

³⁴⁷ Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 4:3; Wentz & Van Siclen, *Hughes*, pp. 241-42.

³⁴⁸ Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 12-13.

³⁴⁹ O.DM 207, 4; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 232, with n. 2. The criterion on which this dating has been set is the appearance of the 'deputy' Amenkhau (line 2) who had in fact relinquished his office by year 2 of Ramesses V.

³⁵⁰ Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 50; Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 169.

³⁵¹ O.DM 236, vso. 1:5; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 325. Harmose also appears in the unpub. O.IFAO 1354, vso. I:2, which Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 322, also dates to the reign of Ramesses IV. The appearance of the deputy Hay (vii) in this text (rto. 1) presumes a date between year 27 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI. Harmose also occurs in a 'year 7' text (unpub. O.Turin N.57454, 5).

³⁵² Graffito no. 1269 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 16, pl. 40; KRI VI:364:14).

³⁵³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 1.

³⁵⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 56, l. 6; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 310; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38; idem, *JEA* 58 (1972), p. 197. See also below, pp. 58 ff.

³⁵⁵ PM I:2, p. 687; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), pp. 36-37, fig. 25; KRI VI:668. Tomb no. 1159 is situated just to the south-west of TT 250.

³⁵⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 38.

³⁵⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11, l. 6; his father is also mentioned separately in this same text. Since the deputy Amenhotep (iv), son of Pentaweret, is referred to here as a 'prisoner', this text must date to year 17 of Ramesses IX (see p. 111). Because of the rarity of the name Pawaamun, we can probably restore graffito no. 1380, with some degree of certainty, as '[Title(?) Harmose], his son Pawaamun' (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 70; KRI VI:675:6). Similarly, his name occurs as a 'son of Har[mose]' in the *Stato Civile* (Černý Nb. 15, p. 66).

³⁵⁸ Pap. Turin 2013, vso. II:4; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 134.

member of the family of Khnummose (i) (see p. 259 below), as well as from the contemporaneous 'scribe of the estate of Amun' Pawaamun (iii).³⁵⁹

We have discussed above that Anhurkhawy (ii) appears to have chosen his eldest son Qenna (i) to succeed him as foreman. Due to the popularity of this name during the XXth Dynasty, it is frequently impossible to ascertain to which Qenna we should attribute certain references. However, we can be certain that Qenna (i) first appears in a year 1, probably of the reign of Ramesses IV.³⁶⁰ He also occurs with his father and brother (Harmose (ii)) in a graffito of year 1 of Ramesses VI.³⁶¹ The Turin Necropolis Journal for year 17 of Ramesses IX contains some particularly interesting details. Here we meet a Qenna, son of Anhurkhawy³⁶² and the 'chief workman' Harmose (ii), son of Anhurkhawy (ii).³⁶³ Whilst it remains feasible that this Qenna belongs to a collateral line of the family,³⁶⁴ the possibility that he is indeed the son of Anhurkhawy (ii) remains strong.³⁶⁵ That would mean that Qenna (i) had mysteriously been passed over for the foremanship in favour of his younger brother Harmose (ii).

The Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna, who appears in years 16 and 17 of Ramesses IX,³⁶⁶ was probably a son of the deputy Qenna (i), and hence a grandson of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii). In year 8 of Ramesses XI we find a workman Amenhotep, son of Qenna, on the 'left' side of the crew under the foreman Qenna (ii), son of Harnefer (iii).³⁶⁷ We know that by the end of the XXth Dynasty the foreman Qenna (ii) had been succeeded by the foreman Amenhotep (iii).³⁶⁸ Černý has suggested an identification of this foreman Amenhotep (iii) with Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna (i).³⁶⁹ However, Bierbrier opposes this theory on the grounds that the likelihood that Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna (i), would have succeeded his own nephew, Qenna (ii), son of Harnefer (iii), as foreman would have been remote.³⁷⁰ Bierbrier's standpoint can be upheld when we consider that the deputy to the foreman Qenna (ii) was, in year 8 of Ramesses XI, an Amenhotep, son of Apatjau (i).³⁷¹ It is most likely, therefore, that Amenhotep (iii), son of Apatjau (i), was promoted to the foremanship sometime

³⁵⁹ Pap. Turin 1906+2047/132+1939, rto. 1:3.

³⁶⁰ O.DM 254, 1; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 272, who proposes a dating of this document within the reign of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.

³⁶¹ No. 1269 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 16, pl. 40; KRI VI:364).

³⁶² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 6.

³⁶³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 1.

³⁶⁴ Graffito 2095 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 39, KRI V:660:11) names the 'servant' Anhurkhawy (iii), son of Qenna (i).

³⁶⁵ Cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38.

³⁶⁶ Pap. Turin 2057, II:2 (KRI VI:651:12); Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 10. Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna (i), also appears in the unpubl. Pap. Turin 2053+2018+1914, II:10 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 343, dates this to c. year 17 of Ramesses IX); and in Pap. Turin 2073, II:12 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 344, dates this papyrus to years 16-17 of Ramesses IX).

³⁶⁷ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 3:18; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 350, has mistaken this name for Amennakht, son of Qenna, a workman of whom I am otherwise unaware.

³⁶⁸ Černý, *Community*, p. 311; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 39.

³⁶⁹ Černý, *Community*, p. 311.

³⁷⁰ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 39.

³⁷¹ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 3:16-17. For this man see pp. 203-4 below.

towards the end of this reign. Another son of the deputy Qenna (i) may have been a Hay (vi), *p3* (=son of) Qenna, who appears in year 3 of Ramesses X.³⁷² He is less likely to have been a son of the foreman Qenna (ii), son of Harnefer (iii).

Also named in year 17 of Ramesses IX are Qenna (i)'s son, Harnefer (iii),³⁷³ and Harnefer (iii)'s son, Qen(na) (ii).³⁷⁴ Harnefer (iii) is undoubtedly to be identified with the workman Harnefer who is active in the second half of the XXth Dynasty. The name of Harnefer appears in several undated documents which Gutgesell has assigned to the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V.³⁷⁵ He is named amongst the witnesses to the first deposition of Khaemnun (i),³⁷⁶ this text can be dated some time after year 3 of Ramesses V. A later deposition, written on the same papyrus, is dated to a 'year 3', which can be placed within the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI. Harnefer (iii) is known to have married Hutiyi (ii), the daughter of Hay.³⁷⁷ It is possible, though not proven, that Harnefer (iii)'s wife is identical with Hutiyi (i), daughter of Hay (vii), and possibly the former wife of Nebnefer (vii).³⁷⁸

As we have already noted, the workman Qenna (ii), son of Harnefer (iii), is active in year 17 of Ramesses IX. He also appears in several undated documents, possibly from the reign of Ramesses IX,³⁷⁹ and is possibly to be correlated with a Qenna who occurs in years 8 and 9 of Ramesses IX.³⁸⁰ In fact, we know that Qenna (ii) was to become the 'chief workman' for the left side of the gang by year 8 of Ramesses XI;³⁸¹ his tenure in this office lasted until at least year 10 of that reign.³⁸² The 'chief workman' Qenna (ii) is attested in a graffito with the 'scribe' Thutmose (ii), son of Khaemhedjet (i).³⁸³ A second son of Harnefer (iii) is the workman Hori (iv) who is attested in year 1 of Ramesses X.³⁸⁴ It is possible that his name is to be restored as 'Hori, son of Har[nefer]' in a document dated to year 9 of Ramesses XI,³⁸⁵ although an equally likely alternative reading would be Hori (v), son of Har[min (i)].³⁸⁶

³⁷² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 55, ll. 16-17.

³⁷³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 8. Qen(na) (i) and his son Harnefer (ii) were the owners of a pair of seats found in hut N (E) at the settlement on the col (PM I:2, p. 589; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 355-56, pl. 39:2; KRI VI:219).

³⁷⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 6; pl. 36, l. 42.

³⁷⁵ E.g., possibly in O. Colin Campbell 3, rto. 8 (cf. McDowell, *HO*, pl. IVa, note (j)); O. Turin N.57006, rto. 24; Pap. DeM 2, rto. 8 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 313; 337; 370).

³⁷⁶ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 1-2.

³⁷⁷ Černý Nb. 15, p. 75.

³⁷⁸ See p. 228 below.

³⁷⁹ O. Cairo J.49561, rto. 4; Pap. Turin 2053+2018+1914, II:5; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 342, 436, for the dating of these texts.

³⁸⁰ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 4:1; Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. 1:6.

³⁸¹ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A 3:16.

³⁸² Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, 2:6b; cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38.

³⁸³ No. 134 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 16; KRI VI:874:5).

³⁸⁴ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 2:5.

³⁸⁵ Pap. Turin 2018, vso. B, 2:6; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 151.

³⁸⁶ See pp. 168-70 below for Hori (v).

§ 3: The family of the foremen Neferhotep (i) and Neferhotep (ii): chart 6

One of the most influential families that appeared at Deir el-Medina in the fallout issuing from the reorganisation of the Tomb workforce in year 7 of the reign of Horemheb was established by the foreman Neferhotep (i).³⁸⁷ An offering table dedicated by him, which was found in the court of the tomb (TT 216) of his grandson, Neferhotep (ii), and which refers to Neferhotep (i) as the 'chief workman of Djoserkheperure-[Setepenre] (=Horemheb)', confirms his activity within that reign.³⁸⁸ The 'servant in the Place <of Truth>' Neferhotep (iv), father of the foreman Neferhotep (i),³⁸⁹ was probably a member of the crew shortly after this year 7. Since no tomb can be attributed to Neferhotep (i), Černý proposed that he may have been interred in the tomb of his son and successor Nebnefer (i) (TT 6).³⁹⁰ From the numerous inscriptions preserved in TT 6 we can begin to formulate a preliminary genealogy for this prestigious dynasty. A scene on the left wall of the chapel shows Neferhotep (i) and his wife Iyemwaw (i) receiving offerings from their sons, the 'army-scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands and chariot warrior of His Majesty' Nakhy (i), the 'chief transport officer of His Majesty and door-keeper of the temple of Usermare-Setepenre' Mose (iii) and a daughter, Tuia (i).³⁹¹ There is little doubt from the evidence which these texts provide that the 'dignitary of the western side and chief workman in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep (i) was the father of the 'chief workman' Nebnefer (i).³⁹²

The appearance of Neferhotep (i) with Iyemwaw (i) in TT 250 of Ramose (i) confirms that his period in office spanned the whole of Seti I's rule and continued to at least year 5 of Ramesses II.³⁹³ His son, Nebnefer (i), is likewise attested as the 'chief workman' in both TT 250³⁹⁴ and in a funerary procession for Kasa (i) in TT 10.³⁹⁵ In his own sepulchre, Nebnefer (i) is depicted playing draughts with his wife Iyi (i),³⁹⁶ daughter of the lady Isis (ii).³⁹⁷ A lintel(?), now in the British Museum, names

³⁸⁷ His successors were to hold the office of foreman on the 'right side' for the greater part of the XIXth Dynasty (see Černý, *Community*, p. 288).

³⁸⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 45 f., pl. XII; KRI I:380.

³⁸⁹ Graffito no. 3305 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 19; KRI III:576:15).

³⁹⁰ Černý, *Community*, p. 286. This would help to explain the provenance of Neferhotep (i)'s offering table in the neighbouring TT 216.

³⁹¹ PM I:1, pp. 14-15 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 61; KRI III:578. Nakhy (i) is elsewhere described as an 'army-scribe' (PM I:1, pp. 14-15 at (14); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 63; KRI III:580-581) in a scene which names the 'scribe and physician' Turo (i) and the lady I[...] as children of Neferhotep (i). Nakhy (i) is also referred to as a 'servant in the Place of Truth' in two graffiti (nos. 636 and 651: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 51-53; KRI III:586:5-7).

³⁹² PM I:1, pp. 14-15 at (11-12); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 60, 62; KRI III:577-78; 579:15-16.

³⁹³ PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5) I; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 62; KRI III:617:4.

³⁹⁴ PM I:1, p. 336 at (6); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 64; KRI III:616:5-6. In graffiti nos. 3637-3638 Nebnefer (i) is specifically referred to as the 'chief workman of Usermare' (Sadek, *GMT IV/4*, p. 206; KRI III:587:3).

³⁹⁵ PM I:1, pp. 19/21 at (4); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 76; KRI III:736:6-7. Nebnefer (i) is further linked with the family of Kasa (i) in an inscription on a wooden statuette of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, where he is named alongside Kasa (i)'s son, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Anuy (ii) (Turin Suppl. 6128: PM I:2, p. 693; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 35, no. 3; KRI III:585).

³⁹⁶ PM I:1, pp. 14-15 at (10) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 59; KRI III:577:12-13.

³⁹⁷ A scene on the side wall of the chapel of this tomb depicts Nebnefer (i) and two women. Although the name of the first woman is now lost, the second is referred to as 'her mother, Isis'. It seems improbable that the first woman would have been anyone other than the wife of Nebnefer (i).

Neferhotep (ii), Henutmehyt (i) and Iyemwaw (ii) as children of Nebnefer (i) and Iyi (i).³⁹⁸ Neferhotep (ii) is indisputably the same as the future 'chief workman' Neferhotep, the owner of TT 216, one of the most impressive tombs ever built in the necropolis at Deir el-Medina.³⁹⁹ Neferhotep (ii)'s exclusion from the reliefs of TT 250 probably indicates that he succeeded his father, Nebnefer (i), as foreman after the completion of Ramose (i)'s tomb. We actually know that Neferhotep (ii) was encumbent as chief workman by year 40 of Ramesses II.⁴⁰⁰

An inscription in TT 216 confirms the direct descent of the three generations of 'foremen' as Neferhotep (i) - Nebnefer (i) - Neferhotep (ii).⁴⁰¹ Elsewhere in this tomb we encounter Neferhotep (ii)'s wife, Webkhet (ii),⁴⁰² who according to Demarée was the daughter of the 'foreman' Baki (i).⁴⁰³ From a limestone lintel,⁴⁰⁴ Neferhotep (ii)'s brother is named as Pashedu (iv), who is probably to be identified as the Pashedu who appears in TT 216 with two additional brothers, Anuy (iv) and Nebnefer (ii).⁴⁰⁵ A notable feature of the reliefs in TT 216 is the absence of any named children of Neferhotep (ii) and Webkhet (ii). However, Neferhotep (ii) did pay special recognition to the services of 'his servant (*hm*), born of his house', [Hes]ysunebef (i), through a special mention on a statue group in TT 216.⁴⁰⁶ It is likely that Neferhotep (ii) took the young Hesysunebef (i) under his professional guidance as his closest protégé. For further evidence of the close relationship between Hesysunebef (i) and Neferhotep (ii) we need look no further than a stela erected by the chief workman in the Ramesseum.⁴⁰⁷ In the middle register of this monument the 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands' Hesysunebef (i) is accompanied by his wife Hunero (iii), his son Neferhotep (v) and his daughters Webkhet (iii) and Nubemiryt (i). From this inscription, it is obvious that Hesysunebef (i) had named two of his children after his benefactors, Neferhotep (ii) and Webkhet (ii). The career and personality of Hesysunebef (i) have been studied in detail in an article by Janssen.⁴⁰⁸ However, one small anomaly does stand out from Janssen's meticulously documented biography. It has been suggested that

³⁹⁸ BM 447 (PM I:1, p. 15; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 44 f., pl. 38:1; *KRI* III:581-82). There is a strong possibility that the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep who appears with the foreman Nebnefer (i) on stela BM 267 is his son and the future foreman. For Iyemwaw (ii) as wife of Wadjmose, son of Huy, see p. 217 below.

³⁹⁹ See PM I:1, pp. 312-315; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 102-109; *KRI* III:587 ff.

⁴⁰⁰ He was the co-recipient, with Pennub, of a letter (ODM 126) which discusses the death of Harmose (i), an event known to have taken place in year 40 of Ramesses II. Consequently, Bierbrier's assertion that 'Neferhotep (ii) was in office by year 2 of Merenptah' may now be corrected (*LNKE*, p. 22). However, in a later paper Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188, took account of this oversight in concluding that Neferhotep (ii) can not have been in the office of foreman before c. 25-30 of Ramesses II.

⁴⁰¹ PM I:1, pp. 312-15 at (17); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 107; *KRI* III:590:6-8; cf. a similar text on the base of a naos (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-51), p. 98, pl. 10:6; *KRI* III:596:4).

⁴⁰² PM I:1, pp. 312-15 at (16); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 103; *KRI* III:589:13-14.

⁴⁰³ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁴ PM I:1, p. 315; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 48-49, fig. 2; *KRI* III:594.

⁴⁰⁵ PM I:1, pp. 312-15 at (18); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 106; *KRI* III:590-91. Although the inscription is broken, it is likely that the unnamed brother of Anuy (iv), Pashedu (iv) and Nebnefer (ii) was Neferhotep (ii); cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 21. Another brother, Amen[...] is also attested in the inner chapel of TT 216 (PM I:1, pp. 312-15 at (17); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 107; *KRI* III:590:9).

⁴⁰⁶ PM I:1, pp. 312-15 at (19); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 107/108, no. 5; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 41-43, fig. 1; *KRI* III:591.

⁴⁰⁷ Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. 10:3; PM I:2, p. 682; *KRI* IV:238-39.

⁴⁰⁸ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, pp. 109-115.

Hesysunebef (i) had progressed to the rank of 'deputy' by year 14 of Ramesses III.⁴⁰⁹ It has also been shown that by the reign of Siptah, Hesysunebef (i) was working for the 'left' side following his transfer from the 'right'.⁴¹⁰ Therefore it makes sense to assign Hesysunebef (i) as the 'deputy' for the 'left' side. Janssen further argues that Hesysunebef (i)'s prominent position on a court tribunal in year 24 of Ramesses III may have reflected his rank of 'deputy'.⁴¹¹ However, Hesysunebef is here explicitly referred to as 'workman' (*rmt-ist*) and not by the title of 'deputy'. Furthermore, in years 17 and 21 of Ramesses III the two 'deputies' were actually known to have been Amenkhau (i) and Anhurkhaw (ii).⁴¹² Consequently, it is likely that Hesysunebef (i) had been succeeded as deputy by Anhurkhaw (ii) by this year 17, to serve out his final days at work as a simple workman.

As we noted earlier, Neferhotep (ii) succeeded Nebnefer (i) some time before year 40 of Ramesses II.⁴¹³ Nebnefer (i) was the recipient of a letter (O.DM 114) addressed by the vizier, Khay, who is known to have served at least between years 30 and 45 of Ramesses II.⁴¹⁴ Neferhotep (ii), as one of the foremen, is attested in year 66 of Ramesses II,⁴¹⁵ year 2(?) of Merenptah,⁴¹⁶ years 1,⁴¹⁷ 3⁴¹⁸ and 4⁴¹⁹ of Amenmesses and finally in year 1 of Seti II.⁴²⁰ Neferhotep (ii)'s disappearance from the records occurred before year 5 of Seti II, since the foremen Hay (iv) and Paneb (i), Neferhotep (ii)'s immediate successor, headed a trial into allegations of 'lèse-majesté' against Seti II in that year.⁴²¹ The events surrounding Neferhotep (ii)'s death appear to have received cursory treatment in Pap. Salt 124, rto I:2, where it is stated by his younger brother, the workman Amennakht (vii), that *pꜣ hrw hr hdb Nfr-htp* 'the enemy killed Neferhotep'.⁴²² Bierbrier⁴²³ proposed that Paneb (i) may have murdered Neferhotep (ii) in order to secure his own promotion to the foremanship ahead of Amennakht (vii), who may have had stronger claims to the post as the brother of the dead and heirless

⁴⁰⁹ O.Gardiner 272, 2; Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 113.

⁴¹⁰ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 113.

⁴¹¹ Pap. Berlin P.10496, vso. 8.

⁴¹² O.Florence 2620, 2-3; Pap. Berlin P.10496, rto. 5-6.

⁴¹³ He also appears in an undated list of names which includes the foreman Qaha (i) and the scribes, Ramose (i) and Huy (x) (O.CGC 25573, I:2).

⁴¹⁴ Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 321-22, 458. For the possibility that Khay had been appointed as early as year 21 of Ramesses II see von Beckerath, *SAK* 22 (1995), p. 38, n. 13. For the 'year 45' text see *KRI* II:394-5.

⁴¹⁵ O.CGC 25237, rto. 3. Neferhotep (ii) is attested with the vizier Neferronpet on a lintel, dated to Ramesses II's reign (Turin 1464: PM I:2, pp. 739/740; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), pp. 41-42; *KRI* III:597). Neferronpet was active at least in years 57 and 60 (Helck, *Verwaltung*, p. 453 top).

⁴¹⁶ O.DM 621, vso. 2. Dated to the reign of Merenptah on the grounds that the recto is dated to year 64 of Ramesses II (Černý, *Community*, p. 289, n. 1).

⁴¹⁷ O.CGC 25779, rto. 2, *passim*.

⁴¹⁸ O.CGC 25780, 7.

⁴¹⁹ O.CGC 25784, 2.

⁴²⁰ O.MMA 14.6.217, rto. 8.

⁴²¹ O.CGC 25556.

⁴²² A broken passage in O.DM 697, rto. 4, which reads: 'the killing of the chief [workman]', possibly refers to the same episode, which probably took place shortly before the writing of this text in 'year 6' (of Seti II; cf. also the comments of Krauss, *SAK* 4 (1976), p. 174 and Bierbrier, *JSEA* 8 (1977-78), pp. 138-39, who suggest that this obscure reference may have been connected to the execution of Paneb (i) in a later reign).

⁴²³ *LNKE*, p. 22.

chief workman.⁴²⁴ Alternatively, Janssen suggests that Paneb (i) attained the office of foreman by bribing higher officials.⁴²⁵ It is now agreed that Amennakht (vii)'s charges against Paneb (i) in Pap. Salt 124 arose from personal animosity towards the latter's usurpation of this prestigious office. Černý, however, doubts whether the cause of Neferhotep (ii)'s death should be ascribed *a priori* by scholars as the handiwork of Paneb (i) solely on the grounds of his known reputation. It is similarly possible that Neferhotep (ii) died as a result of the insurrection and civil disturbances which may have afflicted Upper Egypt during the reign of Seti II.⁴²⁶

§ 4: The family of the foreman Paneb (i): chart 28

Both the career and the notorious behaviour of the foreman Paneb (i) have been extensively documented in the Deir el-Medina literature.⁴²⁷ It was during his period of service as an ordinary member of the tomb-gang that Paneb (i) initiated construction on a tomb (TT 211) in the then-crowded village necropolis.⁴²⁸ Doubts as to whether TT 211 was ever used as a final resting place by Paneb (i), or by members of his family, have been raised.⁴²⁹ Judging by Paneb (i)'s frequent and excessive abuse of his colleagues' time and labour, the likelihood is strong that following his promotion to the office of chief workman, Paneb (i) would have undoubtedly have wished to perpetuate this advancement by the alteration of his titles in TT 211 from that of 'servant in the Place of Truth' to 'chief of workmen'. Since these changes were clearly not undertaken, the probability that Paneb (i) commissioned a second and more impressive tomb is therefore strengthened.⁴³⁰

The extant inscriptions from TT 211 provide invaluable information on Paneb (i)'s family background.⁴³¹ A text on the north wall names his respective father and grandfather as Nefersenut (i) and Kasa (i) respectively.⁴³² Elsewhere we learn that Paneb (i) was married to the lady, Wab (ii),⁴³³ and that their children included a son Apehty (i) and two daughters, Iyi (iv)⁴³⁴ and

⁴²⁴ A son of Amennakht (vii) may have been the workman Nebnefer (v), son of Amen[nakht], who appears in a 'year 5', of the reign of Seti II/Siptah (O.Berlin 11241, rto. 4; dated by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 487, n. 9, to Seti II).

⁴²⁵ Janssen, in *Village Voices*, p. 83.

⁴²⁶ Černý, *Community*, pp. 289-90; Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 27. Whether Neferhotep (ii) was killed in the struggle between the throne and the usurper-king Amenmesses, as suggested by Černý, *loc. cit.* and Janssen, in *Village Voices*, p. 83, depends on whether Amenmesses' period of rule fell between those of Merenptah and Seti II or wholly inside the reign of Seti II.

⁴²⁷ Černý, 'Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)', *JEA* 15 (1929), pp. 243-58. See most recently Bierbrier, 'Notes on Deir el-Medina: II The Career of Paneb', *JSSEA* 8 (1977-78), pp. 138-40, with older references in n. 1.

⁴²⁸ PM I:1, pp. 307/309; Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, pp. 66-84, pl. 15-25; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 87-90; *KRI* IV:189 ff.

⁴²⁹ Černý, *Community*, p. 305.

⁴³⁰ Cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 305.

⁴³¹ An incomplete genealogy is given by Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), p. 254.

⁴³² PM I:1, pp. 307/309 at (4); Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, pp. 81-82, pls. 23-24; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 88:C; *KRI* IV:190-191.

⁴³³ Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, p. 82, pl. 22; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 87:B; *KRI* IV:190:8.

the 'chantress of Amun' Sheritre (ii).⁴³⁵ The names of two additional daughters, Nodjemet-shu (i) and [...]-nofret are attested in a vignette which once included the names of six of Paneb (i)'s daughters.⁴³⁶ To add to our knowledge of this family, we may cite two monuments erected by Paneb (i) in honour of the goddess Mertseger. A stela in the British Museum⁴³⁷ names the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Apehty (i), Paneb (ii) and Nebmehyt (i) all as sons of Paneb (i),⁴³⁸ whilst the second stela in the same collection identifies Hednakht (i) as yet another of Paneb (i)'s sons.⁴³⁹ However, as is frequently the case, the imprecise usage of the suffix-pronouns in the former inscription casts doubt on the exact nature of the relationships which existed between Paneb (i) and his 'so-called' sons Paneb (ii) and Nebmehyt (i). Nevertheless the description on a door-jamb of Paneb (i) and the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Kasa (iv) as 'brothers' is probably correct,⁴⁴⁰ the latter therefore being named after his paternal grandfather, Kasa (i).

The earliest dated appearance which we have for Paneb (i) occurs in year 66 of Ramesses II,⁴⁴¹ however, there is good reason to believe that his tenure in the workforce might have begun much earlier. We base this argument on the evidence provided by O.Gardiner 195,⁴⁴² an undated inventory of water supplies, in which the name Paneb appears. A comparison between the other twelve male names preserved in this text and the names of the workmen attested in O.BM 5634, dated to year 40 of Ramesses II, reveals that ten of these men had been active in year 40.⁴⁴³ This observation presents the distinct probability that O.Gardiner 195 may have been compiled shortly after year 40 of Ramesses II, no later than say c. year 50 of that reign. Remarkably it is a passage in Pap. Salt 124⁴⁴⁴ which implies that it was the foreman Neferhotep (ii) who may have been charged with the up-bringing of the young Paneb (i), most likely following the death of the latter's father, Nefersenut (i).⁴⁴⁵ We know that Nefersenut (i) was still active in year 40 of Ramesses II (see p. 270 below). In support of the year date of O.Gardiner 195 proposed above, it may be suggested that Nefersenut (i) died shortly after year 40, leaving Paneb (i) in the care of Neferhotep (ii), no younger than say aged five. Consequently, by year 50 of Ramesses II Paneb (i) would have reached a mature enough age for his inclusion on the workforce in a junior capacity.

⁴³⁴ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 22, has tentatively suggested that Iyi (iv) may have been named after the mother of Neferhotep (ii).

⁴³⁵ PM I:1, p. 307 at (1); Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, p. 77, pl. 25; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 88:B¹; KRI IV:189.

⁴³⁶ PM I:1, p. 307 at (2); Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, pp. 77, 83, pl. 16; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 87:A; KRI IV:189.

⁴³⁷ No. 272: Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 30, pl. 70:2.

⁴³⁸ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 30, suggests that Paneb (ii) and Nebmehyt (i) may have been the grandsons of the foreman Paneb (i), the latter being a son of Apehty (i).

⁴³⁹ BM 273: Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 30, pl. 71:1.

⁴⁴⁰ Turin N.50230: Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 195, 347; KRI IV:193.

⁴⁴¹ O.CGC 25237, vso. 1-2.

⁴⁴² KRI VII:197.

⁴⁴³ The exceptions were Amenemope and Merysekhmet.

⁴⁴⁴ Rto. 2:14

⁴⁴⁵ An equally possible interpretation of this passage would be to understand *shpr* as 'to train' or 'to educate' (Faulkner, *MED*, p. 240; Lesko, *DLE* III, pp. 84-85) and not 'to rear/bring up' (Faulkner, *MED*, p. 240).

Paneb (i)'s promotion to the office of 'chief workman' took place somewhere between years 1 and 5 of the reign of Seti II,⁴⁴⁶ with his final dated appearance probably occurring in year 2 of Siptah.⁴⁴⁷ It is now generally agreed that Paneb (i)'s sudden disappearance from the administrative records was the result of his indictment in Pap. Salt 124 (discussed above, under Neferhotep (ii)) on a succession of serious charges. Unfortunately, the date of Pap. Salt 124 and Paneb (i)'s subsequent fall from grace can not be calculated.⁴⁴⁸ Krauss, however, believes that the charges brought by Amennakht (vii) against Paneb (i) occurred within the first two years of the reign of Siptah.⁴⁴⁹ Alternatively, Bierbrier prefers to retain Paneb (i) in office after year 2 of Siptah, and perhaps as late as the advent of the XXth Dynasty.⁴⁵⁰ Gutgesell suggested that the allusion to the 'killing of the chief workman' in O.DM 697 might have referred to the death of Paneb (i) in 'year 6' (of Siptah), after which he was succeeded in office by Anakhtu (ii).⁴⁵¹ A text dated simply to a 'year 8' records that the 'draftsman' Neferhotep (ix) had been employed by Paneb to decorate his *hry-mrhw*.⁴⁵² Neferhotep (ix) is well-attested between the reigns of Amenmesses and Siptah and probably is mentioned as early as the reign of Merenptah.⁴⁵³ There are therefore two possible hypotheses for the dating of O.DM 594. If Paneb had been one of the 'foremen' at that time, the 'year 8' originates most likely from the reign of Tewosret, or less likely that of Ramesses III. Alternatively, at the time of this commission, Paneb may have been a simple workman in which case we can safely attribute this text to the reign of Merenptah.

An offering table, which names the 'chief workman' Paneb (i) and his son, the 'deputy' Apehty (i), provides positive confirmation that Apehty (i)⁴⁵⁴ was expected to succeed his father in the office of chief workman.⁴⁵⁵ Since the cartouche of Seti II is engraved on this monument, Bierbrier has suggested that Apehty (i) may have already been one of the deputies by that reign.⁴⁵⁶ Consequently, Apehty (i) may have been the predecessor of Nebsmen (i), who is known to have been the deputy for the 'right' side in a year 6 document.⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, it is possible that the two deputies who occur together in a text which can without doubt be attributed to the reign of Siptah (due to the appearance of the 'scribe' Bay (ii))⁴⁵⁸ were Nebsmen (i) and Amennakht (x).⁴⁵⁹ It is also noticeable that at this same time the name of Apehty, the man whom we must assume to have been the son of Paneb (i), was recorded amongst the ranks of the workmen.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁴⁶ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 22; idem, *JSSEA* 8 (1977-78), p. 138; Hoffmeier, *JEA* 74 (1988), p. 219.

⁴⁴⁷ O.CGC 25521, rto. 10 (though he is mentioned in this text without title).

⁴⁴⁸ According to Bierbrier, *JSSEA* 8 (1977-78), p. 138, Pap. Salt 124 can be dated no later than year 2 of the reign of Setnakht.

⁴⁴⁹ *SAK* 4 (1976), p. 174.

⁴⁵⁰ *JSSEA* 8 (1977-78), p. 139.

⁴⁵¹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 362.

⁴⁵² O.DM 594, 2-4. For a discussion of the term *hry-mrhw* see Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 244-45.

⁴⁵³ See pp. 195-96 below for Neferhotep (ix).

⁴⁵⁴ See pp. 76-77 below for Apehty (i).

⁴⁵⁵ PM I:2, pp. 743/744; Wilkinson MSS. xvii, F.d.15; xli, 42 vso.; *KRI* IV:340.

⁴⁵⁶ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 31.

⁴⁵⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 135, attributed this text to the reign of Seti II. See pp. 62-63 for a more comprehensive discussion on the succession of 'deputies' during this period.

⁴⁵⁸ For whom see pp. 98-99.

⁴⁵⁹ O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:3, vso. I:3.

⁴⁶⁰ O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:9.

We have already determined above that the 'servant in the Place of Truth', and later 'deputy', Apehty (i) was the son of the foreman Paneb (i) and Wab(et) (ii). An offering table names Nebmehyt (ii) as a son of the workman Apehty (i).⁴⁶¹ Support that it was indeed Apehty (i), son of Paneb (i), who dedicated this monument is provided by a representation in the right hand scene of the lady Wab(et) (ii), who is presumably the mother of the owner. However, there is a possibility of an attestation of a second Apehty (ii), the son of Nefersenut (i) (and brother of Paneb (i)), though this is dependent upon our interpretation of stela BM 316.⁴⁶² Alternatively, one could equally argue, and with reason, that the inscription on this monument referred to Apehty (i), the son of Paneb (i). The ownership of both a limestone seat found in hut X' (E) at the 'col' settlement, on which the inscription 'made by the servant of the Lord of the Two Lands, Apehty' is preserved,⁴⁶³ and an offering table of a certain Apehty, recovered from one of the village houses (N.E. XI),⁴⁶⁴ remain questionable. An identification with either the workman known from year 40 of Ramesses II (perhaps an ancestor of these men),⁴⁶⁵ or with the son of Paneb would be equally viable.

Apehty (i) first appears in an undated absentee list which can be placed in the reign of Seti II.⁴⁶⁶ There is, however, little doubt that Paneb (i) was instrumental in Apehty (i)'s promotion as his own deputy (for the 'right side')⁴⁶⁷ sometime during the reign of Seti II.⁴⁶⁸ Apehty (i)'s last dated attestation occurs in year 1 of Siptah.⁴⁶⁹ In both this and the following year we also encounter the workman Kasa (v), son of Apehty, assisting the foreman Paneb (i).⁴⁷⁰ Unfortunately it is not possible to determine whether Kasa (v)'s father is to be identified with Apehty (ii), the brother of Paneb (i) or Apehty (i).⁴⁷¹ Little else is known of Apehty (i)'s career, though we learn that in year 1 of Siptah he was given a beating by the authorities, perhaps on account of a minor indiscretion.⁴⁷² In his interpretation of this episode, Bierbrier assumed that Apehty (i) had allowed himself to be summarily punished by his fellow workers.⁴⁷³ However, it is possible that Apehty (i)'s punishment had been meted out by a higher authority. In fact, it is possible that Apehty had been tried and convicted by an *ad hoc* court presided over by the vizier Hori during his visit to the village three days before this beating was performed.⁴⁷⁴ It has generally been agreed that Apehty (i)'s demise was closely linked to the fall from grace of Paneb (i), his father.⁴⁷⁵ However, this opinion was recently dismissed by

⁴⁶¹ Turin N.22037: PM I:2, p. 743; Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 45-48, 142; KRI IV:438. The only other Nebmehyt of which I am aware is a 'fisherman', who served the administration during the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.

⁴⁶² PM I:2, p. 729; Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 29-30, pl. 70.

⁴⁶³ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 356, pl. 40; PM I:2, p. 589; KRI IV:437.

⁴⁶⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 256-57, fig. 134; PM I:2, p. 705; KRI IV:437.

⁴⁶⁵ O.BM 5634, rto. 12.

⁴⁶⁶ O.CGC 25510, rto. 3, 11.

⁴⁶⁷ Apehty (i) is, in fact, attested as a 'workman' employed on this side of the gang in O.CGC 25719, 2.

⁴⁶⁸ For this see above.

⁴⁶⁹ O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 2 (though he is unfortunately not attributed with a title).

⁴⁷⁰ O.CGC 25517, vso. 8 (year 1 of Siptah); O.CGC 25521, vso. 5-6 (year 2 of Siptah).

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 30, who suggests that Kasa (v) may have been the son of Apehty (ii).

⁴⁷² O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 6.

⁴⁷³ Bierbrier, 'Notes on Teir el-Medina: II The Career of Paneb', *JSSEA* 8 (1977-78), p. 139.

⁴⁷⁴ O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 1.

⁴⁷⁵ Bierbrier, *JSSEA* 8 (1977-78), p. 139.

Valbelle on the spurious basis of a reference to an Apehty of the 'right' side of the gang as late as year 5 of Ramesses III in Pap. Greg, rto. B, 6.⁴⁷⁶ However, it has been shown that Pap. Greg is now to be dated within the reign of Siptah.⁴⁷⁷ Nevertheless, should this individual prove to have been the son of Paneb (i), though he may well be identified as a collateral relative, Kitchen's transcription of 'the workman Apehty'⁴⁷⁸ would corroborate the supposition mentioned earlier that Apehty (i) suffered a demotion into the ranks of the ordinary workmen from the office of deputy.

The workman Penanuqet is attested throughout the reigns of Ramesses III,⁴⁷⁹ Ramesses IV⁴⁸⁰ and Ramesses V.⁴⁸¹ According to Janssen,⁴⁸² the name Penanuqet first appears in year 26 of Ramesses III⁴⁸³ and is known from a 'year 9', possibly as late as the reign of Ramesses IX.⁴⁸⁴ Amongst the witnesses to a court case held during the reign of Ramesses III are the '3 <n> ' Prehotep (iv), his wife Nefertari (vii) and their sons the 'warrior' ('h3wt) Penanuqet (ii) and Userhat (vii), and their daughters Tamerut (ii) and Tahenut (i).⁴⁸⁵ It is possible that this man is to be correlated with the contemporary Penanuqet,⁴⁸⁶ who held the title of 'soldier' (w'w).⁴⁸⁷ It is likely that some of these

⁴⁷⁶ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 184, n. 7; followed by McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 211, n. 70.

⁴⁷⁷ Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 111-30.

⁴⁷⁸ KRI V:439:3, following Černý; cf. Janssen, *Village Voices*, p. 118.

⁴⁷⁹ O.DM 145, rto. 7 (year 30); O.DM 155, vso. 8 (year 31); O.DM 38, 13 (year 32).

⁴⁸⁰ O.DM 44, rto. 3 (year 1); O.DM 45+O.Berlin P.12651+O.Vienna H.4, vso. 7 (year 2).

⁴⁸¹ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 6-7 (year 2); cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁴⁸² Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 45.

⁴⁸³ O.DM 148, rto. 10 ff., which reads as follows:

'The 3rd month of Akhet, day 18, Amenemope. On this day there came the vizier, To. The work-gang was brought down from the Tract (*šyt*) because of the words of Penanuqet. An examination was made in the 3rd month of Akhet, day 19, (by) Mose, scribe of the office of correspondence, Amenemope, the chief of the treasury, Khaemtir, the high-priest, Usermarenakht, the mayor of Thebes, the 2 soldiers of the garrison, Penanuqet and the officials of the Place of Examination.'

Unfortunately the nature of this investigation is not recorded, nor do we learn the final outcome (for the possible continuation of these enquiries see McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 219, n. 93). Nevertheless we do know that certain allegations were brought directly to the attention of the vizier by Penanuqet who subsequently took his place on the high-powered committee of enquiry, no doubt to assist it as a prime witness. We gather from the ensuing interrogation of the workmen (at one stage the gang is taken to the 'river-bank' (*mryt*) where they are questioned the following day (vso. 5)) that Penanuqet's charges had been aimed at certain members of the community at Deir el-Medina. These accusations must have been of a considerably serious nature to have warranted the personal attentions of the vizier.

In his study of this text, L.-A. Christophe ('Les Enseignements de l'Ostrakon 148 de Déir el-Médineh', *BIFAO* 52 (1953), pp. 113-44) has set out a number of unsubstantial opinions which he has apparently drawn from the contextual evidence offered by this document. He believes that during a visit made by Penanuqet, probably as an 'administrator' (*rwḏw*), to inspect the work on a royal tomb, he became the victim of an assault in the depths of the royal tomb by a group of anonymous assailants (p. 123, with n. 2). However, Christophe's hypothesis can be dismissed as purely speculative. It is more likely that Penanuqet is the same workman who made allegations to the authorities concerning the pillaging of royal tombs in year 29 of Ramesses III (cf. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 209, 218). Whether the two incidents, separated by three years, are in any way connected to one another may never be known.

⁴⁸⁴ O.OIC 16873 (unpub.).

⁴⁸⁵ O.Prague H.10, rto. 5-9.

⁴⁸⁶ O.DM 148 (see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 18).

⁴⁸⁷ According to Černý, *Community*, p. 112, in the context of Deir el-Medina *w'w* probably 'does not denote a grade but refers to a simple workman'. However, he does not register Penanuqet as a holder of this title (see *ibid.*, pp. 248-51).

references allude to Penanuqet (iii), son of Kasa,⁴⁸⁸ or to the son of Paneb (see below). It is generally proposed that the declaration made by the workman Penanuqet in year 29 III of Ramesses that Paneb (i) was 'my father' (*pꜣy.i it*) should be taken literally.⁴⁸⁹ In this case, Penanuqet would have been a minimum of c. 30 years of age at that time, based on the date proposed for Paneb (i)'s disappearance from village life.⁴⁹⁰ However, it is similarly possible that *it* 'father' was here employed in the general sense of 'fore-father/ancestor'.⁴⁹¹ Three further Penanuquets who are attested in this period can be added to the above list of individuals: (a) Penanuqet (vii), brother of the foreman Nekhemmut (vi);⁴⁹² (b) Penanuqet (viii), the brother of Neferhotep;⁴⁹³ (c) Penanuqet (i), son of the deputy, Amenkhau (i).⁴⁹⁴ Bierbrier has suggested that the Penanuquets who are referred to on separate occasions as the 'descendant' of Paneb (i), the brother of Nekhemmut, and the son of Amenkhau (i), are all one and the same individual, namely Penanuqet (ii), son of Prehotep (iv).⁴⁹⁵

§ 5: The family of the foreman Anakhtu (ii): see chart 42

The name Anakhtu (ii) first appears during the reigns of the later XIXth Dynasty, namely Amenmesses⁴⁹⁶ and Siptah.⁴⁹⁷ He is also implicated as one of the workmen who assisted the criminal activity in which the foreman Paneb (i) was involved in the royal necropolis.⁴⁹⁸ Remarkably it was this same workman Anakhtu (ii) who was later to succeed Paneb (i) in the foremanship of the 'right' side.⁴⁹⁹ By year 11 of Ramesses III the foreman Anakhtu (ii) had either died or retired to be replaced

⁴⁸⁸ Pap. Turin 2065, vso. 2, mentions a *Pn-knt* (sic) *sꜣ(?) Kꜣsꜣ*. This name is undoubtedly an erroneous writing of Penanuqet. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 344, tentatively dates this text between years 3 and 7 of Ramesses IV. This Kasa may have been the brother of the foreman, Paneb (i), or Kasa (v), son of Apehty (i), son of Paneb (i).

⁴⁸⁹ RAD, pp. 57:6-58:6; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 43; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 192; Eyre, *JEA* 70 (1984), p. 94; Frandsen, 'Editing Reality: The Turin Strike Papyrus', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* I, p. 193, n. 74.

⁴⁹⁰ The Penanuqet, who is attested in several graffiti in the Wadi Hammamat and whom Romer, *Ancient Lives*, pp. 127-128, has wrongly identified as the son of Paneb (i), is unlikely to have been a workman of Deir el-Medina. In fact two Penanuquets are known from the corpus of graffiti from this remote work-site: (a) the 'sculptor' (*sꜣnh*) Penanuqet (v) (Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, p. 110, pl. 27 (no. 97); Couyat & Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, p. 86 (no. 130); (b) the 'chief of works' (*hꜣry kꜣwt*) Penanuqet (vi), father of the 'chief of works' and the vizier of Seti II, Preemheb (Goyon, *ibid.*, pp. 109-110, pl. 32 (nos. 95 and 96), p. 111, pl. 31 (no. 99); Couyat and Montet, *ibid.*, p. 107 (no. 221)).

⁴⁹¹ For this usage see Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 100; cf. idem, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 204.

⁴⁹² Graffito no. 1735 (Černý & Sadek, GMT IV/1, p. 14; KRI V:627:3). It is possible that the term *sn* actually meant 'cousin' and that this Penanuqet is to be identified with Penanuqet (i), son of Amenkhau (i).

⁴⁹³ Graffito no. 1280 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 17, pl. 44; KRI V:661:11-14).

⁴⁹⁴ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 34.

⁴⁹⁵ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 204.

⁴⁹⁶ O.CGC 25779, rto. 4 (year 1); O.CGC 25783, rto. 4 (year 3).

⁴⁹⁷ O.CGC 25519, vso. 4 (year 1).

⁴⁹⁸ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:12.

⁴⁹⁹ Černý, *Community*, pp. 127, 305; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 32. The foreman Anakhtu (ii) appears in the unpublished O.IFAO 420, 1.

in this office by Nekhemmut (i).⁵⁰⁰ Unfortunately the family origins of the foreman Anakhtu (ii) are completely unknown.⁵⁰¹ He may have been the joint-owner, with [Amen]/[Montu]pahapi, of a stela found in hut A (o) at the col station,⁵⁰² or was the dedicator of a table of offerings which once bore the name of the owner's mother.⁵⁰³ Unfortunately the relationships recorded on a seat, now in Turin, are not particularly clearly demarcated.⁵⁰⁴ The inscription reads: 'Made by the servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes Userhat, his father/father (*it.f/lt*) of the servant in the Place of Truth Anakhtu, the son of his son, Pashuemopet his son Montuhir[...]'. The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Userhat (ii) appears again with his son Shuenopet (i) on a libation basin, which can be dated to the reign of Ramesses III.⁵⁰⁵ It seems most probable that the name Shuenopet (i) is a variant of Pashuemopet,⁵⁰⁶ which would suggest that Anakhtu (iii) was the father of Userhat (ii) and that Pashuemopet/Shuenopet (i) was his grandson. This, however, begs the question as to whether Montuhir[...] was the son of Userhat (ii) or Anakhtu (iii).

The Anakhtu (iv) who occurs in an unplaced fragment of a papyrus, which can now be dated to years 5-7 of Siptah/Tewosret,⁵⁰⁷ is possibly a different workman. The 'dwelling house (*t*) of Anakhtu' is mentioned in year 8 of the reign of Ramesses III as one of the properties given by Hay, son of Huy, to his children.⁵⁰⁸ Although no specific relationship between Anakhtu and this family can yet be determined, it is possible that he may have been closely associated with one of the sons of Hay, namely Montupahapi, whose name may be tentatively restored on the aforesaid stela of Anakhtu⁵⁰⁹ (see further below). Anakhtu (iv) appears in a number of texts from the reign of Ramesses III⁵¹⁰ and can be counted amongst the workmen of the 'left' side.⁵¹¹ In year 6 of Ramesses IV we learn that Anakhtu (iv) was 'set to break stones in the Place of Truth'⁵¹² <because> of (his) striking/beating the heads of Djaydjay, Paihu⁵¹³ and Montupahapi.⁵¹⁴ This demotion to one of the chain-gangs may have marked the end of Anakhtu (iv)'s career on the Deir el-Medina workforce.

⁵⁰⁰ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 32; *pace* Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 361, who places Khons (v) as the immediate successor of Anakhtu (ii) in year 10 of Ramesses III; see further pp. 47 ff. below.

⁵⁰¹ Janssen's reference to the 'deputy' Anakhtu, son of the foreman Paneb (i), is undoubtedly a mistake for the 'deputy' Apehty (i) (*Gleanings*, p. 113).

⁵⁰² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 362; *KRI V*:662.

⁵⁰³ UC. 14229 (PM I:2, p. 742; *KRI V*:662).

⁵⁰⁴ Turin N.50250 (PM I:2, p. 691; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1931-32), p. 60; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 205, 357; *KRI V*:663).

⁵⁰⁵ PM I:2, p. 700; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 18:5 c, 52, no. 216; *KRI V*:663.

⁵⁰⁶ With *n* for *m*.

⁵⁰⁷ Pap. Greg, rto. Z, 3.

⁵⁰⁸ Pap. Bulaq 10, vso. 6.

⁵⁰⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 362; *KRI V*:662.

⁵¹⁰ E.g., O.CGC 25703, 2 (year 14); Pap. DeM 26, rto. A, 13 (year 16); O.Turin N.57026, rto. 12 (year 23 or 24); O.Turin N.57039, rto. 6 (year 24); O.Gardiner 196, rto. 5 (year 25); O.Gardiner 127, 4 (year 29).

⁵¹¹ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 12; O.Turin N.57039, rto. 6.

⁵¹² On this punishment see Janssen, in *Gleanings*, pp. 138-39, note (p), where he suggests that this may have involved 'work in one of the flint quarries in the West Valley'.

⁵¹³ Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1959), p. 183, n. 3, reads this name as *Pidhu*, 'the man from the Delta'.

⁵¹⁴ Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vso. III:1-2.

The workman Mose (iv), son of Anakhtu, who appears in year 29 of Ramesses III,⁵¹⁵ may well have been related to Anakhtu (iv), or less likely to the foreman Anakhtu (ii). Mose (iv), son of Anakhtu, is involved in a property dispute which probably dates from the reign of Ramesses IX.⁵¹⁶ It is possible that Mose was sometimes used as a hypocorism of the name Khnummose.⁵¹⁷ However, in year 15 of Ramesses III both a Mose and Khnummose are mentioned in the same document.⁵¹⁸ Therefore, Mose (iv) is probably not to be identified with Khnummose (i) who is not definitely attested beyond the reign of Ramesses IV. Furthermore, Khnummose (i) was a member of the 'left' side of the gang,⁵¹⁹ whilst the name of Mose occurs on the 'right' side of the gang in countless turnus records of Ramesses III's reign.⁵²⁰ The name Mose occurs again in years 1-2 of Ramesses IV,⁵²¹ and in the unspecified years 3,⁵²² 5⁵²³ and 7.⁵²⁴

The fact that the Mose, who is named as the father of Penniut (i) (O.DM 204) may in fact have been the workman Khnummose (i) was proposed by Bierbrier.⁵²⁵ The validity of this suggestion is further enhanced by an attestation of 'Penniut, son of Khnummose'.⁵²⁶ The same relationship between Mose and Penniut is recorded in the *Stato Civile* where Mose is married to Henutwa'ti (i).⁵²⁷ Also named in this text are Penniut (i)'s wife, Raia (i) (daughter of Amenemheb (ii)), and the couple's children Mose (v), Amenemheb (iii) and Panakhtemope (i).⁵²⁸ Because of the existence of a contemporary and independent Mose, there still remains the possibility that Mose and Khnummose both had sons named Penniut. An interesting observation concerns a certain Penniut who is mentioned as the recipient of the 'stable of Anakhtu, with its magazine' in a division of property which has been dated to year 8 of Ramesses III.⁵²⁹ It has been suggested that this Penniut is a son of Hay, son of Huy.⁵³⁰ It is possible that Anakhtu was in some way related to Penniut and the family of Hay. It is equally tenable that the Anakhtu in question was the foreman Anakhtu (ii) who served in the early part of the reign of Ramesses III, and who may have been dead by this 'year 8'. Consequently Mose, whose own son was called Penniut, may therefore have been a son of the foreman Anakhtu (ii) (see above). Alternatively, Mose may have been the son of the later Anakhtu (temp. Ramesses III-Ramesses IV),

⁵¹⁵ *RAD*, p. 54:15.

⁵¹⁶ O.Gardiner 23, 6-10.

⁵¹⁷ See pp. 259-60, 272 below.

⁵¹⁸ O.DM 406, II:15 and II:12 respectively.

⁵¹⁹ O.Turin N.57026, vso. 6.

⁵²⁰ O.Turin N.57026, vso. 9; O.DM 647, 5; O.Turin N.57029, 8; O.DM 32, rto. 3; O.DM 38, 2.

⁵²¹ O.DM 40, rto. 13; O.DM 44, vso. 6.

⁵²² O.Mich. 3, 3.

⁵²³ O.Mond 209, 4.

⁵²⁴ O.DM 702, rto. 2.

⁵²⁵ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 221, Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 65.

⁵²⁶ O.DM 254, 2

⁵²⁷ Černý Nb. 15, p. 67. Henutwati is also recorded as the wife of Mose (>Khnummose(?)) in O.DM 643, rto. 8.

She was possibly the daughter of Nebamentet (i) (see p. 260, n. 714 below). The names of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose and his wife Henutwati are further recorded on a lintel of the doorway to the burial chamber of TT 329 (PM I:1, p. 397/8; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 74-76, fig. 56; *KRI* III:749).

⁵²⁸ Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 221.

⁵²⁹ Pap. Bulaq 10, vso. 12.

⁵³⁰ Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 150.

since we learn in a property dispute between Amen-niut-nakht and Mose, which can only be dated after year 7 of Ramesses VII,⁵³¹ that the final outcome was that 'one gave the house of Anakhtu, and his *khenu* and his tomb and his *ʿt*-hut, which is in the Valley, to the workman Mose'.⁵³² It is therefore likely that Mose is the son (or a later descendant, as the son of Penniut(?)) of Anakhtu who is already dead. We have noted above that an Anakhtu (iv) had died in year 1 of Ramesses V. The interval between this date and O.Gardiner 23 influenced Gutgesell⁵³³ in his belief that the buildings in question had belonged to a later Anakhtu, who is attested in year 7 of Ramesses VII.⁵³⁴ However, since we already have evidence that Mose, as a son of Anakhtu, lived at the end of the reign of Ramesses III, there is no reason to doubt that this pair was meant. The interval between the death of Anakhtu (iv) and the resolution of his bequest may have been the result of a protracted legal dispute between Mose and Amen-niut-nakht.

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Userhat (ii) is named with his sons Shuenopet (>Pashuemopet) (i), [Neb]tawy-hir-sankh (i) and Kel (v) (Kenro) on a libation basin bearing the twin cartouches of Ramesses III.⁵³⁵ It seems justifiable to restore the name of the '[servant in] the Place of Truth' A[nakhtu] (iii), probably the father of Userhat (ii),⁵³⁶ on this same monument. The name Userhat was not at all uncommon in the village of Deir el-Medina during the XXth Dynasty. An Userhat (iii) occurs as the son of the draftsman Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), in a graffito which must pre-date year 16 of Ramesses III.⁵³⁷ The 'sculptor' and 'chief sculptor' Amennakht (viii) who is named in several graffiti with his sons Userhat (iv) and Kasa (vi)⁵³⁸ may possibly be identified with Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii). Were this true, the fact that Amennakht (v)/Amennakht (viii) served both in the capacity of a 'draftsman' and a 'sculptor' would be undisputable. Therefore, this Kasa (vi) may well have been synonymous with Kasa, father of Userhat (v) and Amennakht (ix).⁵³⁹ Another Userhat is referred to as the 'brother' of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Bakenwerel on a stela-base.⁵⁴⁰ An ostrakon, now in Prague, names the 'chief of manoeuvre(?)' (ʿṣ <n> ʿ) Prehotep, his wife Nefertari, his sons the 'warrior' Penanuqet and Userhat, and his daughters Tamerut and Tahenut.⁵⁴¹

The workman Userhat appears for the first time in year 14 of Ramesses III.⁵⁴² Thereafter he appears with regularity in the records of the Tomb administration, initially as a member of the 'left

⁵³¹ Cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 309, who assigns a date between years 9 and 10 of Ramesses IX; van Walsem, in *Gleanings*, p. 211, n. 24, offers the date-range of years 6-14 of the same reign.

⁵³² O.Gardiner 23, 6-8.

⁵³³ *Datierung*, p. 309.

⁵³⁴ Pap. Turin 1907/08, vso. 2:2.

⁵³⁵ PM I:2, p. 700; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 18:5c, 52, no. 216; KRI V:663.

⁵³⁶ See under Anakhtu above.

⁵³⁷ No. 460 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 40; KRI V:644:5).

⁵³⁸ Nos. 280, 285 and 307 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 25, 26 and 27). Unfortunately I am not aware of any other references to a Kasa, son of Amennakht.

⁵³⁹ See p. 274 below.

⁵⁴⁰ Louvre E.16363 (PM I:2, p. 717; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 44, 94, pls. 13/15, fig. 167, no. 149; KRI V:663).

⁵⁴¹ O.Prague H.10, rto. 5-9.

⁵⁴² O.Berlin P.1268, rto. 2-3. Not 'year 18' as given by Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 16, contra p. 65.

side' in years 23 and 24 of Ramesses III.⁵⁴³ In year 31, 3rd month of Akhet, day 14 of Ramesses III, Userhat is known to have replaced Menna on the 'right side'.⁵⁴⁴ However, this substitution was short lived for we again meet Userhat on the 'left side' in year 32, 2nd month of Shomu, day 1.⁵⁴⁵ Whether the workman Userhat is to be correlated with a 'physician' of that name who appears in the Turin Strike Papyrus from year 29 of Ramesses III is not certain.⁵⁴⁶ Userhat is attested throughout the reign of Ramesses IV⁵⁴⁷ until year 3 of Ramesses V.⁵⁴⁸ There then follows an interval of some 30 years before the name Userhat, which undoubtedly relates to a different person, appears in year 14 of Ramesses IX.⁵⁴⁹

§ 6: The family of Sennedjem (i): chart 7

The tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1)⁵⁵⁰ at Deir el-Medina is one of the most splendidly decorated and best-preserved in the Theban necropolis. Its courtyard opens onto three chapels which can be identified, from south to north, as belonging to Tjaro, Sennedjem (i), and Khons (ii), son of Sennedjem (i).⁵⁵¹ By virtue of the orientation of these chapels Bruyère wrongly identified Tjaro as the likely father of Sennedjem (i). However, Kitchen has recently suggested that Tjaro may have been an elder(?) brother of his.⁵⁵² A scene in the lower register of the SW wall of TT 1 introduces three seated couples.⁵⁵³ At left, we find the '<ser>vant of Amun in the southern City' Khabekhnet (iii) with his wife Taha(y)nu (iii) and the lady Rusu, being served by Khabekhnet's son, Roma (iii). In the centre the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Tjaro and his wife Taia (i) receive the offerings of their son, Roma (iv); beneath Tjaro's chair sits a girl named Ta'ashsen (i), who can probably be identified as his daughter. On the right-hand side of this scene are seated the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Sennedjem (i) and his wife Iyinfreti (iii), served by their son, Bunakhtef (i); standing beneath are two youngsters, Renekhu (i) and Hotepu (i), presumably the children of Sennedjem (i). On a fragmentary lintel Sennedjem (i) is named as a son of one Khabekhnet;⁵⁵⁴ it is therefore likely that Khabekhnet and Taha(y)nu were his parents. The identity of the lady Rusu is, nevertheless, not clearly demarcated. Kitchen suggested that she is either the mother of Khabekhnet (iii) or Taha(y)nu (iii), or possibly even a second wife of Khabekhnet.⁵⁵⁵ The name of Rusu probably occurs in a slightly different form in TT 2, where she is

⁵⁴³ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 12; O.Turin N.57039, rto. 8.

⁵⁴⁴ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 397; cf. O.DM 200, 6; O.DM 276, 1.

⁵⁴⁵ O.DM 38, 5.

⁵⁴⁶ *RAD*, p. 47:15.

⁵⁴⁷ O.DM 40, rto. 1; O.DM 44, rto. 7; Pap. Turin 1966, vso. III:1 (year 6).

⁵⁴⁸ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 1:14.

⁵⁴⁹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 271.

⁵⁵⁰ Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*; PM I:1, pp. 1-5; KRI I:411-12.

⁵⁵¹ Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, pp. 8-14.

⁵⁵² *RITANC* I, p. 302. The name of [Tja]ro can be restored in a scene in TT 2 of Khabekhnet (i), where he is referred to as the son of Khabekhnet (iii) and Taha(y)nu (iii) (PM I:2, pp. 6-9 at (8/9); Bruyère, *Répertoire*, p. 14; KRI III:802:8). A Tjaroy appears on two occasions as a member of the *smdt*-staff bringing wood (O.DM 220, 3) and emmer (O.Gardiner 91, rto. I:1) to the village, but was a different man.

⁵⁵³ Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, p. 61, pl. 32; PM I:1, p. 3 at (6); KRI I:411.

⁵⁵⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 40:3, 47:2, fig. 34:4; PM I:2, p. 740; KRI I:414:2-3.

⁵⁵⁵ *RITANC* I, pp. 302-3.

apparently referred to as the 'mother' of Khabekhnet (iii).⁵⁵⁶ Kitchen⁵⁵⁷ has further suggested that Mutnofret, whose name occurs on stela Turin N.50035,⁵⁵⁸ could possibly be identified as the mother of Iyinofteti (iii). The name Bunakhtef remains a relatively distinctive one amongst the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina and is probably synonymous with Bennakhtuf, as shall be shown below. The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Bunakht appears with his wife, whose name has since been lost, in a scene in the chapel of the tomb of Penbuy (i) and Kasa (i) (TT 10).⁵⁵⁹ It is most likely that he is to be identified with Bunakhtef (i), son of Sennedjem (i), who is depicted in the tomb (TT 2) of his brother Khabekhnet (i),⁵⁶⁰ and similarly with the 'wa'b-priest' Bunakhtef who occurs, as one of the bearers of the barque of Amun, on a stela of the workman Merwaset.⁵⁶¹ As a matter of fact, Bennakhtuf is referred to by Khabekhnet (i) in a letter as 'his brother, the deputy' Bennakhtuf (i).⁵⁶² A literal interpretation of this relationship is therefore probably correct, though I am unaware of a further reference to a 'deputy' who goes by this name.⁵⁶³ The name Bennakht further occurs as a 'servitor of Mut' on a stela which he dedicated to Mut, Lady of Asheru,⁵⁶⁴ and on a fragmentary statue.⁵⁶⁵ Nevertheless, a distinction should be drawn between this workman and a 'wood-cutter' Bennakhtuf (ii), who is mentioned in an account of wood arrears in a year 27, possibly of Ramesses II.⁵⁶⁶

We must now return to the inscriptions preserved in TT 1, where Khons (ii) is shown performing the opening of the mouth ritual on the mummy of his deceased father Sennedjem (i) in a scene on the east wall.⁵⁶⁷ Besides Khons (ii) we find Rahotep (v), another of Sennedjem (i)'s sons, seated in a barque. Rahotep (v) is undoubtedly identical with the Prehotep, son of Sennedjem, who occurs in an ostrakon which, due to the appearance of Khaemtir, can be dated approximately in the middle of the reign of Ramesses II.⁵⁶⁸ In the upper register of a wooden door, recovered from TT 1, Iru(t)-nofre(t) (i) is represented with her parents Sennedjem (i) and Iyinofteti (iii);⁵⁶⁹ the lower register depicts a procession of four men, headed by Khabekhnet. There follows 'his (=Khabekhnet's) brother(s)' Pakharu (xii), Rahotep, Khons, Ramose, Anhotep (v) and Renekhu.⁵⁷⁰ There can be little doubt that

⁵⁵⁶ PM I:2, p. 7 at (8/9); Bruyère, *Répertoire*, p. 14; KRI III:802:8.

⁵⁵⁷ *RITANC* I, p. 303.

⁵⁵⁸ PM I:2, p. 726; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 69, 274; KRI I:413.

⁵⁵⁹ PM I:1, p. 19 at (1) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 78:B, 2; KRI III:734:6-7.

⁵⁶⁰ PM I:1, p. 6 at (5) I, (6) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 22, 25; KRI III:808:14; 812:5-6.

⁵⁶¹ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29, pl. 69; KRI VII:215.

⁵⁶² O.Berlin P.12398, rto. 1-2. Allam, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 9 (with n. 5), 10, has preferred to read this name as Anakhtu. His decision appears to have been based on the fact that the name Bennakhtuf is not attested by Ranke, *Personennamen*. However, as shall be noted below, the name Bennakht/Bennakhtuf may not stand in isolation.

⁵⁶³ Černý, *Community*, p. 134, did not include the name of Bennakhtuf amongst his line of 'deputies'.

⁵⁶⁴ PM I:2, p. 738; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 144 f., 316; KRI III:701.

⁵⁶⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 132:2, fig. 74:16; KRI III:701.

⁵⁶⁶ O.DM 334, 1.

⁵⁶⁷ Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, p. 60, pl. 27; KRI I:412:5-6. Judging from his prominent position at the head of his siblings in a scene in TT 2, it would appear that Khons (ii) was the eldest of Sennedjem (i)'s children (PM I:1, p. 6 at (6) I; Bruyère, *Répertoire*, p. 22; KRI III:812:4-5).

⁵⁶⁸ O.DM 698, 3. For Khaemtir see pp. 238-9 below.

⁵⁶⁹ For Iru-nofre(t)/Irtnofret as the wife of Penbuy (i) see p. 194 below.

⁵⁷⁰ Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, pl. 17; PM I:1, p. 3 at (5); KRI I:412:7-12.

all seven men were in fact the sons of Sennedjem (i).⁵⁷¹ Several of these men appear in another vignette on the SE wall of TT 1 standing behind Khabekhnet (i) and his wife Sahte (i).⁵⁷² Beneath Khabekhnet there stands a small girl named Henutweret (i), who is presumably his daughter. Seated at the head of this group are two men, Tutuia (i) and his brother Mose (ix); their relationship to either Khabekhnet (i) or Sennedjem (i) is as yet unclear. However, since Mose (x) is elsewhere named (within TT 2) amongst the children of Sennedjem (i),⁵⁷³ the likelihood that both men were the sons of Sennedjem (i) remains strong. Nevertheless, Kitchen's suggestion that they were brothers of Sennedjem (i) should not be summarily dismissed.⁵⁷⁴ The small girl, Taia (ii), who is shown standing beneath the chair of Mose (ix), may have been his daughter, named after his sister-in-law. The names of several remaining children of Sennedjem (i) have survived from an inscription in TT 2 as [Re]weben(?) (v), Ta'ashsen (ii) and Taha(y)nu (iv).⁵⁷⁵ In fact, Ta'ashsen (ii) is further attested as a sister of Khabekhnet (i) on a fragmentary base.⁵⁷⁶

During his study of New Kingdom chronology, Bierbrier chose to overlook the immediate family of Khabekhnet (i).⁵⁷⁷ However, a closer investigation of the inscriptions preserved in Khabekhnet's tomb (TT 2)⁵⁷⁸ reveals a family as extensive as that of his father, Sennedjem (i). A stela found in the forecourt of the tomb contains the names of Khabekhnet (i), his brother Khons (ii) and a group of children: Mose, Anhotep, Amenemheb, Isis (xvi) and Henutweret.⁵⁷⁹ Since Mose (xi), Amenemheb (vii) and Henutweret (i) are elsewhere attested as children of Khabekhnet (i),⁵⁸⁰ it is most likely that this entire group comprised his offspring rather than that of Khons (ii). Amongst a second group of children of Khabekhnet listed in a register on the north wall of the hall, we meet the sons Sennedjem (ii), Piay (vii), Bakenanuy (ii) and Kha (i) and the daughters Webkhet (viii), Mutemopet (iv) and Nofretkhau (iv).⁵⁸¹ Furthermore, 'her' (=Sahte's) sister Henutwa'ti (iii) and brother Wadjshemsu (i) are also named in this scene. The fact that both were related to Sahte (i) is borne out by the appearance of a Wadjshemsu in TT 335 as the brother of Nakhtamun (ii),⁵⁸² who was himself a brother of Sahte (i). Similarly, we learn that a Henutweret (ii) was a sister of Khabekhnet (i). Texts on the flanks of a statue-group of Khabekhnet (i) and Sahte (i)⁵⁸³ have preserved the names of three further daughters of

⁵⁷¹ Ramose and Anhotep are elsewhere named explicitly as the sons of either Sennedjem (i) or Iyinofteti (iii) (pyramidion: Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, pp. 16-18, pls. 10-11; KRI I:412; Bankes stela no. 6: Černý, *Bankes*; PM I:2, p. 722 (a); KRI I:413).

⁵⁷² Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, p. 62, pl. 26; PM I:1, p. 3 at (8); KRI I:411.

⁵⁷³ PM I:1, p. 6 at (6) I; Bruyère, *Répertoire*, pp. 22-23; KRI III:812:8.

⁵⁷⁴ *RITANC* I, p. 303.

⁵⁷⁵ PM I:1, p. 7 at (10/11); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 15-17; KRI III:804:1-7.

⁵⁷⁶ PM I:2, p. 703; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), p. 333, pl. 19:5/6; KRI III:817:6.

⁵⁷⁷ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁷⁸ PM I:1, pp. 6-9; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 10-37; Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, pp. 22-56; KRI III:799-816.

⁵⁷⁹ PM I:1, p. 6 at (3); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 32-33; Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, pp. 53-55; KRI III:800-01.

⁵⁸⁰ Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 14, 17; KRI III:803:10, 805:15, 806:1-2. For Wadjshemsu as the probable husband of Henutweret (i) see p. 182 below.

⁵⁸¹ PM I:1, p. 7 at (10) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 16; KRI III:804-05.

⁵⁸² PM I:1, p. 402 at (16) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 131-32, fig. 89; KRI III:672:9.

⁵⁸³ PM I:1, p. 7 at (14); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 27-29; KRI III:812-13.

theirs - Roy (i), Nodjemmut (i)⁵⁸⁴ and Wab(et) (iv), in addition to their grandchildren Mose, Khaemseba and Mutkhati. Unfortunately, the parentage of these grandchildren is not explicitly stated in the extant inscriptions. Finally, it is probable that Baki (vi) and Amenmose (xii), who appear in TT 2, were the sons of Khabekhnet (ii), since they appear alongside Piay (vii) and Webkhet (viii).⁵⁸⁵

Sahte (i) appears, accompanied by her husband Khabekhnet (i), in the sepulchre (TT 335) of her brother Nakhtamun (ii).⁵⁸⁶ This appearance conveniently places Khabekhnet (i) firmly within the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.⁵⁸⁷ However, his absence from the famous year 40 ostrakon of that reign is conspicuous; this should not mean that it is summarily assumed that Khabekhnet (i) was not still active at this time. Alternatively, his brother, Khons (ii), may be identified with the Khons who is named in this text,⁵⁸⁸ following the suggestion made by Bierbrier.⁵⁸⁹ Nevertheless, we should take note that Bierbrier did not account for the existence of a contemporaneous sculptor named Khons (i), who was the son of Piay (ii), and to whom the reference in O.BM 5634 may equally have applied. From the inscriptions in TT 2 we are able to ascertain that the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Khons (ii) was married to the lady Tameket.⁵⁹⁰ It is likely that she is the same lady Tameket who is named elsewhere in this tomb as the daughter of Wern(ur)o (v).⁵⁹¹ The name Wernuro is not at all uncommon at Deir el-Medina during this period, though two possible identifications spring immediately to mind: (a) Wernuro (iii), wife of Ramose; (b) Wernuro (i), wife of Thuthirmaktef (i). The first of these alternatives can be dismissed on chronological grounds. Nevertheless we will, in due course, show below (p. 89) that Thuthirmaktef (i) was probably quite advanced in years by the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II, which would allow him to be a possible candidate for the father of Tameket (i). A scene in TT 2, in which the ritual pilgrimage to Abydos is depicted, names Nekhemmut (i) and Nakhy (vi) as sons, and Sennedjem (iii) as a grandson, of Khons (ii).⁵⁹² Two further children of Khons (ii), namely Amennakht (xxix) and Isis (x), are also depicted in a scene from this tomb.⁵⁹³

Nekhemmut (i) appears on a stela, datable by cartouche to the reign of Ramesses II, together with his wife Webkhet (vi) and their grown-up children Khons (v), Tamek(et) (ii) and Tasak(et) (i).⁵⁹⁴ It is possible that Webkhet (vi) is to be identified with Webkhet (viii), the daughter of Khabekhnet (i),

⁵⁸⁴ Nodjemmut (i) is elsewhere only attested simply as a granddaughter of Sennedjem (i) in TT 2 (PM I:1, p. 6 at (4); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 11; KRI III:801:14).

⁵⁸⁵ PM I:1, p. 7 at (8/9); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 13; KRI III:802:10-12.

⁵⁸⁶ PM I:1, p. 402 at (7); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 122, figs. 83-84; KRI III:670:13.

⁵⁸⁷ Khabekhnet appears in at least two documents which can be safely dated before year 40 of Ramesses II: O.Gardiner 199, II:7; O.Gardiner 116, vso. 3.

⁵⁸⁸ O.BM 5634, vso. 10.

⁵⁸⁹ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 199.

⁵⁹⁰ PM I:1, p. 6 at (7) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 20; KRI III:812:10-14.

⁵⁹¹ PM I:1, p. 6 at (6) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 22; KRI III:811:14. Unfortunately the name of her father has since been lost.

⁵⁹² PM I:1, p. 6 at (5) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 24; KRI III:810:7-11; cf. the pyramidion of Khons (ii) found in TT 1 (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, pp. 14-16, pl. IX; KRI III:822; Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 199, n. 5).

⁵⁹³ PM I:1, p. 6 at (7) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 20; KRI III:812:10-14.

⁵⁹⁴ Bankes stela no. 9 (PM I:2, p. 729; Černý, *Bankes*, No. 9; KRI III:781-82).

which would mean that she was married to her first cousin.⁵⁹⁵ Further evidence supporting this suggestion may be found in an inscription on a fragment of a stela from Medinet Habu. Here a Nekhemmut is referred to as a 'son', possibly son-in-law, of Khabekhnet (i).⁵⁹⁶ Furthermore, the same text also states that this Nekhemmut was married to a Webkh(et).

In his more recent study of the family of Sennedjem (i), Bierbrier has attempted to calculate that Nekhemmut (i) was born c. year 25 of Ramesses II and had survived long enough to have become one of the foremen of the workforce between years 11 and 15 of Ramesses III.⁵⁹⁷ Furthermore, it should be noted that an entry in year 22 of Ramesses III does not name the chief <workman> Nekh[emmut] as was the suggestion of Janssen,⁵⁹⁸ but in fact should be read simply as 'Anakhtu'.⁵⁹⁹ Whilst Bierbrier's argumentation remains most convincing, I remain sceptical as to whether Nekhemmut (i) would have been active enough, as an octogenarian, to have served as foreman as late as the middle of the reign of Ramesses III. One factor in mitigation of Bierbrier's hypothesis is that Nekhemmut's son, Khons, and grandson, Nekhemmut, were, as we shall find below, both active on the gang at about this time. The simple resolution to this chronological dilemma would be to bring forward the date of birth of Nekhemmut (i), and thereby decrease his age at death. However, there is an obstacle inherent in opposing this suggestion. It has been noted that Nekhemmut (i) appears as an adult in TT 2, parts of which were completed before year 38 of Ramesses II. One could, with justification, argue that the section of the tomb in which Nekhemmut appears was added at a later date, or even that Nekhemmut was still only a child, though depicted as an adult. This same artistic device may have been employed on the Bankes stela, where Nekhemmut (i)'s children are depicted as adults in the reign of Ramesses II.⁶⁰⁰ Until further evidence becomes available, we shall continue to adopt the theory proposed by Bierbrier.

Nekhemmut (i) first occurs during the reign of Amenmesses.⁶⁰¹ His career, on the right side of the gang, can be followed into the closing years of the XIXth Dynasty.⁶⁰² By year 11 of Ramesses III he had acquired the office of foreman,⁶⁰³ and was to serve in this capacity for the next four years or so.⁶⁰⁴ Khons (v), the son of Nekhemmut (i), is therefore probably the workman who first appears in year 1 of Siptah.⁶⁰⁵ Bierbrier's suggestion that Khons (v) had probably served as 'deputy'⁶⁰⁶ may in fact be shown to be true. A 'deputy' Khons appears in a text which, by virtue of the appearance of the scribe Wennefer, the draftsman Hori and a Kasa, who is not attested after year 6 of Ramesses VI,⁶⁰⁷

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 201 f.

⁵⁹⁶ Brundage, *Some Blocks Med. Habu*, p. 47, no. XV; *KRI* VII:213.

⁵⁹⁷ *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 201.

⁵⁹⁸ O.DM 222, 4:11; Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 70, n. 127.

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 104.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. the comments of Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 201.

⁶⁰¹ O.CGC 25779, vso. 3, 6.

⁶⁰² O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:5.

⁶⁰³ O.Geneva MAH 12550, vso. 1.

⁶⁰⁴ O.Florence 2619, vso. 8.

⁶⁰⁵ O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 3; not year 6 of Seti II as maintained by Bierbrier, *LNKE*, pp. 31-32; idem, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 202.

⁶⁰⁶ *LNKE*, p. 32.

⁶⁰⁷ O.BM 50730, rto. 4.

most probably dates from the first half of the reign of Ramesses III.⁶⁰⁸ It should, however, be remembered that both a deputy Khons (vi) and a scribe Wennefer (viii) are attested during the reign of Ramesses IX. Because of the prominent position that he is accorded in a property dispute dated in year 13 of Ramesses III, following the names of the foreman Nekhemmut and the scribe Wennefer, and preceding that of the draftsman Hori, Khons (v) may well have been acting in the capacity of 'deputy' at that time.⁶⁰⁹ According to Bierbrier, Khons (v) makes his first appearance as foreman in year 16 of Ramesses III.⁶¹⁰ The entry which refers to this incident is dated to the '1st month of Shomu, day 7'.⁶¹¹ A subsequent entry on the verso of this document is headed 'Year 16 (of Ramesses III), 1st month of Shomu, day 20 (+x)'.⁶¹² It is probable that the inclusion of the regnal date here is an indication that a change in regnal year had taken place between years 15 and 16 on day 26 of the 1st month of Shomu. This would therefore show that Khons (v) was operative as foreman late in year 15 of Ramesses III. Alternatively, if the entries on the verso had been compiled before those of the recto, the date in which Khons (v) appears fell either at the end of year 16 or 17, depending on whether or not the verso date, mentioned above, fell before day 26 of the 1st month of Shomu.

The appearance of the 'foreman' Khons in a document which is dated to a year 10 certainly merits an explanation.⁶¹³ The reign can definitely be identified as that of Ramesses III, due to the mention of Hori, son of Huynefer. However, both Černý⁶¹⁴ and Bierbrier⁶¹⁵ have corrected the date to read as 'year 16', whilst Gutgesell, preferring not to make any emendation, has suggested that this foreman was the immediate predecessor of Nekhemmut (i).⁶¹⁶ Černý proposed that the wrong date had been written on O.Mich. 1 as the result of a scribal error. Furthermore, the reasoning behind his emendation was subsequently explained by the close assimilation that he drew between O.Mich. 1 and O.Mich. 2, the latter being dated to year 16. Admittedly the subject matter of both texts is remarkably similar in certain respects. For example, both are concerned with a donkey belonging to Hori, son of Huynefer, and the scribe Neferhotep is mentioned in both cases. However, the similarities end here and should not be used to form the sole basis on which to alter the date of a document by six years. In fact, there is no proof that the two texts are describing the same events; had this even been true, we can cite several other occasions on which business transactions between villagers remained unresolved over the course of many years of disputing.⁶¹⁷ Therefore, if we reject Černý's hypothesis, the appearance of a foreman Khons in year 10 of Ramesses III remains difficult to substantiate. The possibility that Nekhemmut (i) had delegated his duty as foreman to his son Khons (v) is, at best, merely speculative guesswork, though evidence that a son may have deputised as 'foreman' for his father during the reign

⁶⁰⁸ O.Prague H.10; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 356-57.

⁶⁰⁹ O.CGC 25555, rto. 2-3.

⁶¹⁰ Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 189; cf. Wolterman, 'A Vizier of Ramses III visits an Oracle of Amun and Deir el-Medina', *RdE* 47 (1996), p. 159.

⁶¹¹ Pap. DeM 26, rto. A, 9.

⁶¹² Pap. DeM 26, vso. A, 2:1.

⁶¹³ O.Mich. 1, 5.

⁶¹⁴ *Community*, p. 306, n. 7.

⁶¹⁵ *LNKE*, p. 32, n. 102.

⁶¹⁶ *Datierung*, p. 93, n. 2.

⁶¹⁷ E.g., O.OIC 12073; O.Turin 9611 (=N.57381).

of Ramesses IX does exist.⁶¹⁸ In spite of this, the career of the foreman Khons (v) can be firmly traced from year 18 to 31 of Ramesses III.⁶¹⁹ A document from year 14 of Ramesses III proves that the foreman Nekhemmut (i) and his wife Webkhet (vi) were still alive at that date.⁶²⁰ This text also provides the earliest datable evidence for the workman Amenkhau (i), son of Nekhemmut (i).⁶²¹ However, three years later Amenkhau (i) had seen himself promoted as one of the deputies of the gang, serving alongside his colleague Anhurkhawy (ii).⁶²² The name of the deputy Amenkhau (i) is common amongst the records of Deir el-Medina during the reign of Ramesses III. Further mention of him occurs in years 2⁶²³ and 6⁶²⁴ of Ramesses IV as well as in a 'year 7' of an unspecified reign.⁶²⁵ This reign can be none other than that of Ramesses IV,⁶²⁶ since by year 2 of Ramesses V he had been succeeded as 'deputy' by his grandson Heqmare-*anerhat*-Amun (i), called *Paiabu-nakht* ('strong panther').⁶²⁷ A son of Amenkhau (i) appears in a graffito as the 'temple scribe' Nekhemmut (ii).⁶²⁸ Nekhemmut (ii)'s full-time profession seems to have been that of a 'draftsman'.⁶²⁹ However, another graffito names the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth' Nekhemmut as the son of the 'deputy' Amennakht.⁶³⁰ On chronological grounds, it is highly unlikely that the deputy Amennakht (xii), who operated later in the XXth Dynasty and who is undoubtedly to be identified with the foreman Amennakht (vi) from the reign of Ramesses X, had been the father-in-law of Nekhemmut (ii). It is therefore probable that there was a second draftsman, Nekhemmut, the son of the deputy/foreman Amennakht (vi)/Amennakht (xii). In fact we shall discuss below (p. 71) that Amennakht (vi)/Amennakht (xii) was married to Tahefnu (i), daughter of a Nekhemmut. This Nekhemmut can be identified with either the draftsman Nekhemmut (ii) or the foreman Nekhemmut (vi).

Nekhemmut (ii), son of Amenkhau (i), appears in year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁶³¹ It is possible that he is to be identified as the 'scribe' who fell-out 'with his people' towards the end of the reign of Ramesses

⁶¹⁸ See below p. 57 for Usikhopesh deputising for Nekhemmut (vi).

⁶¹⁹ O.DM 422, vso. 1-2; O.Gardiner 68, 6.

⁶²⁰ O.Gardiner 272; KRI VII:283-84.

⁶²¹ O.Gardiner 272, 3.

⁶²² O.Florence 2620, 2.

⁶²³ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 8.

⁶²⁴ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. I:3.

⁶²⁵ O.DM 207, 2.

⁶²⁶ Not Ramesses VIII as proposed by Černý, *Community*, p. 136; followed by Borghouts, in *Gleanings*, p. 71.

⁶²⁷ Graffito no. 1696 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, pp. 10, 74 end; KRI VI:246:14-247:1; Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), p. 119); see also Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 228; Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 205.

⁶²⁸ No. 1082 (PM I:2, p. 593; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 208, fig. 107; Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 2, pl. 4; KRI VI:204:16-205:1). From the facsimile provided in Černý's publication of this inscription, it is apparent that the names of the 'temple scribe Nekhemmut' and his father Amenkhau had been inserted in lines 2-3 of a graffito, previously left on the rock face by the draftsman Harmin, son of Hori. However, I am uncertain whether the so-called 'brother' Hori (vi) was the relative of Harmin or Nekhemmut.

⁶²⁹ Graffito no. 2404 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 57; KRI VI:219:1).

⁶³⁰ No. 1968 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 29; KRI VI:434:12).

⁶³¹ O.DM 41, vso. 6; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 204, who identifies him with a scribe, Nekhemmut, who is attested in year 31 of Ramesses III.

III.⁶³² He may well be identified with a Nekhemmut who occurs in year 8 of Ramesses IX,⁶³³ though this could equally have been Nekhemmut (iv), son of Amenwa. Nekhemmut (ii)'s son was probably Panakhtemneb (i), since a Panakht is recorded in a graffito as the son of the 'temple scribe' Nekhemmut.⁶³⁴ Further evidence for this relationship is provided by a fragment of the *Stato Civile*.⁶³⁵ Here Panakhtemneb is named as the son of Nekh[emmut] (ii) and Isisemheb (i), the daughter of Qen[...], whilst Mutemopet (v) is named as the couple's daughter. A second son of the 'temple scribe' Nekhemmut (ii) was the 'deputy' Heqmare-'anerhat-Amun (i) (also known as Paiahu), who succeeded his grandfather in this post.⁶³⁶ A third possible son of Amenkhau (i) is Penanuqet (i), who is named as a 'brother' of Nekhemmut (ii), son of Amenkhau (i).⁶³⁷ Bierbrier, however, doubts this relationship and adds his own suggestion that this Penanuqet was probably the son of Prehotep.⁶³⁸ Nevertheless, the name of Penanuqet does not stand in isolation within Nekhemmut's family. Further evidence is afforded by a graffito which reads: 'The chief workman Nekhemmut, his son Khons, his brother, Penanuqet'.⁶³⁹ The foreman Nekhemmut in question may have been either Nekhemmut (i) or Nekhemmut (vi), since both men had sons by the name of Khons. If this allusion was indeed to Nekhemmut (vi), then the term *sn*, which was used in reference to Penanuqet, may have been used to denote 'cousin', i.e., Penanuqet (i), son of Amenkhau (i).

The son of Khons (v), Nekhemmut (vi), is attested with his father in a number of graffiti.⁶⁴⁰ Bierbrier claims that Nekhemmut (vi) first occurs on the gang in year 19 of Ramesses III.⁶⁴¹ However, his activity on the workforce prior to this date is secured by his attestation, as a 'servant <in> the Place of Truth', in a graffito which can be dated before year 16 of Ramesses III.⁶⁴² Nekhemmut (vi)'s name appears frequently amongst the work records in the later years of the reign of Ramesses III.⁶⁴³ In fact his arrest and imprisonment in year 25⁶⁴⁴ does not appear to have had a detrimental effect on his career, for we learn that he had been promoted to the foremanship by year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁶⁴⁵ His last dated attestation in this office occurs in year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁴⁶ In years 3 of Ramesses V⁶⁴⁷

⁶³² O.DM 36, rto. I:1; Černý, *Community*, p. 212, assumes that this Nekhemmut held a position as one of the village scribes.

⁶³³ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 4:12.

⁶³⁴ No. 2002 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 31; *KRI VI*:218:16).

⁶³⁵ Černý Nb. 15, p. 79.

⁶³⁶ Graffito no. 1696 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, pp. 10, 74; *KRI VI*:246:14-15). Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 205, has suggested that Nekhemmut (ii), son of Amenkhau (i), should be identified as the childless Nekhemmut, the subject of a scathing tirade in letter O.Berlin P.10627. However, there is no evidence contained in the letter to prove that the addressee was Nekhemmut (ii) any more than another villager of that name.

⁶³⁷ Graffito no. 1710 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 11; *KRI VI*:218:15).

⁶³⁸ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 204.

⁶³⁹ No. 1735 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 14; *KRI V*:627:3).

⁶⁴⁰ E.g., nos. 613 (a) (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 50; *KRI V*:626:1) and 2661 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 114; *KRI V*:626:5-7).

⁶⁴¹ *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 203; O.Berlin P.11254, 2.

⁶⁴² No. 2661 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 114; *KRI V*:626:5-7).

⁶⁴³ E.g., O.Turin N.57028, rto. 1; O.DM 148, rto. 16.

⁶⁴⁴ O.Turin N.57556, rto. 2.

⁶⁴⁵ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 6.

⁶⁴⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 25, l. 2.

and 1 of Ramesses VI⁶⁴⁸ we encounter the workman Nebnefer (xv), son of Khons.⁶⁴⁹ According to Bierbrier this Nebnefer (xv) was a son of Khons (v).⁶⁵⁰ Unfortunately it is difficult to distinguish him from the many Nebnefers who operated during the XXth Dynasty. In one graffito, the foreman Nekhemmut is attested with his 'brother', the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Qen.⁶⁵¹ This name is most probably an elision of Qenhirkhopshef, who appears as the recipient of a letter from his brother, the 'wa'b-priest' Nekhemmut.⁶⁵² There is, however, no further proof that both men were related by blood.⁶⁵³ The son of a foreman Nekhemmut is called the 'wa'b-priest' Neferhor (v) in a graffito which also names the deputy Hay (vii).⁶⁵⁴ Since Hay (vii) is not attested in this office until year 27 of Ramesses III, the foreman mentioned here can undoubtedly be identified as Nekhemmut (vi).

Bierbrier has already discussed the implications of the texts which are preserved in TT 2B.⁶⁵⁵ He places particular importance on the possible existence of a second Neferhor, son of Khons (v). The text on wall A, to the right of the door,⁶⁵⁶ names the foreman Khons (v), his son Nekhemmut (vi) and his brother, the deputy Amenkhau (i). The text breaks off at this point. The next name is that of '[the wa'b-priest]⁶⁵⁷ of the Lord of the Two Lands' Neferhor and 'his' sons: Hay, Pamedunakht, Amenwa, Khons and Neferonpet. Bierbrier's suggestion that Hay, Pamedunakht and Amenwa may have been the sons-in-law of Nekhemmut (vi) seems logical enough.⁶⁵⁸ On the other hand Neferhor, Khons and Neferonpet are each elsewhere attested as children of Nekhemmut (vi). A further inscription, written in the doorway to the second room, again names Khons (v), his son Nekhemmut (vi) and his son 'the wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands' Neferhor.⁶⁵⁹ In each instance the word for son (*sꜣ*) is written with a different sign; this inconsistency may indicate a deliberate shift in emphasis on the filial relationship which the author meant to convey.⁶⁶⁰

It is unlikely that Neferhor (v), son of Nekhemmut (vi) is to be identified with the workman/wa'b-priest Neferhor (vi) who is active in years 14 and 17 of Ramesses III,⁶⁶¹ and whose name appears amongst the turnus records from the final decade of this reign. This Neferhor (vi) may very well be identified with Neferhor, son of Ipuy, who occurs in year 2 of Ramesses IV as was suggested by

⁶⁴⁷ Pap. Ash. Mus. 1945.95, I:19.

⁶⁴⁸ O.BM 50730, rto. 2.

⁶⁴⁹ He also appears in the undated Pap. DeM 2, rto. 7-8.

⁶⁵⁰ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 33; idem, *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 202-203.

⁶⁵¹ No. 612 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 50; *KRI* VI:201:14).

⁶⁵² O.DM 115 (*KRI* VI:448).

⁶⁵³ This man may be identified with the workman Qenhirkhopshef (iv), son of Khaemnun (see further p. 254 below).

⁶⁵⁴ No. 1852 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 20; *KRI* V:627:5).

⁶⁵⁵ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 203, 208; for the texts in question see PM I:1, p. 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 36; *KRI* VI:199-200.

⁶⁵⁶ *KRI* VI:199:14 ff.

⁶⁵⁷ For this restoration see below.

⁶⁵⁸ *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 208-09; for Pamedunakht (i) as a son of Hay (viii) see p. 73 below.

⁶⁵⁹ *KRI* VI:200:3.

⁶⁶⁰ This same device is employed in the text on wall A discussed above.

⁶⁶¹ O.CGC 25555, vso. 6; O.Florence 2620, 2.

Bierbrier.⁶⁶² His father would then most probably have been the workman Ipuy (iii) who is known to have served between years 14 and 24 of Ramesses III, and perhaps even as late as year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁶⁶³ It is possible that Ipuy (iii)'s wife was the lady Mertseger (ii).⁶⁶⁴ However, in year 20 of Ramesses III a workman Ipuy is recorded as having given certain property to the lady Nub(em)iry(t) (iv), who may have been his wife.⁶⁶⁵ It is possible that this woman is to be identified with Nubemiryt (i), daughter of Hesysunebef (i). Finally, Neferhor (vi) may have been active on the workforce as late as the second year of Ramesses V.⁶⁶⁶

The Neferhor who is named in a graffito as the father of Ipuy (viii) is likely to be identified with Neferhor (vi), son of Ipuy (iii).⁶⁶⁷ Also named here are Ipuy (viii)'s sons, Khons (vii) and Neferhor (vii). A second graffito reveals Khons (vii)'s nickname as Painefer, whilst referring to a Neferhor as 'brother' of Ipuy (viii), son of Neferhor.⁶⁶⁸ It is possible that Neferhor (ii), the cousin (*sn*) of Ipuy (viii), was meant in this inscription. The *Stato Civile* records that Ipuy (viii), son of Neferhor (i)/(vi) and Merutmut (ii), was married to Henutmire (i), the daughter of Nekhemmut (vi) and Hathor (ix).⁶⁶⁹ We also learn from this entry the names of four daughters of Ipuy (viii), namely Henutneteru (ii), Duanofret (ii), Hathor (x) and Isis (xii).⁶⁷⁰ The identity of Neferhor, father of the 'wa'b'-priest and servant in the Place of Truth' Nebnefer (xix), remains as yet unclear. In another graffito Ipuy (viii)'s titles include those of 'god's father' and 'draftsman'.⁶⁷¹ Ipuy (viii) may have been the workman of that name who is mentioned in a 'year 2' ostrakon which dates from the reign of one of the successors of Ramesses III.⁶⁷² It is certainly likely that Ipuy (viii) was still active in year 11 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁷³ In fact, there is a good chance that Ipuy (viii) served the administration at some time as one of the 'foremen'. An undated graffito refers to the 'chief workman <in> the Place of Truth' Ipuy alongside the name of Harmose.⁶⁷⁴ The name of the 'chief workman' Ipuy can also be restored in an ostrakon.⁶⁷⁵ From several inscriptions we know that Ipuy (ii), the father of the famous 'scribe' Amennakht (v), was referred to as 'chief workman'.⁶⁷⁶ Černý has proposed that Ipuy (ii) was active as 'foreman' (for the

⁶⁶² Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 9; Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 208.

⁶⁶³ For Ipuy (iii) see p. 152 below.

⁶⁶⁴ O.Petrie 31, rto. 2:1.

⁶⁶⁵ O.Berlin P.12636, 2.

⁶⁶⁶ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 6; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁶⁶⁷ No. 1933 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 27; *KRI* VI:675:1).

⁶⁶⁸ No. 2777 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 123; *KRI* VI:675:3).

⁶⁶⁹ Černý Nb. 15, p. 76; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 209.

⁶⁷⁰ Černý Nb. 15, pp. 76-77; MSS. 3.682 J, frag. 42+50.

⁶⁷¹ No. 1976 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 29; *KRI* VI:675:2).

⁶⁷² O.DM 634, 2:5; this dating is based on the occurrence of the name of the guardian Khay (iv).

⁶⁷³ Pap. Turin 1891, vso. 3, 5; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 210-11. The entry in this document is almost certainly to be restored as 'Ipuy, <son of> Neferhor'.

⁶⁷⁴ No. 176 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 19).

⁶⁷⁵ O.Turin N.57121 (López, *Ostraca Ieratici* III:2, pl. 57).

⁶⁷⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 345; unpubl. graffito no. 1451. Graffito no. 2705 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 117) names the 'chief workman' Ipuy as the father of the 'draftsman' Amennakht; cf. graffito no. 2664 (a), in which an unidentified Ipuy is referred to as 'chief workman in the Place of Truth'.

'right side') at the start of the XXth Dynasty.⁶⁷⁷ This suggestion is indeed attractive, though as yet it has not been independently substantiated. Furthermore, it is possible that the Harmose, who appears alongside the foreman Ipuy, is to be identified with the foreman Harmose (ii).⁶⁷⁸ However, we know that throughout Harmose (ii)' tenure as foreman, his opposite number was always Nekhemmut (vi). Therefore, it is unlikely, though not impossible, that a foreman Ipuy served opposite Harmose (ii). Nevertheless, I am similarly unaware of a Harmose who was active contemporaneously with Ipuy (ii). Consequently, the argument for the existence of two independent foremen, both named Ipuy, one serving at the beginning of the XXth Dynasty, the other towards its end, can be reasonably proposed.

Ipuy (viii)'s son, Neferhor (vii), is attested in year 16 of Ramesses IX,⁶⁷⁹ though he had passed away by the following year.⁶⁸⁰ A third son of Ipuy (viii), not mentioned by Bierbrier, may have been Ahautynefer (i), son of Ipuy, who occurs in year 4 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁸¹ It is possible that Ahautynefer is to be identified with the 'potter' Ahauty who was active between year 7 of Ramesses IX and years 8/10 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁸² Were this shown to be true, Ahauty's own son, the 'potter' Bakenmut (iv),⁶⁸³ would have shared his name with his more illustrious cousin, the foreman Bakenmut (i).

The name of the workman Khons appears in the record of one of Khaemnun's depositions, which post-dates year 3 of Ramesses V,⁶⁸⁴ and in a second text which is probably to be dated to 'year 1' of Ramesses VI.⁶⁸⁵ Either, or both, of these attestations may have referred to Khons (vi), son of Nekhemmut (vi), or less likely to Khons (vii), son of Ipuy (viii). Bierbrier has cleverly restored an entry in the *Stato Civile*, in which the name of the wife of Khons (vi) is recorded as Taweretemheb (ii), daughter of Nebnefer (xxiii) and Merutanqet (i).⁶⁸⁶ In fact Khons (vii) appears in year 8 of Ramesses IX,⁶⁸⁷ and is further mentioned in years 9 and 17 of that reign.⁶⁸⁸ He was eventually to serve as one of the 'chief workmen' between years 8 and 10 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁸⁹ The 'deputy' Khons is attested in several papyri.⁶⁹⁰ The appearance of the deputy Khons in Pap. Turin 1881 has been shown

⁶⁷⁷ *Community*, p. 345; cf. Bierbrier, 'Ipuy in Cracow', p. 22. On his stela Pahatia (i) is named as a brother of Ipuy (ii) (Roccati, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I, pp. 281-83). I am aware of only three further definite attestations of the name Pahatia at Deir el-Medina (Pap. Berlin P.10497, rto. 4, 16; O.DM 580, rto. 3; O.CGC 25677, rto. 3a). However, an ambiguous entry in O.Gardiner 130, 2-3 (=KRI VII:304; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 363-64), names the 'setem'-priest of the temple of Amenophis I, Pamerihu', as the subordinate of *p3 h3ty-ḥ*. An interpretation of this last word as either the personal name Pahatia or as 'the Mayor' is possible.

⁶⁷⁸ No. 176 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 19); Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 211, n. 2.

⁶⁷⁹ KRI VI:651:11.

⁶⁸⁰ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 4.

⁶⁸¹ Pap. Turin 1905, rto. 4.

⁶⁸² Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 5:1; Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 16, l. 2; Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, 1:12.

⁶⁸³ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 1a:5.

⁶⁸⁴ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 2.

⁶⁸⁵ O.BM 50730, rto. 7; the cartouche of Ramesses VI is written at the head of the verso.

⁶⁸⁶ Černý Nb. 15, p. 70; Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 208. It is possible that Nebnefer (xxiii) is to be identified with Nebnefer (xv), son of Khons (v).

⁶⁸⁷ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 3:5; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 245-48.

⁶⁸⁸ Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. 1:2; Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 2.

⁶⁸⁹ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 2:3.

⁶⁹⁰ Pleyte & Rossi, pls. 108-111; Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 6:7; Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 2:5.

to date most probably to year 7 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁹¹ Alternatively, Bell has preferred to date Pap. Turin 1881, in which the foreman Harmose (ii) is named together with the deputy Khons, within the reign of Ramesses VI.⁶⁹² However, the earliest known definite date for Harmose (ii) is year 8 of Ramesses VII.⁶⁹³ Furthermore, the datings of Pleyte & Rossi, pls. 108-111 (years 7-8) and Pap. Turin 2084+2091 (years 7-8) are considerably more problematic. Both texts may in fact belong to the reign of Ramesses IX, or possibly to an earlier period, e.g., Ramesses VI/Ramesses VII. In view of the fact that the deputy Khons disappears before year 15 of Ramesses IX, he is most likely to have been identified with Khons (vi).⁶⁹⁴

It was noted above that Khons (vii)'s sobriquet was Painefer. It is therefore plausible that the foreman Khons (vii) is to be correlated with the foreman Painefer, whose opposite number is known to have been the foreman Paisen.⁶⁹⁵ Several men are referred to as a 'son of Khons' towards the end of the XXth Dynasty, though there is scant evidence to support their identification as a son of Khons (vii). The workman Iyernutef, son of Khons, who is cited in year 8 of Ramesses IX⁶⁹⁶ is most probably the grandson of the sculptor Iyernutef (iii).⁶⁹⁷ Five further sons of Khons appear as follows: Kha(em)bekhnet, Montuhatef and Pentaweret (x) all occur in year 17 of Ramesses IX,⁶⁹⁸ whereas Bakenmut and Amenpanefer are attested in year 2 of Ramesses X.⁶⁹⁹

It is reasonable to suggest that the deputy, Khaembekhnet (i), who is mentioned in year 2 of Ramesses X, was a son of Khons (vii).⁷⁰⁰ However, following an uncertain length of time in this office, it would appear that by year 8 of Ramesses XI, Khaembekhnet (i) had been returned to the rank and file of workmen (on the 'right' side).⁷⁰¹ As a workman he is still attested two years later.⁷⁰² It therefore follows that it was on the 'right' side of the crew that Khaembekhnet (i) served temporarily as deputy, perhaps in the stead of his father Khons (vii). Because of the rarity of his name, Montuhatef (ii), son of Khons, may well be correlated with the 'sculptor' Montuhatef (i) who appears on a stela dedicated by [Khaemhedjet?] (i) and his son the scribe Thutmose (ii) towards the end of the XXth Dynasty.⁷⁰³ He is also cited, serving on the 'right' side of the gang, between years 8 and 10 of

⁶⁹¹ Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 2:5; Wente & Van Siclen, *Hughes*, pp. 241-42; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 135, with n. 2. Another criterion for this dating is the appearance of the scribe Khaemhedjet (i) (rto. 8:10) who is only otherwise attested towards the end of the reign of Ramesses IX.

⁶⁹² Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 12-13.

⁶⁹³ Pap. Turin 1883+2095, rto. 6,

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 205, n. 3.

⁶⁹⁵ Gardiner Weight no. 11.

⁶⁹⁶ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 6:13.

⁶⁹⁷ See pp. 185 ff. for this family.

⁶⁹⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pls. 9, l. 3; 11, l. 7; 23, l. 5. Montuhatef, son of Kh[...], appears in the *Stato Civile* (Černý Nb. 15, p. 66).

⁶⁹⁹ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 2:1, 4.

⁷⁰⁰ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 1:7; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 149, has dated p. 1 of the verso in year 1 of Ramesses X.

⁷⁰¹ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, I:11; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 143; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 35.

⁷⁰² Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, II:7; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 151, for the dating of this document.

⁷⁰³ PM I:2, p. 718; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 118-20, pl. 44, fig. 200; KRI VI:876:1.

Ramesses XI.⁷⁰⁴ Note here should be taken that in this last text Montuhatef is also recorded as having operated for the 'left' side.⁷⁰⁵ It is possible that Montuhatef (ii)'s father, Khons, is to be identified with Khons (iv), son of the sculptor Iyernutef (iii).⁷⁰⁶ Final mention of Montuhatef comes in his guise of 'stonemason' in year 18 of Ramesses XI.⁷⁰⁷

Bakenmut is still cited as a workman in years 8-10 of Ramesses XI.⁷⁰⁸ It is likely that he is identifiable as the 'chief workman' Bakenmut (i), who is presumably a son of the 'chief workman' Khons (vii). The names of Bakenmut (i)'s sons are recorded in two graffiti as: the 'servant <in> the Place of Truth' Pinudjem (ii), Khons (viii) and User[...].⁷⁰⁹ Amenpanefer (i), son of Khons, is last cited in years 8-10 of Ramesses XI;⁷¹⁰ he is probably to be identified with the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenpanefer who appears in a graffito together with the scribe, later foreman, Penparei (i), son of Nebnefer.⁷¹¹ It is noticeable that the foreman Bakenmut (i), possibly the brother of Amenpanefer (i), is likewise associated in a graffito with the scribe Penparei (ii).⁷¹² The foreman Bakenmut (i) appears in two texts which are unfortunately not dated.⁷¹³ In LRL 1 the colleague of the foreman Bakenmut (i) is the foreman Amen[...]. Either Amennakht or Amenhotep are possible restorations of the scanty traces of this name. In the case of the latter, it would seem reasonable to infer that a foreman Amenhotep is to be identified with the 'deputy' Amenhotep (iv) who is attested in year 17 of Ramesses XI.⁷¹⁴ By this reckoning Bakenmut (i) and Amenhotep would have been foremen after year 17 of Ramesses XI. This deduction is consistent with Bierbrier's suggestion that by year 20 of Ramesses XI Bakenmut (i) had been succeeded as 'chief workman' by Penparei (i), apparently the son of the foreman Nebnefer (xiii).⁷¹⁵ However, I would attribute LRL 1 with a later dating within the reign of Ramesses XI, thereby giving the following succession for the foremen of the right side: father I (Nebnefer (xiii)) - father II - (Khons (vii)) - son I (Penparei (i)) - son II (Bakenmut (i)).⁷¹⁶

A brother of Neferhor (vi) is probably the 'wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, Qedakhtef (ii), son of the wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ipu', who appears in a graffito dated to year 28 of Ramesses III.⁷¹⁷ Bierbrier's interpretation of the relationships given on a stela in Chicago⁷¹⁸ that

⁷⁰⁴ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 3:8 *passim*.

⁷⁰⁵ Pap. Turin 2018, vso. B, 2:8.

⁷⁰⁶ See above; cf. Bierbrier's comments on the parentage of Montuhatef (i) in *LNKE*, p. 35.

⁷⁰⁷ *RAD*, p. 65:16=Pap. Turin 1888, 1:15.

⁷⁰⁸ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 2:8.

⁷⁰⁹ Nos. 22 and 1007 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 5, 84; *KRI* VI:872:9-12). The activities of Pinudjem (ii) at the end of the XXth Dynasty are more fully documented below on p. 114.

⁷¹⁰ Pap. Turin 2018, D, rto. 6; he should be differentiated from the 'scribe' Amenpanefer who served during the reign of Ramesses IV (O.DM 44, rto. 22).

⁷¹¹ No. 1375 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 71; *KRI* VI:873:9-10).

⁷¹² No. 22 a (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 5; *KRI* VI:872:10).

⁷¹³ Pap. Turin 2021+Geneva D 409, rto. 4:11; LRL 1 (=Pap. Leiden I 369), 1.

⁷¹⁴ *RAD*, p. 67:5.

⁷¹⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 35; for this succession of foremen see also Černý, *Community*, pp. 311-12. The careers of Nebnefer (xiii) and Penparei (i) will be discussed in fuller detail in a later chapter (see pp. 233-4).

⁷¹⁶ For additional evidence in dating Bakenmut (i) towards the end of the reign of Ramesses XI see B.G. Davies, *SAK* 24 (1997), 63-4.

⁷¹⁷ No. 609 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49-50; *KRI* V:528).

the 'wa'b-priest' Neferhor (ii) and the 'high-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands' Ipuy (iv) were the sons of the 'deputy of the workforce' Qedakhtef (ii), and that this Qedakhtef is to be identified as the son of the wa'b-priest Ipuy (iii) are both correct.⁷¹⁹ It is probably this same Qedakhtef (ii) who is named with his sons, Setem (i), Amenhotep (v) and Diamunkhopshef (i) in an undated graffito.⁷²⁰ This Qedakhtef is to be distinguished from the Qedakhtef (iii) who is mentioned in an entry in the *Stato Civile* as the son of Qenymin (i) and Duanofret (i), and who was married to the lady Merutmut (i), daughter of Neferhor (iii).⁷²¹ The children of Qedakhtef (iii) are named as Pa'ankheryiautef (i) and Tawenethor (i).⁷²² Another Qedakhtef (iv), the son of Amenkhau, is attested in year 17 of the reign of Ramesses IX.⁷²³

Bierbrier⁷²⁴ has suggested that the Qedakhtef who is named in year 23 (or 24) of Ramesses III⁷²⁵ and year 3 of Ramesses V⁷²⁶ is presumably to be identified with the deputy Qedakhtef (ii), son of Ipuy (iii), even though an equally likely candidate would have been Qedakhtef (i), son of Hori (iii). There is in fact no proof to substantiate Bierbrier's claim that Qedakhtef (ii), son of Ipuy (iii), served for a short period as a deputy during the reign of Ramesses III before returning to the ranks of workmen. The workman Qedakhtef, who is attested in year 3 of Ramesses V, may have been the son of Hori (iii), and not the son of Ipuy (iii). The deputy Qedakhtef (ii) appears as a contemporary of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii),⁷²⁷ and probably served on the same side of the gang, namely the left.⁷²⁸ A workman Qedakhtef is still active in year 2 of Ramesses V,⁷²⁹ year 8 of Ramesses VII⁷³⁰ and year 8 of Ramesses IX.⁷³¹ These references may relate either to Qedakhtef (iii), son of Qenymin (i), or to Qedakhtef (iv), son of Amenkhau.⁷³²

⁷¹⁸ No. 11107 (PM I:2, p. 728; Cartwright, *AJSL* 45 (1928/29), pp. 188-89, fig. 15; *KRI* V:667).

⁷¹⁹ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 210, see chart on p. 207. That the 'deputy' Qedakhtef (ii) was the son of Ipuy (iii) is made more likely by the priestly title 'wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth' that he is accorded on stela Louvre N.665 [338], in line with his title of 'wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands' in graffito 609.

⁷²⁰ No. 1202 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 11; *KRI* V:670:9).

⁷²¹ Černý Nb. 15, p. 74; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212. It is likely that Duanofret who occurs as the 'mother of Sheri(t)re' (O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 12) is to be identified with Duanofret (i), and not with Duanofret (ii), the daughter of Ipuy (viii), who is attested much later. In fact Wabet (i), a close contemporary of Duanofret (i) (see chart 18), appears in this same text as the 'mother of Khau (>Anhurkhawy (v))' (O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 9).

⁷²² The lady Merutmut who is named as the mother of Tasaket (ii) (O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 10) is to be identified with either Merutmut (i), or with Merutmut (ii), the wife of Neferhor (i)/Neferhor (vi).

⁷²³ *KRI* VI:567:12.

⁷²⁴ *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 210.

⁷²⁵ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 6.

⁷²⁶ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 1.

⁷²⁷ Louvre N.665 [338] (PM I:2, p. 721 (c); Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 190-91, fig. 15; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 109-110, fig. 38; *KRI* VI:196).

⁷²⁸ Černý, *Community*, p. 141. Further evidence for this assumption is the appearance of the 'wa'b-priest and lector of all the gods' Qedakhtef in Anhurkhawy (ii)'s tomb (PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56; *KRI* VI:193:15).

⁷²⁹ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 7; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁷³⁰ Pap. Turin 1883+2095, vso. 3:1.

⁷³¹ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 4:5; Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 2 a.

⁷³² Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212.

It has already been noted above that the workman Khons who appears in the deposition of Khaemnun, some time after year 3 of Ramesses V,⁷³³ may be identified with Khons (vi), son of Nekhemmut (vi). Khons (vi) is attested with his brother, Neferronpet (vi), in a graffito of year 1 of Ramesses VI.⁷³⁴ Another possible son of Nekhemmut (vi) could have been the 'scribe of the Tomb' Djay (i)/Anuy (vii).⁷³⁵ Heqmare-emperkhons (i) occurs with his father, either Nekhemmut (vi) or Nebnefer (xv), on a stela now in Turin.⁷³⁶ A second stela appears to name Khons and Ramesses-Usikhopes (i) as the sons of Nekhemmut (vi).⁷³⁷ Fortunately Ramesses-Usikhopes (i) appears again unequivocally as the son of the foreman Nekhemmut (vi).⁷³⁸ He is undoubtedly the same man as the 'chief workman' Usikhopes (i) who first appears in one of the tomb robbery investigations, dated to year 16 of Ramesses IX.⁷³⁹ A second entry in this papyrus mentions 'the workman Usikhopes (i) who is in the charge of (*nty hry dt n*) the chief workman Nekhemmut'.⁷⁴⁰ Judging by the contextual evidence of both passages, it is apparent that both Usikhopeses are one and the same man.⁷⁴¹ Černý, however, has suggested that one of the titles attributed to Usikhopes is defective. Nevertheless, this example of Usikhopes serving as 'chief workman' for the right side does not stand in isolation, for in year 16 of Ramesses IX he appears in this capacity alongside the opposite foreman Harmose (ii),⁷⁴² and he is attested likewise in year 17,⁷⁴³ and perhaps also in year 18⁷⁴⁴ of the same reign. Černý has wrongly surmised that, since the foreman Nekhemmut is not attested after year 16 of Ramesses IX, the date on which the change in the foremanship from Nekhemmut (vi) to Usikhopes (i) occurred took place in or around this year.⁷⁴⁵ However, Nekhemmut (vi) is indeed mentioned in year 17 of Ramesses IX as noted above (p. 50). It is therefore likely that his son, Usikhopes (i), can on occasion be found deputising as foreman on behalf of his elderly father, Nekhemmut (vi). If Usikhopes (i) did eventually succeed in holding the reins of office, independently of his father, his tenure was short-lived. By year 2 of Ramesses X the foreman for the 'right' side was Nebnefer (xiii), son of Amenemope.⁷⁴⁶ Unfortunately there is no evidence to support Bierbrier's supposition that both Nekhemmut (vi) and Usikhopes (i) may have been dismissed from office as a result of official investigations into tomb-robbery at the end of the reign of Ramesses IX.⁷⁴⁷

⁷³³ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 2.

⁷³⁴ No. 1269 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 16, pl. 40; *KRI* VI:364:12-14).

⁷³⁵ O.CGC 25361, 5; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 222.

⁷³⁶ Turin N.50070 (PM I:2, p. 729; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 107, 293; *KRI* VI:200).

⁷³⁷ PM I:2, p. 729; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1945-47), p. 42, no. 18, fig. 28:1; *KRI* VI:200:9-10.

⁷³⁸ On a table of offerings (PM I:2, p. 705; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 300/1:I, fig. 168; *KRI* VI:201:5), and in the *Stato Civile* (Černý Nb. 15, p. 76).

⁷³⁹ Pap. Abbott (BM 10221), rto. 5:13. Černý, *Community*, p. 309, fails to make this connection.

⁷⁴⁰ Pap. Abbott (BM 10221), rto. 6:5.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 309.

⁷⁴² Pap. Turin 2007, rto. 2:3; *KRI* VI:650:16.

⁷⁴³ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 1:6-7.

⁷⁴⁴ Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 3a.

⁷⁴⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 309. However, in a previous chapter he admits to the co-existence of the 'foremen' Nekhemmut (vi) and Usikhopes (i) (*Community*, p. 237).

⁷⁴⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 310.

⁷⁴⁷ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 34; idem, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 208.

A notable, but fragmentary, inscription in the entry passage of TT 217 of the sculptor Ipuy (i) reads: '..... his [son?] Usikhopesh, his son Amenwa, his son Nekhem[mut?]'.⁷⁴⁸ Since these names do not appear elsewhere in this tomb and we know that Usikhopesh and Amenwa were the names of a son and son-in-law of Nekhemmut (vi), it is possible that this sepulchre was used in later years by members of this family. The fact that their ancestor, Khabekhnet (i), was the brother-in-law of Ipuy (i) further strengthens this argument.

It is possible that Neferronpet (vi), son of Nekhemmut (vi), is the same man as the *wa'b*-priest Neferronpet who appears in a text which is to be dated after year 8 of Ramesses VII.⁷⁴⁹ It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that Neferronpet (vi) is to be identified with the homonymous 'draftsman in the Place of Truth' who appears to have been responsible for the decorative scheme employed in TT 355 of Amenpahapi (i).⁷⁵⁰ The name of yet another son of Nekhemmut (vi) is partially preserved as Iry[...] in graffito 1273.⁷⁵¹

§ 7: The foreman Amennakht (vi) and the dating of graffito 1860a

The foreman Amennakht (vi), son of Hay (vii), is securely attested in year 2 of Ramesses X,⁷⁵² and a year later in an entry in the Turin Necropolis Journal, where he is said to have been at work on the tomb of the 'scribe' Pentahutnakht (i).⁷⁵³ To date, 'year 3' is the highest definite regnal date known for this king. However, on more than one occasion Bierbrier⁷⁵⁴ has strongly argued, from evidence provided by graffito 1860a, for the existence of a year 8 of Ramesses X and for the attribution of a second high-priest of Amun, Ramessesnakht.⁷⁵⁵ We shall discuss the evidence employed in these articles alongside the claims, voiced most notably by Bell, that graffito 1860a is in fact to be dated to the reign of Ramesses VI.⁷⁵⁶

To reiterate, graffito 1860a is dated to 'Year 8, 3rd month of Akhet, day 6' of an unspecified reign, and records the 'closing of the tomb' (*hni p3 hr*) by 'the high-priest Ramessesnakht, the royal butler Prehirwonmef, the mayor Amenmose' and apparently the 'chief workman Amennakht'.⁷⁵⁷ The

⁷⁴⁸ PM I:1, p. 315 at (1); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 110:A; KRI III:660:13.

⁷⁴⁹ O.Gardiner 23, 4; this dating is based on the appearance of the foreman Harmose (ii). The same *wa'b*-priest Neferronpet appears in the undated O.CGC 25364, vso. 3.

⁷⁵⁰ PM I:1, p. 419; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 115-17, fig. 79; KRI VI:435:7.

⁷⁵¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 16, pl. 42; KRI VI:200:12-13.

⁷⁵² Pap. Turin Cat. 1932+1939, verso.

⁷⁵³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 56, l. 6.

⁷⁵⁴ Bierbrier, *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 195-99; idem, *JEA* 61 (1975), p. 251.

⁷⁵⁵ Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 21.

⁷⁵⁶ K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Das Ende des Neuen Reiches', *ZÄS* 119 (1992), pp. 32-33, has also expressed reservations in opposition to the existence of a second Ramessesnakht.

⁷⁵⁷ Graffito 1860a is situated just above the entrance to the tomb of Amenophis II (KV 35: Félix & Kurz, *GMT* II/1, plan 8, section 10). It is possible that *hni p3 hr* referred to some unknown activity carried out in this tomb by this select committee (cf. Reeves, *Valley*, p. 222, n. 139). KV 35 was certainly inspected in a 'year 13' (Reeves, *Valley*, pp. 197, 199). The possibility that the foreman Amennakht is not actually present in this text will be discussed below (cf. Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 7-8).

determination of the reign in which this graffito was inscribed rests primarily on the identification of the so-called 'chief workman' Amennakht, whether he was present at this event or not. Bierbrier suggests that he is most likely to have been identical with the chief workman Amennakht (vi), known from year 3 of Ramesses X. His argument is founded on the improbability that a second, and earlier, chief workman Amennakht would have to be interpolated into the succession of chief workmen for either the 'right' or 'left' sides of the workforce.⁷⁵⁸ Indeed, we know that the post of chief workman for the right side was held by Nekhemmut (vi) between year 2 of Ramesses IV and year 17 of Ramesses IX. On the left side, Anhurkhawy acted as chief workman from the reign of Ramesses III until year 1 of Ramesses VI at least. His son and apparent successor, Harmose (ii), can now be securely placed in the foremanship in 'year 8, 4th month of Shomu, day 25' of Ramesses VII.⁷⁵⁹ Therefore, if the chief workman Amennakht was to have succeeded Anhurkhawy (ii) before the latter's son was assigned this rank, graffito 1860a can only be given a date within the reigns of either Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII. Nevertheless, the reign of Ramesses VII can be dismissed from this equation since the date of the graffito would post-date Harmose (ii)'s succession to the foremanship on the grounds that the accession date for this ruler took place in the 4th month of Peret. Janssen has argued that the accession date of Ramesses VI is to be placed between the 1st month of Peret, day 18 and the second month of Peret, day 11.⁷⁶⁰ Therefore, the highest date known for Ramesses VI would be 'Year 8, 2nd month of Peret, day 18'.⁷⁶¹ It was noted earlier that Ramesses VII ascended the throne in the 4th month of Peret.⁷⁶² Consequently, if we are to date graffito 1860a to the reign of Ramesses VI, as suggested by certain scholars,⁷⁶³ the last known date for this king would appear nine months into his eighth year. Furthermore, we would have to admit that this reign entered a previously unattested ninth year if Ramesses VI was succeeded directly by Ramesses VII in the 4th month of Peret.⁷⁶⁴ Therefore, it is not possible to prove that graffito 1860a should be dated within the reign of Ramesses VI either. In any case, there is evidence to suggest that Anhurkhawy (ii) may still have been chief workman in 'year 4, 1st month of Peret, day 10' of Ramesses VII,⁷⁶⁵ thus further reducing the time in which a possible interpolation of the second chief workman Amennakht, between Anhurkhawy (ii) and Harmose (ii), could have taken place to three years, seven months and fifteen days at the very most.⁷⁶⁶ Furthermore, the age of the mayor Amenmose, who Bierbrier has shown would have been 89/99 years old at the time, might be used in support of the argument against an attribution of graffito 1860a in year 8 of Ramesses VI.⁷⁶⁷ Therefore, if we are to argue for a dating of this inscription in the reign of Ramesses VI two unlikely factors would have to be admitted. Firstly, that there existed a second chief workman

⁷⁵⁸ Bierbrier, *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 197-99.

⁷⁵⁹ Pap. Turin 1883+2095, rto. 6; on the dating of this document within the reign of Ramesses VII see Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 170, followed more recently by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 249.

⁷⁶⁰ Janssen, *GM* 29 (1978), pp. 45-46. Further proof of this, if it were needed, is given by an ostrakon, dated to 'Year 1, 2nd month of Peret [day x]', recording the visit paid by the vizier (Neferronpet) to the workmen to announce the accession of Ramesses VI (O.CGC 25726+O.BM 50722, 1 ff.).

⁷⁶¹ O.IFAO 1425, 7-8.

⁷⁶² Cf. Janssen, *GM* 29 (1978), p. 45.

⁷⁶³ Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 7 ff.; followed by Ventura, *Living*, p. 183, n. 38, and Reeves, *Valley*, p. 222, n. 139.

⁷⁶⁴ As observed also by Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), p. 16.

⁷⁶⁵ O.DM 133, rto. 7; cf. Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 169.

⁷⁶⁶ I.e., between 'year 4, 1st month of Peret, day 10' and 'year 8, 4th month of Shomu, day 25'.

⁷⁶⁷ Bierbrier, *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 196-97.

Amennakht who intervened between the succession of a father and his son as chief workman in year 8 of Ramesses VI. And secondly, a revision of the reign length of Ramesses VI, incorporating a previously unknown 'year 9', would be necessary.

In a detailed discussion of the text of graffito 1860a, together with the chronological implications it raises, the conclusions reached by Bell are markedly different from those described above.⁷⁶⁸ Firstly he has challenged the identification of the foreman Amennakht in line 4 of this inscription. His preferred reading of this passage is 'Pamose, son of the chief workman Amennakht'.⁷⁶⁹ Furthermore, he rejects a dating of the graffito in the reign of Ramesses X in favour of an earlier date under Ramesses VI, thereby precluding the superfluous need to create the existence of a second high-priest Ramessesnakht and a second mayor Amenmose. Consequently, the focus of his article is seemingly drawn along the lines of the following premise: 'Therefore, it is in 8 R VI or earlier that we are trying to locate a Foreman Amennakht'.⁷⁷⁰ After a considerable amount of discussion concerning the chronology of several texts, Bell finally concluded that a second and earlier foreman Amennakht could be interpolated in this office between the tenureships of the foremen Anhurkhawy (ii) and his son Harmose (ii) at some time in the period between years 4 and 8 of Ramesses VI.⁷⁷¹ It appears that Bell's entire argumentation rests on his partiality towards the putative existence of this second foreman Amennakht. Although this hypothesis is not entirely implausible, the reader must bear in mind the following points: (i) there is already positive evidence for the existence of a foreman Amennakht during the reign of Ramesses X with whom the Amennakht of graffito 1860a might well be identified; (ii) there are, as yet, no corroboratory data to support the appearance of a second foreman Amennakht under Ramesses VI. This now brings us back to the question of the dating of the graffito 1860a. Indeed, if Bell's revised reading of the line 'Pamose, son of the chief workman Amennakht' is correct, and we assume that this man's father is to be identified with the foreman Amennakht who is firmly attested in year 3 of Ramesses X, the graffito can only realistically have been written in either the reign of Ramesses X or Ramesses XI, since the name Pamose, which is incidentally extremely uncommon, does not appear once in the records of Ramesses IX or earlier. Unfortunately, as we all too often witness, the fragmentary state of our knowledge of the late XXth Dynasty presents us with a particularly frustrating task in attempting to solve this and many other similar investigations concerning the chronology of the Deir el-Medina officials from this period.

As a corollary to the arguments documented above, we must mention a recent article by von Beckerath in which he accepts the attribution of a short period of reign for Ramesses X.⁷⁷² Here the author has assumed that the entries contained in the pertinent text (Pap. Turin 1898+) were compiled intermittently and at short intervals to one another, thereby proving that year 3 of Ramesses X was not chronologically distant from year 1 of Ramesses XI. However, a closer examination of the papyrus will show that this may not necessarily have been the case. In its present state the papyrus consists of

⁷⁶⁸ Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 7 ff.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

⁷⁷² Von Beckerath, 'Papyrus Turin 1898+, Verso', *SAK* 21 (1994), pp. 29-33; cf. idem, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, p. 88.

THE FOREMEN

seven columns of continuous text on the recto. In theory it is possible that cols. I-IV and V-VII might once have been separate documents as posited by von Beckerath,⁷⁷³ though we have no proof of this one way or the other. The only date found on the recto is a 'year 3' which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of Ramesses X. On the verso there are in fact only four scattered, fragmentary, entries: a single transverse line 'Year 3 <under> king (*nsw*) Khepermare Setepenre, l.p.h.' (text 'e' on the verso of col. V); at an unknown distance from this is the text reconstructed by von Beckerath, dated to the 1st month of Akhet in year 1 of Ramesses XI (text 'a+c'); the third item is text 'b', a few scraps of seven lines; the fourth entry is similarly unplaced (text 'd'), though dated in the 4th month of Akhet in 'year 3', thus post-dating the text of Ramesses X on the recto. The supposition that the use of *nsw* in front of the name of Ramesses X in text 'e' implies that the king was dead is not a safe one: cf. an entry in another Turin papyrus which reads: 'Belonging to (*n*) king (*nsw*) Userma<re> Setepenre <Mery>amu<n>' followed by an entry for 'year 8' of that king.⁷⁷⁴ There is therefore no positive evidence that Ramesses X was dead when text 'e' was written, inasmuch as there is no indication of the length of time that elapsed between the compilation of the 'year 3' (of Ramesses X) and 'year 1' (of Ramesses XI) texts. The history of the papyrus would allow a minimum of 9-10 months between these entries (from the 4th month of Akhet to the 1st month of Akhet). Similarly, it could be argued that an interval of several years had occurred between the compilation of the texts from year 3 of Ramesses X and that of year 1 of Ramesses XI. In concluding, there is unfortunately no further evidence to support definitively either the attribution of an 8 year reign for Ramesses X or the existence of an earlier foreman Amennakht, whose son seems to feature in graffito 1860a.

⁷⁷³ Von Beckerath, *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 30.

⁷⁷⁴ Pap. Turin 1883+2095, rto. 1-2.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEPUTIES

§ 8: The family of the deputy Nebsmen (i)

The earliest mention of a Nebsmen (ii) occurs in the reign of Ramesses II from an inscription in the chapel of TT 10 of Penbuy (i) and Kasa (i).¹ There is a possibility that the same man is attested in a text from the tomb of the foreman Neferhotep (ii), which can similarly be dated to Ramesses II. The pertinent inscription can be read as: '[the servant in] the Place of Truth, Nebsmen, justified, son of <Si>wadjet, justified' or more likely as: '..... Nebsmen, justified; Siwadjet, justified'.² A workman Nebsmen appears periodically in the village records during the later reigns of the XIXth Dynasty.³ Furthermore, he is indicted as one of Paneb (i)'s accomplices in Pap. Salt 124.⁴ According to Černý, the two deputies of the gang in year 6 of Seti II were Nakhy (ii) and Nebsmen (i).⁵ Actually the untitled name of Nebsmen follows immediately that of the 'deputy Nakhy'. From the fact that both men were involved with 'receiving the oil for the workcrew', it can be assumed that the title 'deputy' had likewise referred to Nebsmen. However, it is possible that this text is to be dated to year 6 of Siptah. Furthermore, in his chronological chart of the 'deputies' Černý assigns Nakhy (ii) to the 'right side' and Nebsmen (i) to the 'left side'.⁶ Nevertheless, in an ostrakon, dating definitely from the reign of Siptah or later, we find a Nebsmen heading a list of workmen for the right side, following the names of the foreman Paneb (i) and the scribe Bay (ii).⁷ The position of his name is probably an indication of Nebsmen's status as one of the 'deputies'.⁸ We also know that Paneb (i)'s son, Apehty (i), may have been promoted to the office of 'deputy', for the right side, by the reign of Seti II.⁹ Consequently, it may be possible that Apehty (i) had been demoted from the office of 'deputy' and subsequently succeeded in this position by Nebsmen (i). However, it may be argued that the reference to Apehty (i) as 'deputy' on an offering table of his father, Paneb (i),¹⁰ may simply have been an honorific gesture - thus he may actually never have served in this capacity. The fact that the name Apehty appears amongst the workmen who are listed for the 'right' side in the above-mentioned O.Gardiner 57 (rto. I:9) is conspicuous. It has been suggested that the 'deputies' in O.Gardiner 57 may have been Nebsmen (i)

¹ PM I:1, p. 19 at (1) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 78:B:2; KRI III:734:11-12.

² PM I:1, p. 313 at (6-8); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 105; KRI III:589:6-7.

³ E.g., O.CGC 25779, vso. 8-9 (year 1 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25782, rto. 10 (year 3 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25556, 2 (year 5 of Seti II).

⁴ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:11.

⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 135; O.Cairo J.72453, rto. 1, 7-8.

⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 145.

⁷ O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:3.

⁸ The position for the left side was filled by Amennakht (x) (O.Gardiner 57, vso. I:3).

⁹ For which see above p. 36.

¹⁰ PM I:2, pp. 743/744; Wilkinson MSS. xvii, F.d.15; xli, 42 vso.; KRI IV:340.

and Amennakht (x).¹¹ Also worthy of note is the appearance of the names of Nebsmen (i) and Amennakht (x) immediately follow that of the foreman Paneb (i) amongst the witnesses to a case of treason in year 5 of Seti II.¹² Consequently, these two men may have been the 'deputies' at that time. Therefore, the appearance of Nebsmen (i) and Nakhy (ii) as 'deputies' in year 6 (O.Cairo J.72453) may in fact be dated in the reign of Siptah, with Nakhy (ii) being the successor to Amennakht (x).

The name Nebsmen is not unknown during later periods in the village administration. A text, which probably dates from the reign of Ramesses IV,¹³ recounts how a certain Amenkhau, subordinate to Amenhotep, son of Amennakht, was stung by a scorpion in the 'house of Nebsmen'. Unfortunately it is not stated whether Nebsmen was still alive or not at the time; nor can we exclude the possibility that one of the two/three 'chief Medjay' Nebsmen was meant,¹⁴ since it appears that this incident, which was apparently reported by another 'Medjay' Amenhotep, may have taken place outside the confines of the village.

§ 9: The family of the chief craftsman Didi (i) and the deputy Hay (vii): chart 8

The invaluable evidence provided by a draft stela inscription forms the basis on which a preliminary skeleton of the family of Didi (i) can be hung.¹⁵ The text in question reads:

Verso (1) Made by the chief craftsman of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth, the deputy of the gang in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes, Hay (vii), justified.

(2) Son of the chief workman in the Place of Truth, Hay (iv), justified.

Son of the deputy of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth, Amennakht (x), justified.

(3) (His) father, Buqentuf (i), justified.

The father of his father, the deputy in the Place of Truth, [.....].

The father of his grandfather, the deputy in the Place of Truth, Didi (i), justified.

(4) His father, Wennefer, justified [.....] his mother, Tarekhanu.

From this information, we can establish a clearly demarcated descent of Didi (i) - P/N - Buqentuf (i). Furthermore, the evidence from TT 267, in which Amennakht (x) is named as a son of Buqentuf (i) adds a further generation to this family.¹⁶ Since this inscription claims both Amennakht (x) and the foreman Hay (iv) to have been the father of Hay (vii), we must attempt to omit one from the true equation. As 'father' to Hay (vii), Amennakht (x) is attested on numerous occasions.¹⁷ Similarly, Hay

¹¹ See above p. 36, n. 460 and p. 62, n. 7. For the identification of this man with Amennakht (x) see below n. 19.

¹² O.CGC 25556, 2

¹³ O.CGC 25713; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 434, for this dating.

¹⁴ For a discussion on the existence of several 'chief Medjay' called Nebsmen see Davies, 'Two or Three "Chiefs of Medjay": a Conundrum of Nebsmen', *GM* 143 (1994), pp. 37-39.

¹⁵ O.BM 8494; Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), pp. 134-138.

¹⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 139; *KRI* V:630:14-15.

¹⁷ E.g., stela Turin N.50062 (= Cat 1606); a limestone plaque in the Nubar Collection (PM I:1, p. 347, I:2, p. 749; Keimer, *Études Eg* III, pp. 23-24, pl. 18:59; *KRI* V:633) and graffiti nos. 94 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 12;

(iv) purports to have been the father of Hay (vii), though it is now commonly held that Hay (iv) merely adopted the younger man under his tutelage.¹⁸ Scholars are now of the unanimous opinion that the titles of 'deputy' assigned to Didi (i), P/N, Buqentuf (i) and Amennakht (x) on O.BM 8494 are probably incorrect and merely honorific.¹⁹ This would thus permit an identification of the 'deputy' Didi with the 'chief craftsman' Didi (i).²⁰ From fragments of a lintel, found on the path leading to TT 298, it would appear that Didi (i)'s wife was Taweret (ii).²¹ The other known sons of Didi (i) include Nakhy (iii) and Bakenanuy (i), both of whom are named on a fragmentary stela,²² the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (xi), who is cited on a stela dedicated to the goddess *T3 dhnt wrt nt imntt*,²³ and the 'chief craftsman' Pendua (ii), who is represented on a double statue together with his father.²⁴ Since we have already established that Buqentuf (i) was a grandson of Didi (i), then Nakhy (iii), son of Didi (i), is most probably to be correlated with the 'chief craftsman in the Place of Truth' Nakhy, who names his son, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Buqentuf (=i) and grandsons (the sons of Buqentuf (i)) as Qen (iii) and Nakhy (iv) on his stela, which now resides in Stockholm.²⁵ Consequently, the name lost in vso. 3 of O.BM 8494 was probably Nakhy (iii), father of Buqentuf (i).²⁶ As a 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands', Buqentuf (i) appears, with his wife Iyi (iii), accepting the offerings of their son Khaemope (ii) in the tomb of one of his contemporaries, Nebenmaat.²⁷ Furthermore, Iyi (iii) is referred to as the daughter of the chief craftsman, Amennakht and Henuteriunu (i) on an unpublished offering table.²⁸ Therefore, it appears that Buqentuf may have married his own cousin, Iyi (ii), daughter of his uncle, the 'chief craftsman' Amennakht (xi).²⁹

KRI V:635:7), 1124 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 5, pl. 10) and 1780 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 16; KRI V:634:10). For a discussion of these citations, amongst others, as well as the titles employed by Amennakht (x), see Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 39.

¹⁸ Černý, *Community*, pp. 139 f.; Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 38. A clear example of this ambiguity is evident in O.BM 29549, 9-11, vso. 1, which reads: 'Hay (vii), son of the chief of workmen Hay (iv), his father being the deputy in the Place of Truth, Amennakht (x) his mother being Tarekhanu'.

¹⁹ Černý, *Community*, p. 140; Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 27; Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 39. However, a workman Amennakht whose name stands at the head of a list of workmen (O.Gardiner 57, vso. I:3, temp. Siptah) for the left side, immediately following the names of the foreman and scribe, may have possibly been a 'deputy' like his counterpart Nebsmen (i) for the right side (O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:3); the latter being known to have held the office of 'deputy' (see above p. 63, with n. 11). On the basis of this tenuous evidence, it may be surmised that this Amennakht may have been identical with Amennakht (x), father of the deputy Hay (vii). The appearance of Amennakht (x), father of the 'deputy' Hay (vii), as a 'deputy' in graffito no. 725 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 58) can be used in support of this argument.

²⁰ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 27.

²¹ Kitchen, *RITANC* I, p. 296; KRI I:402.

²² BM 1629 (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 26-27, pl. 63; KRI VII:37-38).

²³ Turin N.50059 (PM I:2, p. 708; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 96-97, 287; KRI III:712-23).

²⁴ Louvre A.63 (PM I:2, p. 712; Vandier, *Manuel d'Arch. Ég.* III, pl. 160:5; Pierret, *Recueil Inscriptions, ined. Louvre* II, pp. 32-33; KRI III:714). As a simple 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pendua (ii) appears with his brother, Amennakht (xi) on stela Turin no. 149 (Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), p. 179, § 33 end; KRI III:714).

²⁵ Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet N.M.E. 28 (PM I:2, p. 726; Mogensen, *Stèles Ég. Mus. Nat. Stockholm*, pp. 45-46; KRI III:691).

²⁶ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 27. Černý, *Community*, pp. 139-40, had formerly proposed restoring the name as Amennakht.

²⁷ PM I:1, pp. 321 at (5) II; Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pp. 9-10, scene 4; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 70, fig. 49; KRI III:760:3-5.

²⁸ Louvre E.13995 (Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 39).

²⁹ Cf. a suggestion similarly proposed by Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 27.

However, there does remain one anomalous point in this discussion. In TT 267 Hay (vii)'s mother is named as Tarekhanu (i) (wife of Amennakht (x)),³⁰ whilst his maternal grandmother is Henuteriunu.³¹ Would it therefore be too bold to suggest that Amennakht (x) married his own aunt, Tarekhanu (i), the daughter of Amennakht (xi) and Henuteriunu (i)? An alternative opinion would be to suppose that Henuteriunu (i) may have been the grandmother of Tarekhanu (i), the mother of Hay (vii).³²

The name Pendua occurs with remarkable frequency during the early part of the XIXth Dynasty, though there is no certainty that we ever have to do with the chief craftsman Pendua (ii), son of Didi (i).³³ A Pendua (i) is well known as the son of the sculptor Qen (ii) and husband of the lady Tal (i).³⁴ The same Pendua is probably the so-called 'brother' of the sculptor Nakhtamun (his uncle) in TT 335.³⁵ In a banqueting scene from the tomb of the workman, Nebenmaat, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pendua (iii) and his wife Nefertari (ii) are shown receiving offerings from their sons, Pashedu (v) and Kel (vi) (Kenro).³⁶ It may well be that this Pendua (iii) is the workman attested in year 40 of Ramesses II,³⁷ and in numerous other ostraca from Deir el-Medina from this period.³⁸ Finally Pendua (iv), son of Nuheb (i), is mentioned in an account of water arrears.³⁹ It is unfortunately not possible to prove that any of the above are to be identified with the workman, Pendua (v), who is attested in the absentee records from the reign of Amenmesses,⁴⁰ as well as in a legal case against Khaemseba.⁴¹ In Pap. Salt 124 the foreman Paneb (i) was accused of having had sexual relations with 'the citizeness Hunero (xii), whilst she was with Pendua'.⁴² It is most likely that Hunero (xii)'s partner, though not necessarily her husband, is to be identified as Pendua (v). Nevertheless, there is no positive evidence to support Janssen's⁴³ identification of Hunero (xii) with the citizeness Hunero (iii), the wife of Hesysunebef (i), who was similarly involved sexually with Paneb (i).⁴⁴ However, the possibility that there existed a consanguineous relationship between this Pendua (v) and any one of the above individuals can not be discounted.

³⁰ This is in perfect agreement with the details of O.BM 8494, vso. 4, in which Tarekhanu (i) is named as 'his (=Hay (vii)'s) mother'.

³¹ PM I:1, p. 347 at (5); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 21, fig. 4; KRI V:628:12-13.

³² Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 40, reconciles the ambiguity between the genealogies given by the inscriptions in TT 267 and on Louvre E. 13995 by proposing that Henuteriunu (i) may have been the mother of Hay (vii)'s paternal grandmother, as opposed to his maternal grandmother.

³³ One exception is O.CGC 25573, I:12, for which the tentative restoration '[Pendua], <son of> Didi' may now be proposed.

³⁴ PM I:1, p. 11 at (5) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 44-45; KRI III:676:8.

³⁵ PM I:1, p. 402 at (16) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 132, fig. 89; KRI III:672:8.

³⁶ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pl. 4; KRI III:762:1-3. It is likely that Nefertari (ii) is to be identified with Nefertari (viii), daughter of Kel (i) and sister-in-law of Nebenmaat (ii) (Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 106).

³⁷ O.BM 5634, rto. 2.

³⁸ O.DM 112, vso. 4; O.DM 120; O.DM 240, rto. 7; O.DM 258, 8; O.Varille 20, 3; O.Gardiner 199, II:4; O.Gardiner 195, rto. 5.

³⁹ O.Gardiner 87, 7-8.

⁴⁰ O.CGC 25779, vso. 6 (year 1); O.CGC 25780, 8, O.CGC 25782, rto. 7 and O.CGC 25783, rto. 8 (all year 3); O.CGC 25784, 14-15 (year 4).

⁴¹ O.DM 675, dated to 'year 1' (of Merenptah or Amenmesses).

⁴² Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:2.

⁴³ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 114.

⁴⁴ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:3.

The fragmentary inscriptions in and around TT 266, which name the 'chief [craftsman]' Amennakht,⁴⁵ make it is feasible that this tomb was the work of either Amennakht (xi) or Amennakht (x).⁴⁶ The close proximity of the tomb (TT 267) of Hay (vii) to TT 266 may be suggestive that Hay (vii)'s father, Amennakht (x), was the owner of the latter monument.⁴⁷ The chief craftsman, Amennakht, was both the owner of a stelophorous statue⁴⁸ and a standard-statue.⁴⁹ However, due to the popularity of the name Amennakht at the end of the XIXth Dynasty, to draw any distinction between the 'chief craftsman' Amennakht (x) and his homonymous colleagues is impossible.⁵⁰

The workman, Buqentuf (i), is well known from year 40 of Ramesses II⁵¹ and several other ostraca dating from this period.⁵² His son, Nakhy (iv), is similarly attested during the reign of Amenmesses.⁵³ Another son of Buqentuf (i), Khaemope (ii), is one of the possible candidates as the owner of TT 321⁵⁴ - the other one being Khaemope (i), the possible son of the foreman Qaha (i). Alternatively, this sepulchre may have once belonged to a later workman Khaemope.⁵⁵ The only extant decoration which has survived from this tomb is a bandeau naming the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Khaemope and his wife, Maani.⁵⁶ A recently published graffito, just to the north of the entrance to TT 321, describes how this tomb was given in 'year 4, 1 Shomu, day 10' (of Ramesses IV(?)) by the scribe, Harshire (i), to the lady Taweretherti.⁵⁷

Nakhy (iii), the father of Buqentuf (i), is clearly distinguished by his title 'chief craftsman in the Place of Truth' from other persons of that name.⁵⁸ According to Bierbrier, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nakhy, who appears on a relief with his wife Nefertari, is not to be associated with either Nakhy (iii) or Nakhy (iv).⁵⁹ However, in the upper register of another stela, the sons of Didi (i), namely Nakhy (iii) and Bakenanuy (i), appear along with the ladies, Nefer(t)ari and Mutwy.⁶⁰

⁴⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 43, fig. 29; *KRI* III:689.

⁴⁶ Both are known to have employed this title, see PM I:1, p. 347 at (3); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 25, I, F, fig. 10; *KRI* V:630:14 (for Amennakht (x)'s titles). It would appear that PM I:1, p. 346, have assigned TT 266 to Amennakht (x), son of Buqentuf (i), solely on the prosopographic evidence of TT 219.

⁴⁷ Černý, *Community*, pp. 138-39, suggests that TT 266 belonged jointly to Hay (vii)'s father and grandfather, Amennakht (x) and Buqentuf (i).

⁴⁸ Louvre E.14397 (PM I:2, p. 710 (a); Vandier, *Manuel d'Arch. Ég.* III, pl. 159 (b); *KRI* III:690).

⁴⁹ Berlin 6909 (PM I:2, p. 710 (b); Roeder, *Äg. Inschr. Mus., Berlin* II, pp. 76-77; *KRI* III:690).

⁵⁰ E.g., the workman Amennakht (vii), son of the foreman Nebnefer (i) (Pap. Salt 124, rto 1:1); Amennakht (ii), son of Huy (iii) (O.CGC 25507, rto. I:4).

⁵¹ O.BM 5634, rto. 17.

⁵² O.CGC 25573, II:7 (pre-year 40); O.DM 266, 3; O.Gardiner 195, rto. 6. The Buqentuf (ii) who appears in year 6 [of Seti II] (O.CGC 25517, rto. γ, 11) is unlikely to have been synonymous with Buqentuf (i).

⁵³ O.CGC 25779, rto. 7; O.CGC 25782, vso. 19-20; O.CGC 25783, rto. 2. It may be possible that Nakhy (iv) is to be correlated with the future 'deputy' Nakhy (ii), who is himself known from a 'year 6' text (see p. 62 above).

⁵⁴ PM I:1, p. 393, suggest Buqentuf and Iyi as the parents of the owner of TT 321.

⁵⁵ See under pp. 249-50 for this particular individual.

⁵⁶ PM I:1, p. 393; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 72-73; *KRI* III:817-818. For Khaemope's monuments see pp. 17, notes 195, 197-8.

⁵⁷ *KRI* VII:368. It is noticeable that Pentaweret (iv), the brother of Harshire (i), was married to a lady Taweretherti (ii).

⁵⁸ Stela Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet N.M.E. 28 (PM I:2, p. 726; *KRI* III:691).

⁵⁹ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 10.

⁶⁰ Stela BM 1629 (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 26-27, pl. 63; *KRI* VII:37-38).

Bierbrier made the following remark concerning this monument: 'The ladies Nefertari and Mutuy are otherwise unknown but are presumably relations of Didi, perhaps his daughter and his wife'.⁶¹ Conversely, I would like to propose that Nefertari (iii) and Mutwy (i) were the respective wives of Nakhy (iii) and Bakenanuy (i). Both Nakhy (iii) (as 'servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes') and Nefer(t)ari (iii) are attested in the middle register of a stela now in Turin (N.50010), where they are shown receiving offerings from their children.⁶² Although Tosi and Roccati have assigned this piece a date somewhere between the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty and the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty,⁶³ they have mistakenly identified Nakhy as Nakhy (iv).⁶⁴ Buqentuf (i)'s own son, Nakhy (iv), is cited elsewhere on this monument. Fortunately, Nakhy (iv)'s activity can be firmly placed within the reign of Amenmesses.⁶⁵ The two Nakhys who are known to have been members of the family of the foreman Neferhotep (i) should not be mistaken with the Nakhy who belongs to the family of Didi (i): (a) the 'army scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands and chariot-warrior of His Majesty', Nakhy (i), son of Neferhotep (i),⁶⁶ (b) the 'scribe' Nakhy (v), son of the foreman Nebnefer (i).⁶⁷ It seems reasonable to infer that the Nebnefer (vi), son of Nakhy, who appears alongside Nakhy (iv) in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty, was the grandson of the foreman Nebnefer (i).⁶⁸ Finally, Nakhy (vi) appears with his parents, the workman Khons (ii) and Tameket (i), on a pyramidion from TT 1,⁶⁹ whereas a Nakhy (vii) is attested as the son of Wepwatnose, son of Nebenmaat (ii).⁷⁰ As a result of the above identifications, the most likely candidates for the workman Nakhy who appears in various ostraca, datable to pre-year 40,⁷¹ year 40⁷² and year 64⁷³ of Ramesses II, would seem to be the respective sons of Nebnefer (i) and Khons (ii).

In his tomb (TT 267)⁷⁴ Hay (vii), who also went by the sobriquet, Totosheri, adopts the titles of 'deputy of the workforce in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes and chief craftsman of the Lord of the Two Lands in the House of Eternity, the temple scribe in the estate of Amun, Lord of Opet'.⁷⁵

⁶¹ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 27.

⁶² Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 43-44. Amongst those named are Nakhy (iii)'s sons, Amenwahsu (i), Seti (ii), Sipair (i), Mehy (i), Thutmose (iii), Paser (ii) and Hori (vii) and his daughters, Hotepy (ii), Merytre (i) and Kay (i).

⁶³ Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, p. 43. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 168, in following Tosi & Roccati, claims that Nakhy, husband of Nefertari, was 'certainly one of the first inhabitants of the Village after the Amarna period'.

⁶⁴ Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ O.CGC 25779, rto. 9; O.CGC 25782, vso. 19-20; O.CGC 25783, rto. 2. He is probably mentioned in O.Zouche H. 2, vso. 6 of 'year 9' (of Merenptah). Anuy (v), who is named in O.CGC 25796, II:20 (cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 13), may have been a son of Nakhy (iv).

⁶⁶ PM I:1, p. 14 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 61:B (left); KRI 578:11.

⁶⁷ Graffito no. 651 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 52-53).

⁶⁸ O.CGC 25782, rto. 3; O.CGC 25783, rto. 5. Cf. graffito no. 1848 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 20, KRI IV:442).

⁶⁹ Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, pp. 14-16; KRI III:822:11-12.

⁷⁰ See p. 237 below for Nakhy (vii).

⁷¹ O.Gardiner 239, vso. 6. This date is purely arbitrary and is based on the fact that the recto contains a letter addressed to the 'scribe' Ramose (i).

⁷² O.BM 5634, rto 9 a.

⁷³ O.DM 621, rto. 8.

⁷⁴ PM I:1, pp. 347/49; Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, 1975; KRI V:627 ff.

⁷⁵ PM I:1, p. 347 at (5); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 21: 1 A, fig. 4; KRI V:628:6-7.

Working from the inscriptions preserved in this sepulchre, one is still able to compile quite an extensive family tree of this man. His wife was the 'chantress of Amun' Henutmeter (i),⁷⁶ his mother Tarekhanu (i) and his maternal grandmother Henuteriunu (i).⁷⁷ We also learn the names of at least two daughters of the deputy Hay (vii), namely Bakamun (i) and Mekhay[...],⁷⁸ and several so-called 'sons': the draftsman Amennakht (xii),⁷⁹ the 'draftsman of Amun in the Place of Truth' Wennefer (vi),⁸⁰ the 'draftsman of the Lord of the Two Lands [in the Place of Truth] Amenwa (i),⁸¹ and the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nakhtamun (i).⁸² The draftsman Amennakht (xii) is undoubtedly the same man as the scribe of that name who appears with his brother Nebnefer (vii) as sons of Hay (vii) on a stela dedicated to Mertseger and Taweret.⁸³ From the evidence supplied by the dozens of graffiti carved by Hay (vii) across the Theban cliffs, we are able to glean yet more details concerning various members of this illustrious family.⁸⁴ It is possible to establish that Hay (vii) employed a second sobriquet, Pairynefer,⁸⁵ and that his sons, Amennakht (xii) and Nebnefer (vii), were respectively nicknamed Pawonesh ('The Wolf')⁸⁶ and Paseniry.⁸⁷ Amenemheb (iv)⁸⁸ and Anqen (i)⁸⁹ also occur amongst the graffiti as sons of the deputy Hay (vii). Graffito no. 217 which reads: 'The deputy Hay, son of Amennakht, son of Nebnefer' remains quite a perplexing inscription.⁹⁰ It has already been ascertained that Nebnefer could not have been the father of Amennakht, or even an earlier ancestor of Hay (vii). However, Nebnefer might possibly have been the father-in-law of Hay (vii), i.e., the father of

⁷⁶ PM I:1, p. 347 at (4); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 14, fig. 12, p. 23:I, D; KRI V:629:3. It is possible that she is to be identified with a Henutmeter, daughter of a Harnefer, who is attested on a stela base found in house S.O. III in the village (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), p. 320, fig. 190).

⁷⁷ PM I:1, p. 347 at (5); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, fig. 4, p. 21:I, A; KRI V:628:12-13.

⁷⁸ PM I:1, p. 347 at (3); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 25: I, F; KRI V:630:16. Bakamun (i) is obviously synonymous with another daughter named Tabakamun (PM I:1, pp. 347/39 at (7/8); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 29: II, G, fig. 18, pls. 17, 18; KRI V:632:10).

⁷⁹ PM I:1, p. 347 at (5); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 24: I, E; KRI V:630:11.

⁸⁰ PM I:1, p. 349 at (7/8); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 29: II, G, fig. 18, pls. 17, 18; KRI V:632:9. Another inscription in this tomb mentions the s[...]. Wennefer; it therefore seems reasonable if we restore this title as s[...]-kdw]. (PM I:1, p. 347 at (5); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 24: I, E; KRI V:630:11).

⁸¹ PM I:1, p. 349 at (9); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 28:II, F, pl. 15; KRI V:631:16. For the family of Amenwa (i) see pp. 168 ff. below. The name of Hay (vii)'s son in graffito no. 421 is probably to be read as Amenwa, not Amenkha, as was suggested tentatively by Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 36. The name Amenkha is otherwise not attested amongst the family of Hay (vii).

⁸² PM I:1, p. 349 at (7/8); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 29: II, G, fig. 18, pls. 17, 18; KRI V:632:9.

⁸³ Stela Turin N.50062 (PM I:2, p. 718 (a); Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 170, fig. 91; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 100, 289; KRI V:633); cf. O.Leipzig 1664 (E. Brunner-Traut, *Altäg. Scherbenbilder*, 1956, pp. 77-78, no. 77, pl. 28; KRI V:634:6). Amennakht (xii) is also attested with the title of 'royal scribe' in graffito no. 647 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 52; KRI V:639:12); cf. graffiti nos. 166; 230; 261; 349; 989 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 18; 22; 24; 30-31; 82).

⁸⁴ For a topographical plan showing the location of these graffiti see Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, fig. 19.

⁸⁵ Graffito no. 1780 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 16; KRI V:634:10).

⁸⁶ Graffito no. 1631 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 4; KRI V:635).

⁸⁷ Graffito no. 2097 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 39; KRI V:635:10-12). For the possibility of Nebnefer being a son-in-law of Hay see below p. 228.

⁸⁸ Graffito no. 94 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 4; KRI V:635).

⁸⁹ Graffito no. 1631 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 4; KRI V:635). It is possibly that Anqen was the notorious son of Amenwa (>Paanqen) and hence a grandson of Hay (see p. 172 below).

⁹⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 21; cf. graffito no. 420 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 36); cf. graffito no. 1368 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 25, pl. 69).

Henutmeter (i).⁹¹ Alternatively, we may emend the inscription to read *s3.f Nb-nfr* 'his son Nebnefer'. Two graffiti found within the same area of the Valley of the Kings, between the tombs of Tuthmosis III and Seti II, mark two of Hay (vii)'s favourite resting places: graffito no. 423⁹² refers to the resting place of deputy Hay (vii) and his son Amennakht (xii), whilst graffito no. 438⁹³ mentions the resting place of the workman Nesamun, the scribe Hay and his son Amennakht. Another graffito,⁹⁴ etched in the cliffs of the West Valley, some distance from Hay (vii)'s place of work in the royal tomb, marks the site of 'the 't of the deputy Hay (vii), his son the scribe Amennakht (xii), and his son Nebnefer (vii)'. The identity of a draftsman Hay (xiv), called Parennefer, a son (though the scribe mistakenly wrote *s3t*, 'her daughter') of the lady Iay, who appears in TT 267 is uncertain;⁹⁵ however, it would appear that Iay was a close relative of the tomb-owner, Hay (vii), perhaps even a sister.

Černý had noted that Hay (vii) appears as a workman as early as year 14 of the reign of Ramesses III.⁹⁶ The deputy Hay (vii), who was assigned to the left side of the gang,⁹⁷ primarily under the tutelage of the foreman Hay (iv), is first attested as a witness to an oath over the hire of a donkey in year 27 of the same king.⁹⁸ As a 'deputy' he is mentioned in several ostraca, both dated and undated.⁹⁹ Hay (vii) appears in a 'year 2' text, which Gutgesell has shown can not be attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Gutgesell suggests that this document is to be dated in the reign of Ramesses V, because the workcrew was 60 strong in number.¹⁰¹ Janssen has now demonstrated that the reduction in the number of workmen from 120 to 60 took place in year 2 of the reign of Ramesses V.¹⁰² Consequently Pap. Turin 2081/2095 may be dated to year 2 of that reign, or an even later one.

In graffito no. 1022 Amennakht (xii), son of the deputy of the workforce Hay (vii), is referred to as a 'draftsman'.¹⁰³ However, it is possible to interpret a separate graffito¹⁰⁴ in one of two ways: 'The deputy in the Place of Truth, Amennakht, justified; his father the servant in the Place of Truth Hay, justified; his son Nebnefer, justified'.

or:

'The deputy in the Place of Truth, Amennakht, justified; father of the servant in the Place of Truth Hay, justified; his son Nebnefer, justified'.

The first alternative appears the more likely, though it remains a mystery why Hay is only referred to as a simple workman. Therefore, we may assume that Hay, father of the deputy Amennakht, is

⁹¹ For the possibility that Harnefer may have been the father of Henutmeter (i) see above p. 68, n. 76.

⁹² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 36.

⁹³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 37-38.

⁹⁴ Graffito no. 1517.

⁹⁵ Cf. Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 29, II, G, x+12-x+15, pl. XVIII, fig. 18; KRI V:632:11.

⁹⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 140.

⁹⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 141; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 228.

⁹⁸ O.Gardiner 106, vso. 4.

⁹⁹ O.DM 74, 5 (year 30); O.DM 57, rto. 3 (year 31) O.DM 124; O.DM 643, rto. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Pap. Turin 2081/2095, rto. II:6; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 227-28.

¹⁰¹ Gutgesell, *ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

¹⁰² O.Berlin P.12654; Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

¹⁰³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 87; KRI VI:207:5-6; cf. graffito no. 1035 α (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 88) in which Amennakht, son of Hay, bears the titles 'servant in the Place of Truth, scribe(?) <in> the Horizon of Eternity'.

¹⁰⁴ No. 989 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 82; KRI VI:668:16-669:1).

identical with the deputy Hay (vii) and that Amennakht (xii) named his own son, Nebnefer (viii), after his brother, Nebnefer (vii). An Amennakht, son of Hay, is attested in an undated papyrus,¹⁰⁵ which can probably be dated to the period Ramesses IV-Ramesses V on the grounds of the appearance of Pameduneternakht.¹⁰⁶ However, it should be noted that we possess no evidence contradicting the possibility that there were two closely contemporary Amennakhts, both of whom were sons of Hay, one a draftsman, the other a deputy. Under his call-sign Pawonesh, Amennakht (xii) appears in another undated document¹⁰⁷ which, due to the mention of Harshire (i) as a 'draftsman', can be dated sometime before year 7 of Ramesses VI.¹⁰⁸ Amennakht, son of Hay, appears in the Turin Necropolis Journal of year 17 of Ramesses IX, presumably as a simple workman, on the left side of the gang under the supervision of the deputy Amenhotep (iv), son of Pentaweret (i).¹⁰⁹ The workman Pawonesh (>Amennakht (xii)) is named in the 1st month of Peret, day 8 of year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹¹⁰ In the 1st month of Peret, day 10 of this same year the two deputies were still Paanqen (i), son of Amenwa and Amenhotep (iv).¹¹¹ However, by the 2nd month of Peret, day 6 of year 17 the deputy Amennakht, son of Hay, has succeeded Amenhotep (iv) on the left side.¹¹² This suggests that it was during this interval that the two deputies Pa'anqen (i) and Amenhotep (iv) fell from favour with the administration.

The deputies Pawonesh (i) and Seny (i), <son of> Khahedjet, are attested together in a 'year 11'.¹¹³ Pawonesh (i) may well be identified with Amennakht (xii), son of the deputy Hay (vii), who we have seen is known to have used this sobriquet.¹¹⁴ Černý has placed this 'year 11' within the reign of Ramesses XI on the assumption that Pawonesh (i) was the nickname of Amenhotep (iv) who served as deputy from years 8 to 17 of this reign.¹¹⁵ Gutgesell assigns this document, however, to the reign of Ramesses IX.¹¹⁶ The adoption of this earlier dating would seem the more likely solution by virtue of

¹⁰⁵ Pap. Vienna, vso. II:13 (von Bergmann, *Hierat. und Hierat.-Dem. Texte*, 1886, p. VIII, pl. 5; KRI VII:348-49).

¹⁰⁶ See below p. 73 for Pameduneternakht.

¹⁰⁷ O.Gardiner 20, rto. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 150. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 415, however, dates O.Gardiner 20 to year 6 of Ramesses IV. According to Gutgesell, *ibid.*, pp. 316-17, the earliest dating for Pawonesh occurs in O.Parker 13, which he dates to years 3-5 of Ramesses IV.

¹⁰⁹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 5.

¹¹⁰ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 4:16.

¹¹¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 42, ll. 5 and 7.

¹¹² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 14, l. 2; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 142.

¹¹³ Pap. Turin 1891, vso. 3-4. Seny (i)'s father may have been either Khaemhedjet (ii), son of Amennakht (v), or Khaemhedjet (i), son of Harshire (i) (cf. Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 13-14).

¹¹⁴ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 205, n. 3; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 81, n. 4.

¹¹⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 144.

¹¹⁶ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 137, 247; cf. KRI VI:636. Gutgesell's chronology of the 'deputies' during the reign of Ramesses IX is somewhat confused (*Datierung*, p. 389). Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 205, n. 3, has shown that Gutgesell's so-called 'deputies' Hori and Amennakht, son of Amenhotep, were not deputies for the workforce of Deir el-Medina. The 'deputy' Hori who appears in year 5 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 9:2) may well be identical with the 'deputy of the Temple in the estate of Amun (=Medinet Habu)' Hori (Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 8:2). However, the identity of the 'chief deputy' Hor(i) who is named in graffito no. 1642 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 5) is uncertain. The possibility is that he may have been affiliated to the workforce, although the date of his tenure in office is likewise indeterminable. Furthermore, Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 136, suggests that a 'deputy of the workforce' (*idnw n p3 lst*) Nakhtmin is attested in year 7 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 2a).

the fact that the scribe Hori, who also appears in this text, is only attested down to year 17 of Ramesses IX,¹¹⁷ and in as much as we have no definite proof that the deputy Amenhoteb (iv) ever used the nickname Pawonesh. Bierbrier posits that the deputy Amennakht, son of Hay, may have been brought out from retirement by the authorities in year 17 of Ramesses IX after the fall from grace of the deputies Paanqen (i) and Amenhoteb (iv).¹¹⁸ In fact, we have already noted that an Amennakht, son of Hay, is attested as a simple 'workman' in year 17 of Ramesses IX. Furthermore, it is most probable that following his reinstatement the deputy Amennakht, son of Hay, was promoted to the foremanship of the left side sometime in or before year 1 or 2 of Ramesses X.¹¹⁹ It is possible, though by no means proven, that the foreman Amennakht (vi) may have occupied this rank possibly up to a year 8 of Ramesses X.¹²⁰ Alternatively, Bell has argued that the deputies Paanqen (i), Amenhoteb (iv) and Amennakht served contemporaneously during the interval between years 15 and 17 of Ramesses IX: 'the proliferation of officials during this very period is a well known phenomenon; for this is the time of the tomb robbery investigations and the number of responsible officers seems to have been increased in general, perhaps in the hope of tightening security and discouraging collusion'.¹²¹ Amennakht was in turn to be replaced as deputy by Amenhoteb (iii), son of Apatjau, who first occurs in year 8 of Ramesses XI.¹²² If the deputy/foreman Amennakht is to be identified with Amennakht (xii), son of the deputy Hay (vii), he would be deemed to have been operative from c. the reign of Ramesses V until year 3/8(?) of Ramesses X, a period of about 50 years. Consequently, we could hardly call the career of Amennakht (xii) uneventful. Apparently he began working life as a 'draftsman', then gained promotion to 'deputy' in the first half of the reign of Ramesses IX, was possibly demoted to 'workman' in years 15-17 of Ramesses IX,¹²³ reinstated as deputy in year 17 and finally accorded the foremanship by either year 1 or 2 of Ramesses X. In the *Stato Civile* the lady Tahefnu (i), daughter of a Nekhemmut, can presumably be identified as the wife of Amennakht (xii), son of Hay (vii).¹²⁴ Bierbrier has suggested that her father is to be identified with the foreman Nekhemmut (vi).¹²⁵ However, it is possible that Tahefnu (i)'s father was in fact the draftsman Nekhemmut (ii). To strengthen this point, we can cite a graffito that names the 'draftsman' Nekhemmut (iii) as a son of the deputy Amennakht.¹²⁶ It would therefore appear likely that this Nekhemmut (iii) had been named after his maternal grandfather.

However, this man, who was not a member of the workcrew, was in actual fact the 'deputy of the Temple of Isis (*p3 3st*)' Minkhau.

¹¹⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 216; see pp. 143 ff. for the 'scribe' Hori.

¹¹⁸ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 205, n. 3.

¹¹⁹ Pap. Turin Cat. 1932+1939, vso; year 3 of Ramesses X: Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 56, l. 6; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 310; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 38; idem, *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 197-98.

¹²⁰ See above pp. 58 ff. for a discussion of the chronology of the tenureship of Amennakht (vi).

¹²¹ Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), p. 14.

¹²² Černý, *Community*, p. 142.

¹²³ If Amennakht, son of Hay, had been relieved of the post of deputy, he was unable to return to the ranks of the draftsmen since the positions of 'chief draftsman' and 'draftsman' were already filled by Amenhoteb, son of Amennakht and Amennakht, son of Amenhoteb, in year 17 of Ramesses IX (Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, ll. 2-3).

¹²⁴ Černý Nb. 15, p. 74. It is possible that Amennakht (xii), son of Hay (vii), may have also been married to an unknown daughter of Hori (see p. 105, and charts 8 and 12).

¹²⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 126, n. 199; idem, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 209.

¹²⁶ No. 1968 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 29; *KRI VI*:434:12).

Further evidence to corroborate the activity of the deputy Seny (i) during the reign of Ramesses IX is possibly forthcoming when we investigate more carefully the career of the little-known vizier Ramesses-Montu<r>hatef.¹²⁷ Janssen has shown that the vizier (Ramesses)-Montu<r>hatef was the father of the vizier Wennefer, who is known to have been active during the reign of Ramesses XI.¹²⁸ However, he states without reservation, though without any supporting evidence, that Montu<r>hatef served as vizier early in the reign of Ramesses XI, probably preceding his son directly, and succeeding Khaemwaset.¹²⁹ Fortunately there is available evidence to refute such a hypothesis. The vizier Ramesses-Montu<r>hatef is attested in a papyrus which dates from year 1 to 8 of an unnamed king.¹³⁰ Because of the occurrence of the scribe Harshire (rto. I:3), this document can be dated to either the reign of Ramesses IX, or to one of his predecessors, e.g., Ramesses VI/Ramesses VII.¹³¹ This firmly places the vizier Ramesses-Montu<r>hatef within the first half of the reign of Ramesses IX at the very latest,¹³² and not within the reign of Ramesses XI.¹³³ Furthermore, his successor may have been the vizier Nefer[ronpet](?) who is named in year 13 of Ramesses IX.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the reading of the *nfr*-sign in this fragmentary name is by no means certain.¹³⁵ As a result of this new information we are now, however, able to discount this vizier from having been the famous Neferronpet as was suggested tentatively by Helck.¹³⁶ The deputy Seny (i) is mentioned in the same document as the vizier Ramesses-Montu<r>hatef,¹³⁷ which now helps to place him, likewise, firmly within the first half of the reign of Ramesses IX.¹³⁸ Seny (i) appears again in a text, which seems to date to a 'year 6', but probably can be dated in year 9 of Ramesses IX or later.¹³⁹ Therefore, since the deputies Khons and Amennakht are attested as contemporaries,¹⁴⁰ Seny (i) must have succeeded Khons in the post of 'deputy' for the right side in about year 9 of Ramesses IX.

The workman Nakhtamun (i), son of Hay (vii), only ever appears, though without his associated patronymic, in documents which cannot be dated positively to any particular reign. He occurs in a

¹²⁷ This official is not attested in the compilation given by Helck, *Verwaltung*, though he was recognised by Černý in a review of this work (*BiOr* 19 (1962), p. 142).

¹²⁸ Janssen, 'Vizier Mentehetef', *JEA* 53 (1967), pp. 163-64; for the pertinent inscriptions see also *KRI* VI:840-41.

¹²⁹ Cf. Černý, *BiOr* 19 (1962), p. 142.

¹³⁰ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, rto. 3:10 (=KRI VI:603-8).

¹³¹ Cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 247.

¹³² Cf. Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), p. 15.

¹³³ Cf. *KRI* VII:372:16.

¹³⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 7, l. 10. Further evidence in support of the existence of a second vizier Neferronpet during the reign of Ramesses IX may be provided by the undated O.CGC 25300. This document mentions the names of both the 'guardian' Qayt and the vizier Neferronpet (ll. 3-4). It is probable that Qayt was an elision of the name Qaydjoret (cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 347). The 'guardian' Qaydjoret (i) is well attested from year 14 of Ramesses IX onwards, and perhaps as early as year 9 of this reign. Therefore, the second vizier Neferronpet could well have served under Ramesses IX as successor to Ramesses-Montu<r>hatef.

¹³⁵ Cf. Černý, *BiOr* 19 (1962), p. 143.

¹³⁶ Helck, *Verwaltung*, p. 464, no. 19.

¹³⁷ O.CGC 25236, rto. 2-3; this text is interesting in that it notes: 'Memorandum concerning every transgression which the scribe Hori committed against the deputy Seny' (rto. 2-3).

¹³⁸ Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), p. 13.

¹³⁹ O.CGC 25742, 10.

¹⁴⁰ O.Gardiner 178, I:6 and 11.

'year 4' which has been assigned to the reign of Ramesses IV.¹⁴¹ He is attested in O.Gardiner 20, vso. 5,¹⁴² and is accorded a mention in a list of payments by the deputy Hay (vii).¹⁴³ Nakhtamun (i) may have been married to the citizeness Taiuneset (i), who was accused by Penanuqet of sexual misconduct with Userhat in year 29 of Ramesses III.¹⁴⁴ Actually, Taiuneset (i) may well be identified with a Taiu(n)es who is referred to as the 'daughter of Hay' in a document which can be dated to the mid-XXth Dynasty.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, it is possible that Nakhtamun (i) was merely a son-in-law of Hay (vii). The remaining attestations of the name Taiunes(et) occur in an undated bread account,¹⁴⁶ and in two other undated documents.¹⁴⁷

Bierbrier has suggested that Hay, Pamedunakht and Amenwa who are named in TT 2B as 'sons' of the foreman Nekhemmut (vi) were possibly his sons-in-law.¹⁴⁸ The name of Pameduneternakht (i)'s father, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Hay (viii), and his son, Amenhotep-neferenwaset (i), are recorded on a stela dedicated in honour of Amenre, Lord of the Happy Encounter.¹⁴⁹ Due to the preponderance of workmen called Hay during the XXth Dynasty, it is not possible to determine precisely to which family Pameduneternakht (i) belonged. His name appears nowhere amongst the many graffiti inscribed by the deputy Hay (vii). However, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pamedunakht does occur in a graffiti along with the 'brothers' Amenwa (i) and the draftsman Harmin (i).¹⁵⁰ As we have noted above, Amenwa (i) was a son/son-in-law of the deputy Hay (vii), which may suggest a family tie between Hay (vii) and Pamedunakht (i). The workman Pamedunakht (i) can definitely be dated as active in years 1¹⁵¹ and 2¹⁵² of Ramesses IV. According to Gutgesell his last appearance is in a turnus record of 'year 1', which he attributes to the reign of Ramesses V.¹⁵³

¹⁴¹ O.CGC 25599, II:9; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 264, reads this name rather as Amennakht.

¹⁴² For the dating of this document see above p. 70, nn. 107-8.

¹⁴³ O.Gardiner 135, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Gardiner, *RAD*, p. 57:14-15.

¹⁴⁵ Pap. Vienna (no number), vso. I:11.

¹⁴⁶ O.CGC 25650, 5.

¹⁴⁷ O.IFAO 1242, vso. 3 (Taiu[nes]); O.DM 629, rto. II:1.

¹⁴⁸ PM I:1, p. 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 36; *KRI* VI:199-200; Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 209.

¹⁴⁹ Bankes Stela No. 11 (Černý, *Bankes*; PM I:2, p. 730; *KRI* VI:213); cf. Stela Glasgow Burrell Collection no. 13/62 (PM I:2, pp. 718 f. (c); *KRI* V:633) which was dedicated to Amun by the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Hay and his son the 'wa'-priest and lector of all the gods, the one who fashions their images in the Mansion of Gold, Pameduneternakht.

¹⁵⁰ Graffito no. 839 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 68; *KRI* VI:208:2-4).

¹⁵¹ O.DM 47, rto. 14.

¹⁵² O.DM 45+O.Berlin P.12651+O.Vienna H.4, rto. 4.

¹⁵³ O.CGC 25609, rto. 2:6 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 75).

§ 10: The family of the deputy Anuynakht (i)

Anuynakht (i) first occurs as the recipient of a list of merchandise in year 10 of Ramesses III.¹⁵⁴ He is probably identical to the *wa'b*-priest, Anuynakht, who appears as a witness to a court case concerning certain rights to property in year 14 of the same reign,¹⁵⁵ and is doubtless synonymous with the workman who is regularly mentioned in documents from this period.¹⁵⁶ His appearance in the *turnus rotas* from the later years of the reign of Ramesses III probably indicates his membership of the right side of the gang.¹⁵⁷ Anuynakht (i) is likewise mentioned, without title, during years 1 and 2 of the reign of Ramesses IV.¹⁵⁸ As a workman he is still attested in the record of the reduction of the workforce,¹⁵⁹ which is dated to a 'year 2' of what is probably the reign of Ramesses V.¹⁶⁰ Gutgesell has also preferred a dating for O.Berlin P.12654 in the reign of Ramesses V, leading him to suggest a date for O.DM 593, in which Anuynakht (i) is named as a 'deputy', in this same reign.¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, Anuynakht (i) is elsewhere only attested as 'deputy' in a fragmentary letter;¹⁶² thus his exact tenure in this office is unclear. It is, however, likely that Anuynakht (i) served in this capacity for a short period only. It should be noted that the workman Anuynakht appears as a witness to both of Khaemnun (i)'s depositions in the Naunakhte (i) archive.¹⁶³ The second deposition is dated to 'Year 3, 3rd month of Akhet, day 10'. Pestman has attempted to show that both depositions were written in 'year 3' of Ramesses V.¹⁶⁴ However, there is the strong possibility that this (year-)date may have fallen under Ramesses VI.¹⁶⁵ If the later reign is accepted, O.DM 593 could not have been written in the reign of Ramesses V, as was the suggestion posited by Gutgesell. Furthermore, Černý's claim that Anuynakht (i) was the deputy for the 'left' side of the gang may be mistaken unless his promotion from the rank and file was also witnessed by his transfer from the 'right' side.¹⁶⁶

It appears that Isis (iii), the wife of Anuynakht (i), was arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of an unknown crime in year 25 of Ramesses III. Unfortunately, we are not made aware of the nature of this case, nor its outcome: 'Year 25, 1st month of Peret, day 25. On this day Nekhemmut, son of Khons, was brought up together with Isis, wife of Anuynakht. They [were] imprisoned in the Place of

¹⁵⁴ O.Gardiner 173, 1.

¹⁵⁵ O.CGC 25555, vso. 6.

¹⁵⁶ E.g., O.Colin Campbell 23, III:1 (year 14); O.DM 73, rto. 2 (year 20); O.Gardiner 152, 6 (year 23); O.DM 164, II:4 (year 24); O.DM 32, rto. 7 (year 25); O.DM 33+O.Berlin P 12639, vso. 7 (year 27); O.DM 145, rto. 8 (year 30); O.DM 36, rto. 9 (year 31).

¹⁵⁷ Janssen, in *Village Voices*, p. 85.

¹⁵⁸ O.DM 40, rto. 7 and O.DM 44, vso. 17. He may be identified with the *wa'b*-priest Anuynakht, who appears as a court-witness to a dispute in a 'year 7' text (O.Gardiner 181, vso. 3). Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 261, has attributed this document to the reign of Ramesses IV, though Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII can not be discounted. However, a later dating for this text would push Anuynakht's tenure as 'deputy' even further forward.

¹⁵⁹ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 6.

¹⁶⁰ See now Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

¹⁶¹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 234, 327.

¹⁶² Pap. DeM 14, rto. 1.

¹⁶³ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.96, 1 and 5.

¹⁶⁴ Pestman, in *Gleanings*, p. 177

¹⁶⁵ Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 53; cf. Peden, *Ramesses IV*, p. 76.

¹⁶⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 141.

Examination concerning(?) [.....] of the Tomb'.¹⁶⁷ It is not certain whether Isis (iii) is to be identified with the daughter of the draftsman Harmin (i) who appears in TT 359.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, an association between Anuynakht (i) and the family of Harmin (i) is suggested by his mention in a graffito alongside the draftsman Amenwa (i), the brother of Harmin (i).¹⁶⁹

There is the possibility that Anuynakht (i) may be identified with an Anuynakht who is referred to as the son of the lady Webkhet.¹⁷⁰ Several ladies of this name are known to me, so that any identification of Webkhet remains uncertain. If this Anuynakht had become 'deputy', it is possible that he was the son of the 'foreman' Neferhotep (ii) and Webkhet (ii).¹⁷¹ However, an equally plausible suggestion would be that Webkhet is to be correlated with Webkhet (vi), the wife of the foreman Nekhemmut (i). We have already pointed out above that one of Nekhemmut (i)'s sons, Amenkhau (i), had served as 'deputy' on the 'right' side of the workforce during the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV. Therefore, if for the moment we presume that the 'deputy' Anuynakht (i) was a son of Nekhemmut (i), he would have had to have succeeded as 'deputy' the grandson of his brother, namely Heqmare-'anerhat-Amun (i), who was in office in year 2 of Ramesses V. We cannot rule out an identification of the mother of Anuynakht with one of the earlier attested Webkhets, or possibly with Webkhet (iii), daughter of Hesysunebef (i).

¹⁶⁷ O.Turin N.57556, rto. 1-5. The examination of Nekhemmut regarding this episode is also alluded to briefly in O.Turin N.57031, rto. 2.

¹⁶⁸ See below p. 170.

¹⁶⁹ No. 2837 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 126; *KRI* VI:208:7-8).

¹⁷⁰ Pap. DeM 36, 3; Sauneron, 'Le rhume d'Anyakhté (Pap. Deir el-Médinéh 36)', *Kēmi* 20 (1970), p. 9.

¹⁷¹ Sauneron, *ibid.*, p. 11.

CHAPTER 3

THE SCRIBES

§ 11: The family of the scribe Amenemope (i): chart 24

The scribe Amenemope (i) is amongst the first group of personalities about whose careers tentative chronological time-frames can be determined. The likelihood is that he was born during the reign of Horemheb and served the administrations of Seti I¹ and Ramesses II.² The titles which Amenemope (i) employs in his tomb chapel (TT 215),³ 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth and superintendent of the workmen in the Place of Eternity', 'count in the necropolis' and 'scribe of the cattle in the Place of Truth', reveal that this was a man of considerable authority. Several other members of the family of Amenemope (i) are mentioned in this chapel, including his wife, the 'chantress of Amun', Hunero (iv), his father, the 'chief of secrets and a priest of Amun' Nakht (i), and his son Minmose (i).⁴ His mother Nofretiyti (iii) is named on a double statue alongside Nakht (i), who, like Amenemope (i), used the unusual appellation *hr Kš* 'from Kush'. Such a designation probably underlines the family's Nubian origins.⁵ Amenemope (i)'s actual burial chamber is in fact TT 265 which is located in the court of TT 7.⁶ It was indeed rare for the burial vaults not to have been

¹ Previous evidence to substantiate this claim was circumstantially based. Bruyère, *Rapport* (1945-47), p. 38) suggested that a limestone bust of a scribe (KRI I:389), bearing the cartouche of Seti I on its right shoulder, could have once been the property of Amenemope (i). His assumption was based purely on the attribution of another statue fragment as the work of Amenemope (see Bruyère, *ibid.*, p. 38 [no. 84]).

² A tomb-relief of the workman Amenemone (Cairo J.43591: PM I:2, p. 699; KRI I:403; KRI VII:431) helps to demonstrate this point. In the upper register the 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth' Amenemope (i) and the 'City-governor and vizier' Paser are represented, next to a pylon, in adoration of the portable barque of Amun. The cartouches of Ramesses II on the pylon, though barely legible (see Kitchen, *RITA* I, p. 333, n. 3), are unmistakably his and not those of Seti I as had previously been thought (KRI I:403). What is more precise is the use of the early form of Ramesses II's prenomen, 'Usermare', without any added epithets. The employment of this form of his name can be traced back into Ramesses II's co-regency with his father and into his first year of his sole rule (see Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40, Chicago, 1977, pp. 63 ff.).

³ A full publication of TT 215 is presented by Jourdain, 'La Tombe du Scribe royal Amenemope', in Vandier d'Abbadie & Jourdain, *Deux Tombes de Deir el-Médineh*, pp. 25-46; cf. PM I:1, pp. 311 f., who incorrectly attribute this chapel to Amenemope, son of Minmose. It will be discussed below that this second Amenemope, also called scribe, was the grandson of the scribe Amenemope; see KRI I:381-85 (for texts).

⁴ Minmose is attested as a scribe on a jamb-base (Turin Suppl. 9508/N.50221) from the naos of one of the village houses; see PM I:2, p. 704; Jourdain, *op. cit.*, p. 42, pl. 28 (left); KRI I:385. He is also referred to as the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' on a stela of the workman Pashedu (Turin Suppl. 6149/N.50076: PM I:2, p. 733 (b); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 113-115, 295 (photo); KRI I:407).

⁵ Berlin Mus. 6910; see Jourdain, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f.; PM I:1, p. 346 (who offer TT 265 (Amenemope) as the possible provenance for this monument); KRI I:386-388. Nakht is named as a 'priest of Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, from (*hr*) Kush', whilst Amenemope is 'scribe in the temple of Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, from Kush'. Černý, *Community*, p. 195, has interpreted this title as the 'temple of Amun in Kush' concluding that Amenemope did not hail from a 'scribal family nor was born in the community of the employees of the tomb'.

⁶ Griffith Institute Archives, photos. DM 265. 1-8; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 194).

physically connected with its associated 'chapel' (*hnmw*).⁷ Consequently, it is possible that Amenemope's relocation of his burial chamber in another part of the Deir el-Medina necropolis was the result of the unsuitable rock beneath chapel 215.

Together with his immediate family, Amenemope (i) also named his closest colleague, the scribe Huy (x), in TT 215.⁸ His appearance in Amenemope (i)'s tomb indicates that they were both in office in the early years of this king. We shall see later⁹ that Huy (x) also served contemporaneously with the scribe Ramose (i) down until year 39 of Ramesses II. One might argue that Ramose (i)'s appointment as 'scribe in the Place of Truth' in year 5¹⁰ followed the death, or retirement, of Amenemope (i). However, at first sight it seems more plausible that Amenemope (i)'s son Minmose (i), succeeded his father in office in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Černý has suggested that Amenemope (i) was still active in years 35 and 37 of Ramesses II.¹¹ Unfortunately, documentation in support of these claims is not known; this scribe might equally be identified with either Amenemope (i) or his grandson Amenemope (ii) (for whom see below).

The scribe Minmose (i) is depicted, along with his wife Isis (v),¹² in the tomb (TT 335) of his colleague the sculptor Nakhtamun (ii) (his brother-in-law).¹³ Here they are seen receiving offerings from their adult son, the 'scribe', Amenemope (ii). Černý would place the scribe Minmose (i) at the end of the XIXth Dynasty and at the beginning of the XXth.¹⁴ My scepticism concerning this statement will be discussed further below. Two daughters of Minmose (i) are named on stela Turin N.50076 as Henutmehyt (ii) and Nodjemtjau (i). Their father appears on the same monument with his brothers-in-law, Hehnekhu (ii), Khaemtir (i) and Nakhtamun (ii).¹⁵ The existence of an homonymous grandfather and grandson complicates the attribution of several inscriptions in which the name of Amenemope occurs. A rock stela¹⁶ of the 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth', Amenemope and his workmates, 'the servant in the Place of Truth', Khawy (i), 'draftsman of Amun', Prehotep (i), son of Pay (i), and 'the servant in the Place of Truth', Amenemwia, could theoretically have been the work of either Amenemope (i) or Amenemope (ii).¹⁷ Similarly, a 'guardian in the Place of Truth', Khawy (ii), is known to have been a colleague of the 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth', Amenemope, from graffito no. 95.¹⁸ In all likelihood this must have been the same Khawy who is named as a 'guardian of

⁷ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 290, n. 1.

⁸ PM I:1, p. 312 at (2); Jourdain, *op. cit.*, p. 38; KRI I:382:14.

⁹ See pp. 89-90.

¹⁰ O.CGC 25671 (see n. 33 below).

¹¹ Černý, *Community*, p. 194.

¹² For Isis as the daughter of Pashedu (i) see p. 223 below.

¹³ PM I:1, p. 402 at (9); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 124, figs. 85/86; KRI III:671.

¹⁴ Černý, *Community*, p. 210.

¹⁵ PM I:2, p. 733 (b); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 113-15, 295; KRI I:407-408.

¹⁶ Now MMA.14.6.183 (from the West Valley of the Kings): PM I:2, p. 590; KRI VII:33.

¹⁷ A workman Amenemwia is attested in year 40 of Ramesses II (O.BM 5634, vso. 2). An Amenemwia is also recorded receiving a piece of linen (from the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i)(?)) in year 9 of Merenptah (O.Gardiner 197, rto. 7). Had this been one and the same man, the rock stela of Amenemope was most probably cut after year 40 of Ramesses II (by Amenemope (ii)), since the name Khawy is not recorded on O.BM 5634, which had been compiled in that year.

¹⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 13.

the Tomb' in an ostrakon of year 21 of [Ramesses II],¹⁹ and who may possibly be differentiated from the workman Khawy (i).²⁰ This graffito can be confidently dated to within the first 30 years of the reign, and consequently may have mentioned either Amenemope.

A scribe Amenemope is last mentioned at Deir el-Medina in years 35 and 37 of Ramesses II. In the former year he is seen delivering supplies of fish to the workforce,²¹ where he is assisted by the scribe Meryre (iii).²² Both scribes are once again recorded with *smdt*-personnel delivering various commodities to the village in the same years.²³ It will be determined below²⁴ that Ramose (i) and Huy (x) were acting as senior 'scribes of the Tomb' during this period. Consequently, Amenemope and Meryre (iii) can only be identified as the scribes placed in charge of the external *smdt*-staff.

§ 12: The later scribe Amenemope (xi)

Černý has suggested that the scribe Amenemope (xi), who is attested during the reign of Ramesses IV, may in fact have been the son of Minmose (i), and hence the grandson of Amenemope (i).²⁵ We have seen above that an adult Amenemope (ii), son of Minmose (i), is depicted as 'scribe' in TT 335, which in all probability can be dated during the reign of Ramesses II. His grandfather, Amenemope (i) was active in the village during year 1 of the reign of Ramesses II; thus we can safely propose that his grandson, Amenemope (ii), was an adult by the end of that reign. On these grounds Amenemope (ii) would have been at least 88 years of age in year 1 of Ramesses IV if he had been born in say c. year 40 of Ramesses II. Consequently, Černý's theory can probably be discarded. The scribe Amenemope (xi) definitely occurs in year 2 of Ramesses IV making deliveries to the workmen.²⁶ He appears again as a *šš n p3 hr* in a 'year 2' text, which might date from the reign of Ramesses V,²⁷ and was probably the subject of a complaint in O.DM 592.²⁸ This text recalls how Amenemope had received a 'footstool' and 1½ khar of emmer, from a certain Usimarenakht, in return for which he had promised to supply the unknown author of this document with 'wood, vegetables, fish and water'. However, Amenemope had apparently reneged on the deal and was now being threatened with a civil lawsuit by his erstwhile business partner.

¹⁹ O.MMA 09.184.183, 2. The guardian Khawy (ii) is also depicted in TT 250 of the scribe Ramose (i).

²⁰ However, if Khawy (ii) is identical to the workman Khawy (i), then rock stela MMA.14.6.183 may have been cut prior to year 40 of Ramesses (see n. 17 above) and before Khawy was appointed as 'guardian'.

²¹ O.Gardiner 24, 2 *passim*.

²² This pairing is also recorded making fish deliveries in O.DM 1045.

²³ O.Nelson 11, rto. I:2, *passim*. Černý, *Community*, p. 194, has attributed these dates to the elder scribe Amenemope, without considering the possibility of an identification with his homonymous grandson.

²⁴ See p. 125 below.

²⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 196.

²⁶ O.DM 45+O.Berlin P.12651+O.Vienna H.4, rto. 18; he also appears in a similar capacity in O.DM 161+O.Berlin P.12640, rto. 5, 9 (year 1).

²⁷ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 2-3; see now Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6. In a 'year 6' ostrakon the 'scribe' Amenemope is recorded giving the grain rations to the workmen (O.CGC 25280, 1-2). In another undated text Amenemope delivers wood to *p3 htm* (O.Berlin P.12641+O.Berlin P.12628, 8).

²⁸ For the dating of this text see Černý, *Community*, p. 196, n. 1.

§ 13: The family of the scribe Ramose (i): chart 22

One individual who left an indelible impression on the history of the village of Deir el-Medina was the scribe Ramose (i). In fact he has even been referred to as the 'richest man' that ever lived in the village.²⁹ This aside, Ramose (i) is certainly one of the best documented officials at Deir el-Medina.³⁰ We learn from many of his monuments that he was originally an 'outsider', the son of the 'retainer' Amenemheb (v) and the lady Kakaia (i).³¹ Having trodden the traditional career path of an aspiring scribe in one of the Theban scribal schools, Ramose (i) probably received his first office as the 'assistant-scribe of the hereditary prince'. From here he swiftly rose through the ranks to become the 'treasury chief' in the memorial temple of Tuthmosis IV.³²

It is not unlikely that during the early years of his career Ramose (i)'s talents came to the attention of the vizier Paser, the official who was principally responsible for all appointments within the Deir el-Medina administration. Ramose (i)'s investiture as 'scribe of the tomb' occurred in year 5 of Ramesses II.³³ His period of service as 'scribe' can be traced at least as far as year 38 of Ramesses II.³⁴ The close relationship which Ramose (i) formed with the vizier Paser culminated in their joint venture in honouring their patron, Ramesses II, through the installation of a cult sanctuary at Deir el-Medina.

²⁹ Černý, *Bankes*, No. 4.

³⁰ Cf. Kitchen, *PT*, p. 193.

³¹ Both parents are named in two of the three tombs attributed to Ramose (i): TT 7 (PM I:1, p. 16 at (9), II) and TT 250 (PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5)). The ownership of these three tombs will receive discussion below.

³² A stela, now in the Bankes Collection (see Černý, *Bankes*, No. 4; PM I:1, p. 309; *KRI* III:620:10-12) records the string of accolades earned by Ramose (i) prior to his transfer to the administration of Deir el-Medina: 'Treasury chief in the House of Menkheper(u)re, chief of the administration in the house of the superintendent of the seal, scribe who reckons the cattle of Amenre, assistant-scribe of the correspondence of the hereditary prince'. Černý, *op.cit.*, No. 4, presumed that the hereditary prince here in question was none other than the prince regent and future Ramesses II. However he later attributes the title to the deceased sage, Amenhotep son of Hapu, whose honour was celebrated by the construction of his own temple by Amenophis III, close to that of Tuthmosis IV (*Community*, p. 318).

Amongst his other titles Ramose (i) styles himself as: 'servant of the estate of Amenre, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands' (statue Louvre E.16436; PM I:2, p. 697; *KRI* III:631:13); 'scribe of the correspondence of the hereditary prince and treasury-scribe in the House of Menkheperure' (statue Leiden D.43; PM I:2, p. 713; *KRI* III:631:5); '[administrator(?)] of the funerary estate of the estate of Amenre' (stela DM 207; PM I:2, p. 734 (i); *KRI* III:627:8).

³³ A unique ostrakon (O.CGC 25671) found in the Valley of the Kings records this event. The opening line of the text was written in bold hieroglyphs by Ramose (i), in which he refers to himself as the 'scribe of the House of Menkheperure'. The main text, in hieratic, reads: '..... he (i.e. Ramose (i)) was appointed as scribe in the Place of Truth in year 5, the 3rd month of Akhet, day 10 (of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Setepenre, l.p.h., Son of Re, Ramesses II, beloved [of Amun]'. The retention by Ramose (i) of his former title as 'treasury scribe' perhaps suggests his discomfort with the use of his new title as the 'tomb-scribe' and might also indicate that the date of the composition of this text shortly followed his transfer to Deir el-Medina. Cf. graffito no. 1140 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 6; pl. 13; *KRI* III:636) in which Ramose (i) is depicted in an attitude of adoration alongside the following inscription: 'Made by the scribe in the Place of Truth, Ramose, justified'. Two lines of hieratic, also in red ink, have been added opposite this scene, presumably by the scribe himself: 'Year 5, the 3rd month of akhet, day 10 (or 20), under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-[Setepenre]'. The dateline undoubtedly corresponds once again to Ramose (i)'s appointment. For the reading of 'day 10' see Černý, *Community*, p. 318, n. 7.

³⁴ O.CGC 25809, rto. 4.

This building, known as the '*khenu*' (*hnw*),³⁵ was situated adjacent to the south wall of the temple of Hathor and became the focus for the worship of the living deified king. The function of this *khenu* was purely religious, and did not provide a civil residence for the statue of the king. Furthermore, its design might have been based closely on the architectural schema of the Ramesseum. It seems probable that the temple of Hathor and the *khenu* were closely affiliated, though to what extent we can no longer be certain. A stelophorous statue of Ramose (i),³⁶ found within the *khenu*, records an endowment set up by the scribe, under Ramesses II's command, for the temple of Hathor in year 9. The text reads:

'His Majesty, l.p.h., ordered the endowment of god's offerings for this statue in the temple of Hathor, chief in Thebes, in the restricted (royal) necropolis, the sacred offerings (coming) from the temple of Usermare-Setepenre (=the Ramesseum), which is in west Thebes (list of offerings) the one who established th[eir] endowment (is) the scribe in the Place of Truth, Ramose, [who ca]me concerning it (together with) the royal scribe, the City-governor and vizier, Pa[ser]³⁷

That the *khenu* and most probably parts of the temple of Hathor were erected by Ramose (i) and Paser can not be doubted due to preservation of a large number of stelae and statues dedicated by them at this site.³⁸ An important text which further strengthens this argument is a dedicatory panel found in the *khenu*.³⁹ In one of its scenes Ramesses II is depicted with a vizier, whose name is lost. The inscription of a bandeau text reads: 'The *khenu* of Ramesses II, given life, <on> sacred ground'. At the base a figure of a man is shown, announcing that: 'I have made the *khenu* within the [house]⁴⁰ of this statue of my Lord which rests within it'. From the preceding evidence it seems certain that the men depicted in these scenes were the vizier Paser and the scribe Ramose (i).

³⁵ Both Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40), I, p. 21 and PM I:2, p. 696, have confused the name with *hnw*. Furthermore, Bruyère, *op. cit.*, p. 86-87, believed that the *khenu* served as a replica royal residence for the statue of the king, similar to those palaces built within the confines of the memorial temples of Ramesses II and Ramesses III. For *hnw* as a term applied to a 'temple' see *Wb* III, 288:12. This building must have been similar to those chapels known from the reign of Seti: (i) *p3 hnw n [Imn-R]*..... 'the chapel of [Amenre]....' (*KRI* I:263:3); (ii) *p3 hnw n Ksrti m p3 h3rw n Ksrti* 'the chapel of Qasarty in the street of Qasarty' (*KRI* I:273:9).

³⁶ Cairo Museum J.72000: Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 42, 56-57, pls. 12 & 35: no. 115; PM I:2, p. 697; *KRI* II:362-363; cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, p. 462:a.

³⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 57, suggests that Ramose (i)'s endowment was established to coincide with the annual festival of Hathor at Deir el-Medina.

³⁸ Cf. Bruyère, *op. cit.*, p. 77; for a description and layout plan of the *khenu* see pp. 72-79, pl. 3. The inventory of monuments of Ramose (i) found here is quite astonishing: stela DM 78: PM I:2, p. 697 (c); *KRI* III:623; stela Cairo J.72023 (DM 79): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 696-697 (a); *KRI* III:623-624; stela Louvre E.16373 (DM 80): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (b); *KRI* III:624; stela Cairo J.72024 (DM 118): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (a); *KRI* III:625; stela Louvre E.16343 (DM 119): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (d top); *KRI* III:625-626; stela Louvre E.16345 (DM 120): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (b end); *KRI* III:626-627; relief Cairo J.72017 (DM 88): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (b); *KRI* III:629; lintel (right half) Louvre E.16276 a/b (DM 87): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 696; *KRI* III:629-630; left jamb of Ramose (i) and Paser, DM 104: PM, *op. cit.*, p. 696; *KRI* III:630; statue of Ramose (i) with reliefs of [Qenhir]khopshef (i) and Paser, DM 86 (=184): PM, *op. cit.*, pp. 696 & 713 (b); *KRI* III:630; statue Louvre E.16436 (DM 113): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (b); *KRI* III:631; statue Louvre E.16378 (DM 114): PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (a); *KRI* III:631; two bases for house-stelae DM 72 a & b: PM, *op. cit.*, p. 697 (e); *KRI* III:633. In addition to the monuments dedicated jointly with Ramose (i), Paser can also be attributed with a lintel recovered from the *khenu* (PM, *op. cit.*, p. 696; *KRI* III:27).

³⁹ PM I:2, p. 697 (a); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40), II, pp. 63-65, pl. 30 (no. 70); *KRI* II:705.

⁴⁰ Restoring *pr*.

The widespread popularity of Ramose (i) is witnessed by his inclusion in several of his colleagues' tombs. In the first vault of TT 336 of the sculptor Neferronpet (ii),⁴¹ the 'royal scribe' Huy (x) (a brother of Neferronpet (ii)) and his wife Nofretkhou (i) are shown in the middle register receiving offerings from the scribe Ramose (i) and his wife Wia (i),⁴² the daughter of Huy (x). Similarly, Ramose (i) is accorded special attention in TT 219 of the workman Nebenmaat.⁴³ Two interesting scenes from tombs 4 and 10 in the village necropolis exemplify the close bond between the vizier Paser and Ramose (i) as seen through contemporary eyes. The former, from the tomb of the sculptor Qen (ii), depicts Ramesses II, followed by Paser, the 'royal scribe of the Lords of Truth' Ramose, and the tomb owner himself, offering to Horakhty.⁴⁴ Inside the shrine of TT 10, attributed jointly to the workmen Penbuy (i) and Kasa (i),⁴⁵ a niche in the left-hand wall reveals a tableau of Ramesses II, again followed by Paser and Ra[mose] (i), offering to Ptah and Hathor. Below, Penbuy and his brother Penshenabu are shown offering to Amenophis I, Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, [Seti I], Ramesses I and Horemheb.

Besides the information that we can glean from the administrative documents about Ramose (i)'s role as the 'tomb-scribe', we learn very few details concerning his private life. However, the records do betray the dichotomy of an affluent man, effective and content in the work-place, but forever in turmoil at home over the inability to produce an heir and eventual successor. It is noticeable that no single text or inscription has mentioned the name of a son or daughter of this illustrious couple. However, it seems likely that Ramose (i) preserved his hereditary line by the adoption of a boy called Qenhirkhopshef (i),⁴⁶ who was also an 'outsider'.⁴⁷ Gardiner writes that such a process of adoption 'sufficed to give the child in question the same rights of inheritance as would have been possessed by

⁴¹ PM I:1, p. 404 at (7); KRI III:667:15-16.

⁴² For Wia as a diminutive of Mutemwia cf. stela Voronezh Mus. 156 (formerly Tartu no. 71); PM I:2, p. 733 (e); KRI III:622.

⁴³ See Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, p. 10, pl. 1, scenes 8-9; PM I:1, p. 321 at (6); KRI III:760.

⁴⁴ PM I:1, p. 11 at (6) I; KRI III:678.

⁴⁵ PM I:1, p. 21 at (6) I; KRI III:738-739.

⁴⁶ The legal process of adoption was not an uncommon device used in Egyptian society (see Allam, 'De l'adoption en Egypt Pharaonique' in *Oriens Antiquus* 11 (1972), pp. 277-295, and Tanner in *Lexikon I*, pp. 66 f.). Papyrus Ashmolean Museum 1945.96, first discussed by Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), pp. 23 ff., and more recently in light of its social implications by Eyre, 'The Adoption Papyrus in Social Context', in *JEA* 78 (1992), pp. 207-221 (a full bibliography to the text is given in Allam, *HOP*, p. 258), displays the lengths that one could take the process of adoption in ensuring the hereditary line of succession remained intact. In this most famous of texts, having adopted his wife Nenefer/Rennefer as his collateral heir, the childless 'stablemaster' Nebnefer buys a servant girl with whom he has three children; this fact is not explicitly stated in the document. These children are in turn adopted by Nenefer/Rennefer as her own. A very different text in the letter O.Berlin 10627 (published by Erman, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), pp. 100-106) bears witness to the kind of social taboo that childless couples at Deir el-Medina might have faced. The unnamed writer admonishes the luckless scribe Nekhemmut: 'He who has no children should take an orphan and bring him up, and he shall pour water on his hand like a son of his own'.

⁴⁷ A table of offerings, Louvre E.13998 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 46; PM I:1, p. 16; KRI III:632-633) is inscribed with the following declaration: 'The scribe in the Place of Truth, Ramose, justified; his son, the scribe Qenhirkhopshef, whose father was Panakht'. Panakht is not attested elsewhere in the records of Deir el-Medina other than with his son Qenhirkhopshef (i). It could be suggested that the use of *it.f* in relation to Panakht here refers to an ancestor of Qenhirkhopshef, e.g., his grandfather. However, the father of Ramose is known to have been Amenemheb (v). A better explanation for these ambiguous terms of relationship might be to interpret the use of *s3.f* as a term of affection between the teacher (=Ramose (i)) and his pupil (=Qenhirkhopshef (i)).

an actual child'.⁴⁸ Similarly, it is possible that Ramose (i) might have considered the acquisition of a servant girl to provide himself with an heir before turning to the process of adoption.⁴⁹ If Ramose (i) did legally adopt an orphaned Qenhirkhopshef (i), no documents to this effect have survived.

A reflection of Ramose (i) and Mutemwia (i)'s desire to have children is demonstrated by the pious encomia they dedicated to Hathor on a number of monuments.⁵⁰ A stone votive phallus dedicated by Ramose (i) to this same goddess bears similar importance.⁵¹ The texts on these objects were clearly based on a reciprocal relationship, for example: 'O Hathor, a man is remembered by a memorial - give endurance in your house as an intimate one to the scribe Ramose', or: 'O Golden One, who loves the one who desires her - favour me, O Desirable One! Let me receive the recompense of your house [as an intimate one, (namely) the scribe Ramose]'.⁵² Another goddess of fecundity to whom the couple actively petitioned was Taweret, in whose cult service Mutemwia (i) was employed.⁵³ The strength of Ramose (i)'s faith is even evident on a stela on which the scribe is shown invoking Qudshu, the Asiatic goddess of love, possibly hoping that her intercession might assist in rousing his sexual potency.⁵⁴

We have noted above the extent of Ramose (i)'s wordly wealth. Nevertheless, by what means was it possible for the scribe to fund the construction of three individual tombs? It seems certain that he either owned or rented land in the cultivation.⁵⁵ An agricultural scene from TT 212 shows his servant Ptahsankh (i) ploughing and reporting on the condition of the land.⁵⁶ The very mention of the servant's name here suggests a realistic impression of a scene from life as opposed to the stereotypical and idealised images of anonymous underlings working for their masters that are so frequently portrayed in private tombs of the New Kingdom.⁵⁷ The same Ptahsankh (i) is further immortalised on a stela dedicated to Hathor by Ramose (i), where he is named as a 'servitor of Amun'.⁵⁸ Ptahsankh (i)'s title here may suggest that the fields which he tended on behalf of Ramose (i) were, in fact, part of the great temple estates of Amun.⁵⁹

⁴⁸ Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), p. 26.

⁴⁹ For sexual relations between a man and a servant girl see Gardiner, *ZAS* 47 (1910), pp. 92-95. Eyre, *JEA* 78 (1992), p. 210, n. 16, discusses the employment of servant girls as 'surrogate mothers' in Near Eastern cultures; cf. Allam, *Oriens Antiquus* 11 (1972), pp. 264 f., and de Zulueta, in Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), p. 28.

⁵⁰ A fragmentary libation basin DM 385 (PM I:2, p. 702; *KRI* III:633) found in the eastern cemetery; a stela (from the late Belmore Collection: PM I:2, p. 734 (g); *KRI* III:623); stela Louvre E.16345 (PM I:2, p. 697 (b end); *KRI* III:626-627); relief DM 98 (Cairo J.72017) (PM I:2, p. 697 (b); *KRI* III:629); and lintel (right half) DM 87, Louvre E.16276 a/b, (PM I:2, p. 696; *KRI* III:629-630).

⁵¹ Cairo TN. 29/4/26/3: PM I:2, p. 749; *KRI* III:635. Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 39, suggests that objects of this type would have been placed in small sanctuaries within the temple of Hathor.

⁵² *KRI* III:635:4-7.

⁵³ Stela Voronezh Museum 156 (PM I:2, pp. 733 f. (e); *KRI* III:622) gives the titles of <Mutem>wia as a 'servant of Taweret'.

⁵⁴ Turin N.50066 (old 1601): PM I:2, p. 733 (a); *KRI* III:621.

⁵⁵ See McDowell, *JEA* 78 (1992), pp. 196-97.

⁵⁶ For Theban Tomb 212 see PM I:1, p. 309; *KRI* III:614-615; Černý, *Répertoire* I, pp. 91 f.

⁵⁷ Manniche, *City*, p. 39.

⁵⁸ The late Belmore Collection: PM I:2, p. 734 (g); *KRI* III:623.

⁵⁹ If this were the case, it would be difficult to concur with Černý's suggestion that Ptahsankh (i)'s status was 'considerably lower than the title of "servant of Amun"' (*Community*, p. 325).

It remains a mystery why a man who bore no progeny should prepare himself so ostentatiously for the afterlife. The three Theban tombs which can be attributed as the work of Ramose (i) on the basis of their inscriptional evidence, are numbers 7,⁶⁰ 212⁶¹ and 250.⁶² Another unresolved problem lies in the location of the final resting place of Ramose (i). In the past TT 250 has been mistakenly attributed to both the foreman Neferhotep⁶³ and to Amenmose.⁶⁴ Two funerary scenes from this tomb may hold the key to the true identity of the tomb owner(s). The first, on the south and side front walls of the central chapel, depicts a funeral procession before four female mummies, three of whom are referred to as 'servant woman'.⁶⁵ The second, from a stela in the central chapel, shows a similar scene of another group of five related female mummies, all of whom appear to be related to one another. It is interesting that one of the mummies, named Henutmehyt, may possibly be correlated with a woman of the same name who appears as a 'servant woman' accompanying Mutemwia (i), wife of Ramose (i), in the upper register of the same scene. In addition to the representations of Ramose (i) and Mutemwia (i), we are also confronted by images of one of his contemporaries, the foreman Neferhotep (i), alongside his wife Iyemwaw (i), in the central chapel.⁶⁶ Here the distinguished couple are being offered to by a second couple. The name of the wife may be restored as [Te]nuro. Again it may be coincidental that a Tenuro appears both as one of the five female mummies and as one of the mourners at the funeral. From this limited evidence we can tentatively surmise that this sepulchre was intended as a communal resting place for some, if not all, of the female household servants of at least two of Deir el-Medina's highest dignitaries, Ramose (i) and Neferhotep (i).⁶⁷

The iconography employed in TT 7 strongly indicates that this was Ramose (i)'s final resting place. Regal images of Tuthmosis IV and Horemheb adorn the left thickness of the doorway. A stela associates Ramose (i) with his patrons, the vizier Paser and Ramesses II, whilst in the lower registers the scribe and his wife, Mutemwia (i), are depicted with their parents.⁶⁸ Unfortunately the surviving evidence from TT 212 does not permit an attribution of this monument to any particular individual. The possibility that Ramose (i) had provided this tomb for his 'male' servants, as he appears to have done for his 'female' staff, may be a valid consideration.

⁶⁰ PM I:1, pp. 15 f.; *KRI* III:612-614.

⁶¹ PM I:1, p. 309; *KRI* III:614-615.

⁶² PM I:1, p. 336; *KRI* III:615-619.

⁶³ Gardiner & Weigall, *Top. Cat.*, p. 39.

⁶⁴ Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 59, who later realised that the tomb was the work of Ramose (i).

⁶⁵ See PM I:1, p. 336 at (2-3); *KRI* III:618-619.

⁶⁶ PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5). The inscriptions in the central chapel of TT 250 record a veritable who's who of Deir el-Medina personalities. Amongst those named are two foremen of the gang, the father and son Neferhotep (i) and Nebnefer (i), the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Huy (x), the 'guardian in the Place of Truth' Qenhirkhopshef (ii) (not to be confused with Ramose (i)'s adopted son who was to succeed him as scribe), the 'guardian in the Place of Truth' Khawy (ii), the 'guardian in the Place of Truth' Tusa (i), the 'draftsman of Amun' Nebre (i), and several members of the general workforce.

⁶⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 320, assumes that TT 250 is 'probably a tomb of female relatives of his (=Ramose (i)'s) wife, and their slave servants'; cf. McDowell, *JEA* 78 (1992), p. 201, with n. 61.

⁶⁸ This stela, in the rear wall of the tomb, shows Ramose (i) and Mutemwia (i) with his parents Amenemheb (v) and Kakaia (i) in the middle register (PM I:1, p. 16, at (9) II) and with their respective mothers Kakaia (i) and Nofretkhau (i) in the bottom register (PM, *loc. cit.*).

§ 14: The family of the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i): chart 25

The debate concerning the true relationship that existed between Qenhirkhopshef (i), the scribe Ramose (i) and Panakht (ii) has been the cause of much scholarly argument.⁶⁹ It is now generally held that Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s true father was Panakht (ii)⁷⁰ and that Ramose (i) either adopted him in orphanage or as a pupil to succeed him in office.⁷¹ Fortunately, the name of his mother, Sent-nefer (i), is known from the text of a magical spell.⁷²

Qenhirkhopshef (i) is first firmly attested as a 'scribe' in year 40 of Ramesses II,⁷³ where it is recorded amongst a list of work absences that several of the men were, in the 2nd month of Peret, day 7, 'carrying stones' for him.⁷⁴ This is not the only incident in which we find Qenhirkhopshef (i) openly abusing the privileges of his office. In year 3 of Amenmesses, several workmen are mentioned 'carrying stones for the scribe Qenhirkhopshef'.⁷⁵ This explicit exploitation of his position is further noted in an incident which took place during year 9 of Merenptah.⁷⁶ The text in question reads as follows: 'The workman Rehotep shaved the hair (of) the scribe Qenhirkhopshef [..... he] gave a loin-cloth of 15 cubits and he gave him 9 balls(?) of yarn after his (=Qenhirkhopshef's) concealment of his (=Rehotep) misdeeds'. Another passage in Papyrus Salt 124⁷⁷ possibly alludes to the ease with which Qenhirkhopshef (i) was receptive to corrupt favours: '[P]aneb gave something to [the scribe] Qenhirkhopshef and he saved him'.

⁶⁹ An ambiguous inscription on a table of offerings (Louvre E.13998) rests at the heart of the argument: 'The Osiris, scribe in the Place of Truth Ramose, justified; his son, scribe Qenhirkhopshef, whose father is Panakht, justified' (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 46-47, pl. XII; idem, *Rapport* (1935-40) III, p. 14; *KRI* III:632-633; PM I:1, p. 16). Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 27, has explored various possibilities in search for an explanation of the affiliation of these men, e.g., Panakht (ii) as paternal grandfather to Qenhirkhopshef (i) - this argument is, however, flawed in that Ramose (i)'s father was known to have been Amenemheb (v); Ramose (i) as father of Panakht (ii) and grandfather to Qenhirkhopshef (i). However, he arrives at the conclusion that the most likely relationship between Qenhirkhopshef (i) and Ramose (i) was one of pupil and teacher (cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 101 f.).

⁷⁰ This fact is borne out by graffito no. 243 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 22; *KRI* IV:180:15): 'The scribe Qenhopshef, son of Panakht'; cf. graffito no. 276 (Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 25); no. 301 (Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 27); no. 802 (Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 65); no. 851 c (Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 69).

⁷¹ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 112, n. 4.

⁷² *KRI* IV:183:8. It is possible that the lady Sent-nefer, whose burial is recorded in O.Varille 26, rto. 8 (*KRI* VII:236-237) dated to 'year 2', is to be identified with Sent-nefer (i): 'the workforce stayed off to bury Sent-nefer'. Had Sent-nefer not been a renowned figure in the community, there would have been little reason for the entire gang to bring a halt to work.

⁷³ O.BM 5634, *passim*. Mention of Qenhirkhopshef (i) as a scribe, alongside the foreman Nebnefer (i), indicates that he must have been acting in that capacity prior to year 40 (graffito no. VI: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 93; *KRI* III:586:11).

⁷⁴ That the scribe mentioned in this text was Qenhirkhopshef (i) is without doubt (cf. Janssen, *SAK* 8 (1980), p. 131).

⁷⁵ O.CGC 25783, vso. 15-17, vso. 20-22, vso. 25-27, vso. 29-30. For the dating of this ostrakon see Krauss, *SAK* 4 (1976), p. 167 and Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 112, n. 25.

⁷⁶ O.Gardiner 197.

⁷⁷ Rto. 1:18.

THE SCRIBES

Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s tenure in the office of scribe was a long one, beginning at least in year 40 of Ramesses II⁷⁸ and continuing down to year 1 of Siptah.⁷⁹ During his career Qenhirkhopshef (i) oversaw the construction of tombs for a succession of kings at a time when the workmanship of the tomb-builders was at its height, and the resultant trappings of success are instantly recognisable in the monuments which he erected in his own name. His rest hut at the col (R in the eastern group) was the most spacious and luxurious in the settlement.⁸⁰ Provision had even been made in this building for official business. Here, the scribe could find peace to compose the administrative documents associated with his work or to entertain visiting dignitaries. Unfortunately Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s tomb appears to have suffered a worse fate, since there continues to be considerable doubt as to its location. There is a strong probability that tomb no. 1126,⁸¹ situated in the southern end of the cemetery at Deir el-Medina, belonged to the scribe, since a double seated statue of the scribe and his wife was discovered in the chapel flanking the doorway leading into the inner room.⁸²

Qenhirkhopshef (i) devoted many hours, often together with colleagues, exploring the Theban hills in search of the most opportune spots on which to perpetuate his name and titles.⁸³ The information gleaned from these rock inscriptions, and the evidence from the village tombs provides a sound basis on which to construct a picture of Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s closest acquaintances. He especially appears to have had close ties with the family of the foremen Nebnefer (i) and his son Neferhotep (ii),⁸⁴ as well as with the opposite foreman Qaha (i).⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Černý, *Community*, pp. 329-337. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 26, n. 57, asserts that there is no conclusive proof that Qenhirkhopshef (i) was in the office of 'scribe of the Tomb' before year 45 of Ramesses II (for which see graffiti no. 1401 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 28, pl. 76; *KRI* III:640:16)). Sauneron, *OHNL*, p. XVIII, suggested that O.CGC 25578, dated to year 31 [of Ramesses II], was the work of Qenhirkhopshef (i). However, Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 26, was inclined to believe that Qenhirkhopshef (i) may only have been a pupil at this time.

⁷⁹ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 26, with n. 59; *pace* McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 74. More recently H. Altenmüller, *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 23, has identified Qenhirkhopshef (i) as the author of graffiti no. 551, written in year 1 of Siptah. Is it possible that Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s illness between the '3rd month of Shomu, day 14' and the '4th month of Shomu, day 11', recorded in an undated document (O.Gardiner 167), led to his eventual replacement as the 'senior' scribe?

⁸⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport*, (1934-35) III, p. 349.

⁸¹ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 27-30, fig. 19; PM I:2, p. 687.

⁸² Černý, *Community*, p. 331, reserves judgement on the attribution of this tomb, remarking that it closely resembled TT 216 of Neferhotep (ii). Nevertheless, both Bruyère, *op. cit.*, p. 27 and PM I:2, p. 687, have assigned the tomb to the foreman Qaha (i), solely on account of the close proximity of the tomb of his son, Anhurhaw (i) (TT 299).

⁸³ For a conspectus of Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s graffiti see *KRI* IV:185-188; Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 145-47; and the indices in Černý, *Graffiti* and *GMT* IV/1-6. Interestingly Qenhirkhopshef (i) carved his name in the shade of a small bay to the left of the entrance of the tomb of Merenptah. There he fashioned his seat of office to oversee the construction of this tomb (graffito no. 1400: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 28, pl. 76; *KRI* III:641:2).

⁸⁴ A scene on the left-hand side wall of the inner chapel of TT 216 (PM I:1, p. 313 at (17); *KRI* III:590:6-8) depicts Neferhotep (ii), followed by his father Nebnefer (i), his grandfather Neferhotep (i) and the 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth' Qenhirkhopshef (i), offering to Osiris and Anubis. Cf. graffiti no. VI (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 93; *KRI* III:586:11) and no. 2604 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 111; *KRI* III:598:2-3).

⁸⁵ Graffito no. 2609, l. 4 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 111; *KRI* III:608:11-12).

As would be expected, the learned scribe was particularly interested in matters concerning the written word,⁸⁶ lexicography, the development of language, literature and historiography. Several surviving documents bear witness to these pastimes. The lists of kings and administrative offices compiled by the scribe himself are well-known.⁸⁷ Scholars have argued whether these texts represent didactic examples, isolated studies in lexicography or a personal interest in the tradition and history of bygone rulers and (administrative) prosopography. Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s fascination with kingship drew him to visit the royal mortuary temples of West Thebes to study the texts inscribed on their walls. And during visits to the Ramesseum, he made two separate copies of the early part of the famous 'poem' of the Battle of Qadesh, fought by Ramesses II in year 5.⁸⁸

§ 15: The family of the scribe Huy (x), son of Thuthirmaktes (i): chart 22

Compared to his contemporaries, Ramose (i) and Qenhirkhopshef (i), there are remarkably fewer memorials which can be attributed to Huy (x), a son of Thuthirmaktes (i). The only dated inscriptions of his that have survived are the West Theban graffiti that he inscribed during the period between years 35 and 39 of Ramesses II.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, it is possible to compile a basic genealogical framework of Huy (x)'s immediate family from the tomb of his father.⁹⁰ Thuthirmaktes (i), an ordinary workman or 'servant in the Place of Truth',⁹¹ was married to Wernuro (i). Of their progeny only one other son, Nakhtthuty (i), is attested amongst the extant texts of this tomb. However, on a lintel we do encounter the names of two further children, the sisters Nehihay (i) and [Nofret]jyiti (iv).⁹²

⁸⁶ The existence of this interest is particularly evident in a cryptographic inscription commissioned by Qenhirkhopshef (i) for a limestone funerary head-rest (BM 63783: see Glanville, *British Museum Quarterly*, 8 (1934), pp. 105-107, pl. xxxiii; PM I:2, p. 748; KRI VII:200).

⁸⁷ O.CGC 25646 (Černý, *OH* III, pp. 48, 68*, pl. 64; Sauneron, *CdE* 26 (1951), pp. 46-49; KRI II:700; Černý, *Community*, p. 334) is a list of ten kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties (with the omission of the Atenist rulers Akhenaten, Tutankhamun and Ay) headed by Ramesses II and Nebhepetre. Sauneron, *op. cit.*, p. 48, has noted that these kings were each the owner of a West Theban mortuary temple; cf. a table of offerings (Marseilles Mus. 204) which was inscribed with a list of obscure kings from the XVIIth Dynasty adored by Qenhirkhopshef (i) (PM I:2, p. 743) and O.Carnarvon 301, which provides a list of the sons of Ramesses II. Similarly, two lists of bureaucratic titles are also known to have been the work of Qenhirkhopshef (i) (O.CGC 25760; O.Carnarvon 300, M, N, O); see now McDowell, 'Awareness of the Past in Deir el-Medina, in *Village Voices*, pp. 95-109.

⁸⁸ Papyrus Chester Beatty III (BM 10683) vso. (see Gardiner, *Hieratic Pap. in BM I-II*, London, 1935, pp. 23-24, pls. 9-10a).

⁸⁹ A graffiti for 'Year 35, 4th month of Peret, day 13' is the record of a walk taken in the Theban mountains by the 'scribe Huy' (no. 988: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 82; KRI III:645:12). A second inscription was made on the same day by the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Huy (no. 1005: Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 83; KRI III:645:13). Graffito no. 1722 of year 37 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/I*, p. 13; KRI III:645:10) mentions a 'scribe in the Place of Truth, Huy, son of Thuthirmaktes'. Similarly, two further graffiti (nos. 3635a and 3642: Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/I*, pp. 206 f.; KRI III:645-646) place the 'scribe in the Place of Truth, Huy, son of Thuthirmaktes' in year 39 of Ramesses II.

⁹⁰ Theban tomb 357 (PM I:1, p. 420; Bruyère, *Rapport*, (1929), pp. 70-74; Andreu, *BIFAO* 85 (1985), pp. 1-21, pls. I-VIII; KRI III:839-840). That the tomb belonged to Thuthirmaktes (i) is undeniable judging by inscriptional reliefs and the fact that his name occurs on a cartonnage fragment and a square of painted linen found there.

⁹¹ Stela BM 266 (PM I:2, p. 718 (b); KRI III:841) gives the titles of Thuthirmaktes (i) as 'servant in the Place of Truth and a stone-mason of Thoth'. The affiliation to Thoth may be indicative of a certain degree of literacy.

⁹² BM 547: PM I:2, p. 738; KRI III:842.

A stela now in Florence,⁹³ which had been dedicated by Nakhtthuty (i) to his father Thuthirmaktes (i), contains a group of men whose relationships to one another are clearly ambiguous. Named here are: 'his father, the chief of manoeuvre(?)' (ꜥꜣ n ꜥ) in the Place of Truth', Nebdj[efa], 'the servant in the Place of Truth', Apiy, 'his dear brother, the chief of manoeuvre(?) in the Place of Truth', Harnefer and 'his dear brother, the scribe', Huy. Nebdjefa (i) can be identified as none other than the father of Thuthirmaktes (i). The inclusion of Apiy amongst their names must indicate a close family acquaintance. It is possible that Harnefer's appellative *sn.f* referred to either Apiy, Thuthirmaktes (i) or Nakhtthuty (i); it is certain, from external evidence, that Harnefer shared some sort of filial tie with Thuthirmaktes (i). In fact the relationship recorded on a libation basin (BM 28) seems to suggest that Harnefer was the brother of Thuthirmaktes (i).⁹⁴ Furthermore, the parents of the 'chief of manoeuvre(?)' Harnefer (i) are named on this monument as the 'chief of manoeuvre(?)' Nebdjefa (i) and Hunero (v), and the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Thuthirmaktes (i), his son Nakhtthuty (i) and the 'scribe in the Place <of Truth>' Huy (x) are all similarly named. The final relationship in the Florence stela, in which Huy (x) is named as a 'brother' to Nakhtthuty (i), must have been a literal one.

Because of the uniqueness of the name of Nebdjefa (i), his father can probably be identified as the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (xiii), who is named with him in two West Theban graffiti.⁹⁵ Nebdjefa (i) was married to the lady Hathor, also commonly known as Hunero (v).⁹⁶ On a libation basin, now in the British Museum, their son, Harnefer (i), is recorded as being married to the lady Hemteter (ii).⁹⁷ This monument also introduces a group of men headed by the ꜥꜣ n ꜥ Amek (i). The last three named individuals are the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Aahotepef and his 'brothers' Nebdjefa and Amek. It is by no means clear whether the relationship that existed between these three men was consanguineous or merely professional.⁹⁸ On side A of pyramidion BM 479, Harnefer (i) is represented opposite his son, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Harnefer (ii).⁹⁹ The name of Harnefer (ii) can be restored on side B alongside his wife Nefertari (iv), since this same couple is attested elsewhere on a libation basin.¹⁰⁰ The inscriptions on side D raise a considerable problem in that the ꜥꜣ n ꜥ Harnefer appears with his wife Webkhet (iv).¹⁰¹ It seems reasonable to assume that this man is to be correlated with Harnefer (i), who must have married twice.¹⁰² Bierbrier¹⁰³ suggests that Harnefer

⁹³ Florence no. 2524 (PM I:2, p. 718 (c); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-1934), pp. 47-49, fig. 23; KRI III:842).

⁹⁴ James, *BMHT* 9, p. 39, pl. 34; PM I:2, p. 746; KRI III:796-797.

⁹⁵ Nos. 2134 and 2187 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, pp. 42, 46; KRI I:410:10).

⁹⁶ Stela BM 268 (PM I:2, p. 728; James, *BMHT* 9, pl. 33:2; KRI I:410).

⁹⁷ BM 28 (PM I:2, p. 746; James, *BMHT* 9, p. 39, pl. 34; KRI III:796-797). Also mentioned here are Harnefer (i)'s brother Thuthirmaktes (i) and the latter's son Nakhtthuty (i).

⁹⁸ It is noticeable that the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Aahotepef also appears, with his daughter Tadebet, on pyramidion BM 479 of Harnefer. An Aahotepef, possibly a different man, appears as a 'brother' of Nebamentet, son of Kasa, on a stela in the Voronezh Museum (No. 157: PM I:2, p. 726; Bogoslovsky, *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 120 (1972/no. 2), pp. 74-80, pl. 5; KRI III:755:6; cf. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 39-40).

⁹⁹ Reading *sdm-ꜥꜥ Hr-nfr sꜣ ꜥꜣ n ꜥ m st-mꜣꜥt Hr-nfr* instead of the existing *sdm-ꜥꜥ Hr-nfr sꜣ ꜥꜣ n ꜥ m st-mꜣꜥt Hr-nfr* in KRI III:799:3-4.

¹⁰⁰ PM I:2, p. 746; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 140, no. 2, fig. 65; KRI III:798.

¹⁰¹ She is perhaps identical with Webkhet (i), the daughter of the foreman Baki (i).

¹⁰² Cf. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 39.

¹⁰³ *Loc. cit.*

(i) is to be identified with the workman who appears in year 40 of Ramesses II,¹⁰⁴ and that his son, Harnefer (ii), was active towards the close of the XIXth Dynasty. However, judging by the family tree set out in chart 22, Harnefer (ii), as son of Harnefer (i), would have been closely contemporary with the scribes Huy (x) and Ramose (i). Thus, Harnefer (i) and Harnefer (ii) can be placed in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁰⁵ It is quite possible that the Harnefer who is attested in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty was a later descendant of Harnefer (i) and Harnefer (ii).¹⁰⁶

Since the name Huy was widely employed as a diminutive for Amenhotep,¹⁰⁷ any investigation concerning the career of the scribe Huy (x) stands on precarious ground. Throughout this study the inherent difficulty in differentiating between homonymous villagers is clear. The present issue that must be addressed concerns the identity of the 'royal scribe', Huy, who is named in a banqueting scene in the first vault of the tomb of the 'sculptor in the Place of Truth' Neferronpet (ii).¹⁰⁸ Here Huy, accompanied by his wife Nofretkhau (i), receives the offerings of a second couple: 'his son (>son-in-law) the scribe' Ramose (i) and 'his daughter Wia'.¹⁰⁹ Huy is named as a so-called 'brother' of the tomb-owner. Two suggestions now face us: firstly, that the 'royal scribe' Huy was indeed a true brother of Neferronpet (ii) and is hence not to be mistaken with the scribe Huy (x), son of Thuthirmaktes (i);¹¹⁰ or secondly, Bierbrier's assumption that we are faced with yet another mention of Huy (x), son of Thuthirmaktes (i) is correct.¹¹¹ The most likely outcome is that the latter scenario is correct. The resultant implications of this are indeed interesting ones.

¹⁰⁴ O.BM 5634, rto. 3; also O.DM 370, I:x+4.

¹⁰⁵ A Harnefer is in fact depicted in the tomb of the scribe Ramose (i) (TT 250: PM I:1, p. 336 at (2-3); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 74, pl. V; KRI III:618:13).

¹⁰⁶ He occurs in year 3 of Amenmesses (O.CGC 25782, rto. 14), year 6, probably of Seti II (O.CGC 25511, vso. I:3, 5), years 1 and 2 of Siptah (O.CGC 25517, vso. 19; O.CGC 25521, vso. 7), and was a member of the 'right side' of the crew under Paneb (i) (O.CGC 25605, 7; O.CGC 25526, rto. I:4; O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:4). It is also possible that it is this Harnefer who is named, with his daughter Henutmehyt, on a stela base recovered from house S.O. III (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), p. 320, fig. 190). Henutmehyt may have been synonymous with the wife of the deputy Hay (vii) (see p. 68).

¹⁰⁷ For Huy as a sobriquet of Amenhotep see Ranke, *Personennamen* I, p. 30, no. 12.

¹⁰⁸ TT 336 (PM I:1, pp. 404-405).

¹⁰⁹ See KRI III:667:15-16; PM I:1, p. 404 at (7). The use of Wia as an abbreviated form of Mutemwia (i), wife of the scribe Ramose (i), is also employed on stela Voronezh Mus. 156, (PM I:2, p. 733 f. (e); KRI III:622:15-16). That Huy (x) and Nofretkhau (i) were not the parents of Ramose (i) is proven by the inscription from a stela from TT 7 (PM I:1, pp. 15 f.; KRI III:613:13-14). Here his parents are named as Amenemheb (v) and Kakaia (i), whilst the 'mother' of Mutemwia (i) can, by the juxtaposition of names, be identified as Nofretkhau (i). Bruyère, *Rapport*, (1926), p. 63, gives the now-lost names of a couple, who follow Amenemheb (v) and Kakaia (i) in a procession from TT 250 of Ramose (i), as 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Huy (x) and [Nofret]khau (i). Strangely, both the names of Nofretkhau (i) and Mutemwia (i) appear on an offering table of the sculptor Piay (ii) (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E SS-15: KRI VII:36; Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982)); however, their relationship to the owner of this monument is not clearly recognisable.

¹¹⁰ It would seem strange, though not implausible, that having been raised amongst a family of sculptors, Huy could have chosen the profession of 'scribe'. Neferronpet (ii), his brothers Nakhtamun (ii) and Ipuy (i) and his father Piay (ii) were all 'sculptors' of the royal tomb (cf. TT 335: PM I:1, pp. 401-404; KRI III:669-674; TT 336: PM I:1, pp. 404 f.; KRI III:666-668). Furthermore, it is known that the 'sculptor' Qen (ii) was married to Henutmehyt (iii), one of Piay (ii)'s daughters (TT 4 of Qen (ii): PM I:1, p. 11 at (5); KRI III:676:5-6 *passim*; cf. PM I:1, p. 403 at (23); KRI III:674:10-11).

¹¹¹ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 25, n. 43, believes that Nofretkhau was a sister of Neferronpet, thereby making Huy a 'brother-in-law'. He also correlates Thuthirmaktes as the father of Huy.

In cutting the Gordian knot we shall consider that Huy (x), the brother-in-law of Neferronpet (ii), was indeed a son of Thuthirmaktes (i), and draw some conclusions from this. Due to the presence of Ramose (i) in a list of water arrears,¹¹² we know that Thuthirmaktes (i) was still active after year 5 of Ramesses II.¹¹³ Bierbrier's calculation that this ostrakon probably dates from the first decade of this reign is a reasonable assumption.¹¹⁴ It is also probably safe to infer a fairly advanced middle age for Thuthirmaktes (i) at the time of Ramose (i)'s arrival in the village in year 5.¹¹⁵ On this premise, his son the scribe Huy (x) could easily have been c. 30-35 years old at this time,¹¹⁶ having served his apprenticeship under Seti I. It would be unwise for us to assign him a more advanced age since he was active up to year 39 of Ramesses II;¹¹⁷ thereafter he disappears from the tomb records. The use of the title *sš-nsw* for Huy (x), in apposition to the simple *sš* attributed to his son-in-law Ramose, (i) might be a reflection of Huy's senior position.¹¹⁸ It might even transpire that the marriage between Ramose (i) and Huy (x)'s daughter Mutemwia (i) was the result of political manoeuvring amongst the village dignitaries.¹¹⁹

Personal details concerning the careers of Thuthirmaktes (i) and Huy (x) are relatively scarce. Thuthirmaktes (i) may be identified with the homonymous man who appears in an undated ostrakon delivering wood to the village, probably as a member of the *smdt* service crew.¹²⁰ The scribe, Huy (x), is represented in the tomb of Nebenmaat (ii),¹²¹ and was possibly a member of the funeral

¹¹² O.Gardiner 116, rto. 5.

¹¹³ O.Gardiner 116, vso. 2.

¹¹⁴ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 30.

¹¹⁵ O.DM 233 contains two notes of payments made by Thuthirmaktes (i) to the draftsman Pay (i) for work on his sarcophagus and coffin. Although the dateline is partially lost, Černý, *Prices and Wages*, I (1954), p. 911, has restored the hieratic traces to read 'year [1-4] of Ramesses II. Surprisingly, fragments from Thuthirmaktes (i)'s painted and varnished cartonnage have actually been recovered from his tomb (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 77, II:2). Evidence that Thuthirmaktes (i) served on the gang during the reigns of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I, may be supplied by an inscription on one of his stelae, dedicated to Amenre and Taweret, where he makes the boast of: '[making] restoration in the name of his Lord'. (Coll. Clère: PM I:2, p. 718 (a); *KRI* III:841:15-16). Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), p. 180, n. 2, argued that stelae at Deir el-Medina, which made similar claims, were set up as replacements for monuments that had been destroyed or defaced during the anathematization of Amun in the Amarna Period. Consequently, it is feasible that Thuthirmaktes (i) promulgated this monument shortly after the fall of Akhenaten.

¹¹⁶ By Černý's reckonings, Huy (x) and Ramose (i) would have been roughly the same age (see *Community*, p. 319).

¹¹⁷ Cf. graffiti nos. 3635a and 3642.

¹¹⁸ See the tomb of Neferronpet (ii): PM I:1, p. 404 at (7); *KRI* III:667:15-16. However, Černý, *Community*, p. 225, has suggested that the use of the title *sš-nsw* by the 'scribes of the Place of Truth' was, in essence, purely honorific.

¹¹⁹ Černý, *Community*, p. 326, assumed that Huy (x) adopted Ramose (i) and Mutemwia (i) as his own children. However, there are no grounds for such a tenuous argument, though it is certainly possible that Huy (x) took Ramose (i) under his professional guidance.

¹²⁰ O.DM 274, vso. 3.

¹²¹ TT 219: PM I:1, p. 321 at (9); *KRI* III:762:6.

procession in the tomb of the scribe Amenemope (i).¹²² He is also attested on a work roster, contemporaneous with the scribe Ramose (i) and the two foremen Neferhotep (ii) and Qaha (i).¹²³

§ 16: The family of the scribe Anupemheb (i)

During the course of the village's history, there appear to have been several scribes who were not destined to succeed as one of the three 'captains' of the workforce, despite the importance of their contribution towards the administrative affairs of the royal tomb. One such individual was the 'scribe of the Place of Truth', Anupemheb (i).¹²⁴ Very few of his monuments have survived and it is only from a fragmentary stela inscription that the name of his wife, the 'chantress of Amen[re?]', Bodet (i)(?), is preserved.¹²⁵ Anupemheb (i) constructed his tomb outside the confines of the village in the Khôkha cemetery.¹²⁶ McDowell has suggested that he was not a member of the workforce but was rather a 'scribe of the vizier'.¹²⁷ There is no doubting that he was ultimately answerable to the vizier, though his duties seem to have been much more in keeping with those of a scribe of the service staff (*smdt*).¹²⁸ Anupemheb (i) first appears in the records late in the reign of Ramesses II. In year 66 he arrived, presumably at the village, with a Neferhotep, possibly another scribe, and two 'chief Medjays'. Apparently he had been given orders to investigate allegations into the mis-use of a maidservant's service.¹²⁹ This was not an isolated inquest on which Anupemheb (i) is known to have adjudicated. On another occasion¹³⁰ he is mentioned presiding over a case concerning the nefarious activity of an unnamed workman. Although the eventual outcome has not been recorded, it is interesting to note that Anupemheb (i)'s participation was as a member of the '*qnb*-court'.

¹²² For the reading of his name in this tomb see G. Jourdain, 'La Tombe du Scribe Royal Amenemope', p. 38, pls. 23-24, in Vandier d'Abbadie & Jourdain, *Deux Tombes de Deir el-Médineh*. Cf. PM I:1, p. 312 at (2); KRI I:382:14.

¹²³ O.CGC 25573, I:5. The earliest dated mention that I know exists for the foreman Qaha (i) is year 38 of Ramesses II (O.Mich. 47, rto. 4), though it has been shown that he was active much earlier. It is possible that the same Qaha (i) may have survived into the early reign of Merenptah (on the evidence of a broken reading of that king's cartouche on O.Carnarvon 300 PP (KRI IV:188); however, cf. p. 14, with n. 163, for a more comprehensive discussion of this ostrakon and the foreman Qaha (i)).

¹²⁴ For Anupemheb (i)'s titles see Gardiner & Weigall, *Top. Cat.*, p. 34. The name is exceedingly uncommon throughout Egyptian history; Ranke, *Personennamen* I, p. 37:10, refers to just one other male example, who lived during the Middle Kingdom.

¹²⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1945-47), pp. 58-59:12, pl. 9:1; PM I:2, p. 694; KRI IV:179-80.

¹²⁶ TT 206: PM I:1, pp. 305 f., plan p. 292, map IV, D-5, c, 8. It is interesting that this is the only tomb in the Theban necropolis, outside of Deir el-Medina, that can now be attributed to an employee of the 'Place of Truth'. It seems fair to assume that Anupemheb (i) probably lived in the vicinity of Khôkha. Furthermore, we will attempt to demonstrate that he served the community at Deir el-Medina as a member of the *smdt*-staff.

¹²⁷ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 78. Her argument is based on the siting of his tomb and from documentary evidence of Anupemheb (i)'s activities. In concluding, she states that he was 'one of the outside administrators, so a position on the vizier's staff is a distinct possibility'. However, her appraisal of the ostraca appears to bear a somewhat subjective slant.

¹²⁸ Cf. Eyre, 'An Accounts Papyrus from Thebes', *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 119. The fact that Anupemheb (i) is not attested on any of the monuments of his contemporaries in the workforce strongly suggests that he was not one of their number and lived outside the community.

¹²⁹ O.CGC 25237. A study of this obscure text has recently been undertaken by Davies & Toivari, *SAK* 24 (1997), pp. 69-80.

¹³⁰ O.IFAO 1357.

It is evident from O.CGC 25504 that Anupemheb (i)'s responsibilities were closely associated with the West Theban administration. This informative ostrakon contains details from a diary of eclectic official visits to the royal Theban necropolis in years 7 and 8 of Merenptah. In one of the entries, Anupemheb (i)'s is said to have arrived with the scribe Paser and the two chief Medjays, Nakhtmin and Hori, in order to announce the arrival at the guard post of the chief craftsman Roma. The reason for his presence is not clear. The remaining attestations of Anupemheb (i) frequently portray him issuing various rations to the workforce together with other scribes. In O.DM 179 he distributes grain rations for the 'right side' alongside his opposite number, the scribe Pentaweret, whose concerns lie with 'left side'. The foreman for the 'right side' is named in this text as Neferhotep (ii), who is known to have been operative between c. year 40 Ramesses II¹³¹ and year 1-5 of Seti II.¹³² This particular combination of Anupemheb (i) and Pentaweret is once again mentioned in an undated accounts papyrus.¹³³ The occurrence of the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i) (rto. 13), suggests, like O.DM 179, a dating anywhere between c. year 40 Ramesses II and the beginning of the reign of Siptah. It is noticeable that the scribe Pentaweret is recorded delivering wood in year 42 of Ramesses II.¹³⁴ Both scribes, Anupemheb (i) and Pentaweret, are again active delivering fish¹³⁵ and wood¹³⁶ in two separate ostraca. And finally they appear in O.Strasburg H.110¹³⁷ together with Anhurkhawy (i), who is presumably one of the foremen at this time.¹³⁸ There is a slight possibility that this ostrakon is to be dated within the reign of Merenptah.¹³⁹ A scribe Pentaweret also occurs in year 6 of Seti II,¹⁴⁰ and years 2,¹⁴¹ 11,¹⁴² 23¹⁴³ and 31¹⁴⁴ of Ramesses III. These later attestations surely prove the

¹³¹ ODM 126, 2.

¹³² Bierbrier, *JSEA* 8 (1977-78), p. 138; cf. pp. 32-33 for the tenure of the chief workman Neferhotep (ii).

¹³³ Pap. Gardiner 8 (=Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1960.1283), rto. 5. Published by Eyre, 'An Accounts Papyrus from Thebes', *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 108-119.

¹³⁴ O.Spencer, 1.

¹³⁵ O.CGC 25582 & O.DM 323.

¹³⁶ O.DM 323.

¹³⁷ *KRI* VII:234-235.

¹³⁸ Although Anhurkhawy is not specifically referred to as 'foreman', this title can reasonably be inferred from the amounts of grain rations listed for the workmen: Anhurkhawy receives 2 *khar*, the scribe 1 *khar*, and 19 men each 1 1/2 *khar*; cf. Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 119, n. 12. The ratio of grain rations which were apportioned to the various members of the workforce has been discussed by Černý, *Prices and Wages*, p. 913, and more recently by Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 460.

¹³⁹ The basis of this argument is dependent upon a 'proposed' dating for O.Carnarvon 300 PP in the reign of Merenptah. The only text on the 'recto' is the remains of a cartouche of 'Bai[en]re' (=Merenptah). The 'verso' text mentions the 'foreman Qaha (i)', father of Anhurkhawy (i). Qaha (i) was incumbent in this office during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II at least. However, the first dated document which bears testimony to this fact comes from year 38 Ramesses II (O.Mich. 47, rto. 4). It is therefore possible, though unproven, that Qaha (i) could have officiated as chief workman into the early reign of Merenptah. We can be certain that Hay (iv) succeeded his father, Anhurkhawy (i), as chief workman by year 1 Amenmesses (O.CGC 25779) at the latest. Alternatively, it may be proposed that the 'verso' of O.Carnarvon 300 PP was written during the reign of Ramesses II, and that the blank 'recto' was later employed by a scribe to practise the spelling of the new ruler's name. For a discussion of this document see Černý, *Community*, p. 295.

¹⁴⁰ O.Nash 1, vso. 6; O.Nash 2, rto. 5.

¹⁴¹ O.Leipzig 1, 5.

¹⁴² O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 1.

¹⁴³ O.Turin N. 57027, vso. 3.

¹⁴⁴ O.Gardiner 104, 6; A scribe Pentaweret is attested up to year 4 of Ramesses VII. The problems which the existence of these individuals raises shall be discussed in a later chapter (see below, pp. 126 ff.).

existence of at least two scribes of this name, whose respective periods of activity may be placed within the reigns of the two most successful Ramesseses.

§ 17: The scribes Neferhotep

The scribe, Neferhotep (vi), is documented as Pentaweret had been, alongside Anupemheb (i), delivering wood and fish for the 'left side' in an undated document.¹⁴⁵ It is remotely possible that this official can be identified with the scribe Neferhotep who was still active in years 10¹⁴⁶ and 28¹⁴⁷ of Ramesses III, though this is very unlikely. Similarly, it is feasible that the Neferhotep, who appears in year 66 Ramesses II, was acting as scribe.¹⁴⁸ Had this been true, there can be little doubting the existence of two scribes Neferhotep, whether related or not. Therefore, the elder scribe Neferhotep (vi) may possibly be identified with the scribe Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, who occurs in a graffito with the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Qen<hir>khopshef (i).¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately the undated records which name Neferhotep can not be dated without employing a considerable amount of protracted and hypothetical argumentation. For instance, Anupemheb (i) may have served alongside a number of successive scribes: Pentaweret (ii), Neferhotep (vi) and Paser. A detailed discussion of the chronology of the 'scribes' will be presented in the following 'Appendix A' (pp. 123 ff.).¹⁵⁰

The second 'scribe' Neferhotep (vii) probably first appears during a donkey dispute, with Hori, son of Huynefer, in year 10 of Ramesses III.¹⁵¹ His name re-appears in a later controversy in year 16 of the same reign. The second dispute similarly concerns a donkey and likewise involves Hori, son of Huynefer.¹⁵² The scribe Neferhotep (vii) appears in a graffito with the draftsman Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), which can be securely dated before this year 16.¹⁵³ The possibility that Neferhotep (vii) may, in fact, have been a 'draftsman' shall receive attention below (see p. 133). The 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, is attested in a graffito dated to year 28 of the reign of Ramesses III.¹⁵⁴ Judging by the information contained in this inscription, he may have been the son of the earlier scribe Neferhotep (vi). Had this been the case, he may be identical with the 'wa'b-priest' Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, who occurs with his son Neferhotep ('Adjed'a') in a

¹⁴⁵ O.DM 323, 1-2.

¹⁴⁶ O.Mich. 1, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Graffito no. 609 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49 f.; KRI V:528) in which the 'scribe' Neferhotep is named as the 'son of Neferhotep'. It is feasible that the homonymously named father and son both served as scribe, the former under late Ramesses II/Merenptah, the latter with Ramesses III.

¹⁴⁸ O.CGC 25237, rto. 2; see now Davies & Toivari, *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 72, note (c).

¹⁴⁹ No. 207 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 20; KRI V:660:14-15).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 119, n. 11, who suggested that Neferhotep (vi) was either the predecessor or successor of Pentaweret. If the foreman, Anhurkhawy (i), served at the end of the reign of Ramesses II, thereby dismissing the implication that O.Carnarvon 300 PP may have on the career of Qaha (i), it is possible to group the undated documents naming Anupemheb (i) and Pentaweret prior to year 66 of Ramesses II. This allows those records attesting Anupemheb (i) and Neferhotep (vi) to fall in year 66 and later.

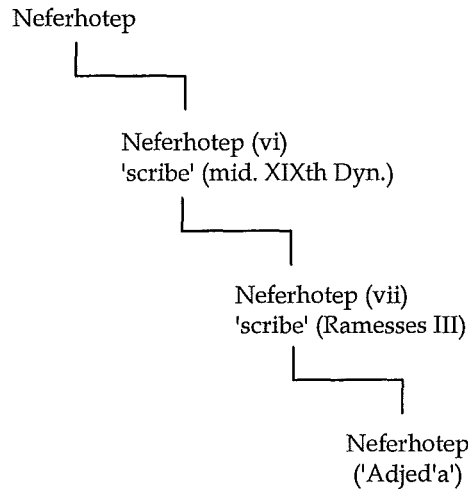
¹⁵¹ O.Mich. 1, 1.

¹⁵² O.Mich. 2, 5.

¹⁵³ No. 1131 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 5; KRI V:643:16).

¹⁵⁴ No. 609 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49-50; KRI V:528:8-11).

separate graffito.¹⁵⁵ Another possibility which requires attention is that Neferhotep (vii) may be identified with the 'scribe' Neferhotep, son of the 'scribe of the Place of Truth' Wennefer, who is known from several undated graffiti;¹⁵⁶ furthermore, Wennefer may be correlated with the 'scribe' Wennefer (v) who was active during the reign of Ramesses III. Nevertheless, in spite of this hypothesising, these suppositions remain purely speculative. Wennefer (v) may simply have named one of his sons after his colleague, Neferhotep (vii). An unidentified scribe Neferhotep was the author and recipient of several letters,¹⁵⁷ and is attested in graffiti inscriptions with the likes of the foreman Nekhemmut.¹⁵⁸ A possible genealogy of the family of the 'scribe' Neferhotep (vi) might have looked something along the lines of the following diagram:



§ 18: The scribe Pashedu (vi)

Prior to opening a discussion on the career of the 'scribe' Pashedu (vi), it should be remembered that there were several closely contemporary 'draftsmen' of this name,¹⁵⁹ who, on occasion, may have employed *sš* as the abbreviated form of the title *sš-ḳdw*.¹⁶⁰ Pashedu (vi) refers to himself as a 'scribe of the Tomb' in a number of graffiti.¹⁶¹ The question as to whether the same person was the author of

¹⁵⁵ No. 891 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 73-74; *KRI* V:654:13-15). For the implications raised by this inscription see pp. 230-1 below.

¹⁵⁶ Nos. 1823, 2664 (f), 2666 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 18; IV/2, p. 115; *KRI* V:643:10-12).

¹⁵⁷ O.OIC 16991; O.Berlin P.10628; O.Berlin P.10630; O.DM 121; O.DM 124.

¹⁵⁸ Nos. 318 and 729 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 28, 59; *KRI* V:626:13, 14).

¹⁵⁹ See below pp. 155 ff. for these individuals. Nevertheless, it remains possible that either the 'draftsman' Pashedu, son of Maaninakhtuf or more likely, from a chronological point of view, the 'draftsman' Pashedu, son of Merysekhmet, had been promoted to the position of full-time 'scribe'.

¹⁶⁰ On the use of *sš* see Černý, *Community*, p. 191.

¹⁶¹ Nos. 726 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 59; *KRI* III:586:8-9); 2757:1 (where his full title is given as *sš-nsw n p3 hr*; Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 122; *KRI* IV:439:6); cf. the conspectus of graffiti listed by *KRI* IV:439.

graffito no. 2596,¹⁶² where he bears the title of 'the scribe of the mansion of the gods and the Lords of the West',¹⁶³ Pashedu, remains open to doubt. According to Černý,¹⁶⁴ a 'scribe in the Place of Truth', Pashedu, is mentioned in O.Strassburg H 108, 6, whilst a scribe Pashedu commemorated the arrival of the inundation in an ostrakon dated to the 3rd month of Akhet, day 20, of a year 4 (of Ramesses III).¹⁶⁵

In her discussion of the career of the scribe Pashedu (vi), McDowell favours the suggestion that his duties were more akin to the responsibilities held by a scribe of the vizier than those of a scribe of the tomb administration.¹⁶⁶ However, a closer re-examination of the sources used by McDowell result in a different picture. An ostrakon (CGC 25515) covering a visit made by the vizier, Preemheb to the 'Tract' (*shṯ*)¹⁶⁷ in year 6 of Seti II, records: *hw.f hr qd n sš Pz-šdw shnt t3 lswt* 'he (=the vizier) gave (lit. 'spoke') the instruction(s) of the gang to the scribe, Pashedu'.¹⁶⁸ By McDowell's reckoning, it would hardly seem reasonable for the vizier to have made the journey out to the work-site simply to relay to his own scribe the orders for the workmen.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, we prefer the more cogent scenario that Pashedu (vi), acting in his capacity as one of the 'scribes' attached to the workforce, is shown receiving the new commissions for the renewal of work in the royal necropolis from the vizier. In O.Nash 1, vso. 5, the scribe Pashedu (vi) is named amongst a list of the members of the council of the *qnb*-court. His name here follows those of the two foremen, Paneb (i) and Hay (iv),¹⁷⁰ and precedes those of the scribes Paser and Pentaweret. McDowell suggests that all three scribes are to be identified as representatives of the vizier.¹⁷¹ But, would a local court case, even of this magnitude, have realistically warranted the attendance of three scribes sent out by the vizier's office to the exclusion of a single local scribe? Even the absence of the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i) from these most important legal cases is certainly conspicuous, though it has been noted above that he was still active at this time. It could be argued that his absence was the result of ill-health or his presence elsewhere, and that his place on this tribunal (as well as in O.CGC 25515) was consequently filled by Pashedu (vi), acting as his representative. Pashedu (vi) might even have been the chosen successor and assistant to Qenhirkhopshef (i), or less likely a *smdt*-scribe who, on occasion, assumed the responsibility attached to the office of the 'senior' scribe.¹⁷² Furthermore, there seems to be little evidence to substantiate McDowell's *a priori* assumption that the Pashedu who is mentioned in O.CGC 25517 was a vizieral

¹⁶² Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 110; *KRI* IV:439:9.

¹⁶³ Or: 'of all the gods of the West'.

¹⁶⁴ *Community*, p. 205, n. 11.

¹⁶⁵ O.CGC 25801; dated by Černý, *Community*, p. 205, on palaeographic grounds; cf. *KRI* IV:405, who assigns this text to the reign of Siptah, and Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 284, who considers Seti II/Siptah as a possibility. The existence of a scribe named Pashedu during this period may have prompted Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 92, to ascribe O.Berlin 10840 ('year 9') to the reign of Ramesses III, rather than the commonly accepted date of Seti I/Ramesses II (Černý, *Community*, p. 206; cf. *KRI* I:368; Kitchen, *RITANC* I, p. 262).

¹⁶⁶ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 81.

¹⁶⁷ Ventura, *Living*, p. 186, n. 48, interprets this term as 'the working region'; cf. Černý, *Community*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁶⁸ Rto. I:4-5.

¹⁶⁹ *Jurisdiction*, p. 81.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. O.Cairo J.72465, rto. 3.

¹⁷¹ *Jurisdiction*, p. 81.

¹⁷² Janssen, *Village Varia*, p. 103, with n. 40, certainly seems to view Pashedu as the 'senior' scribe, interpolating his career between those of Qenhirkhopshef (i) and Bay (ii).

scribe. In this text, two workmen, Ipu and Nekhemmut, were recorded absent from work since they were with the scribe Pashedu, 'working for the vizier',¹⁷³ and 'making a *krf* for the vizier'.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, we learn that other workmen were noted absent with either of the foremen, Paneb (i) and Hay (iv). Unsurprisingly, this example in which workmen were engaged in jobs for the benefit of the vizier is not an isolated one. Consequently, the conclusion that Pashedu was an agent of the vizier seems a hasty one to have been made. In fact, the same two workmen are also recorded as simply being 'with the scribe, Pashedu' in the same text,¹⁷⁵ behaviour which is analogous to an incident in year 40 of Ramesses II where Pennub was missing from duty because he had accompanied the senior 'scribe', Qenhirkhopshef (i), on some other 'unofficial' business.¹⁷⁶

The scribe, Pashedu (vi), and the foreman, Hay (iv), were the (co-)recipients of an anonymous and undated letter, urgently requesting delivery of the grain rations.¹⁷⁷ This is further suggestive that Pashedu (vi) may be considered to have been an assistant to the 'captains', or that this appeal had been aimed at him in his capacity as one of the *smdt*-scribes. Although the closing lines of the document are badly damaged, this cri-de-coeur startlingly echoes the petitions made by the workmen during their strikes in year 29 of Ramesses III. In fact, a 'scribe' Pashedu is seen delivering rations to the workmen in an undated and unpublished document.¹⁷⁸ The conclusion that we can take from the above discussion must be that the scribe Pashedu (vi) was indeed an inhabitant of Deir el-Medina at the turn of the XIXth Dynasty and was presumably the subordinate, perhaps even successor-elect, of Qenhirkhopshef (i), the senior 'scribe' of that period.

§ 19: The family of the scribe Pahemneter (i): chart 43

The name of Pahemneter was not a particularly common one at Deir el-Medina. A Pahemneter (i), who appears in a graffito along with the scribe, Qenhirkhopshef (i),¹⁷⁹ was probably operative as early as the second half of the XIXth Dynasty. We can now confidently restore Spiegelberg's reading of this text as: 'the *wa'b*-priest Pahemneter, <son> of Neferhor (iv)' on the basis of the existence of a second graffito of this man: 'the scribe Pahemneter, son of the prophet Neferhor; his son Painefer'.¹⁸⁰ On the grounds that the scribe Qenhirkhopshef, from the inscription above, is to be correlated with the famous official of the mid-XIXth Dynasty, it seems likely that Pahemneter (i) is to be identified with the workman Pahemneter who appears in the duty rosters from the reigns of Amenmesses¹⁸¹ and Seti

¹⁷³ O.CGC 25517, vso. 4.

¹⁷⁴ O.CGC 25517, vso. 15.

¹⁷⁵ O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 13.

¹⁷⁶ O.BM 5634, rto. 11.

¹⁷⁷ O.DM 613.

¹⁷⁸ O.IFAO 361, 1.

¹⁷⁹ No. 712 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 57; *KRI* IV:185:7).

¹⁸⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 18; *KRI* V:668:9. The graffito (no. 3628: Sadek, *GMT* IV/4, p. 205; *KRI* VI:675:10) in which Pahemneter is named as a son of Painefer may have been a mistake for 'Pahemneter, <his> son Painefer'. That this may not necessarily have been the case will become apparent in the discussion below.

¹⁸¹ O.CGC 25779, vso. 3 (year 1); O.CGC 25784, 6 (year 4).

II.¹⁸² However, it is similarly possible that the so-called 'scribe' Qenhirkhopshef was merely an ordinary member of the workforce, employing the title *sš* as a mark of his literacy, and that Pahemneter belonged to the XXth Dynasty family of Neferhor (i)/Neferhor (vi).¹⁸³ Another graffito holds interesting implications as it names 'the scribe Pahemneter (ii), son of Painefer (i)'.¹⁸⁴ This man may be correlated with the 'scribe' Pahemneter who is attested in year 3 of Ramesses IV.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, a Pa(i)nefer (ii), son of Pahemneter, appears in year 17 of Ramesses IX,¹⁸⁶ and is probably the son of Pahemneter (ii). The workman Anhurkhawy (vi), son of Pa(i)nefer (ii), is likewise named in this year 17 of Ramesses IX,¹⁸⁷ as is another son of Pahemneter (ii), namely Paisen (i).¹⁸⁸ The name of another possible son of Pa(i)nefer (ii) can be restored as [Pa]jankhau (i) from an entry in a papyrus, which is dated to year 16 of Ramesses IX.¹⁸⁹ It is not yet clear whether he is to be identified with the Paankhau who is attested in years 6-7 of Ramesses IX (as a 'scribe'),¹⁹⁰ and years 3 and 14 of Ramesses XI.¹⁹¹ Alternatively, this individual may have been Paankhau (ii), the son of Harmose (ii) and Nubemheb (i), who is attested in the *Stato Civile*.¹⁹² There is little evidence to suggest that Paankhau (i), son of Pa(i)nefer (ii), is to be identified with another Paankhau, whose name occurs in a text which probably dates from the reign of Ramesses III.¹⁹³ A Hori (xvii), son of Paisen, who appears in a 'year 7' (probably of either Ramesses IX, Ramesses X(?) or Ramesses XI)¹⁹⁴ may be identified as any one of a number of workmen: the son of Pa(i)sen, son of Amenwa; the son of Paisen (i), son of Pahemneter (ii); or the son of the earlier Pa(i)sen (temp. Ramesses IV?). There remains the possibility that Pa(i)nefer (ii) and Paisen (i), the sons of Pahemneter (ii), were the two foremen attested towards the end of the XXth Dynasty.¹⁹⁵ These findings may now be incorporated into a preliminary genealogy:

¹⁸² O.MMA 14.6.217, rto. 7 (year 1).

¹⁸³ Cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 144; Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 42-43; Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212.

¹⁸⁴ No. 3628 (Sadek, *GMT* IV/4, p. 205; *KRI* VI:675:10).

¹⁸⁵ Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vso. II:2.

¹⁸⁶ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 6:14.

¹⁸⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 12, l. 4.

¹⁸⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23, l. 3. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212, suggests that Painefer and Paisen were the sons of Pahemneter, son of Neferhor, though there is no positive proof to this effect. An earlier Pa(i)sen is known to have been active during the reign of Ramesses IV (O.DM 41, rto. 13; O.DM 42, rto. 10; O.DM 44, vso. 6; O.MMA 09.184.702, l:4). For a completely different individual, Pa(i)sen, the son of Amenwa, see below pp. 172 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Pap. Turin 2106, l:2, rto. 1:16 (=KRI VI:650:12). It is, however, possible that [Pa]jankhau was a son of Panefer (i) (see below p. 232).

¹⁹⁰ Pap. Turin 1930+2050, rto. 1:10; Pap. Turin 1906+2047/132+1939, rto. 2:6.

¹⁹¹ Pap. Turin 2003, rto. 2:5; Pap. Berlin P.10460, rto. 4. Paankhau is also mentioned in a 'year 7', probably of Ramesses IX, Ramesses X(?) or Ramesses XI (O.CGC 25575, 16).

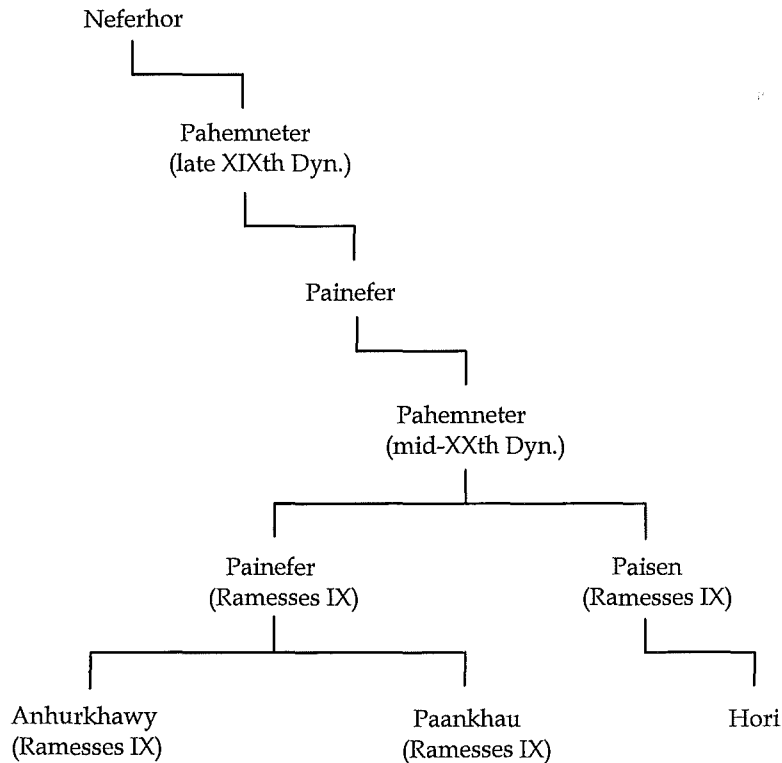
¹⁹² Černý Nb. 15, p. 65; cf. above p. 26, n. 319.

¹⁹³ O.Černý 15, vso. 7.

¹⁹⁴ O.CGC 25575, 28.

¹⁹⁵ Gardiner Weight no. 11.

THE SCRIBES



Bierbrier¹⁹⁶ identified the workman Amenniutnakht (i), who is referred to in a graffito as a 'brother' of Pahemmeter,¹⁹⁷ as the son of Anakhtu. This supposition he bases purely on the evidence of a document which records a property dispute between Mose and Amenniutnakht¹⁹⁸ during the reign of Ramesses IX.¹⁹⁹ However, the evidence provided by this text is by no means conclusive. A workman Amenniutnakht previously appears in two texts which are probably to be dated to the reign of Ramesses IV.²⁰⁰

Another Pahemmeter (iii), who styles himself as a 'scribe', noticeably occurs twice amongst the graffiti as the son of Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep.²⁰¹ The appearance of the workman Khnummose

¹⁹⁶ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212, n. 2.

¹⁹⁷ No. 1238 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 13; *KRI* V:668:11).

¹⁹⁸ O.Gardiner 23 (Černý & Gardiner, *HO*, pl. XLIII, 4). The key to the relationships between Mose, Amenniutnakht (i) and Anakhtu can be found in the oath taken by Amenniutnakht in ll. 9-10: *bn mdw.i m st nb n3 ʿ3-nḥtw p3y.w(?) it*, 'I shall not dispute any property of those belonging to Anakhtu, their(?) father'. Allam, *HOP*, p. 154, n. 5, remarks that 'their father' may in fact mean 'our father'. In this case, Mose and Amenniutnakht (i) may therefore have been the two sons of Anakhtu (cf. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 123; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 308).

¹⁹⁹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 308-09; *KRI* VI:663.

²⁰⁰ Pap. DeM 24, 6; O.CGC 25533, rto. 2 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 244, 348; *KRI* VI:134, 175).

²⁰¹ Graffiti nos. 218 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 21; *KRI* IV:338:6) and 832 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 67; *KRI* V:661:6).

in one of these inscriptions dates Pahemneter (iii), son of Neferhotep, anywhere between the reign of Seti II and year 24 of Ramesses III.²⁰² *In fine*, one could argue that either of the aforesaid Pahemneters, (ii) or (iii), might have been synonymous with the workman of that name who was active in the middle of the XXth Dynasty,²⁰³ or with the scribe who is recorded as having prescribed Paneferemdjed with a spell for extracting poison.²⁰⁴

§ 20: The scribe Bay (ii)

The 'scribe of the Tomb' Bay (ii)²⁰⁵ first appears in village life towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty. He is attested twice on an ostrakon, which mentions the distribution of rations to the workforce.²⁰⁶ In the first instance, on the recto, it would appear that the ration amount assigned to Bay (ii) was identical to that received by the foreman Paneb (i); however, the writing of the number '2' has been damaged, possibly through accident, though much more likely as a result of a scribal emendation of '2' into '1' as was suggested by Ventura.²⁰⁷ On the verso Bay (ii) is recorded receiving half the ration of the opposite foreman Hay (iv). From this we may surmise that Bay (ii)'s scope of authority encompassed both sides of the gang and that by this stage he was already the senior 'scribe of the Tomb'. Due to the appearance of Paneb (i), this text can be dated no later than the early years of the XXth Dynasty. The scribe Bay (ii) also occurs in O.Gardiner 37 which, according to Černý, should be dated no later than the reign of Seti II.²⁰⁸ However, Janssen has convincingly argued that this document should be placed within the reign of Siptah.²⁰⁹ It is possible that Bay (ii) initially served as an apprentice scribe to Qenhirkhopshef (i), who can probably be attested in active service as the 'senior' scribe into the reign of Siptah.²¹⁰ Thus, we can assume a date for O.Gardiner 57 at the very end of the XIXth Dynasty, some time after the death of Qenhirkhopshef (i). Janssen has suggested that the Bay, for whom several workmen were absent from their duties making a chair and a bed, is possibly to be identified as the famous chancellor of that name.²¹¹ However, arguments supporting an identification of this individual with the scribe Bay (ii) may now be brought forward.

It is possible that the scribe Bay (ii) may have been active until at least year 16 of Ramesses III, since his name is closely associated with that of the 'scribe' Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii).²¹² On a stela from chapel E in the village, the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Bay and the 'scribe' Amennakht (v),

²⁰² For the period of Khnummose's activities see below p. 261.

²⁰³ E.g., O. Berlin P.9412, 5; O.CGC 25609, vso. 2:5; O.CGC 25613, 4; O.DM 236, rto. 2:7; O.DM 418, rto. 4; see further Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 352, 399, 402, 441 *passim*.

²⁰⁴ For this individual see below, pp. 108-9.

²⁰⁵ For this title see graffito no. 1699 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 11; *KRI V*:641:2).

²⁰⁶ O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:2, vso. I:2; for a recent dating of this text see Janssen, *Village Varia*, p. 105.

²⁰⁷ Ventura, *Living*, p. 72, n. 62.

²⁰⁸ O.Gardiner 37, vso. 9; Černý, *Community*, p. 201; cf. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 74.

²⁰⁹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, p. 107.

²¹⁰ See above p. 85.

²¹¹ O.Gardiner 118; Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 144.

²¹² The 'royal scribe' Bay appears alongside Amennakht (v) and his son Harshire (i) in graffito no. 2550 a (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 65; *KRI V*:641:8-9).

son of Ipuy (ii), are shown in an attitude of adoration.²¹³ It will be seen, in due course, that Amennakht (v) was only promoted from 'draftsman' to 'scribe of the Tomb' in year 16 of Ramesses III, thus suggesting that Bay may have still been scribe in that year. However, it could be argued that the title of *sš*, 'scribe', attributed on this stela to Amennakht (v), was merely the common scribal elision of the title *sš-kdw*, 'draftsman'. Certainly the positioning of Amennakht (v) behind Bay (ii) does suggest that he held an inferior post. Finally, we should note the caveat that Bay (iii), son of Huynefer, who coincidentally occurs in year 16 of Ramesses III,²¹⁴ is probably not to be identified with the scribe Bay (ii).

§ 21: The scribe Wennefer (v)

In her discussions concerning many of the principal Deir el-Medina scribes, McDowell tentatively surmised that the scribe Wennefer (v) had preceded Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), as the 'senior' scribe of the Tomb.²¹⁵ However, this position of responsibility may have fallen to the scribe, Bay (ii), as was noted in the last section. The 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Wennefer (v) associates himself in various graffiti inscriptions with village luminaries such as the 'chief workman' Nekhemmut,²¹⁶ the 'deputy of the workforce' To,²¹⁷ and the 'guardian' Pen<men>nefer (i).²¹⁸ Furthermore, he appears as a member of the court tribunal on a number of occasions between years 11²¹⁹ and 21²²⁰ of Ramesses III. His last dated appearance occurs amongst a list of the workmen of the right side of the gang in year 24 of the same reign.²²¹ The 'scribe of the Place of Truth' Wennefer (vii), who appears with the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i) in a graffiti dated to the reign of Merenptah,²²² was probably an earlier official,²²³ possibly as a young apprentice of Qenhirkhopshef (i). The scribe Wennefer (vii) occurs in other graffiti together with the scribe Qen<hir>khosphef (i), son of Panakht,²²⁴ and also with a Paneb,²²⁵ who is probably to be identified with the infamous foreman. He is mentioned in another of these rock inscriptions along with the 'sculptor' Huy (xiii),²²⁶ who is probably the son of Qen (ii), and who was active in the middle of the XIXth Dynasty.

²¹³ PM I:2, p. 708; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pp. 8-10, fig. 5; KRI V:640.

²¹⁴ Pap. DeM 26, vso. B, 7.

²¹⁵ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 81-82.

²¹⁶ No. 1724 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 13; KRI V:627:1).

²¹⁷ No. 1973 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 29; KRI V:640:3).

²¹⁸ No. 1340 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 22, pl. 62; KRI V:643).

²¹⁹ O.Geneva MAH 12550, vso. 1.

²²⁰ Pap. Berlin P.10496, rto. 2.

²²¹ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 4; O.Turin N.57028, rto. 5, *passim*. For the later scribe Wennefer, who is attested during the reign of Ramesses IX, see Černý, *Community*, p. 200; KRI VI:581-87; KRI VI:851-63; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 338, 356; see also p. 136.

²²² No. 764 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 62; KRI IV:158); cf. no. 1114 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 5, pl. 10; KRI V:643).

²²³ Though see the comments of Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 70.

²²⁴ E.g., nos. 851 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 69), 1114 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 5, pl. 10) and 3838 (Sadek, *GMT IV/5*, p. 233).

²²⁵ No. 3838 (Sadek, *GMT IV/5*, p. 233).

²²⁶ No. 1114 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 5, pl. 10).

§ 22: Amenmose - 'scribe' or 'draftsman'?

The name of a 'scribe' Amenmose is attested in a number of documents from Deir el-Medina.²²⁷ Fortunately, he can be definitely placed in year 28 of Ramesses III.²²⁸ He also occurs in two texts of 'year 4',²²⁹ and as a 'scribe' in a number of undated letters.²³⁰ In one of these letters, Harmin addresses Amenmose as the 'true scribe of Hathor' and 'royal scribe'. These titles suggest that Amenmose was certainly superior in rank to the literate 'draftsmen', who often employed the title of *qs* in documents of this nature.²³¹ However, it is possible that Harmin's letter had been intended for the attention of the 'scribe of the temple of Hathor, Lady of Hat-Sekhem' Amenmose.²³² Unfortunately these texts shed little light on the nature of Amenmose's office. Gutgesell has proposed that all the references to the 'scribe' Amenmose may, in fact, have referred to a homonymous 'draftsman'.²³³ Although 'draftsmen' were frequently referred to as 'scribes', particularly in private documents, it would seem unlikely that none of the above texts referred to a true 'scribe', particularly when there are no known explicit references to a 'draftsman' Amenmose. Furthermore, the 'scribe' Amenmose is mentioned delivering some items, presumably to the village, in a papyrus which dates to around the end of the reign of Ramesses III, or perhaps to the beginning of Ramesses IV.²³⁴ Although this evidence is by no means conclusive, Amenmose may well have served, for a short period, as one of the *smdt*-scribes.²³⁵ However, this suggestion would seriously complicate the chronology of the *smdt*-scribes during this period (see below Appendix A). The final possibility that may be proposed would identify the 'scribe' Amenmose with the 'scribe of the vizier' Amenmose, who is known to have privately commissioned the 'chief craftsman' Maaninakhtuf to work on a coffin for him.²³⁶ A later 'scribe' Amenmose, who appears in graffiti inscriptions, is the son of the 'scribe' Butehamun (i), and must have been operative at the beginning of the XXIst Dynasty.²³⁷

²²⁷ Notably, the 'scribe' Amenmose is not included in the conspectus of 'scribes' compiled by Černý, *Community*, pp. 193 ff.

²²⁸ O.Berlin 10663, vso. 1.

²²⁹ O.DM 369, 2; unpubl. O.IFAO 1218, vso. 4.

²³⁰ O.DM 336 (to the 'scribe' Amennakht); O.DM 429 (from the 'scribe' Harmin); O.DM 438 (from the 'scribe' Piay); O.AG 50 (the name of his correspondent has been lost).

²³¹ O.DM 429, 3-5.

²³² This particular Amenmose exchanged several letters with the 'chief craftsman of the Lord of the Two Lands' Maaninakhtuf during this period (Pap. DeM 8 and Pap. DeM 10). Furthermore, Maaninakhtuf is probably to be correlated with Maaninakhtuf (iii), son of Khaemnun (i).

²³³ E.g., Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 267, 404, 459, 467-68.

²³⁴ Pap. Vienna (no number), vso. I:1 (=KRI VII:348-49). The dating of this document is based on the appearance of a number of individuals who are well attested at this time: the 'water-carrier' Amenkhau (vso. II:11) and the 'plasterer' Wennefer, son of Pentaweret (vso. II:12) were both active in year 29 of Ramesses III (RAD, pp. 45:2, 47:2); Amennakht (xxvi), son of Khaemnun (vso. I:5), is attested in the reigns of Ramesses IV and V; and both Amennakht, son of Hay (vso. II:13) and Pameduneternakht (vso. II:14) appear at about the time of Ramesses IV.

²³⁵ Cf. Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), p. 29.

²³⁶ Pap. DeM 9.

²³⁷ Graffiti nos. 892, 905, 1011 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 74, 75, 84); 1285 d, 1287, 1295 b (Černý, *Graffiti*, pp. 17-18, pls. 49, 50, 53); 1599 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 2); see also Davies, *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 66.

§ 23: Two scribes of the smdt-staff: Wennefer (viii) and Iufenamun (i), son of Hori

The scribe Wennefer (viii) appears to have been entrusted with the administration of the 'right side' of the *smdt*-staff; several texts which deal with the administration of the royal necropolis, and which we shall be discussing presently, confirm that he never served as one of the senior 'scribes of the Tomb'. Černý assigned to him a tenure in office starting in year 19 of Ramesses IX and continuing down to year 9 of Ramesses XI.²³⁸ In year 19 of Ramesses IX, Wennefer (viii) is attested supervising three fishermen from the right side, whilst his colleague and opposite number, the scribe Iufenamun (i), son of Hori, took control of the fishermen of the left.²³⁹ In years 8-9 of Ramesses XI the same two scribes, Wennefer (viii) and Iufenamun (i), were still responsible for the external staff, whilst the two senior scribes were Pawer'a (i), son of Thutemheb and Thutmose (ii), son of Khaemhedjet.²⁴⁰ The house of the 'scribe of the Tomb' Iufenamun (i) is recorded in a text from year 12 of Ramesses XI, though there is no proof that he was still active at this time.²⁴¹ Iufenamun (i) himself appears in a letter, to which Wente has attributed a date roughly in this same year,²⁴² and may possibly be identified with a Iufenamun who appears, untitled, in year 15 of Ramesses XI.²⁴³

Wennefer (viii) can most probably be identified with Wennefer, son of Ankhtu, who appears elsewhere in Pap. Turin 2018, and again in connection with matters concerning the external staff.²⁴⁴ The only other preserved attestations of the name Ankhtu occur in a solitary graffito,²⁴⁵ and as a 'craftsman' in a supporting text to a drawing of a shrine(?), which is dated to year 19 of Ramesses XI.²⁴⁶ We can now assign the activity of the scribe Wennefer (viii) with an additional three years on top of the reckoning of Černý. He is mentioned supervising the 'work of the plasterer' of the right side in year 17 of Ramesses IX,²⁴⁷ whilst a year earlier he is recorded receiving various quantities of fish on behalf of the workmen.²⁴⁸ Our attempts to assign many of the dozens of graffiti which include the name of the 'scribe' Wennefer to either Wennefer (viii), or to one of the earlier scribes, Wennefer (v) and Wennefer (vii) are fraught with serious difficulties.²⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the appearance of contemporary individuals in these inscriptions often permits a positive identification being made. Černý has suggested that certain peculiarities in the writing of the name of Wennefer, for instance the substitution of the *nfr*-sign with a lotus flower, may indicate a dating of such examples to the end of

²³⁸ Černý, *Community*, p. 200.

²³⁹ Pap. Turin 2075 (+2056+2096), rto. 2:1, vso. 1:2; cf. Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 16.

²⁴⁰ Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, 1:2-3, 11; rto. A, 1:7, 3:15. The receipt by Pawer'a (i) and Thutmose (ii) of a ration which was equal to that of the foreman confirms that they were both considered to be members of the collective *ḥwtjw* 'captains'.

²⁴¹ Pap. BM 10068, vso. 7:8; for the dating of this text see now Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 9.

²⁴² LRL 47 (=Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, III), rto. 9, vso. 5; Wente, *LRL*, pp. 1-2.

²⁴³ Pap. BM 9997, I:2 (=KRI VII:389:6). For the scribe Iufenamun cf. Černý, *Community*, pp. 193-94.

²⁴⁴ Rto. A, 1a:4; cf. Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 13.

²⁴⁵ No. 1388 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 71).

²⁴⁶ Pap. Turin 2034, vso. A:2-3.

²⁴⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 31, ll. 1 ff.

²⁴⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 34, l. 12.

²⁴⁹ See above.

the XXth Dynasty.²⁵⁰ However, such assertions can not be totally reliable, since the name of Wennefer (vi), son of the deputy Hay, is written in TT 267, a mid-XXth Dynasty monument, with the lotus blossom sign.²⁵¹ It is possible that Wennefer (viii) survived in office down to 'year 20' of a reign of the XXIst Dynasty.²⁵² Černý had proposed that this inscription originates from the reign of Amenemope;²⁵³ however, on the basis of the chronology proposed by Kitchen, this text would have fallen more probably in the reign of Smendes or Pseusennes, rather than Amenemope who is only attributed with a 9 year reign.²⁵⁴ Bearing this assumption in mind, Wennefer (viii)'s tenure of office would have spanned a minimum of 53 years. Yet, the possibility that the Wennefer, named in graffito no. 1337, is a later person still holds good.

§ 24: The scribes Paser

Recent and important studies concerning the activities of the scribe(s) Paser have been published by Janssen²⁵⁵ and McDowell.²⁵⁶ They have both arrived at the same conclusion, namely that two scribes, Paser (iii) and Paser (iv), can be identified and that they both had served as 'scribes of the vizier'. McDowell states quite categorically that 'there were two distinct scribes of this name, one who is attested from year 8 of Merneptah to year 17 of Ramesses III and another from year 2 Ramesses V to 2 Ramesses VI'.²⁵⁷ Nevertheless, a closer scrutiny of the contextual evidence found in the documents that name the scribe(s) Paser (hereafter simply Paser) suggests otherwise.

In year 8 of Merneptah, Paser (iii) arrived at the village with his colleague, the scribe Anupemheb (i), and two chief Medjays.²⁵⁸ Presumably, it was Paser (iii)'s role in announcing to the workmen the news of the accession of Seti II²⁵⁹ that persuaded Janssen to refer to him as a 'scribe of the vizier'. Although this identification seems likely, the evidence from other texts is, however, contradictory and inconclusive. Paser's name appears, between those of the scribe Pashedu (vi) and the scribe Pentaweret, amongst the members of a court case held at Deir el-Medina in year 6 of Seti II.²⁶⁰ He also acted as a witness to what appears to have been the sale of a bull.²⁶¹ But, it is the mention of Paser delivering wood, grain and plaster to the 'left' side of the workcrew that immediately raised my

²⁵⁰ Černý, *Community*, p. 201.

²⁵¹ KRI V:632:9.

²⁵² Graffito. no. 1337 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 22, pl. 63); Černý, *Community*, p. 375, suggested that this date may belong in a reign later than that of Smendes.

²⁵³ Černý, *Community*, p. 375.

²⁵⁴ Kitchen, *TIP*, pp. 24-39.

²⁵⁵ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, pp. 141-42.

²⁵⁶ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 76-77.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁵⁸ O.CGC 25504, vso. II:1.

²⁵⁹ O.MMA. 14.6.217, rto. 2.

²⁶⁰ O.Nash 1, vso. 6; cf. O.Nash 2, vso. 17.

²⁶¹ O.DM 700, vso. 1. Because of the use of *snw* as a unit of value this ostrakon can be dated in either the XIXth or the early XXth Dynasty (Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 105).

own suspicions concerning his role in the affairs of the village.²⁶² Is there any justification for a 'scribe of the vizier' to have been entrusted with the performance of such menial duties. Although the existence of a 'scribe of the vizier', Paser, can not be summarily dismissed, it would seem that there may have existed a different, though contemporary, scribe Paser (iii), whose responsibilities lay with the administration of the *smdt*-staff.

Paser is again named presiding at a local tribunal in year 12 of Ramesses III.²⁶³ A broken excerpt of a papyrus, dated to year 16 of the same reign, records how Prehotep was placed 'in the custody of (lit. 'in the hand of') the scribe Paser'.²⁶⁴ Whilst these two examples may actually refer to an outside scribe, there is considerable doubt concerning the identity of the Paser who is accused of having supplied the gang with an inadequate *oipe*-measure in year 17 of Ramesses III.²⁶⁵ The text of O.Berlin P.1268, from year 14 of Ramesses III, is of interest as it is a 'record of the money (lit., 'silver') for the (female) donkey of Userhat, which the water-carrier Userhat brought to the workman Userhat written ('made') by the draftsman Hori in the house of the scribe Paser'. Several possible interpretations of this passage come to mind. Firstly, that the venue for this commercial transaction may have been a house in the village, which would suggest that Paser was one of the 'captains of the Tomb', i.e., the 'senior' scribe. It is, however, unlikely that Paser ever acted in this capacity (see below Appendix A, pp. 126 ff.). An equally viable position would be to suggest that the sale took place outside Deir el-Medina, in the house of the *smdt*-scribe Paser (iii), whose presence was as a witness on behalf of one of his subordinates, namely the water-carrier Userhat.²⁶⁶ The fact that this meeting had taken place in the house of the vizier's scribe would seem unusual. However, since we know very little about the sphere in which this group of men lived and worked, this last suggestion need not necessarily be dismissed outright.

The scribe Paser (iv), who appears in later documents from Deir el-Medina, was indeed probably a 'scribe of the vizier'.²⁶⁷ He occurs in a 'year 2', probably of Ramesses V,²⁶⁸ and in at least two more texts, which are unfortunately undated.²⁶⁹ It has been suggested that his name should be correlated with that of the 'scribe of the vizier' Par.²⁷⁰ Positive identifications of the 'scribe' Paser in the corpus of graffiti is not possible to any degree of certainty.²⁷¹

²⁶² O.DM 269, 1-2; Pap. Greg. rto. A, 2 & 5, rto. B, 25 (year 5 of Siptah; see now Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 111-130). His opposite number in Pap. Greg was the scribe Pentaweret (iii).

²⁶³ O.CGC 25553, rto. 3.

²⁶⁴ Pap. DeM 26, A, vso. 2:11.

²⁶⁵ O.Leipzig 2, vso. 1.

²⁶⁶ For the workmen's liaison with the communities outside their village see the succinct account given by McDowell, 'Contact with the Outside World', *Pharaoh's Workers*, pp. 41-59.

²⁶⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 205.

²⁶⁸ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 4; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

²⁶⁹ O.C.Campbell 3, vso. 8; O.DM 105, 1-2 (as 'scribe of the vizier').

²⁷⁰ O.CGC 25562, 5; Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 141.

²⁷¹ Nos. 44, 459, 481 (f), 533 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 7, 39, 42, 45); 2880 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 129).

§ 25: The scribe Penparei (ii)

Unfortunately the name of the 'scribe of the Tomb' (*sš n pꜣ hr*) Penparei (ii) only occurs in a single, undated text.²⁷² However, his name is common amongst the graffiti, where it is recorded that he was the son of the 'scribe' and 'wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth' Paherentahatnakht (i), called 'Karo'.²⁷³ Furthermore, in one of these inscriptions we learn that two of Penparei (ii)'s sons were the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Shedsu[...] and the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth' Ankhefenamun (i).²⁷⁴ Černý has drawn attention to the possibility that the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Penparei, who appears in line 4 of graffito no. 1015, was a son of Penparei (ii).²⁷⁵ An indication of Penparei (ii)'s period of service may be reflected in a graffito inscription, in which he appears as *sš n pr (>pꜣ) hr* together with the 'chief workman' Bakenmut (i), who was in office during the reign of Ramesses XI.²⁷⁶ Bierbrier has suggested that Bakenmut had been succeeded as 'chief workman' by Penparei (i), son of Nebnefer, by year 20 of Ramesses XI.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it was noted earlier that Bakenmut (i) probably assumed the position of foreman after Penparei (i), some time after year 20 of Ramesses XI.²⁷⁸ Consequently, the 'scribe' Penparei (ii) would have been active towards the end of this reign, though it is impossible to identify him with an untitled Penparei who is mentioned in a graffito that was inscribed by the 'scribes' Thutmose (ii) and Butehamun (i) in a 'year 11' text, probably from the reign of Ramesses XI.²⁷⁹

²⁷² O.CGC 25232, vso. 3-4.

²⁷³ Nos. 904, 1009, 1015, 1110 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 75, 84-85; Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 4, pl. 9); for a conspectus of these graffiti see Černý, *Community*, p. 206, n. 11-13, p. 207, n. 1-2; Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 76; idem, *GMT IV/2*, p. 135). Both a Paherentahatnakht and a Penparei are attested, without the attribution of any positive relationship between them, in a 'year 1' graffito of the 'scribe' Butehamun (i) (no. 1301; Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 19, pl. 55).

²⁷⁴ No. 1009 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 84).

²⁷⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 207, with n. 3; cf. Davies, *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 62.

²⁷⁶ No. 22 a, (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 5); Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 35.

²⁷⁷ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 35.

²⁷⁸ See p. 55.

²⁷⁹ No. 3492 (Sadek, *GMT IV/4*, p. 197). It is noticeable that a son of the 'scribe' Butehamun (i) was similarly called Ankhefenamun (ii), himself a 'scribe' (Černý, *Community*, p. 358).

§ 26: The family of the draftsman and scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii): see chart 9

We will note, in due course, that a draftsman Amennakht is known to have been one of the sons of the 'chief draftsman' Hori.²⁸⁰ A second draftsman Amennakht (xii), to whom the nickname Pawonesh ('The Jackal') was on occasion applied, is referred to as a son of the 'deputy of the workforce' Hay (vii).²⁸¹ Since Hay (vii)'s father was also called Amennakht (x), there is a strong possibility that the draftsman Amennakht (xii) was a true son of Hay (vii) and maybe only a son-in-law of Hori.²⁸² The 'draftsman' Amennakht, who occurs in year 10 of Ramesses III,²⁸³ is probably to be identified with the famous Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), the later celebrated scribe.²⁸⁴ Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), is known to have held the office of 'draftsman in the Place of Truth'²⁸⁵ before his promotion to the office of 'senior' scribe in year 16 of Ramesses III.²⁸⁶ In fact, Amennakht (v) can possibly be identified with the 'draftsman' Amennakht, whose name occurs alongside a cartouche of Seti II (*Wsr-ḥprw-Rc stp.n Rc*) in a rock graffito,²⁸⁷ thereby providing a likely *terminus post quem* for the start of his tenure on the workforce. This may find further corroboration in a graffito in which the draftsman Amennakht, son of Ipuy, is named beneath the *sš-nsu n pš ḥr* Pashedu (vi), who was active during the reign of Seti II.²⁸⁸ In the lower register of an unfinished stela, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the 'chief craftsman of the Lord of the Two Lands' Amenemope (xv) is depicted alongside his brother, the 'royal scribe of the Place of Truth' Amennakht.²⁸⁹ This stela was undoubtedly a commission of Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), since we glean from the evidence of a later graffito that an Amenemope was also the son of Ipuy (ii).²⁹⁰ An inscription on twin doorjambs has preserved the name of the 'royal scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, overseer of the treasury in the horizon of eternity' Amennakht, together with that of his wife, a 'chantress of Amun' Tawer(et)emheb (iii).²⁹¹ Again, the identification of this man with Amennakht (v) is without doubt, since his son, Pentaweret (iv), also occurs together with his sons, Amennakht (xvi), Amenhotep (vii) and Mose (vi) (for whom, see below).²⁹² If further proof were needed to qualify these relationships, a division of property, made

²⁸⁰ Graffito no. 19 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 5).

²⁸¹ In TT 267 (PM I:1, p. 347 at (5); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 24, I. E, pl. IV; KRI V:630:11); graffiti nos. 223 and 1022 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 21, 87), 1631 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 4; KRI V:635:1).

²⁸² The draftsman Amennakht, son of Hay, appears in graffito no. 1022 alongside the draftsman Harmin, who would, on this assumption, have been his brother-in-law.

²⁸³ O.Mich. 1, 5-6.

²⁸⁴ For Ipuy (ii) see above pp. 52-3.

²⁸⁵ Graffito no. 840 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 68; KRI V:644:4).

²⁸⁶ Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 113, note (f), has identified the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth and sculptor(?) in the Horizon of Eternity, Amennakht, son of Ipuy' who appears in graffito no. 817 c (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 66) with an earlier sculptor Amennakht. However, cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 340, who posited that Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), may have worked both as a sculptor and a draftsman in the royal tombs.

²⁸⁷ No. 621 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 51). The only remaining possible candidate, that I am aware of, would be the draftsman Nakhtamun (iii), son of Nebre (i).

²⁸⁸ No. 2757 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 122; KRI IV:439:6); for a discussion of the career of this scribe see above pp. 93 ff.

²⁸⁹ No. 21.2.6 (PM I:2, p. 716 (d); Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 388, fig. 244; KRI VI:644-45).

²⁹⁰ No. 3837 (Sadek, *GMT IV/5*, p. 233).

²⁹¹ KRI VI:379.

²⁹² Furthermore, it is likely that the 'scribe' Amenhotep who appears on the left jamb is to be identified with Amenhotep (vi), another son of Amennakht (v).

on behalf of the *sš* Amennakht (v), records the name of the principal beneficiary as the citizenship Taweretemheb, presumably his wife!²⁹³

It is from a graffito that we learn that both the father and son of the 'scribe' Tjay were named Amennakht.²⁹⁴ It is this same Tjay (i) who is attested elsewhere in rock inscriptions amongst the Theban mountains with his so-called 'brothers' Amennakht, the draftsman Harshire, Amenhotep and the scribe Pentaweret - the sons of the scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii).²⁹⁵ Tjay (i) has perpetuated his name in his graffiti through the use of such titles as 'scribe in the Place of Truth <on> the West of Thebes',²⁹⁶ 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth <on> the West of Thebes'²⁹⁷ and 'scribe of the Tomb'.²⁹⁸ The existence of these titles has caused debate concerning the precise nature of Tjay (i)'s role on the Deir el-Medina workforce.

Meanwhile, Černý has suggested that another Tjay (ii), son of Amennakht, should 'be tentatively assigned to the early part of the reign of Ramesses II and probably also that of Sethos I'.²⁹⁹ His premise is based primarily on two documents: O.OIC 16989, 2-3,³⁰⁰ where Ramose and Tjay (ii) are believed to have delivered various commodities, presumably for the workforce, and O.CGC 25661, vso. 6, in which the same pair are recorded delivering vegetables. Although neither man's name is qualified with the title of 'scribe' in either document, Černý has drawn the conclusion that together they 'seem to be the two scribes responsible for the supply' of consummables to the village.³⁰¹ However, mention of a third individual, Hat, who is also shown performing these very same duties (in O.CGC 25661, vso. 9) is conveniently overlooked by Černý. Seemingly, this problem might best be resolved by suggesting that Ramose was the famous senior 'scribe' and that Tjay and Hat were either the twin 'scribes' for the *smdt*-staff, or even simply *smdt*-personnel.³⁰² However Hat may in fact be identical with Hatia who appears as one of several men who are recorded distributing grain to certain workmen during the reign of Ramesses II.³⁰³ Since the other distributors who were involved, Bakenkhons and Merymose, are not known to have held the office of 'scribe', it seems probable that Hatia was similarly a member of the *smdt* staff.

²⁹³ Pap. Turin 1885, vso. II:2 ff.

²⁹⁴ No. 785 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 63-64; *KRI V*:642:5-6); cf. no. 2864 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 128; *KRI V*:642:10).

²⁹⁵ Graffiti nos. 1101 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 3, pl. 6; *KRI V*:641:14-15), 2862 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 128; *KRI V*:642:3-4).

²⁹⁶ No. 1101 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 3, pl. 6).

²⁹⁷ No. 1377 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 70).

²⁹⁸ No. 120 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 15).

²⁹⁹ Černý, *Community*, p. 221.

³⁰⁰ My thanks go to Dr. E. Teeter who kindly answered several queries concerning this text.

³⁰¹ In this assumption, he has been followed by McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 89.

³⁰² The Tjay mentioned here may have been identical with the *smdt*-man, Tj[...] who is recorded delivering *inh-jars* in year 2 of Seti I (O.CGC 25704, 2; cf. O.DM 346, rto. 1 ff., in which the *smdt*-scribe Amenemope is attested delivering quantities of jars and other vessels). Equally plausible, however, would be the restoration Tj[iro], an individual who is known to have been another contemporary member of the *smdt* (O.DM 220, 3).

³⁰³ O.DM 189, I:1.

A graffito commemorating the visit of the vizier, Panehsy, datable within the reign of Merenptah, names the scribes Tjay, Qenhirkhopshef (i) and Wennefer (vii).³⁰⁴ However, if Tjay (iii)'s name is contemporaneous with those of Qenhirkhopshef (i) and Wennefer (vii), he would without doubt not be associated with the Tjay (i), son of Amennakht (v). A graffito dated to year 29 of Ramesses III explicitly names To as the son of Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii).³⁰⁵ Supplementary evidence contained within the tomb of the 'royal secretary' Tjay (iv) can be used to show that To was sometimes employed as the diminutive of this name.³⁰⁶ Therefore, it may be suggested that the scribe Tjay (i) and To, son of Amennakht (v), can indeed be assimilated as the same individual.

Since the 'scribe' Amennakht (xiv) is named as the son of Tjay (i), son of Amennakht (v),³⁰⁷ one may be forgiven in identifying Tjay (i), son of Amennakht (v) with the 'deputy of the workforce in the Place of Truth' To who appears in graffiti nos. 481³⁰⁸ and 1973.³⁰⁹ In the former inscription he apparently occurs with a son, the 'scribe' Amennakht. Similarly, I find it difficult to concur with Bierbrier's tentative suggestion that the vizier To may have formerly been the 'deputy' in these graffiti, which he has dated to the early part of the reign of Ramesses III.³¹⁰ However, the only other possible indication of graffito 1973's date is the appearance of the 'scribe of the Place of Truth' Wennefer. Unfortunately, this piece of evidence is ambiguous, since two scribes named Wennefer (vii) and Wennefer (v) are known to have operated at Deir el-Medina in approximately this period, the first during the reign of Merenptah and the second between years 11 and 24 of Ramesses III.³¹¹ It is feasible that the 'deputy' To could have been a contemporary of Wennefer (vii) during the reign of Merenptah. Alternatively, Černý prefers to correlate the 'deputy' To with the workman To, who had been attested in year 3 of Ramesses V (see below).³¹² There does, however, remain one further avenue of investigation down which we may venture. In his tomb, the 'deputy' Hay (vii), son of Amennakht (x), employed the sobriquet 'Totosheri',³¹³ which we may suggest had been abbreviated simply as To. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Hay (vii) did indeed have a son who is referred to as the 'scribe' Amennakht (xii),³¹⁴ and who was in fact a 'draftsman'. However, if this last option is to be accepted, the 'deputy' To, viz. Hay (vii), would have had to have been operative contemporaneously with the scribe Wennefer who is last attested in year 24 of Ramesses III. Therefore, by this reckoning, we would have to admit to the existence of an additional 3 unattested years for the tenureship of Hay (vii) in the office of 'deputy'. This is not unlikely since Hay (vii)'s predecessor as 'deputy',

³⁰⁴ No. 764 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 62; KRI IV:158).

³⁰⁵ No. 3021 (Sadek, *GMT IV/3*, p. 155; KRI V:650).

³⁰⁶ TT 23 (KRI IV:110-111; 115:13-16).

³⁰⁷ Graffito no. 2862 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 128; KRI V:642:3-4).

³⁰⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 42; KRI V:640:4.

³⁰⁹ Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 29; KRI V:640:3.

³¹⁰ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 129, n. 186. Since the name of the 'deputy (of) the workforce' To appears on a weight found at the village, there is little doubt that he was an inhabitant of Deir el-Medina (IFAO 614; Valbelle, *Catalogue des Poids*, p. 94 (no. 5271), pls. 36/36a).

³¹¹ See above pp. 99-100 for the careers of these scribes called Wennefer.

³¹² Černý, *Community*, p. 141.

³¹³ PM I:1, p. 347 at (5); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, fig. 4, pl. 21 I A; KRI V:628:12.

³¹⁴ Graffito no. 94 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 12; KRI V:635:7-8); cf. graffito no. 481 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 42; KRI V:640:4).

Anhurkhawy (ii), was promoted to the foremanship in year 21/22 of Ramesses III. But, it is not certain whether an as yet unknown deputy should be interpolated between the transfer of office from Anhurkhawy (ii) to Hay (vii). We might make the final suggestion that the 'scribe' Wennefer could be identified with the '*smdt*-scribe' who was active between year 17 of Ramesses IX and year 10 of Ramesses XI. In this instance, the existence of a 'deputy' To safely within this interval would have to be considered.

The name of a workman To first occurs in the duty records of the workmen from year 1 of Ramesses IV.³¹⁵ He is undoubtedly identical with the workman Tosheri who occupies the same position in a turnus register from the same year.³¹⁶ The workman To is similarly attested in year 3 of Ramesses V³¹⁷ as well as in year 10 of Ramesses IX.³¹⁸ The workman To/Tosheri, who served during the reign of Ramesses IV, is probably to be identified with To/Tjay (i), son of Amennakht (v), since a graffito in tomb no. 1338 at Deir el-Medina names Toshire (>To) as a son of Amennakht (v).³¹⁹ Two other men named To are known from this period, namely To (ii), the son of Hori, who appears in a text which has been dated by Gutgesell to year 2/3 of Ramesses IV,³²⁰ and To (iii), son of the 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakht (v).³²¹ Tjay/To (i), the son of Amennakht (v), who employed the title 'servant in the Place of Truth' on at least one occasion,³²² can definitely be dated in year 29 of Ramesses III,³²³ in year 4 of Ramesses IV,³²⁴ and in year 7 of Ramesses VI.³²⁵ It is interesting to note that a son of Tjay/To (i), son of Amennakht (v), was named Ramessesnakht (i).³²⁶ It is probable that Ramessesnakht (i) was named after the homonymous vizier,³²⁷ or less likely after the high-priest of Amun Ramessesnakht.³²⁸ The adoption of this name would undoubtedly have been reminiscent of the occasion on which his father had been named after the vizier To.

The full gamut of titles held by Paneferemdjed (i), son of the famous scribe Amennakht (v) was remarkable, and included those of 'scribe',³²⁹ 'scribe of the House of Life',³³⁰ 'scribe of the Treasury',³³¹ 'scribe of the Tomb',³³² 'scribe of the Place of Truth',³³³ 'royal scribe'³³⁴ and 'royal

³¹⁵ O.DM 41, vso. 10. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 25, identifies this workman with To, son of Amennakht.

³¹⁶ O.DM 47 (+O.Vienna 5), rto. 6.

³¹⁷ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 1:12.

³¹⁸ Pap. Turin 2049/141, rto. 3:3.

³¹⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 77; *KRI* VI:424.

³²⁰ O.Turin 57006; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 337.

³²¹ Graffito no. 1288 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 18; *KRI* VI:130), which is dated to year 2 of Ramesses IV.

³²² Graffito no. 884 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 72; *KRI* VI:273:6-7).

³²³ Graffito no. 3021 (Sadek, *GMT* IV/3, p. 155; *KRI* V:650:12-14).

³²⁴ Graffito no. 2609 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 111; *KRI* VI:141:14-15).

³²⁵ Pap. Turin 1885, vso. 13.

³²⁶ Graffito no. 894 a (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 74).

³²⁷ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 247-48, dates the vizier Ramessesnakht between the reign of Ramesses VI and year 8 of Ramesses IX.

³²⁸ See Bierbrier, *LNKE*, pp. 10 ff.

³²⁹ Graffito no. 1934/35 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 27; *KRI* V:652:14).

³³⁰ Graffito no. 1914 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 25; *KRI* V:653:9).

³³¹ Graffito no. 509 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 44; *KRI* V:650:3).

³³² Graffito no. 341 b (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 30; *KRI* V:653:14).

scribe in the Place of Truth'.³³⁵ He is first mentioned in a graffito with his father in year 29 of Ramesses III.³³⁶ We then meet him in two more graffiti from years 1³³⁷ and 2³³⁸ of Ramesses IV. Further references to Paneferemdjed (i) cannot be attributed with certainty to any particular reign. These include an attestation in a 'year 3', in which the scribe Pahemneter (see above p. 98) came to the house of Abamentet to give the 'scribe of the Tomb', Paneferemdjed (i), a spell for extracting poison.³³⁹ Paneferemdjed (i) also appears, together with his father and two of his brothers, in a graffito which commemorated one of the rare occurrences of rainfall in West Thebes in a 'year 2'.³⁴⁰ Likewise, he also occurs in a graffito of a 'year 3',³⁴¹ in an undated list of workmen, which appears to date from the mid-XXth Dynasty,³⁴² and in an unpublished ostrakon which Gutgesell has dated to years 6-7 of Ramesses IV.³⁴³ The graffito inscription³⁴⁴ which refers to the scribe Paneferemdjed as a son of the scribe Menna may have nevertheless been a mistake for 'Panefermedjed, <his> son, the scribe Menna'. However, one might equally argue that this Paneferemdjed was indeed a true son or even a son-in-law of Menna. Of the other members of Paneferemdjed's family we can identify a son, Neferhotep (viii),³⁴⁵ and a so-called 'brother', the 'chief craftsman' Pakhayamun (ii).³⁴⁶

The draftsman Pentaweret who is referred to as a 'brother' of the draftsman Harmin (i) (see below) may be synonymous with the draftsman Pentaweret (iv), son of Amennakht (v), who is known from two graffiti carved in TT 1338 at Deir el-Medina, one of which bears the date-line 'year 3' of an unnamed king.³⁴⁷ There is little doubt that this is the same son of Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), who frequently employed the title of 'scribe' and 'scribe in the Place of Truth'.³⁴⁸ He must not, however, be confused with the scribe Pentaweret (v), son of the scribe Amennakht (xv), who is known to have died

³³³ Graffito no. 2184 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 46; *KRI V*:653:15).

³³⁴ Graffito no. 2179 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 45; *KRI V*:654:3).

³³⁵ Graffito no. 2173 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 45; *KRI VI*:377:3).

³³⁶ Graffito no. 3021 (Sadek, *GMT IV/3*, p. 155; *KRI V*:650:14).

³³⁷ Graffiti nos. 298-300 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 26-27; *KRI VI*:105:5-8).

³³⁸ Graffito no. 1288 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 18; *KRI VI*:130:5).

³³⁹ Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vso. II:1-6. Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), p. 173, dates this event to the reign of Ramesses IV, whereas Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 284, n. 3, tentatively assigns the text a date within the reign of Ramesses VI.

³⁴⁰ Graffito no. 1736 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 14; *KRI VI*:203:3).

³⁴¹ Graffito no. 2042 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 33; *KRI VI*:376:16).

³⁴² O.Gardiner 14, vso. 1:4; cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 40, n. 205, who dates this text to the reign of Ramesses V.

³⁴³ O.IFAO 1354, vso. I:3 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 322). Due to the appearance of the deputy Hay (vii), this text can be dated between year 27 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI.

³⁴⁴ No. 3734 (Sadek, *GMT IV/5*, p. 226; *KRI VI*:203:16).

³⁴⁵ Graffito no. 2548 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 65; *KRI V*:653:16).

³⁴⁶ Graffito no. 2163 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 44; *KRI V*:655:1). The term *sn* which is here applied to Pakhayamun's name may have simply meant that he was a colleague of Paneferemdjed. The name of Pakhayamun is attested in the unpublished O.Gardiner 225, rto. 2 and O.IFAO 1323, IV:8, which Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 55 and 331, dates respectively to years 1 and 6 of Ramesses IV.

³⁴⁷ Nos. 2 & 6 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 76, fig. 36; *KRI VI*:424-25).

³⁴⁸ E.g., Stela M.M.A. 12.2.6 (PM I:2, p. 716 (d); Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, p. 389, fig. 244; *KRI V*:645:7-8); graffiti nos. 1200, 1230 (Černý, *Graffiti*, pp. 11, 13, pls. 25, 29; *KRI V*:652:12, 657:11) and 3021 (Sadek, *GMT IV/3*, p. 155; *KRI V*:650:10-14).

in year 29 of Ramesses III,³⁴⁹ since the name of the scribe Pentaweret (iv), son of Amennakht (v), occurs in a graffito from year 1 of Ramesses IV.³⁵⁰ The earliest datable appearance of Pentaweret (iv) can be traced to a graffito written in year 29 of Ramesses III.³⁵¹ Hereafter, mention of a scribe Pentaweret, son of Amennakht, is confined to a graffito of an unidentified 'year 2',³⁵² an ex-voto from the tomb of Ramesses VI³⁵³ and yet another graffito of year 4 of Ramesses VII.³⁵⁴ McDowell conceded that all references to the scribe Pentaweret, which occur between year 6 of Seti II and year 29 of Ramesses III, must be attributed to the same individual, whose death is recorded in year 29, and who was perhaps a 'scribe of the vizier'.³⁵⁵ However, in her discussions no mention is made of an earlier scribe Pentaweret, who is known from year 42 of Ramesses II and who can probably be identified as Pentaweret, a scribe assigned to the *smdt*-staff.³⁵⁶ It is this earlier scribe Pentaweret who appears with his colleague the scribe Meryre in a letter addressed by Qenhirkhopshef (i) to the vizier Khay.³⁵⁷ Both Pentaweret and Meryre appear to be the pair of scribes responsible for the organisation of the *smdt*-staff.³⁵⁸ Thus the existence of two scribes Pentaweret during the XIXth Dynasty is proven - the former being attached to the service of the Tomb-administration, the latter to the vizier's office.

The 'scribe' Pentaweret whom we meet in year 31 of Ramesses III³⁵⁹ may well have been the 'draftsman' Pentaweret (iv), son of Amennakht (v).³⁶⁰ It would then follow that he should similarly be identified with the same draftsman attested in year 3 of Ramesses V,³⁶¹ then again in years 6,³⁶² 7,³⁶³ and 14³⁶⁴ of Ramesses IX, and possibly with a Pentaweret, son of Amennakht, who is recorded in the turnus rotas from year 1 of Ramesses IV.³⁶⁵ It is possible that, on occasion, the draftsman Pentaweret (iv) assisted and stood in for his father, the Tomb-scribe Amennakht (v). This would explain the employment of the title of *sš* for him in certain administrative documents. The draftsman Pentaweret who occurs later in a graffito³⁶⁶ with his sons Amennakht (xvi), the draftsman Amenhotep (vii), Mose (vi), Pakhayenwaset (i) and Hori (viii), called Payuheret, alongside the so-called 'scribe' Penparei (i), son of the foreman Nebnefer, is undoubtedly the son of the scribe Amennakht (v). This graffito must surely post-date year 17 of Ramesses IX since the foreman Nebnefer (xiii) was only incumbent in this

³⁴⁹ RAD, p. 58:9; graffito no. 18 [b] (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 4; KRI V:531:14); cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 40.

³⁵⁰ No. 298 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 26; KRI VI:105:5-7).

³⁵¹ No. 3021 (Sadek, *GMT IV/3*, p. 155).

³⁵² No. 2128 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 41).

³⁵³ O.CGC 25029 (Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 7, pls. 6, 7; KRI VI:377-78).

³⁵⁴ No. 1651 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 6; KRI VI:426:8-9).

³⁵⁵ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 78-79.

³⁵⁶ Pap. Gardiner 8 (=Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1960.1283), rto. 5.

³⁵⁷ O.CGC 25832. The vizier Khay is attested in the middle of the reign of Ramesses II (Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 456-58; though see now J. von Beckerath, *SAK* 22 (1995), p. 38, n. 13).

³⁵⁸ Pace Černý, *Community*, p. 207, n. 8, and McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 79; for Meryre see pp. 78, 125-6.

³⁵⁹ O.Gardiner 104, 6.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 208.

³⁶¹ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 1:13.

³⁶² Pap. Turin 1930/2050, vso. II:1.

³⁶³ Pap. Turin 1881, rto. VIII:3.

³⁶⁴ O.BM 5672+O.CGC 25649, rto. 9.

³⁶⁵ O.DM 41, vso. 5; O.DM 45, rto. 11; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 74.

³⁶⁶ No. 1944 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 16; KRI VI:700:9-10).

office from the beginning of the reign of Ramesses X as the successor to the chief workman Usikhopesh (i) for the 'right' side.³⁶⁷ A graffito which reads: 'The scribe Pentaweret, son of the scribe Amennakht, his son the scribe Tjay' can be interpreted in one of two ways.³⁶⁸ Tjay is either an otherwise unknown son of Pentaweret (iv) or is synonymous with Tjay/To (i) (for whom see above). Another son of Pentaweret (iv), who is only attested on a solitary occasion, is named as Katjawen (i) alongside his brothers Amennakht (xvi) and Amenhotep (vii).³⁶⁹ Another graffito reveals the identity of Pentaweret (xi), who appears to have been a son of Amenhotep (vii), son of Pentaweret (iv).³⁷⁰

The fact that a certain Pentaweret (i), son of Amennakht, was arrested in year 17 of Ramesses IX in connection with certain tomb robberies is also worthy of mention.³⁷¹ Three other members of his family, apparently all sons of his, similarly appear to have been arrested at this time - they can be identified as Mose (xii),³⁷² Nakhtmin (x)³⁷³ and Amenhotep (iv),³⁷⁴ the 'deputy' for the left side.³⁷⁵ If these crimes resulted in the expulsion of Pentaweret (i) from Deir el-Medina, as is likely, he is not to be identified with the 'draftsman' Pentaweret (iv), who we have seen above was active after this year. It is interesting to note that in the local version of these events, compiled by the village scribe, Amenhotep (iv) retains his title of 'deputy'. However, in both of the official administrative records (Pap. BM 10068 and Pap. BM 10053) his name occurs devoid of this title, undoubtedly as a result of the great shame that his crimes had brought to bear upon both his family and the village of Deir el-Medina. Amenhotep (iv), son of Pentaweret (i), appears in years 9 and 10 of Ramesses IX,³⁷⁶ and was incumbent in the office of deputy by year 15 of that reign.³⁷⁷ Because of the appearance of a later deputy Amenhotep (iii), son of Apatjau (ii), we can not identify with certainty the deputy Amenhotep who is attested in two graffiti.³⁷⁸ Similarly, as we have just noted, it is impossible to correlate definitely Pentaweret (i) with the draftsman, Pentaweret (iv), son of Amennakht (v). However, it has already been brought to our attention that Pentaweret (iv) had sons called Mose (vi) and Amenhotep (vii), the names of two sons of Pentaweret who were arrested in year 17 of Ramesses IX. Nevertheless, the downside opposing this theory is that Amenhotep (iv), son of Pentaweret (i) was a

³⁶⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 310. The 'scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands' Pentaweret (iv) and his sons Amennakht (xvi), Amenhotep (vii) and Mose (vi), are attested on an inscription of a doorjamb with the scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii) (Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. 26; KRI VI:379). Also named on this monument is Pentaweret (iv)'s wife, Taweretherti (ii). It is possible that this lady is to be correlated with Taweretherti (iii), the daughter of Amenpahapi (i) (see p. 26, n. 329).

³⁶⁸ No. 1915 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 25).

³⁶⁹ Graffito no. 2141 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 43).

³⁷⁰ No. 2129 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 41).

³⁷¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, 8; 18, 1; Pap. BM 10068, rto. 2:1; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 1:16.

³⁷² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 12, l. 11; pl. 20, l. 1; Pap. BM 10068, rto. 2:15; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 4:9. He may also be identified with a Mose who appears in year 8 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 4:8), though obviously not the same man as the 'district-officer' Mose who occurs in year 17 of that same reign (Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 43, l. 18).

³⁷³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, l. 6.

³⁷⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 4, pl. 19, ll. 1 ff.; Pap. BM 10068, rto. 2:8 ff.; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 3:16 ff.

³⁷⁵ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 42, l. 7.

³⁷⁶ Pap. Turin 2072, vso. 1:4, 2:14.

³⁷⁷ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 140, 247.

³⁷⁸ Nos. 549 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 46; KRI VI:668:14) and 2016 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 32; KRI VI:668:14).

'deputy', whilst Amenhotep (vii) was a 'draftsman'. Furthermore, Nakhtmin (x), son of Pentaweret, may in fact have originated from a different family altogether, namely as a son of Pentaweret (viii), son of Nakhtmin (vi). Unfortunately the number of possible permutations which may be proposed to explain these family relationships is at the same time both extensive and tenuous.

The question as to how many draftsmen named Amenhotep were active during the XXth Dynasty has been discussed in full by Keller.³⁷⁹ Her conclusion states that only two such men can be identified, namely Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakht (v), and his nephew Amenhotep (vii), son of Pentaweret (iv). With regard to the datable references which allude to the draftsman Amenhotep, Keller writes: 'I feel we are generally justified in securing references which predate year 17 of Ramesses IX to the elder (rather than to the younger) Amenhotep (i.e. the son of Amennakht)'.³⁸⁰

In the tradition of many of his colleagues, the draftsman Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakht (v), employed the title of 'scribe' on several occasions,³⁸¹ though unlike his brother Harshire (i) he never occupied the office of 'senior' scribe.³⁸² A draftsman Amenhotep first appears in a graffito from year 28 of the reign of Ramesses III.³⁸³ He is probably to be identified with the Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakht (v), who is mentioned on turnus duty at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV.³⁸⁴ By 1 Shomu 13 of year 2 of Ramesses IV, Amenhotep (vi)'s service had been rewarded with a promotion to the office of 'chief draftsman'.³⁸⁵ Although the date of this elevation in status is not recorded anywhere, it is conceivable that it may have taken place just prior to the writing of this graffito. The grounds for this argument are based on the assumption that as a 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep would have been afforded an exemption from turnus duty, as opposed to the views expressed by Keller,³⁸⁶ and that both the references quoted by Keller for Amenhotep in the turnus registers of 'year 2' fell before the date contained in the year 2 graffito.³⁸⁷

The draftsman Amenhotep is further named in year 3 of Ramesses V³⁸⁸ and in years 3³⁸⁹ and 7³⁹⁰ of an unnamed king(s). A graffito inscribed in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9), and dated to 2 Peret 14(?) of year 9 of Ramesses IX, records that 'on this day, {this} visit made by the scribe Amenhotep together with his son the scribe and deputy of the draftsmen of the Tomb, Amennakht (xvii), to see the

³⁷⁹ Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), pp. 119-29.

³⁸⁰ Keller, *ibid.*, p. 129.

³⁸¹ E.g., graffito no. 3021 (Sadek, *GMT* IV/3, p. 155; *KRI* V:650:12-14); cf. graffito no. 2795 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 124; *KRI* V:651:12-13).

³⁸² However, Amenhotep (vi) does in fact appear with the title 'scribe of the Tomb' as a witness to a distribution of property (O.Gardiner 23, 12). The implications that the usage of this title raise shall be discussed below in Appendix A, pp. 123 ff.

³⁸³ No. 609 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49-50; *KRI* V:528:11).

³⁸⁴ O.DM 41, vso. 11.

³⁸⁵ Graffito no. 1288 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 18; *KRI* VI:130).

³⁸⁶ Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³⁸⁷ O.DM 44, rto. 17 dated in the 3rd month of Shomu, day 25 and O.DM 46, rto. 18 (not vso. as in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 48), which is dated to the 3rd month of Akhet, day 20.

³⁸⁸ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 1:10.

³⁸⁹ Graffito no. 6 in TT 1338 at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 76; *KRI* VI:425:5).

³⁹⁰ O.Petrie 18, vso. 8.

Mansions of the Just Ones³⁹¹ We can be confident that this visit was prompted by recent illicit activity by tomb robbers.³⁹² Similarly, an ex-voto of the 'scribe and prophet' Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakht (v), dedicated to Thoth of Hermopolis has been recovered from KV 9.³⁹³ Also named on this object are Amenhotep (vi)'s sons Nefertum-si-Ptah (i)³⁹⁴ and Wermaau (i). In year 14 of Ramesses IX, the scribe (>draftsman) Amenhotep is attested receiving ochres and pigments for work on the royal tomb.³⁹⁵ The same text mentions the scribe Harshire (i), the foreman Harmose (ii) and the guardian Qaydjoret (i). The 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep (vi) appears in the Tomb-journal of year 17 of the same reign, along with his son, the draftsman Amennakht (xvii).³⁹⁶ It is possible that Neferhor (viii), son of Amenhotep, who is attested in year 9 of Ramesses IX,³⁹⁷ is the son of Amenhotep (vi). Further substantiation of this fact may be provided by the appearance in a graffito of Neferhor (ix), the son of the scribe Amennakht, son of Amenhotep.³⁹⁸ This Neferhor (ix) may, therefore, have been named after his uncle, Neferhor (viii). If the draftsman Amenhotep (vi) was about 20 years of age in year 28 of Ramesses III, he would have been about 66 years old when he is last mentioned. However, we may possibly assign him another few years as his name, 'the [draftsman] Amenhotep, son of Amen[nakht]', might be restored in a text dated to year 1 of Ramesses X.³⁹⁹ A later reference to an Amenhotep, son of Amennakht from year 8 of Ramesses XI,⁴⁰⁰ which would add a further 18 years to his age, is unlikely to be a reference to the draftsman Amenhotep (vi). However, it is possible that the Amenhotep, who is named in a papyrus from year 3 of Ramesses X, could have been a 'draftsman'.⁴⁰¹ This individual could conceivably be identified with either Amenhotep (vi) or Amenhotep (vii). By chance we even learn the name of one of Amenhotep (vi)'s subordinates, and possibly apprentice.⁴⁰² This individual was a certain Amenkhau, who was unfortunately the victim of a scorpion sting.

In a series of rock inscriptions from year 1 of Ramesses IV, Pinudjem (i), Khaemhedjet (ii) and Tjesmenmen (i) are named as sons of the 'scribe' Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii).⁴⁰³ Similarly, Pinudjem (i), son of Amennakht (v), appears in a graffito of a 'year 2', which probably has its origins in one of the reigns of Ramesses IV, Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.⁴⁰⁴ He is probably to be identified

³⁹¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 92:II; PM I:2, p. 517; KRI VI:658:12-15; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 137; Reeves, *VK*, p. 119.

³⁹² Aldred, *Glimpses*, p. 92; Reeves, *Valley*, p. 119.

³⁹³ O.CGC 25029 (Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 7, pls. 6, 7; KRI VI:377-78).

³⁹⁴ It is conceivable that this individual is to be identified with a Nefertum who appears in year 7 or 8 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin Cat. 2084+2091, vso. 6:11).

³⁹⁵ O.Leningrad [Ermitage] 2973, rto. 2.

³⁹⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, ll. 2-3.

³⁹⁷ Pap. Turin 2072/142, rto. 1:8.

³⁹⁸ No. 1931 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 26; KRI VI:670:15).

³⁹⁹ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 1:8. This entry is certainly not to be read as the 'deputy' Amenhotep, son of Amen[...] as was suggested by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 149. This Amenhotep was obviously mistaken for the deputy Amenhotep (iii), son of Apatjau (ii), who is attested in this office in year 8 of Ramesses XI.

⁴⁰⁰ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A. 2:10.

⁴⁰¹ Pap. Turin 1898+, rto. 4:17-18 (=Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 57).

⁴⁰² O.CGC 25713.

⁴⁰³ Graffiti nos. 298-300 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 26-27; KRI VI:105:5-8).

⁴⁰⁴ No. 1736 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 14; KRI VI:203:2-4).

with the workman Pinudjem whose name occurs in year 3 (of Ramesses IV),⁴⁰⁵ and in several other contemporary documents.⁴⁰⁶ Nevertheless, distinction needs to be drawn between the son of Amennakht (v) and Pinudjem (ii), son of the foreman Bakenmut (i).⁴⁰⁷ According to Černý, Bakenmut (i), the son of the foreman Khons, is first attested as an ordinary workman, attached to the 'right' side of the gang, in year 8 of Ramesses XI.⁴⁰⁸ The name of his son, Pinudjem (ii), appears with the title of 'servant in the Place of Truth' on the reverse of a painted wooden pectoral which was carefully placed on top of the re-wrapped mummy of Amenemhat in a makeshift tomb at Deir el-Bahari.⁴⁰⁹ Pinudjem (ii)'s role in the re-interment of this minor royal figure at the end of the XXth Dynasty was probably an instrumental one. Further datable attestations of Pinudjem are confined to a single event in year 18 of Ramesses XI.⁴¹⁰ A Pinudjem, who is mentioned in a graffito alongside the 'deputy <in> the Place of Truth' Montusankh (i), can not be positively identified since the latter official is not attested elsewhere.⁴¹¹

The history and career of the draftsman made scribe, Harshire (i), son of Amennakht (v), has been the focus of extensive study by a number of scholars.⁴¹² So far, we can ascertain the following facts: Harshire (i) was born to the 'draftsman' Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii), some time prior to year 16 of Ramesses III.⁴¹³ He first appears as a 'draftsman' in year 28 of that same reign,⁴¹⁴ and maintains this status until at least year 4 of Ramesses IV.⁴¹⁵ Harshire (i)'s name occurs in a graffito which can be dated to year 21 of Ramesses III, though there is no guessing his age at the time.⁴¹⁶ Speculation concerning the date of Harshire (i)'s promotion from 'draftsman' to 'scribe of the Tomb' has been rife in recent years. By year 3 of Ramesses V we meet Harshire (i) as a 'scribe', a position he held alongside his father 'the scribe of the Tomb' Amennakht (v).⁴¹⁷ A codicil to this document, written in another hand and dated to a 'year 4' (probably of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI)⁴¹⁸ was witnessed by the two foremen and the 'scribe of the Tomb' Harshire (i).⁴¹⁹ Eyre suggests that, despite the employment of the title 'scribe of the Tomb' in this text, Harshire (i) had not yet succeeded his father

⁴⁰⁵ O.DM 398, vso. 6 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 242-43).

⁴⁰⁶ E.g., O.Mich. 7, rto. 3; O.Turin N.57006, rto. 12.

⁴⁰⁷ Graffito no. 1007 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 84; KRI VI:872:12).

⁴⁰⁸ Černý, *Community*, p. 311.

⁴⁰⁹ Hayes, *Scepter II*, pp. 419-20, fig. 268; PM I:2, p. 667; Reeves, *Valley*, p. 52, n. 65; KRI VII:398. This burial is of an infant who clearly never ruled. It is, however, possible that Amenemhat had been a 'king's son' (cf. Hayes, *Scepter II*, p. 52).

⁴¹⁰ Pap. Turin 1888, 2:9=RAD, p. 67:6.

⁴¹¹ No. 1259 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 15, pl. 38).

⁴¹² Černý, *Community*, pp. 352 ff.; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, pp. 40-41; Eyre, in *Glimpses*, pp. 84 ff.; Janssen, in *Gleanings*, pp. 149-53.

⁴¹³ Graffito no. 1131 a (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 5, pl. 11; KRI V:643:16); cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 40.

⁴¹⁴ O.Gardiner 132, 5.

⁴¹⁵ O.OIC 12073, rto. 11.

⁴¹⁶ The inscription in question (no. 247: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 23) is undated but is undoubtedly to be associated with an adjacent graffito (no. 245: Spiegelberg, *ibid.*, p. 23) carved by Harshire's father in the said year 21.

⁴¹⁷ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 1:8-9.

⁴¹⁸ Černý, *Community*, p. 353; Eyre, in *Glimpses*, p. 84.

⁴¹⁹ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 6:3.

as the 'senior' scribe.⁴²⁰ In fact, it is now generally agreed that the scribe Amennakht (v) probably died in year 6 or 7 of Ramesses VI.⁴²¹ Another example in which the 'scribe' (sš) Harshire (i) serves in tandem with his father is O.Sydney Nicholson Mus. R.97. Here Amennakht (v) is referred to explicitly as p3 sš (rto. 6). Eyre has suggested that the use of the definite article before Amennakht's title, in this instance, is indicative of his position of seniority over his son.⁴²² In year 2 of the reign of Ramesses V, the 'scribe' Amennakht (v) and the 'scribe' Harshire (i) once more appear side by side.⁴²³ This document also contains the names of the two 'scribes of the Tomb', Hori and Amenemope.⁴²⁴ The likelihood that this pair were, in fact, 'scribes' of the *smdt*-staff will be considered in due course.⁴²⁵ From the extant evidence, it seems most likely that at some unspecified point in his career, Amennakht (v) wished to insinuate Harshire (i) into the office of 'scribe' as his future successor.⁴²⁶ Both Ventura⁴²⁷ and von Beckerath⁴²⁸ have suggested that this event took place in a 'year 3' text,⁴²⁹ which the former attributes to the reign of Ramesses V. It would appear from this fragmentary text that the draftsman Harshire (i) was indeed intended to be placed under the supervision of his father, Amennakht (v), as pointed out by both Ventura and von Beckerath. There is, however, no contradictory evidence to support the suggestion that Harshire's elevation to assistant was supplementary to his function as a draftsman on the gang. Consequently, the possibility that O.CGC 25563 was written during the reign of Ramesses IV, as suggested by Kitchen, remains strong (see arguments below).⁴³⁰

It strikes me that in his article on Harshire (i),⁴³¹ Janssen places too much importance on the use of the title of 'scribe of the Tomb' (sš n p3 hr), which he would identify as a title attributed only to the foremost, or 'senior', scribe at Deir el-Medina.⁴³² The 'scribe of the Tomb' Harshire (i) occurs in a text which can definitely be dated to year 6 of Ramesses IV.⁴³³ Since we know that the scribe Amennakht (v) was still active in this year, Harshire (i) could not possibly have been the 'senior' scribe at this juncture. Gutgesell's statement, in which he claims that Harshire (i) was acting as a 'scribe' by year 7 of

⁴²⁰ Eyre, in *Glimpses*, p. 84; see also Černý, *Community*, p. 353.

⁴²¹ Černý, *Community*, p. 344; Eyre, in *Glimpses*, p. 84; Janssen, *JARCE* 31 (1994), pp. 96-97, n. 35; cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 39. This opinion is based on the fact that the property of the 'scribe' Amennakht (v) was divided amongst his children in a 'year 7' text (Pap. Turin 1885, vso. II = KRI VI:371). Amennakht (v) is most probably dead at this point, and the 'year 7' has been shown by Černý, *Community*, p. 343, to date from the reign of Ramesses VI. Therefore a graffito of year 1 of Ramesses VI, written by Amennakht (v), may be the last positive date that we have for the famous scribe (no. 2876: Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 129; KRI VI:366:11).

⁴²² Eyre, in *Glimpses*, p. 84.

⁴²³ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 3; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁴²⁴ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 2.

⁴²⁵ See below pp. 129-30.

⁴²⁶ Cf. Pestman, in *Gleanings*, p. 179, n. 9.

⁴²⁷ Ventura, *Living*, p. 79, n. 96.

⁴²⁸ Von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), p. 98, n. 12.

⁴²⁹ O.CGC 25563.

⁴³⁰ KRI VI:136.

⁴³¹ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 149.

⁴³² See further arguments below pp. 123 ff.

⁴³³ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:8.

Ramesses IV, is particularly interesting and worthy of further consideration.⁴³⁴ If the dating of a 'year 6' text to the reign of Ramesses IV is correct,⁴³⁵ further light may be shed on the career of Harshire (i). Here in the 2nd month of Akhet, day 6, Harshire (i) is still being referred to as a 'draftsman'.⁴³⁶ However, precisely seven months and six days later, in the same year 6, on the 12th day of the 1st month of Shomu, Harshire (i) holds the title of 'scribe of the Tomb'.⁴³⁷ This is apparently the earliest known occasion on which Harshire (i) is attributed such a title. It can further be argued that he had been promoted to this position, perhaps upon his father's recommendation, some time during this seven month interval within year 6 of Ramesses IV. Standing in opposition to this theory is Janssen's argument, whereby he suggests that although referred to as 'scribe', Harshire (i) was in fact still a 'draftsman' in year 2 of Ramesses VI.⁴³⁸ Janssen concludes that Harshire (i)'s promotion to 'scribe of the Tomb', i.e., as the sole 'senior' scribe, took place between years 2 and 4 of Ramesses VI.⁴³⁹ In support of his hypothesis, Janssen employs the subjective evidence presented by a 'year 4' text, which he has shown can only be dated in the reign of Ramesses V or later.⁴⁴⁰ On this occasion, we encounter the broken, and therefore problematic, reading of the name of the 'draftsman Hori[...]'.⁴⁴¹ Janssen favours a restoration of 'Har[shire]', thereby corroborating his thesis that Harshire (i) was not yet the senior 'scribe of the Tomb' in year 4 of Ramesses V.⁴⁴² However, the fact that the reading of this name is by no means certain represents one factor in favour of the suggestion made earlier that Harshire (i) was promoted to senior 'scribe' in year 6 of Ramesses IV. Gutgesell has alternatively interpreted this entry as the 'draftsman Hori'.⁴⁴³ Furthermore, there are indeed several additional occasions on which the draftsman Hori is attested during this period.⁴⁴⁴ As a precautionary corollary to this, it must be noted that there is no certainty that every reference to Harshire (i) after year 6 of Ramesses IV depicts him in this role of 'scribe'. It is possibly a simple accident of preservation that all references, after year 6 of Ramesses IV, which afford Harshire (i) a title, name him as 'scribe'.

The 'scribe of the Tomb' Harshire (i) is attested until year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁴⁵ The 'scribe' Khaemhedjet (i), son of Harshire (i),⁴⁴⁶ also appears in this year, perhaps as his father's assistant.⁴⁴⁷ In years 16 and 17 of Ramesses IX we encounter the 'scribes' Hori for the 'left' side, and Wennefer (viii) for the 'right' side.⁴⁴⁸ Since both these scribes were principally occupied with the delivery of

⁴³⁴ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 253-54, 415.

⁴³⁵ O.Petrie 26; see Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 63-64; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 236.

⁴³⁶ O.Petrie 26, 2.

⁴³⁷ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:8.

⁴³⁸ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 135, note (d).

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴⁴⁰ O.CGC 25247; Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 150.

⁴⁴¹ O.CGC 25247, vso. 16.

⁴⁴² Janssen, in *Gleanings*, pp. 150-51.

⁴⁴³ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 293.

⁴⁴⁴ E.g., O.Gardiner 14, vso. 1:3; O.DM 398, vso. 5(?); graffito no. 1288 (year 2 of Ramesses IV).

⁴⁴⁵ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 13, l. 4.

⁴⁴⁶ Graffiti nos. 2073, 2111 and 2168 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, pp. 36, 40, 45; *KRI VI*:669:14-15; 670:1-2).

⁴⁴⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 14, l. 2. The 'scribe' Khaemhedjet (i) first occurs in years 7 and 9 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 8:10; Pap. Turin 1900, vso. II:10).

⁴⁴⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 30, l. B, 1; pl. 31, l. 2.

commodities to the workforce, it seems more likely that they were in charge of the affairs of the *smdt*-staff.⁴⁴⁹ Scarcely anything is known about the family of Harshire (i). From a group of graffiti we learn that in addition to his son Khaemhedjet (i) he may have had two more sons, Amennakht (xviii) and Tjesmenmen (ii).⁴⁵⁰ In fact, these particular relationships may be confirmed by a fragmentary entry in the *Stato Civile*.⁴⁵¹ It would appear that Amennakht might possibly be restored as the name of the son of Harshire and Taneferhor (i).⁴⁵² Due to the rarity of his name, the Harshire mentioned here is probably to be identified with the 'scribe' Harshire (i). Furthermore, Amennakht (xviii) was possibly married to one of his cousins, namely the lady Iues[...], a daughter of To (i) and Anem[.....], who occurs in the same fragment of the *Stato Civile*. Two additional brothers of Harshire (i) are attested in a graffito as Pinudjem (i) (see above) and Amennakht (xix), the sons of Amennakht (v).⁴⁵³

Khaemhedjet (i), son of Harshire (i), is first definitely attested in year 3 of Ramesses VI.⁴⁵⁴ A graffito of a 'year 1' is to be attributed to the penmanship of the 'high-priest of Nebmare Meryamun (=Ramesses VI), Khaemhedjet'.⁴⁵⁵ This individual may possibly be identified either as Khaemhedjet (i) or Khaemhedjet (ii), his uncle and brother of Harshire (i). Khaemhedjet (i) is attested simply as a 'scribe' in years 7 and 9 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁵⁶ His name can probably be restored as [Khaem]hedjet in year 10 of that same reign.⁴⁵⁷ Khaemhedjet (i) is first recorded with the title of 'scribe of the Tomb' in year 13 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁵⁸ As was noted above, we should not lend too much importance to this title, since Khaemhedjet (i)'s father, Harshire (i), was still very much active as 'senior' scribe at this time. In fact, the 'scribe of the Tomb' Harshire (i) appears alongside his son, the 'scribe' Khaemhedjet (i) in year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁵⁹ By year 3 of Ramesses X, Harshire (i) had passed away and was presumably succeeded as 'senior' scribe by Khaemhedjet (i).⁴⁶⁰ Černý cited this as Khaemhedjet (i)'s

⁴⁴⁹ An entry in year 17 of Ramesses IX, which hopefully substantiates this point, can be translated as follows: 'The day of account of the fisherman Qenkhopshes in the office (ʿt) of the scribe Wennefer for the scribe of the Tomb, Harshire' (Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 35 V, 1-2). From this we may infer that Wennefer was subordinate in rank to the incumbent senior 'scribe' Harshire (i).

⁴⁵⁰ Graffiti nos. 234-35 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 22; *KRI* VI:669:10-11); cf. graffito no. 2185 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 46), in which the 'royal scribe' Khaemhedjet (i) appears to be named with his(?) brothers Amennakht and Tjesmenmen. Surprisingly, Černý, *Community*, p. 355, only identified Khaemhedjet (i) as a son of Harshire (i).

⁴⁵¹ Černý Nb. 15, p. 69.

⁴⁵² Taneferhor is attested in a document which can be dated later than year 27 of Ramesses III (O.DM 643, rto. 10).

⁴⁵³ Graffito no. 3022 (Sadek, *GMT* IV/3, p. 155; *KRI* V:651:10).

⁴⁵⁴ Pap. Bibl. Nat. 237, carton 1, 14; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 356; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 41.

⁴⁵⁵ No. 2169 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 45; *KRI* VI:366:9). It is likely that he officiated over the statue-cult of Ramesses VI in Deir el-Medina mentioned in Pap. Turin 1879, verso (*KRI* VI:335 ff.).

⁴⁵⁶ Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 8:10; Pap. Turin 1900, vso. II:10.

⁴⁵⁷ Pap. Turin 2049/141 (+1963+2042+1917+1913), rto. 1:15; the identification of this reign is confirmed by the appearance of Hori (xii), son of Amenwa, who, having been convicted of tomb-robbing in year 17 of Ramesses IX, was probably expelled from Deir el-Medina or sentenced to death (cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 268-69).

⁴⁵⁸ Pap. Turin 167+2087, vso. 6; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 356.

⁴⁵⁹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 40, l. 3; there is clearly not enough room to restore: 'the scribe, Khaem[hedjet, of the Tomb]'. An identical use of titles is employed for Harshire (i) and Khaemhedjet (i) in a text from year 16 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin 2004+2007+2057/58+2106/396, rto. 2:4, 12).

⁴⁶⁰ Pap. Turin 1898 (+1937+2094/244), rto. 2:21, 4:13.

last attested appearance.⁴⁶¹ However, Bierbrier and Wente both credit Khaemhedjet (i) with an appearance in year 1 of Ramesses XI.⁴⁶² According to the *Stato Civile* Khaemhedjet (i) was married to the lady Tentkhenuemheb (i) and had a daughter, Tentpaope (i), who was married to an unnamed son of Buqentuf (iii).⁴⁶³ In his study of this family, Bierbrier cites the famous 'scribe' Thutmose (ii) as the only son of Khaemhedjet (i).⁴⁶⁴ But, Černý's interpretation of an entry in a papyrus dating from year 11 of Ramesses IX(?) as 'the deputy, Seny, <son of> Khahedjet' is undoubtedly correct.⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, he identifies Seny as a second son of Khaemhedjet (i).⁴⁶⁶ However, the possibility that this deputy Seny was the son of Khaemhedjet (ii) can not be discounted. The history of the family of Thutmose (ii), various members of which continued the tradition of scribe, is the subject of a separate study by the present author and need not concern us here.⁴⁶⁷

§ 27: The scribe of the vizier Akhpet (i)

Having scrutinised the administrative function of Akhpet (i) from the extant documentation, McDowell concluded that he was a 'scribe of the vizier'.⁴⁶⁸ Further support for this identification can be gleaned from a text dated to year 18 of Ramesses III.⁴⁶⁹ This record of a *qnbt*-court session lists the council members as follows: 'The scribe Amennakht, the scribe Akhpet, the two chief workmen, the two scribes and the entire workforce'. Judging from the positioning of their names, one might suggest that Amennakht and Akhpet (i) had been the senior members of this tribunal. In fact, we meet the 'scribe of the vizier' Amennakht (xx) in a court case of year 21 Ramesses III, which also features the scribe Akhpet (i).⁴⁷⁰ The most likely outcome of this is that Amennakht is probably the same man in both instances; and that he is to be identified with Amennakht (xx), rather than with the famous Tomb-scribe Amennakht (v). The closeness of the working relationship between Amennakht and Akhpet (i) similarly implies that they were both 'scribes of the vizier'.⁴⁷¹ It is the scribe Akhpet (i) who listens to the complaints of the 'captains' of the workforce concerning the provision of the inadequate *oipe*-measure in year 17 of Ramesses III.⁴⁷² His name possibly appears in year 16 of

⁴⁶¹ Černý, *Community*, p. 383.

⁴⁶² Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 41; Wente, *LRL*, p. 2, n. 4; Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 63, l. 10.

⁴⁶³ Černý Nb. 15, p. 65; Černý, *Community*, p. 357, suggests that the husband of Tentpaope (i) was Amennakht, son of Buqentuf, who is attested in TT 267 of the deputy Hay (vii). However, Amennakht, son of Buqentuf, was the father of Hay (vii) and a completely different man (for whom see pp. 63-4 above).

⁴⁶⁴ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 41; for this relationship see graffiti nos. 66, 484 (a) and 486 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 9, 42; *KRI* VI:878:2-3).

⁴⁶⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 143; see above pp. 70 ff. for this individual.

⁴⁶⁶ Černý, *Community*, p. 144.

⁴⁶⁷ Davies, *SAK* 24 (1997), 49-68.

⁴⁶⁸ *Jurisdiction*, p. 77.

⁴⁶⁹ O.Turin N.57831.

⁴⁷⁰ Pap. Berlin P.10496, rto. 7, 16.

⁴⁷¹ Actually, Akhpet (i) is attested in O.Florence 2621, vso. 2-3, a text which is closely related to Pap. Berlin P.10496. The fact that this text records that Akhpet came 'up' (*r-hry*) to the village, in order to carry out an investigation together with the 'agents' (*rwḏw*), strongly suggests that he was an outside official.

⁴⁷² O.Leipzig 2, rto. 3. Janssen, *BiOr* 32 (1975), p. 294, suggests that Akhpet (i) was a member of the workforce.

Ramesses III,⁴⁷³ whilst he definitely appears in a text which dates most probably to year 26(?) of the same reign.⁴⁷⁴ On just one occasion, an Akhpet is mysteriously accorded the title *sš n pꜣ hr* 'scribe of the Tomb'.⁴⁷⁵ The employment of this title, attributed solely to village dignitaries, is difficult to explain. This man may, however, have been identical with an earlier 'scribe' Akhpet (ii) who is attested, alongside Wadjmose, in a document which Černý has dated to the reign of Ramesses II.⁴⁷⁶ The basis for this assumption is most probably correct, since I am not aware of a workman named Wadjmose from a later reign than this. This possible attestation of a second and earlier 'scribe of the Tomb' Akhpet conveniently obviates the need to explain McDowell's suggestion that a 'scribe of the vizier' could also hold the title of 'scribe of the Tomb'.⁴⁷⁷

§ 28: The two scribes Pa(y)bes

The 'scribe' Pa(y)bes (i) is recorded in a fragmentary entry from the TSP of year 29 of Ramesses III.⁴⁷⁸ We can gather from this broken passage that Pa(y)bes (i) was in some way instrumental in the delivery of *sgnn* 'oil' (for lighting the tomb during construction) to the workforce, perhaps in response to an undisclosed complaint. Such responsibility would be in keeping with the function of a 'scribe of the vizier'. In fact, it has been suggested that the restoration '[the scribe Pa(y)]bes of the vizier To', can be made in an unfortunately undated text.⁴⁷⁹ This document can be dated during the tenureship of the vizier To, namely between years 16 and 29 of Ramesses III, and no later than year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁴⁸⁰ Although the evidence for the existence of a 'scribe of the vizier' Pa(y)bes is not beyond doubt, it would seem that this earlier official is certainly to be differentiated from the *sš n pꜣ hr* 'scribe of the Tomb' Pa(y)bes (ii) who occurs in year 10 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁸¹ In year 13 of this same reign we learn that the 'captains' (*ḥwtꜣw*) of the workforce were intending to complain to the vizier about the non-delivery of their rations for the 3rd and 4th months of Shomu. Apparently their grievance was heard by the 'scribe' Pa(y)bes (ii), who is said to have attended on them.⁴⁸² Several days later certain dignitaries, including a 'priest of Maat' and an official from the vizier's office, were dispatched to West Thebes to deal with the so-called 'matter of the scribe Pa(y)b[es]'.⁴⁸³ The turn of events may be tentatively reconstructed. In the interim Pa(y)bes (ii) may have relayed the workmen's complaint directly to the vizier. In interpreting these events the objectivity of the reader should be maintained. Hence, McDowell's inference that Pa(y)bes (ii) was a 'scribe of the vizier' can, at best, be accepted

⁴⁷³ O.Vienna Acg. 18, rto. 5.

⁴⁷⁴ O.Turin N.57042, rto. 2.

⁴⁷⁵ O.AG 16, 2.

⁴⁷⁶ O.DM 217, 1-2; Černý, *Community*, p. 200, n. 3.

⁴⁷⁷ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 77; idem, in *Pharaoh's Workers*, p. 55.

⁴⁷⁸ *RAD*, p. 58:16.

⁴⁷⁹ O.DM 673; KRI V:581:15, with note; cf. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 77, who restores the name simply as 'Bes'.

⁴⁸⁰ Kitchen & Ockinga, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), pp. 101-103.

⁴⁸¹ Pap. Turin 2071/224, vso. 8. Černý, *Community*, p. 203, hesitated in making this distinction; cf. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 77.

⁴⁸² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 5, l. 11.

⁴⁸³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 5, ll. 18-19.

with caution.⁴⁸⁴ The extent of our knowledge concerning the responsibilities of the different scribal groups that were operative at Deir el-Medina is insufficient for us to determine whether or not it was the duty of the 'scribes' of the *smdt*-staff or the 'scribes of the vizier' to make complaints of this nature known to the authorities. An alternative identification would be to correlate this Pa(y)bes with the 'scribe of the treasury' Pa(y)bes who is known to have been active in the mid-XXth Dynasty.⁴⁸⁵

Further evidence validating the suggestion that Pa(y)bes (ii) was not a 'scribe of the vizier' is evident from a passage in Pap. Abbott, which is dated to year 16 of Ramesses IX. Here, report is made of the serious charges brought by the *sš n p3 hr* Pa(y)bes and the *sš n p3 hr n hny (> hnw)* Harshire against the workmen.⁴⁸⁶ Later in the same document Pa(y)bes and Harshire are indirectly referred to collectively as *n3 sšw n p3 hr n hny (> hnw)* 'the scribes of the Inner(?) Tomb'.⁴⁸⁷ We should not, however, presume from this that Pa(y)bes (ii) was, *a priori*, on an equal footing with Harshire as the second 'senior' scribe. We can now attempt to reconstruct the career path of the scribe Pa(y)bes (ii). It is possible that he had started his career at Deir el-Medina as a simple workman. Consequently, he may possibly be identified with a Pa(y)bes who is attested in year 29 of Ramesses III⁴⁸⁸ as well as in year 3 of Ramesses IV.⁴⁸⁹ Unfortunately, not a single graffito containing the name of Pa(y)bes has been found yet. The identity of the 'scribe' Pa(y)bes who appears in a 'year 10' document is hitherto uncertain.⁴⁹⁰ The pertinent portion of this passage is broken: '... the scribe Pa(y)bes, the *sš 2 n-hnw*'. It is possible that the name of another 'scribe' preceeded that of Pa(y)bes and that the expression *sš 2 n-hnw* was, therefore, in reference to them both. McDowell, however, opts to differentiate Pa(y)bes from the *sš 2 n-hnw* of this text.⁴⁹¹ The facts of this case are further complicated in that a definite date can not be assigned to this document. Černý has tentatively proposed a dating within the reign of Ramesses XI.⁴⁹² To a certain extent, this supposition may be strengthened by the appearance of the 'scribe' Ankhefenamun on the recto of the same document.⁴⁹³ This individual is possibly identifiable with either the 'draftsman' Ankhefenamun (i), son of Penparei, who may have been active under Ramesses XI or early in the XXIst Dynasty, or with the 'scribe' Ankhefenamun (ii), son of the scribe Butehamun (i), who is known to have served the Theban necropolis administration during the XXIst Dynasty. However, it is equally plausible that the 'scribe' Ankhefenamun is a hitherto unattested workman or an outside official who was involved with the Deir el-Medina workforce.

⁴⁸⁴ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 77. In fact, the very next entry in the Turin Necropolis Journal includes the name of the 'scribe of the vizier' Hori (Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 5, l. 12). It would seem strange that the writer had omitted to use the full title of 'scribe of the vizier' had Pa(y)bes also held this position.

⁴⁸⁵ Pap. Turin 1907/1908, rto. 1:1.

⁴⁸⁶ Pap. Abbott, rto. 5:16-17; cf. Thomas, *JEA* 49 (1963), p. 60.

⁴⁸⁷ Pap. Abbott, rto. 6:18. Since Pa(y)bes holds both the titles of *sš n p3 hr* and that of *sš n p3 hr n hnw*, Ventura's suggestion that these titles were synonymous can be shown to be true (*Living*, p. 65, n. 10). Furthermore, his discrediting of Thomas' theory that the *sš n p3 hr* was a subordinate of the *sš n p3 hr n hnw* can similarly be upheld.

⁴⁸⁸ *RAD*, p. 51:6.

⁴⁸⁹ O.Gardiner 56, vso. 6.

⁴⁹⁰ O.CGC 25305, vso. 3

⁴⁹¹ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 77.

⁴⁹² Černý, *Community*, p. 203.

⁴⁹³ O.CGC 25305, rto. 7.

§ 29: The scribe Sobeksonb (i)

The reading of the name of the 'scribe' who is attested making deliveries to the workforce in year 15 of Ramesses IX can without doubt be restored as Sobek[s]onb (i),⁴⁹⁴ since the same man is mentioned in the following year as a *sš n p3 hr* 'scribe of the Tomb'.⁴⁹⁵ There is, however, some uncertainty as to the correct interpretation of the name of the scribe who appears delivering 'roes' and 'firewood' in year 7 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁹⁶ It is quite possible that this name ought to be read as 'Sobeks<on>b'.

§ 30: The scribe Pentahutnakht

The scribe Pentahutnakht, though not a member of the Deir el-Medina community, was intimately connected with village affairs and, in particular, with various workmen. His name first occurs in year 7 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁹⁷ His next appearance can be traced to year 14 of Ramesses IX where he is involved in litigation with Pakanafy.⁴⁹⁸ Three years later we again see the 'scribe' Pentahutnakht contributing a small quantity of emmer and a headcloth, worth 8 deben, towards a considerable payment of monies made by the 'chantress of Amenre' Tanodjm(et) for work performed on her behalf by the *sš n p3 hr* Harshire (i).⁴⁹⁹ An informative incident, taking place in the same year, sees the workforce parting with two bulls to expedite the delivery of their rations. Although these animals were placed in the care of the 'scribe' Pentahutnakht, it is likely that their ultimate destination was the office of the 'high-priest of Amun'.⁵⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the pertinent passage is too damaged for the precise details of this event to be ascertained. However, it was not an uncommon expectation for the workmen to hand over some form of *bakshish* in return for the payment of the wages due to them.

The date on which 'the Medjay was taken before the scribe Pentahutnakht by the *sš n p3 hr* Khaemhedjet (i) concerning the matter of the letter of the (high-)priest' probably took place in year 3 of Ramesses X.⁵⁰¹ From an entry dated several days earlier, it can be determined that the Medjay involved in this episode was one Nesamun. Furthermore, it can be ascertained that the high-priest's letter contained a plea for the workmen to suspend their normal working schedule and to remain within the confines of Medinet Habu.⁵⁰² As is common, the final resolution of the matter was left

⁴⁹⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 29, l. 13.

⁴⁹⁵ Pap. Turin 1884, rto. 1:16 (=KRI VI:646:1); cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 220, whose sole citation for Sobeksonb is this text.

⁴⁹⁶ Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 5:7.

⁴⁹⁷ Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 8:11.

⁴⁹⁸ O.BM 5672+O.CGC 25649, rto. 1-2; incorrectly dated as 'year 4' by Černý, *Community*, p. 209. Pakanafy, who was probably a Deir el-Medina workman, is attested alongside the 'scribe' Harshire (i) in O.CGC 25299, 3. That he may have been a son of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i) will be considered later (see below p. 252, n. 630).

⁴⁹⁹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 41, l. 39.

⁵⁰⁰ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pls. 42-43.

⁵⁰¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 53, l. 21.

⁵⁰² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 53, ll. 15-17.

unrecorded, though it is possible that Pentahutnakht was acting as the high-priest's agent in his dealings with the workforce. Pentahutnakht's close relationship with the workmen is further reflected by the fact that, on a day in year 3 of Ramesses X, when the workforce not at work in the royal necropolis, the chief workman Amennakht (vi), together with another Amennakht, undertook various work in his tomb.⁵⁰³ Pentahutnakht is probably to be identified with the 'scribe' Pentahutnakht, who appears in a text which has been dated no earlier than year 12 of Ramesses XI,⁵⁰⁴ as well as in year 15 of the same reign.⁵⁰⁵ Allusion is made to the name of the scribe Pentahutnakht during investigations into the theft of a portable chest of Ramessesnakht in year 2 of the *Wḥm-mswt* period. During his testimony before the *sš n p3 ḥr* Nesamenope, Pakharu, son of Peshnemeh, confessed to having seen certain property of the scribe Pentahutnakht in the possession of a suspected thief.⁵⁰⁶

The 'scribe' Pentahutnakht, or to use the fuller form of his title, 'scribe of the army [of] the Temple of king Usimare-Meryamun',⁵⁰⁷ is mentioned on several occasions amongst the LRL, dating from the close of the XXth Dynasty.⁵⁰⁸ From this archive we gather the impression that Pentahutnakht was particularly concerned with the affairs of the family of the *sš n p3 ḥr* Thutmose (ii), one of the principal correspondents from this corpus. Two letters illustrate this point especially well. In LRL 5, written by Thutmose (ii), his son Butehamun (i) is said to be in the care of the 'scribe' Pentahutnakht, son of Sobeknakht.⁵⁰⁹ We learn from the second letter,⁵¹⁰ most probably intended for Thutmose (ii),⁵¹¹ that Pentahutnakht had been specifically requested by the addressee to look after his 'people' and 'staff' (*smdt*). Another of Pentahutnakht's responsibilities was his involvement, along with the 'captains', in the collection of grain,⁵¹² whilst he could expect to be joined by the scribe Thutmose (ii) in relation to the matter of a certain Akhmenu.⁵¹³ Like Thutmose (ii), we also learn that he was an inhabitant of Medinet Habu at this time.⁵¹⁴ It may be of little surprise that the name of Pentahutnakht is not recorded amongst the West Theban graffiti, considering that he held office at Medinet Habu and, consequently, may have only paid infrequent visits to the royal necropoleis. Judging from his long period of service, it seems likely that he died and disappeared from the records towards the close of the New Kingdom.

⁵⁰³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 56, ll. 5-7; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 92.

⁵⁰⁴ Pap. BM 10068, vso. 1:8; Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁰⁵ Pap. BM 9997, 1:2.

⁵⁰⁶ Pap. BM 10403, vso. 3:19.

⁵⁰⁷ LRL 12 (=Pap. Berlin 10494), rto. 1-2.

⁵⁰⁸ Nos. 5, 10, 12, 22, 37, 45.

⁵⁰⁹ LRL 5 (=Pap. Leiden I, 370), rto. 14. Černý, *Community*, p. 210, tentatively identifies this Sobeknakht with the homonymous *sš n p3 ḥr*, though there is no evidence to confirm, or deny, such a relationship. The *sš n p3 ḥr* Sobeknakht (i) was probably the son of the 'deputy(?)' Pamerenamun (i) who was operative towards the end of the reign of Ramesses XI (see below pp. 204-5).

⁵¹⁰ LRL 45 (=Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, I), rto. 11-12.

⁵¹¹ Wente, *LRL*, p. 5.

⁵¹² LRL 37 (=Pap. Geneva D 191), rto. 4-6.

⁵¹³ LRL 22 (=Pap. Turin 1975), rto. 5-vso. 1.

⁵¹⁴ LRL 12 (=Pap. Berlin 10494), rto. 8-9. Pentahutnakht was in fact the author of a damaged letter to Thutmose (ii) (Pap. Rifaud D: Y. Koenig, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988), pp. 57-60, pls. 4-7; *KRI* VII:398-99).

THE SCRIBES

APPENDIX A

The chronology and function of the offices of the scribes at Deir el-Medina

There now exists the general belief that for the best part of the history of the Deir el-Medina administration there was just one 'senior' scribe who worked on the gang and who can be identified as one of the 'captains' (*ḥwtyw*).⁵¹⁵ However, a second group of 'scribes' was operative at the village throughout the Ramesside period. These were the '*smdt*-scribes' whose primary responsibility was to co-ordinate the supply of grain and other commodities to the workmen via the external services. It is remarkable how little attention has been afforded in the scholarly journals to the function of this important office and its incumbents. One of the aims of this chapter shall be to discuss the men who held the post of *smdt*-scribe and to determine as precise a chronology as possible for them. Furthermore, an attempt shall be made, wherever possible, to distinguish the *smdt*-scribes from the 'senior' scribes. The official titles *sš* and *sš n p3 ḥr* were interchangeable and were used to describe members of both scribal groups.⁵¹⁶ A good example of this is preserved in a fragmentary letter addressed to the chief workman Neferhotep: '... to this scribe [... who] stays/stands here with you (pl.) as *sš n p3 ḥr* for the external *smdt*.'⁵¹⁷ Consequently, the interchangeability of titles had led, in the past, to misidentification when scholars have attempted to differentiate between the numerous scribes known from our community. Furthermore, this problem is compounded by the use of the title *sš* by the 'draftsmen' (*sš-ḳdw*) particularly in their private monuments and inscriptions. Seemingly there is at least one occasion on which a 'draftsman' Amenhotep is referred to as a 'scribe' in a turnus register. We therefore need to use extreme caution in interpreting the administrative records of the tomb workmen. It is simply not adequate to assume that the use of the title *sš* meant that such-and-such a person served in this capacity. Hence, a closer review of the role played by a so-called 'scribe' in any given document should, and often does, help to eradicate such misconceptions.

Similarly, it should be kept in mind that our knowledge of the scribal classes is by no means complete. Over the course of time the administrative authority and responsibilities of these men were undoubtedly subject to certain subtleties of change which have not always been transmitted through the extant records. In the discussion below we shall present a review of the evidence pertaining to the careers of the scribes as described in §§ 11-30, in addition to conducting a thorough survey of the information that the administrative and personal records of the village sheds on these officials. The main goal in mind is to chart the chronology of the separate classes of scribes, laying particular emphasis on the role played by the *smdt*-scribes in village life. In view of the present, and often contradictory, state of our knowledge of these officials, a fair degree of what shall be proposed is by no means a definitive statement, and must merely stand as a working hypothesis.

⁵¹⁵ See most recently Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 461-62; Ventura, *Living*, p. 72, with n. 62; McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 86-89.

⁵¹⁶ It is Ventura's contention that the *sšw n p3 ḥr* (*n ḥnw*) were the 'senior' scribes (*Living*, pp. 65, 68, 77), whereas the full title of the outside *smdt*-scribe would have been *sšw n p3 ḥr n bnr* (*ibid.*, p. 65, 68). He further suggests that whenever used the identifier *n ḥnw* was employed to distinguish the 'senior' scribes from the *smdt*-scribes (*ibid.*, p. 68).

⁵¹⁷ O.Mich 66, rto. 5-6.

The earliest identifiable 'senior' scribe during the Ramesside period was the 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth' Amenemope (i) who was in office right from the inception of the reign of Ramesses II, and probably earlier (see § 11). The titles that he employs in his tomb suggest that he was undoubtedly one of the early 'captains' in charge of the workmen. Two of his contemporaries, and perhaps the first attested *smdt*-scribes, were Pashedu (xviii) and Ipu(y) (ix) who occur together in a 'year 9' pottery account.⁵¹⁸ Pashedu (xviii) is specifically referred to as the supervisor of the 'potter' Menna. Černý assigned this text a dating in either the reign of Seti I or Ramesses II.⁵¹⁹ On the assumption that the accession date for Ramesses II was '3 Akhet 5/11',⁵²⁰ then this reign can presumably be discounted since the account covers the period between 3 Akhet 1 and 3 Peret 30 of the 'year 9' in question. However, Helck has argued strongly for 3 Shomu 27 as the accession date of Ramesses II,⁵²¹ in which case the 'year 9' text could have been written in either reign. Furthermore, Černý's attempt to correlate Pashedu (xviii) with the 'draftsman' Pashedu seems dubious in view of the responsibilities held by this 'scribe'.⁵²² The precise role assumed by Ipu(y) (ix) is not stated, though it is likely that he was also involved in some way with the delivery of pottery to the village. Ipu(y) (ix) is also mentioned in a second text which concerns the delivery of dates, loaves and *bit*-cakes.⁵²³ Unfortunately the text is undated, though the appearance of Khaemwaset and Nebenmaat probably support a date in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.⁵²⁴ Another scribe who was apparently closely associated with the *smdt*-staff was Mose. He appears on two occasions, the first of which witnesses him delivering grain.⁵²⁵ The second document is an account of the wood 'deficit' accrued by the scribe Mose.⁵²⁶ One might argue that the name was possibly a contraction of Ramose (i). But, these duties were not consistent with those known for the 'senior' scribe. An equally plausible theory is that we are dealing with the scribe Minmose (i), son of Amenemope (i), who would therefore have been one of the *smdt*-scribes in the first half of Ramesses II's reign. McDowell has suggested that Ramose and Tjay, who are recorded in two documents making deliveries in the reign of Ramesses II, are to be identified as 'scribes', and possibly 'senior' scribes.⁵²⁷ However, neither man is entitled as 'scribe' in either of the texts in question.⁵²⁸ Furthermore, a third individual, who is assigned similar duties in one of these texts, was Hat.⁵²⁹ Since I am unaware of any scribe by this name, it therefore seems sensible to temporarily reserve judgement on the role that Tjay enjoyed.⁵³⁰

⁵¹⁸ O.Berlin P.10840, rto. 1, vso. 5.

⁵¹⁹ Černý, *Community*, p. 206.

⁵²⁰ *Gleanings*, p. XI.

⁵²¹ Helck, 'Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich', *Studia Biblica et Orientalia III: Oriens Antiquus*, Analecta Biblica 12, Rome, 1959, pp. 118-20.

⁵²² Černý, *Community*, p. 206.

⁵²³ O.DM 641, rto. 2.

⁵²⁴ For Khaemwaset (i) see p. 4 above; for Nebenmaat (ii) see p. 236 below.

⁵²⁵ O.DM 698, 4.

⁵²⁶ O.Turin N.57080, rto. 1.

⁵²⁷ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 89.

⁵²⁸ O.OIC 16989, 2-3; O.CGC 25661, vso. 6.

⁵²⁹ O.CGC 25661, vso. 9.

⁵³⁰ See p. 106 above.

Another colleague of Amenemope (i) was the 'scribe' Huy (x), whose activity continued down to year 39 of Ramesses II (see § 15). The name of Huy (x) occurs in very few administrative records from Deir el-Medina. Hence, the extent of the sphere of his influence is a subject of debate. In a workmen's roster his name immediately follows those of the two chief workmen and the scribe Ramose (i).⁵³¹ Ramose (i) is well-known as the senior 'scribe of the Tomb' from his appointment in year 5 of Ramesses II through to at least year 38 of the same reign (see § 13). He was eventually succeeded in this post by his protégé, Qenhirkhopshef (i), probably prior to year 40 (see § 14). In a ration-list from year 38, the name of the scribe Ramose (i) appears between the 'two chief workmen' and a collective of 46 workmen.⁵³² However, Huy (x), who was undoubtedly alive at this time, is not mentioned. He was certainly not considered to have been a member of the so-called élite 'captains'. It is reasonable to suggest that Huy (x) acted as an assistant and understudy to a succession of senior scribes - firstly Amenemope (i), then Ramose (i), and perhaps even Qenhirkhopshef (i) for a short time. The fact that Huy (x) was actually directly involved in the construction of the royal tombs is strengthened by his appearance in an ostrakon, found recently within the Valley of the Queens.⁵³³ This text, which is dated to year 25 of Ramesses II, is actually concerned with the 'work-in-progress' (*r-ḥ b3k*) on a royal tomb, perhaps that of Nefertari, and specifically makes mention of the lamps used for this purpose. In fact, it will be shown later records that several sons of the 'scribe' Amennakht (v) were raised to serve, on occasion, as their father's assistant and representative. Further weight is lent to this argument by a text which lists the scribe Huy (x) receiving a ration alongside other workmen, including Ramose (i).⁵³⁴ Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s long period of service most probably came to an end during the reign of Siptah (see § 14). He was eventually succeeded as 'senior' Tomb-scribe by Bay (ii).

Now may be a good juncture at which to return our attention to the sequence of *smdt*-scribes who are attested during the remaining part of the XIXth Dynasty. In a year 30, presumably of Ramesses II, the 'scribe' Mini[...] is recorded bringing '[the supplementary] grain-rations for the workforce' - could he have been one of the *smdt*-scribes?⁵³⁵ Both Amenemope (xvi) and Meryre (iii) were clearly *smdt*-scribes in years 35 and 37 of Ramesses II.⁵³⁶ By the 3rd month of Akhet in year 42 both had been replaced in this office by the arrival of the 'scribe' Pentaweret (ii)⁵³⁷ and the 'scribe' Khay (iii).⁵³⁸ However, we can prove that Pentaweret (ii) took the place of Amenemope (xvi), since he appears with the [scribe] Meryre (iii) on the verso of a letter sent by the 'scribe of the Tomb' Qenhirkhopshef (i) to the vizier Khay.⁵³⁹ This fragmentary text had resulted from a seven month delay in the delivery of plaster for work in the royal tomb. It is likely that Qenhirkhopshef (i)'s complaint to the higher

⁵³¹ O.CGC 25573, I:5.

⁵³² O.CGC 25809, rto. 4.

⁵³³ Koenig, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), p. 114.

⁵³⁴ O.IFAO 1347, rto. 14.

⁵³⁵ O.Gardiner 200, rto. 1-2. There is little doubt that this official needs to be differentiated from the 'chief Medjay' Mininwy who was the author of a letter to the vizier Khay (O.Toronto A.11, II:12).

⁵³⁶ O.Gardiner 24, 2, 5; O.OIC 17007+O.Černý 6, rto. I:1-2, I:8, I:11 *passim*. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 73, suggests that Amenemope may have merely recorded the deliveries arriving at the village 'while the outside scribes made the delivery itself'. However, it can be clearly determined from the records that Amenemope and Meryre were personally involved in the transportation of these goods to Deir el-Medina.

⁵³⁷ O.Spencer, 1 (=KRI VII:186:10).

⁵³⁸ O.Gardiner (Gayer-Anderson), 2, *passim*.

⁵³⁹ O.CGC 25832, vso. 1.

authority was aimed locally at the conduct of the two *smdt*-scribes, whose responsibility it was to ensure punctual delivery of such supplies to the tomb. In an undated papyrus the *smdt*-scribes can be identified as Pentaweret (ii) and Anupemheb (i).⁵⁴⁰ Eyre has dated this papyrus, partially on account of the appearance of the 'chief workman' Neferhotep (ii), to the reign of Merenptah.⁵⁴¹ However, his presumption that Neferhotep (ii) had been promoted to the post of 'chief workman' at the end of Ramesses II's reign is incorrect, since we have noted earlier that Neferhotep (ii) held this position by year 40 of that reign.⁵⁴² Therefore, the limits within which Pap. Gardiner 8 can now be dated should be extended to include the period after year 42 of Ramesses II when Khay was last recorded as a *smdt*-scribe. Furthermore we learn from an undated record of grain deliveries that Pentaweret (ii) was assigned to the 'left side' and Anupemheb (i) to the 'right side'.⁵⁴³ Anupemheb (i) as 'scribe' is definitely attested in year 66 of Ramesses II,⁵⁴⁴ which indicates that he took over his position as *smdt*-scribe for the 'right' from Khay.

It is at this stage in the investigation that the chronology of the *smdt*-scribes becomes less well-defined. It is possible that the Neferhotep who is mentioned in year 66 of Ramesses II, along with the 'scribe' Anupemheb (i), was likewise a 'scribe'.⁵⁴⁵ In an undated text the scribes Anupemheb (i) and Neferhotep (vi) make deliveries of fish and wood.⁵⁴⁶ Whilst Anupemheb (i) is still involved with the 'right' side, Neferhotep (vi) takes charge of the 'left', having probably succeeded Pentaweret (ii). It is possible that this text has a date relatively close to the text of year 66 of Ramesses II, assuming that Neferhotep was a *smdt*-scribe in that year. Consequently Pap. Gardiner 8 could then be placed within the interval between years 42 and 66 of Ramesses II, the period when Anupemheb (i) and Pentaweret (ii) could have been contemporaneous *smdt*-scribes. In year 8 of Merenptah, the 'scribes' Anupemheb (i) and Paser (iii) arrive at the work-site, together with the two 'chief Medjays'.⁵⁴⁷ Paser (iii) may well have been a 'scribe of the vizier' as suggested by Janssen.⁵⁴⁸ However, he could simply have been a local official, even a *smdt*-scribe. Had this been true, Paser (iii) may well have succeeded Neferhotep (vi) as the left-sided *smdt*-scribe by this time. It has been suggested (§ 18) that the 'scribe' Pashedu (vi) who appears in year 6 of Seti II may have been deputising for the 'senior' scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i).⁵⁴⁹ Alternatively, McDowell⁵⁵⁰ has proposed that Pashedu (vi) and Paser and Pentaweret, the two 'scribes' who are named with him in year 6 of Seti II,⁵⁵¹ were all 'scribes of the vizier'. It is equally viable to infer that Paser and Pentaweret were the twin *smdt*-scribes. In a text which has been shown

⁵⁴⁰ Pap. Gardiner 8=Ashmolean 1960.1283, rto. 5, 9, vso. 14.

⁵⁴¹ Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 117.

⁵⁴² See above p. 32.

⁵⁴³ O.DM 179, rto. 1, 4, vso. 1.

⁵⁴⁴ O.CGC 25237, rto. 2.

⁵⁴⁵ O.CGC 25237, rto. 2.

⁵⁴⁶ O.DM 323, 1-3.

⁵⁴⁷ O.CGC 25504, vso. 1-2.

⁵⁴⁸ *Gleanings*, pp. 141-42; cf. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 76.

⁵⁴⁹ O.CGC 25515, rto. I:4-5; O.Nash 1, vso. 5; his name might be lost from O.Nash 2, vso. 16. Pashedu (vi) may very well be identified with the 'scribe' who compiled the work-journals during the tenure of Qenhirkhopshef (i) (Černý, *Community*, p. 332).

⁵⁵⁰ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 81.

⁵⁵¹ O.Nash 1, vso. 5-6; O.Nash 2, vso. 16-17.

by Helck to date to 'years 5-7' of Siptah/Tewosret, the two *smdt*-scribes are in fact Paser for the 'left side' and Pentaweret (iii) for the 'right'.⁵⁵² Pentaweret (iii) is probably to be further identified with the *sš n p3 hr* Pentaweret who appears in year 11 of Ramesses III,⁵⁵³ with the 'scribe' of that name who occurs in year 23,⁵⁵⁴ and with the *sš n p3 hr* Pentaweret who is recorded delivering cakes to the workmen in year 29.⁵⁵⁵ In the meantime, the scribe Paser (iii) occurs in several texts which originate from the first half of the reign of Ramesses III: his attendance at a court case is noted in year 12,⁵⁵⁶ a business transaction regarding a donkey was notarised by the 'draftsman' Hori 'in the house (*pr*) of the scribe Paser' in year 14, suggesting the possibility that Paser may have lived at the village;⁵⁵⁷ he is mentioned in year 16,⁵⁵⁸ and he is finally attested in year 17, corruptly supplying the workforce with an sub-standard *oipe*-measure.⁵⁵⁹ It is possible that behaviour of this nature might have led to Paser (iii)'s eventual dismissal. However, a text which can be assigned a date closely contemporaneous with Papyrus Greg, near the beginning of the XXth Dynasty, is O.DM 606.⁵⁶⁰ Here the two 'scribes' Pentaweret (iii) and Huy (xxii) are mentioned, both of whom were involved in the delivery of various produce.⁵⁶¹ The existence in this context of the 'scribe' Huy (xxii) as Pentaweret's colleague casts considerable doubt on the role played by the 'scribe' Paser (iii) in several of the documents mentioned above. It is unlikely that Huy (xxii)'s tenure interrupted that of the *smdt*-scribe Paser (iii), in which case we would be forced to admit to the existence of three contemporaneous *smdt*-scribes. It is, however, possible that every reference mentioning Paser, which can be assigned a date prior to Papyrus Greg (i.e., year 5 of Siptah), are related to an earlier 'scribe of the vizier'. Consequently, Huy (xxii) might have preceded in office a second scribe of that name, namely Paser (iii) - a *smdt*-official. Yet another alternative would see Huy (xxii) acting as a temporary and occasional substitute for the *smdt*-scribe Paser (iii).

Paser (iii) may have been succeeded by the 'scribe' Amennakht (xxx), son of Pentaweret, whose sole attestation occurs in year 20 of Ramesses III.⁵⁶² I am unaware of any other references to an Amennakht bearing this patronymic during this period - he is certainly not to be identified with Amennakht (xvi), the grandson of Amennakht (v). Pentaweret (iii) may well be correlated with the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Penta[weret] who is shown, on an ostrakon, venerating the vizier

⁵⁵² Pap. Greg, rto. A, 5, 11, *passim*. The 'scribe' Paser also occurs delivering wood and grain for the 'left side' in two further documents (O.DM 269, 1-2; O.Berlin P.14255, rto. 2). See now Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 111-30.

⁵⁵³ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 1.

⁵⁵⁴ O.Turin N.57027, vso. 3.

⁵⁵⁵ RAD, p. 48:16.

⁵⁵⁶ O.CGC 25553, rto. 3. Ventura, *Living*, p. 78, with n. 93, suggested that the 'scribe' Paser was the 'senior' scribe for the sole reason that he is named alongside the two 'chief workmen' in this text.

⁵⁵⁷ O.Berlin P.1268, rto. 8-9.

⁵⁵⁸ Pap. DeM 26, A, vso. 2:11.

⁵⁵⁹ O.Leipzig 2, vso. 1.

⁵⁶⁰ Černý, *Community*, p. 215, assigns this text a date in the reign of Ramesses II. Amongst the personnel listed in O.DM 606, who also appear in Papyrus Greg, are: the 'scribe' Pentaweret; the 'wood-cutter' Bakenmut; the 'wood-cutter' Penrennut; the 'fisherman' Khaemtir; the 'plasterer' Hednakht; Bakenamun; and possibly Huy, son of Huynfefer.

⁵⁶¹ O.DM 606, rto. 1, vso. 1.

⁵⁶² O.Gardiner 54, rto. 11.

Neferronpet.⁵⁶³ On the obverse, the scribe has written the Horus, Nebty and Golden-Horus names of Ramesses IV,⁵⁶⁴ which secures this document safely to that reign. An entry in the TSP for year 29 of Ramesses III records the death of the scribe Pentaweret (v), son of Amennakht (xv).⁵⁶⁵ Unfortunately the identity of this individual remains a matter of speculation. Christophe has suggested that he should be identified with Pentaweret, the son of Amennakht (v).⁵⁶⁶ But, in his discussion of the family of Amennakht (v), son of Ipuu, Bierbrier refuted this argument in favour of an identification with the 'scribe' Pentaweret (our no. (iii) above) who was active in the reign of Siptah and who, in his estimation, was not a 'scribe of the necropolis' (see above p. 127).⁵⁶⁷ If Bierbrier's identification is correct, the 'scribe' Pentaweret who is shown honouring the vizier Neferronpet may have indeed been the 'draftsman' Pentaweret (iv), son of Amennakht (v). This same correlation would conveniently explain the attestation of a 'scribe' Pentaweret, who occurs as a witness to an oath in year 31 of Ramesses III.⁵⁶⁸ Consequently, the mention of the *sš n pꜣ hr* Pentaweret (iii) delivering cakes to the workmen in the 2nd month of Peret, day 11 of year 29, may well have been his last appearance (though see further discussion below).⁵⁶⁹

It is in year 23 of Ramesses III that we encounter the *sš n pꜣ hr* Hori for the first time.⁵⁷⁰ However, the attestation of the 'scribe' Hori in a 'year 15' may be attributed to either the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IX.⁵⁷¹ There is general agreement that this same scribe continued in office down to year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁵⁷² Consequently he may be seen to have succeeded Amennakht (xxx) or Paser (iii) in this office in year 23. One certainty is that his function in the affairs of the village was subject to continual change. On at least one occasion he was considered to have been one of the three 'captains' of the gang, and he almost certainly deputised occasionally for the 'senior' scribe. On the other hand, Hori's activities suggest that he was definitely a *smdt*-scribe at certain stages in his career. The role of the 'scribe' Amenmose who appears in year 28 of Ramesses III,⁵⁷³ and in other documents of this period,⁵⁷⁴ is similarly ambiguous. It is possible, though not altogether proven, that he served temporarily as a *smdt*-scribe.⁵⁷⁵ The 'scribe' Nekhemmut, whose name occurs in an entry at the beginning of a turnus register for year 31 of Ramesses III, may indeed prove to be identical with

⁵⁶³ O.CGC 25033, rto.

⁵⁶⁴ For these names as those of Ramesses IV, cf. the Abydos stela of Ramesses IV (*KRI* VI:17:13-14) and the year 2 Hammamat stela (*KRI* VI:9:4-5). The earliest attested year date for the vizier Neferronpet is year 2 of Ramesses IV (Kitchen & Ockinga, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), p. 103).

⁵⁶⁵ *RAD*, p. 58:9.

⁵⁶⁶ Christophe, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), p. 178.

⁵⁶⁷ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 40.

⁵⁶⁸ O.Gardiner 104, 6.

⁵⁶⁹ *RAD*, p. 48:16.

⁵⁷⁰ O.Petrie 4, vso. 2. See below, pp. 143 ff., for further discussion on the identity and career of the 'scribe' Hori.

⁵⁷¹ O.Mich. 42, 5.

⁵⁷² Černý, *Community*, p. 216; McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 82.

⁵⁷³ O.Berlin 10663, vso. 1.

⁵⁷⁴ See pp. 100-1 for this official.

⁵⁷⁵ See Pap. Vienna (no number), vso. I:1 (=KRI VII:348-49), in which the 'scribe' Amenmose is recorded delivering certain items.

the 'draftsman' Nekhemmut (ii).⁵⁷⁶ An entry in a turnus register for the 2nd month of Shomu, day 1 in the following year, records how 'Amenkhau (iv) was appointed as *ss n p3 hrr*'.⁵⁷⁷ Amenkhau (iv)'s tenure in an official scribal office was probably short lived.⁵⁷⁸ Nevertheless, if Pentaweret (iii) did indeed survive into the reign of Ramesses IV (see above), we would be faced with a problem concerning the attribution of the scribes to individual bureaucratic positions in year 32 of Ramesses III. The following results can only, therefore, serve as an outline hypothesis: Pentaweret (iii) and either Hori or Amenkhau (iv) were at this date the 2 *smdt*-scribes, whereas Amennakht (v) was the 'senior' scribe with either Hori or Amenkhau (iv) acting as his assistant. An identification of the 'scribe' who dies in year 29 of Ramesses III with Pentaweret (iii) would certainly assist in clarifying the sequence of scribes at the end of this reign.

The 'scribe' Amenemope (xi) is attested making deliveries to the workforce in the undated O.DM 161.⁵⁷⁹ Several scholars have wrongly assigned this text to year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁵⁸⁰ It can be shown that this text could not have been written in that year without assuming that a scribal error had been made. The text ends with the names of the watchmen for days 1-3 of the 3rd month of Shomu as Khaemnun, Neferhotep and Penanuqet respectively.⁵⁸¹ However, in a text which does date to year 1 of Ramesses IV, the watchmen on duty for days 1-4 of the 3rd month of Shomu are Khaemnun, Hori, Neferhotep and Penanuqet respectively.⁵⁸² Furthermore, the events reported during the watch of Khaemnun in these texts are not consistent with one another. In spite of this, the (*smdt*-) 'scribe' Amenemope (xi) is recorded bringing wood in year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁵⁸³ It is therefore likely that Amenemope (xi) took over the position of *smdt*-scribe for the 'right side' from Pentaweret (iii). And it is possible that O.DM 161 is to be dated in year 32 of Ramesses III, though the sense in assigning it a year date later in the reign of Ramesses IV will become apparent in the following discussion. O.DM 149 is a record of grain deliveries made to the village.⁵⁸⁴ Here we meet two scribes, Pentaweret and Setimose, who might well be identified as the twin *smdt*-scribes, responsible for the ration distribution. Since this text has been securely dated by Janssen within the interval between year 2 of Ramesses IV and year 2 of Ramesses V,⁵⁸⁵ we could well be witnessing the final appearance of the scribe Pentaweret (iii), who would therefore have been succeeded shortly after this incident, some time in the same year, by Amenemope (xi).

⁵⁷⁶ See p. 49 above for Nekhemmut (ii).

⁵⁷⁷ O.DM 38, 2.

⁵⁷⁸ This Amenkhau is without doubt different from the Amenkhau who was stung by a scorpion in the house of Nebmen, and who was described as the assistant of (lit. *hry* 'under') the (draftsman) Amenhotep, son of Amennakht (v) (O.CGC 25713, 3-4). He is also probably not to be identified with the later 'scribe of the vizier' Amenkhau as has been suggested by McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 77.

⁵⁷⁹ Rto. 5, 9.

⁵⁸⁰ Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), p. 38; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 126; KRI VI:114.

⁵⁸¹ Vso. 9-11.

⁵⁸² O.DM 44, rto. 2-3.

⁵⁸³ O.DM 45+O.Berlin P.12651+O.Vienna H.4, rto. 18. He is similarly attested delivering wood to *p3 htm* in an undated text (O.Berlin P.12641+O.Berlin P.12628, 8).

⁵⁸⁴ Černý, *OHNL* II, p. 10, pl. 23.

⁵⁸⁵ Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

At the time of the announcement of the reduction of the workforce, in year 2 of Ramesses V, the local scribes were named as: the 'scribe of the <Tomb> (*sš n p3 <hr>*) Hori, the 'scribe of the Tomb' Amenemope (xi), the 'scribe' Amennakht (v) and the 'scribe' Harshire (i).⁵⁸⁶ Further on in this text reference is made to 'the 2 chief workmen, the scribe of the Tomb (*p3 sš n p3 hr*) and the entire workforce'.⁵⁸⁷ Here the use of the definite article *p3* to introduce the title of *sš n p3 hr* suggests that there was probably only one 'senior' scribe at this time. Consequently, we can assume the following conclusions - that Hori and Amenemope (xi) were the two *smdt*-scribes, and that Amennakht (v) was the 'senior' scribe with his son, Harshire (i), as his assistant.⁵⁸⁸

The *sš n p3 hr* Paneferemdjed (i) who is attested in a year 3 text, probably datable to the reign of Ramesses IV,⁵⁸⁹ is undoubtedly one of the sons of Amennakht (v) (see above pp. 108-9). From the evidence of the extant documentation, there can be no certainty that he served the Tomb-administration in the capacity of an official 'scribe', though it is possible that he assisted his father on occasion, as did his brother, Harshire (i). Since the scribes were known never to have served on watch duty, an entry in one of the turnus registers of year 2 of Ramesses IV, in which the 'scribe' Amenhotep is recorded in such a position, is at first sight a curiosity.⁵⁹⁰ However, it may now be proven that the title '*sš*' was merely a contraction of '*sš-ḳdw*' (draftsman), since a second text notes the name of the 'draftsman' Amenhotep in the same position in the register of watch duty in which we met the 'scribe' Amenhotep.⁵⁹¹ Hence these two attestations refer to one and the same individual. This careless employment of the title '*sš*' in one of the administrative records brings into sharp focus the care with which this type of document has to be studied. For this very same reason it now becomes expedient to scrutinize meticulously each individual attestation of the 'scribe' Amenhotep so that it may be determined whether there were two men of that name or merely a 'draftsman' Amenhotep who was frequently entitled 'scribe'.⁵⁹² Due to their unreliability as accurate records, the examples from the corpus of graffiti can be discounted from this study. There are two occasions on which the 'scribe' Amenhotep receives pigments.⁵⁹³ Černý's suggestion that both documents are concerned with the 'draftsman' Amenhotep is probably correct.⁵⁹⁴ In an undated name-list, the 'scribe' Amenhotep appears directly after Harmose (ii), the 'chief workman' for the left side.⁵⁹⁵ Another text features the 'scribe'

⁵⁸⁶ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 2-3; for the dating of this document within this reign see now Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁵⁸⁷ O.Berlin P.12654, vso. 6-7.

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. von Beckerath, *ZAS* 122 (1995), p. 99. Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 135, n. (d), makes the unlikely suggestion that at this time Amennakht (v) had retired and had been succeeded by Amenemope as 'acting' *sš n p3 hr*, namely 'senior' scribe. This statement is supported by Pestman, in *Gleanings*, p. 179, n. 9; cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188.

⁵⁸⁹ Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vso. II:4.

⁵⁹⁰ O.DM 46, rto. 18.

⁵⁹¹ O.DM 161, vso. 5; furthermore the same Amenhotep appears in a turnus register without title (O.Gardiner 113, rto. 18).

⁵⁹² A study of the career of this 'draftsman' Amenhotep has already been discussed at length by Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), pp. 122 ff.

⁵⁹³ O.CGC 25247, edge 2; O.Leningrad [Ermitage] 2973, 2.

⁵⁹⁴ Černý, *Community*, p. 197.

⁵⁹⁵ O.CGC 25534, 1:5.

Amenhotep as a witness to the taking of an oath in a 'year 7'.⁵⁹⁶ In year 7 of Ramesses IX the 'chief workman' Harmose (ii) and the 'scribe' Amenhotep received certain produce, which had been brought from the chapel (*ḳnlw*) of Baïenre-Meramun by the 'scribe' Ankhefenkhons.⁵⁹⁷ In the record of a property distribution,⁵⁹⁸ dated probably to the reign of Ramesses IX,⁵⁹⁹ an oath is spoken in the presence of the 'chief workman' Nekhemmut and the '*sš n p3 ḥr*' Amenhotep. There is not a single reference which would suggest that the so-called 'scribe' Amenhotep was linked with the *smdt*-scribes.⁶⁰⁰ He most certainly never held the position of 'senior' scribe. The most plausible theory is that there was a single Amenhotep, the son of Amennakht (v), who was active between the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX. He set out on a career as a simple 'draftsman', which would lead eventually to his promotion to 'chief draftsman' by year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁶⁰¹ It has been shown that when the number of 'captains' was increased from three to 'four' the additional member of this quartet was a 'chief draftsman' who was attached to the left side.⁶⁰² The 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep was undoubtedly this 'fourth' captain whose responsibilities can be linked with this side of the gang. Thus, the according to him of the titles of '*sš*' and '*sš n p3 ḥr*' may have been the result of his promotion to this senior office, sometime during the reign of Ramesses IX.

Let us return, for the moment, to identifying the sequence of the 'senior' scribes, who served up until the reign of Ramesses IX. Above it was noted that this office was held by Bay (ii) at the end of the XIXth Dynasty (see pp. 98-9 above). Since his name can not be attested securely from a single administrative document from the first half of the reign of Ramesses III, it is likely that he had been succeeded in this office by that time. Furthermore, there is a dearth of evidence which we can use to identify the individual who was incumbent as the 'senior' Tomb-scribe during this period. A further anomaly occurs in a stela, from one of the Deir el-Medina chapels, where the 'scribe in the Place of

⁵⁹⁶ O.Gardiner 181, vso. 2.

⁵⁹⁷ Pap. Turin 1881, rto. 4:2 ff.

⁵⁹⁸ O.Gardiner 23, 11-12. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 100, has suggested that Amenhotep was merely deputising for his father Amennakht (v).

⁵⁹⁹ Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), p. 125, with n. 83.

⁶⁰⁰ If the undated attestation (O.CGC 25534) of the '*sš n p3 ḥr*' Amenhotep had referred to a *smdt*-scribe, this text would have to be assigned a date sometime before year 7 of Ramesses IX (on this point see further below). Furthermore, the text of 'year 7' where the 'scribe' Amenhotep appears as a witness to an oath (O.Gardiner 181, vso. 2) could easily have originated in the reign of Ramesses VI (cf. Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), p. 124). In this case, a *smdt*-scribe Amenhotep may have succeeded Amenemope. However, the 'scribe' Amenhotep appears in a list of men at work, together with the scribe Amennakht and the draftsmen Nebnefer and Hori (O.DM 398, rto. 6). It is possible that Amenhotep had been accorded the title of 'scribe' here in reflection of his role as the 'chief draftsman'.

⁶⁰¹ Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), p. 122. Harrell and Brown, *JARCE* 29 (1992), p. 102, have suggested that the 'scribe' (>'draftsman') Amenhotep, son of Amennakht (v) was a member of the year 2 expedition of Ramesses IV to the Wadi Hammamat. The evidence they offered is, however, not convincing. The writing of name of the 'scribe' Amenhotep in both of his graffiti at Hammamat contains a superfluous *ḥb*-determinative before the seated man (CM 234 and 235; Couyat & Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, pp. 109-110, pl. XLIV). This is certainly not consistent with the writing of the name of Amenhotep, son of Amennakht (v), as found amongst the West Theban graffiti (e.g., in nos. 54, 473, 837 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 8, 41, 67); 1081, 1247, 1355 (Černý, *Graffiti*, pp. 2, 14, 23); 2384, 2524, 2795 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, pp. 56, 63, 124); 2795 (idem, *GMT IV/2*, p. 124)).

⁶⁰² Černý, *Community*, pp. 236-37.

Truth' Bay and the 'scribe' Amennakht (v), son of Ipyu are depicted.⁶⁰³ The same Bay is probably attested with Amennakht (v) and the latter's son, the draftsman Harshire (i), in a graffito.⁶⁰⁴ Consequently, it may be tempting to propose that Bay (ii) served as 'senior' scribe until at least year 16 of Ramesses III, when the office was passed on to the 'draftsman' Amennakht (v). However, the epithet, *mꜛ-ḥrw*, which was accorded on this stela to the name of Bay, whilst omitted from that of Amennakht (v), may indicate that this monument had served as a dedication to the Tomb-scribe Bay (ii). Furthermore, the names of Amennakht (v) and Harshire (i) could, in fact, have been added to the graffito at a later date in remembrance of their illustrious predecessor. Similarly, I must concur with McDowell's proposal that Wennefer (v) may have directly preceded Amennakht (v) as 'senior' scribe.⁶⁰⁵ Although the evidence remains less than conclusive, there are nevertheless reasonable grounds for lending weight to this argument. For instance, the name of the scribe Wennefer (v) occurs on numerous occasions between years 11 and 21 of the reign of Ramesses III, particularly so in documents of a legal nature.⁶⁰⁶ Furthermore, he appears not to have been associated with the *smdt*-staff nor with the supervision of deliveries into the village. The scribe Wennefer's final dated appearance can be traced to three work-lists of year (23/24) of Ramesses III, which were found in the Valley of the Queens. On each occasion his name is associated with the 'right side'.⁶⁰⁷ It is possible that following his promotion from the rank of 'draftsman' to that of 'scribe' in year 16 of Ramesses, Amennakht (v) was to serve as assistant to Wennefer (v). Therefore, Amennakht (v) may, consequently, have become the 'senior' scribe only at the death, or retirement, of Wennefer (v). Indeed, it is noticeable that in the lists of court-magistrates in attendance at two legal cases in year 20 of Ramesses III, the name of the scribe Wennefer takes precedence over that of the scribe Amennakht (v).⁶⁰⁸ Furthermore, there is tenuous evidence supporting the supposition that during this supposed apprenticeship, Amennakht (v) may have served as a *smdt*-scribe. Two turnus-registers from year 25 of Ramesses III record deliveries to the village of wood and plaster by a 'scribe' Amennakht.⁶⁰⁹ But, we should note that these references could arguably be attributed to Amennakht (xxx), son of Pentaweret.

There is little doubt that Amennakht (v) was acting in the capacity of the 'senior' scribe by year 29 of Ramesses III. In this same year we learn of a dispute between the 'two scribes' and the entire workforce, which was headed by Amennakht (v) and the 'chief workman' Anhurkhawy (ii).⁶¹⁰ Although the background to this disagreement has not been recorded, we can suggest that it may have had something to do with the delay in the delivery of the rations to the workmen during that year;

⁶⁰³ PM I:2, p. 708; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pp. 8-10, fig. 5; KRI V:640.

⁶⁰⁴ No. 2550 a (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 65; KRI V:641:8-9).

⁶⁰⁵ McDowell, *Jurisdition*, pp. 81-82.

⁶⁰⁶ In the following list of judicial texts the name of the 'scribe' Wennefer appears amongst those in attendance: O.Geneva MAH 12550, vso. 1; O.CGC 25555, vso. 4; O.Florence 2619, vso. 9; O.Nash 5, rto. 3; Pap. Berlin P.10496, rto. 2. On each of these occasions his name occurs in a prominent position, either in front of, or immediately after, the name(s) of the chief workmen.

⁶⁰⁷ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 4, *passim*; O.Turin N.57028, rto. 4 *passim*; O.Turin N.57056, rto. 2, 4. Note that in the first two texts his name follows that of a Khons, who is probably to be identified with the foreman Khons (v).

⁶⁰⁸ O.Nash 5, rto. 3, vso. 3.

⁶⁰⁹ O.DM 32, rto. 13, vso. 4-6; O.Petrie 50, vso. 10-12. Similarly in this same year we have an account of the 'arrears' of wood of the *sꜛ n pꜛ ḥr* Amennakht (O.Louvre N.696, vso. B, 1-2).

⁶¹⁰ O.Turin N.57007.

furthermore, the 'two scribes' are probably to be identified as the *smdt*-scribes. During the lifetime of Amennakht (v), his son, the draftsman/scribe Harshire (i), would be allowed to deputise for his father as the 'senior' scribe (see pp. 114 ff.). Harshire (i) later became 'senior' scribe in his own right on the death of Amennakht (v) in year 6/7 of Ramesses VI.⁶¹¹ Following the tradition set in place by his father, Harshire (i) probably personally trained his eldest son, Khaemhedjet (i), to act as his assistant and eventual successor. Harshire (i)'s tenureship of the office of 'senior' scribe can be traced down to year 17 of Ramesses IX.

Another anomalous appearance is that of a 'scribe' Neferhotep (vii) during Ramesses III's reign. He is witnessed taking an oath before the *qnbt*-court in year 10,⁶¹² and also appears in a fragmentary donkey transaction from year 16.⁶¹³ It has already been shown that occasionally the title *sš-ḳdw* was used instead of *sš*, as in the case of the draftsman Amenhotep. It is possible that this same practice was evident in these two instances. There is, therefore, the remote possibility that the 'scribe' Neferhotep (vii) may be identified with the 'draftsman' Neferhotep (ix) who was active during the reign of Amenmesses. However, a 'scribe' Neferhotep was the author of a letter, to the vizier To, during his employment on the 'tombs of the royal children' in the Valley of the Queens, probably in the final years of Ramesses III.⁶¹⁴ This letter chiefly contains a heated tirade by Neferhotep, describing the impoverishment of the workforce through lack of provisions. It is possible, though not proven, that his role under these circumstances may have been as one of the 'draftsmen', and that his motive was of a more personal nature.⁶¹⁵ However, the fact remains that Neferhotep's concerns for the livelihood of the workmen are more consistent with the responsibility which fell to a 'scribe'. If he had served as one of the *smdt*-scribes, we would be forced to admit the existence of at least three such officials at the end of Ramesses III's reign, for we know that Hori and Pentaweret (iii) also filled these posts at this time. Further evidence to corroborate the existence of an official 'scribe' named Neferhotep (vii) appears to be provided by a document which has been dated confidently to the latter part of the reign of Ramesses III.⁶¹⁶ This text contains a memorandum written by the 'scribe' Neferhotep (vii) concerning the deliveries of fish and wood by various *smdt*-men.⁶¹⁷ Therefore, Neferhotep (vii)'s involvement with the affairs of the *smdt*-staff is assured.⁶¹⁸ Providing that O.Brussels E.3211 pre-dated year 29 of Ramesses III (in the instance in which Pentaweret (iii) died in that year - see above), we could infer the contemporaneity of three *smdt*-scribes from this evidence. My only other possible explanation for the interpretation of these documents is that at the end of the reign of Ramesses the 'scribe' Neferhotep

⁶¹¹ Cf. Eyre, in *Glimpses*, p. 84.

⁶¹² O.Mich. 1, 1.

⁶¹³ O.Mich. 2, 5.

⁶¹⁴ O.OIC 16991 (Wente, *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 252-57).

⁶¹⁵ It was not at all unusual for one of the ordinary members of the workforce to correspond with the higher authorities; cf. the letter from the 'scribe' (>'draftsman') Nebre to Paser, the vizier of Ramesses II, which reports conditions within the village (O.Toronto A.11, vso. 13-15; *KRI* III:31).

⁶¹⁶ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 307-308.

⁶¹⁷ O.Brussels E.3211, rto. 1 ff.

⁶¹⁸ Cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 212; McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 80.

(vii) was either deputising for Hori, or even acting as an assistant to the 'senior' scribe Amennakht (v), before the latter saw fit to promote his own son to this position.⁶¹⁹

There exists strong evidence to suggest that the same 'scribe' Neferhotep (vii) took part in a quarrying expedition to the Wadi Hammamat in year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁶²⁰ A rock stela found at this site portrays the 'scribe of the Place of Truth Neferhotep' adoring the god Horus.⁶²¹ This particular inscription is situated adjacent to G 89, the rock-stela of Usimarenakht of year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁶²² Goyon suggested that the term 'Place of Truth' may have been used in reference to a region within the Wadi Hammamat. However, it is more likely that this term was that which commonly designated the Theban necropolis.⁶²³ The reasoning behind Neferhotep's inclusion on this expedition may have been to serve as an additional scribe or even as one of the draftsmen. In fact, 'two draftsmen' (though not Deir el-Medina men) were included amongst the personnel employed on the 'year 3' expedition to Hammamat.⁶²⁴ It is, therefore, possible that Neferhotep's secondment on this venture resulted from his position of seniority amongst the Deir el-Medina draftsmen, in which case we would have to make concession for the existence of two closely contemporaneous Neferhoteps - one a 'scribe', the other a 'draftsman'. Taking this hypothesis one stage further, it may be suggested that Neferhotep could have been the 'chief draftsman', the predecessor of the 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep. Additional firm attestations for a *sš/sš-ḳdw* Neferhotep after year 1 of Ramesses IV are lacking.⁶²⁵ It is not impossible, though very unlikely, that the 'draftsman' Neferhotep (ix) was in office from the reign of Amenmesses down to the beginning of that of Ramesses IV. In summation the current evidence regarding the 'scribe' Neferhotep (vii) appears to be inconclusive.

The chronology and order of the various supporting *smdt*-scribes during the reign of Ramesses IX becomes far less rigid than found for earlier periods. In year 6 of Ramesses IX grain was delivered to the workmen by the *sš n pꜣ ḥr* Hori and the *sš* Paankhau.⁶²⁶ The 'scribe' Paankhau is similarly attested with the 'scribe' Khons in connection with the supply of grain in the following year.⁶²⁷ However,

⁶¹⁹ If Neferhotep did enjoy the status of one of the administrative scribes he may be identified with either: (i) the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, who appears in a graffito dated to year 28 of Ramesses III (no. 609 a: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49 f.; *KRI V*:528:8-10); or with (ii) the 'scribe' Neferhotep who was the son of the 'scribe of the Place of Truth' Wennefer (graffiti nos. 1823 & 2664 f: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 18; Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 115; *KRI V*:643:10-11).

⁶²⁰ Harrell and Brown, *JARCE* 29 (1992), p. 102; McDowell, in *Pharaoh's Workers*, pp. 44-45.

⁶²¹ G 100 (Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, p. 112, pl. XXXIII).

⁶²² Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, pp. 103-106, pl. XXIX; *KRI VI*:1.

⁶²³ Černý, *Community*, pp. 59-67, esp. pp. 65-66, where he proposes that, in this example, the 'Place of Truth' meant the king's tomb; see also Ventura, *Living*, pp. 38-63.

⁶²⁴ CM 12 (Couyat & Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, pp. 34-39, pl. 4; *KRI VI*:14:8).

⁶²⁵ That is unless graffito no. 2677 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 116; *KRI VI*:136:15-16) is to be dated in 'year 4' of Ramesses IV, or later. This inscription reads: 'The scribe of the Tomb Neferhotep, his son, the scribe Neferhotep, his son [...] Neferhotep - he made (it) in year 4'. It is, however, possible that the 'scribe of the Tomb' Neferhotep is here to be identified with the *smdt*-scribe Neferhotep (vi) who is attested in the mid-XIXth Dynasty (see above).

⁶²⁶ Pap. Turin 1930/2050+2013, rto. 1:9-10.

⁶²⁷ Pap. Turin 1906+2047/132+1939, rto. 2:6.

either or both of these 'scribes' may have been affiliated with one of the West Theban temples. In year 7, probably of the reign of Ramesses IX, the 'scribe' Sobekseb(?) received figs and wood.⁶²⁸ The reading of the name is not assured, and the scribe may have been intending to write the name of Sobeksonb (i). Elsewhere in this document the *sš <n> p3 hr* Hori took receipt of various produce.⁶²⁹ In year 10 of Ramesses IX we find the *sš n p3 hr* Pa(y)bes (ii) delivering some product.⁶³⁰ The 'scribe' Paybes (ii) is further mentioned in a record from year 13 of Ramesses IX where he attended to the 'captains' of the Tomb.⁶³¹ In year 16 of Ramesses IX, Paybes (ii) was involved in the tomb-robbery investigations where, like Harshire (i), he maintains the titles of *sš n p3 hr* and *sš n p3 hr n hny (> hnw)* (see § 28). During this same investigation the 'chief workman' Usikhopesh (i), the 'scribe' Amennakht (xxxi) and the workman Amenhotep are known to have met the mayor of East Thebes, Paser, in relation to various allegations that had been brought forward by Harshire and Paybes.⁶³² Unfortunately the nature of Amennakht (xxxi)'s involvement in this episode is unrecorded, though the context of this passage implies that he may have been a 'scribe' affiliated in some way to the workmen. The date of this meeting was 'Year 16, 3rd month of Akhet, day 19'. Therefore, the 'scribe' Amennakht (xxxi) may have succeeded the *sš n p3 hr* Sobeksonb (i), who had appeared earlier in year 16 along with the *sš n p3 hr* Hori.⁶³³ A year previously, the 'scribe' Sobek[so]nb (i) made a delivery of figs,⁶³⁴ whilst the 'scribe' Hori was in charge of the 'left side' of the *smdt*-staff.⁶³⁵ Therefore, between years 7 and 16 of Ramesses IX there were two scribes, Sobeksonb (i) and Paybes (ii), both apparently closely related to the corps of workmen and whose terms in office overlap. Sobeksonb (i) certainly appears to have filled the role of a *smdt*-scribe, perhaps on the 'right' side opposite Hori. The responsibilities entrusted to Paybes (ii) are unfortunately less clear. Since we are able to glean very little from the extant records concerning the organisation of the scribes at this period, we can only speculate as to the function fulfilled by Paybes (ii). He may have been a third *smdt*-scribe, who was used, on occasion, as a substitute for Hori, or even a minor administrative functionary serving under the 'senior' scribe Harshire (i). Unfortunately we are unable to prove, beyond all doubt, that the title of *sš n p3 hr n hny (> hnw)*, that had been applied to both Harshire (i) and Paybes (ii) in year 16 of Ramesses IX (see above) was used to indicate their status as the two 'senior' scribes.⁶³⁶ Furthermore, note should be made that in year 13 of Ramesses IX it is likely that Paybes (ii) was not considered to have been one of the 'captains'.⁶³⁷ It is commonly believed that the fourth 'captain', who appears at the end of the reign of Ramesses IX, was a 'chief draftsman'.⁶³⁸ Another *sš n p3 hr* who may have served under Ramesses IX, or later, and who is otherwise unattested

⁶²⁸ Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 5:7.

⁶²⁹ Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 5:5-6, 6:1 ff., 6:15.

⁶³⁰ Pap. Turin 2071/224, vso. 8; note that the *sš [n p3 hr]* Hori also appears in this text (vso. 7).

⁶³¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 5, l. 11.

⁶³² Pap. Abbott, rto. 5:12 ff.

⁶³³ Pap. Turin 1884, rto. 1:16 & rto. 2:5. Although the date of Sobeksonb's appearance is not preserved in this document, it surely predates the date given in rto. 2:3 as 'Year 16, 1st month of Akhet, day 21'.

⁶³⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 29, l. 13.

⁶³⁵ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 30, l. 1.

⁶³⁶ Cf. Ventura, *Living*, p. 68, who proposes that the title *sš n p3 hr n hnw* distinguished one group of scribes (i.e., the 'senior' scribes) from the *sšw n p3 hr (n hnr)* (i.e., the *smdt*-scribes). See below for a discussion of Paybes (ii).

⁶³⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 5, l. 11.

⁶³⁸ Ventura, *Living*, p. 73; McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 87.

is Djay (i)/Anuy (vii), the son of the 'chief workman' Nekhemmut (vi).⁶³⁹ There is little doubt that changes in the organisation of the workmen's internal administration would have been one of the results of their transferral to new living quarters within the confines of Medinet Habu at about this time. Unfortunately we can only guess the actual administrative structure of the royal workforce. However, an increase in the numbers of 'scribes' in the service of the workforce during the reign of Ramesses IX would not be surprising. It is even possible that the temple authorities at Medinet Habu seconded, from time to time, their own scribes to assist with various duties on behalf of the workmen of Deir el-Medina.⁶⁴⁰

By year 17 of Ramesses IX the 'scribe of the Tomb' Hori was in charge of 'left side' of the *smdt*-staff,⁶⁴¹ whilst the 'scribe of the Tomb' Wennefer (viii) was attendant upon the 'right'.⁶⁴² Even more explicit is the statement in the Turin Necropolis Journal that 'the external *smdt*-staff was (in) the control of *p3 sš 2 n p3 hr*', who in this instance can be identified as none other than Hori and Wennefer (viii).⁶⁴³ Nevertheless by year 19 of Ramesses IX, the 'scribe' Iufenamun (i), son of Hori, was supervising the 'left',⁶⁴⁴ alongside his colleague, the 'scribe' Wennefer (viii).⁶⁴⁵ There seems to be good reason to posit that Iufenamun (i) succeeded his father as one of the *smdt*-scribes. In year 1 of Ramesses XI Iufenamun (i) apparently conducted certain deliveries for both the 'right' and the 'left' sides of the gang.⁶⁴⁶ In years 8-10 of this same reign the two *smdt*-scribes were still Wennefer (viii)⁶⁴⁷ and Iufenamun (i).⁶⁴⁸ The 'house of the *sš n p3 hr* Iufenamun' is listed in a document which dates to year 12 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁴⁹ However, this entry does not automatically guarantee that Iufenamun (i) was still alive at this time. Nevertheless, the scribe Iufenamun (i) is attested in one of LRL which Wente has dated to year 12 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁵⁰ After this date there is unfortunately no conclusive evidence which would directly link any of the Deir el-Medina scribes with the office of *smdt*-scribe.

By year 8 of Ramesses XI there appears to have been two 'senior' scribes of the Tomb (*sšw n p3 hr*), namely Pamer'a (i), son of Thutemheb (i), for the 'right side' and Thutmose (ii), son of

⁶³⁹ O.CGC 25361, 5; for this dating see Černý, *Community*, p. 222.

⁶⁴⁰ An example of such a practice may possibly be witnessed by the activity of the 'scribes' Paankhau and Khons. In year 7 of Ramesses IX this pair apparently made the delivery of the grain to the workforce (Pap. Turin 1906+2047/132+1939, rto. 2:6). However, neither is ever explicitly named as a *sš n p3 hr*, and they may consequently have served as scribes of the temple administration.

⁶⁴¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 14, l. 8, pl. 30, l. B:1, pl. 38, l. B:7.

⁶⁴² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 31, l. 2, pl. 34, l. 12, pl. 38, l. B:5.

⁶⁴³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 14, l. 11.

⁶⁴⁴ Pap. Turin 2075+2056+2096 (268), vso. 1:2.

⁶⁴⁵ Pap. Turin 2075+2056+2096 (268), rto. 2:1.

⁶⁴⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 63, l. a:7.

⁶⁴⁷ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 4:15-16, vso. A, 1:1-3.

⁶⁴⁸ Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, 1:10-11.

⁶⁴⁹ Pap. BM 10068, vso. 7:8; Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 9. Wente's dating of this text is correct (*LRL*, p. 2, n. 4), although the means by which he arrives at his conclusion is less rigorous than that chosen by Janssen. His implication, like Kitchen's (*TIP*, p. 20, n. 89), that Iufenamun had been a 'senior' scribe, opposite Thutmose (ii), earlier in Ramesses XI's reign is certainly not correct (cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 129, n. 208).

⁶⁵⁰ Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, III, rto. 9; Wente, *LRL*, pp. 1-2 (=No. 47).

Khaemhedjet (i), on the 'left side'.⁶⁵¹ There can be little doubt that the addition of a second 'senior' scribe had taken place several years earlier. During the reign of Ramesses X, in year 1 or 2, the 'scribe' Pawer'a (i), son of Thutemheb (i), appears as the 'scribe' for the right side.⁶⁵² His opposite number and colleague as 'senior' scribe in year 3 of Ramesses X was probably the *sš n p3 hr* Khaemhedjet (i), who had succeeded his father, Harshire (i), some time after year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁵³ It is noticeable that Khaemhedjet (i) was now explicitly said to be in charge of the 'left side', whereas during the reign of Ramesses IX his father had been responsible for the opposite side. Very little can be deduced about the career of Khaemhedjet (i), though we do learn that he was still active in year 1 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁵⁴ A 'year 3' document which names the 'scribe' Thutmose provides little additional information to our investigation.⁶⁵⁵ The date of this short text could have referred to either year 3 of Ramesses XI, in which case Thutmose (ii) may have already succeeded his father earlier than has previously been suggested, or to the *Whm-mswt* era, thus corresponding to year 21 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁵⁶ In year 19 of Ramesses XI the two 'senior' scribes were Thutmose (ii) and Nesamenope (i).⁶⁵⁷ The scribe Thutmose (ii) is attested until at least year 28 of this reign,⁶⁵⁸ whereas Nesamenope (i)'s last appearance occurs in year 20.⁶⁵⁹ In year 12 of Ramesses XI a 'scribe' Nesamenope took delivery of two consignments of grain that had been collected by the *sš n p3 hr* Thutmose (ii).⁶⁶⁰ Černý was adamant in his belief that this individual is to be correlated with the *sš n p3 hr* Nesamenope (i).⁶⁶¹ Therefore, he may very well have been the colleague of Thutmose (ii), and hence the second 'senior' scribe at this time.⁶⁶² Wentze's obvious reluctance in adopting this Nesamenope (i) as a *sš n p3 hr* stems from his belief that this office was held by Iufenamun (i) in year 12 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁶³ However, we have established above that Iufenamun (i) never assumed the office of one of the 'senior' scribes. Nesamenope (i) can not be definitely attested after year 20 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁶⁴ Consequently Wentze presumed that he was succeeded in office by the *sš n p3 hr* Butehamun (i), who would therefore have been a colleague of his father Thutmose (ii).⁶⁶⁵ His tentative assumption that Nesamenope (i) may have been a son of Thutmose (ii) can in no way be substantiated.⁶⁶⁶ Amongst the witnesses to an undated deposition we

⁶⁵¹ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 1:7-8, 2:14-15, 3:1-2, 3:14-15; cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 89, is hesitant in admitting that Pawer'a was a 'senior' scribe.

⁶⁵² Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 1:6.

⁶⁵³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 53, l. 21; cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 40.

⁶⁵⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 63, l. 10.

⁶⁵⁵ Pap. Turin 2003, rto. 1.

⁶⁵⁶ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 496.

⁶⁵⁷ Pap. BM 10052, rto. 1:19, 5:14 & 17.

⁶⁵⁸ Wentze, *LRL*, p. 12.

⁶⁵⁹ Pap. BM 10403, rto. 1:2.

⁶⁶⁰ *RAD*, pp. 37:9, 38:13.

⁶⁶¹ Černý, *Community*, pp. 213-14.

⁶⁶² Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 31.

⁶⁶³ Wentze, *LRL*, p. 4, n. 16.

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Davies, *SAK* 24 (1997), 61.

⁶⁶⁵ Wentze, *LRL*, pp. 3-5.

⁶⁶⁶ Wentze, *LRL*, p. 4.

find the *sš n p3 hr* Thutmose (ii), the *sš n p3 hr* Iufenkhnons and the 'chief workman' Bakenmut (i).⁶⁶⁷ Bierbrier has suggested that the 'chief workman' Bakenmut (i) had probably been succeeded by Penparei (i), son of Nebnefer, by year 20 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁶⁸ Despite this argument, I earlier concluded that the most probable scenario seems to have Penparei (i) preceding Bakenmut (i) in the office of foreman.⁶⁶⁹ Therefore, if Iufenkhnons (i) was to have served in the capacity of one of the 'senior' scribes of the Tomb, he must surely have filled this position on the right side of the gang, taking over the position at some point after it had been vacated by Nesamenope (i)'s departure.⁶⁷⁰

Fortunately, there is little opposition to the theory that Butehamun (i) became a 'senior' scribe in his own right, perhaps towards the end of the XXth Dynasty. However, due to the paucity of our knowledge concerning the structure of the Tomb-administration, the date of Butehamun (i)'s promotion or whether he succeeded in office Nesamenope (i) or his father, Thutmose (ii), can not be determined.⁶⁷¹ Furthermore, in the wake of Nesamenope (i)'s departure, there is no firm evidence to support the continued employment of two contemporaneous 'senior' scribes. Bierbrier put forward the argument that Butehamun (i) was presumably officiating in the stead of his father during the last decade of Ramesses XI, and only succeeded Thutmose (ii) as 'senior' scribe early in the reign of Smendes.⁶⁷² He has further demonstrated that the earliest definite attestation of the 'scribe' Butehamun (i) occurred in year 20 of Ramesses XI, just two months after the last mention of Nesamenope (i).⁶⁷³ It is conceivable, though not confirmed, that Nesamenope (i) died in this short interval, and was subsequently succeeded as 'senior' scribe by Butehamun (i).⁶⁷⁴

Bierbrier's alternative suggestion, that Nesamenope (i) may have been succeeded by the scribe Penparei (ii), whom he believed was in office at the beginning of the XXIst Dynasty, might be adopted.⁶⁷⁵ The association in a graffito⁶⁷⁶ between the 'scribe' Penparei (ii) and the 'chief workman' Bakenmut (i) might be a reflection of a close partnership on the 'right side' of the workforce.⁶⁷⁷ This suggestion that Penparei (ii) had belonged to the 'right side' is consistent with the putative award to him of this post from Nesamenope (i), who had himself worked on that side of the gang. However, there is also the possibility that Penparei (ii) was in fact one of the *smdt*-scribes active in the latter

⁶⁶⁷ Pap. Turin 2021+Geneva D.409, rto. 4:9-11. Černý & Peet, *JEA* 13, p. 31, have dated this document to the last years of the XXth Dynasty. The attestation of the 'general and army-leader' Piankh in a short, unrelated, text on the verso unfortunately can not be used to date this document more precisely.

⁶⁶⁸ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 35.

⁶⁶⁹ See p. 55.

⁶⁷⁰ See further now B.G. Davies, *SAK* 24 (1997), pp. 63-4.

⁶⁷¹ In theory he could have been the successor of Iufenkhnons (i) (see above) or Penparei (ii) (see below), though it seems more likely that he ultimately replaced his father as 'senior' scribe.

⁶⁷² Bierbrier, *LNKE*, pp. 41-42. Černý, *Community*, pp. 371 ff., discusses the careers of Butehamun and his sons as *sšw n p3 hr*.

⁶⁷³ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 42, with n. 215.

⁶⁷⁴ The career and *Sitz im Leben* of Butehamun and his sons and successors has been documented in a recent article by this author and shall therefore be omitted from the present discussions (Davies, *SAK* 24 (1997), pp. 49-68).

⁶⁷⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 42, with n. 216.

⁶⁷⁶ No. 22 a, (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 5).

⁶⁷⁷ For Bakenmut as foreman for the right side see Černý, *Community*, p. 311.

years of the reign of Ramesses XI. We have discussed above the probability that the 'chief workman' Bakenmut (i) was active in that office some time after year 20 of Ramesses XI.⁶⁷⁸ Consequently, Penparei (ii) must have been active as a *sš n p3 hr* at approximately this date. By this calculation, had Penparei (ii) served as a 'senior' scribe, he can only have succeeded Nesamenope (i) (or possibly Iufenkhons (i)) on the 'right side' after year 20 of Ramesses XI.

Ventura, like Janssen before him, has demonstrated that the 'senior' scribe usually received an equal ration from either side of the crew.⁶⁷⁹ However, there exists evidence from the early Ramesside period that the 'senior' scribe may have been attached to the 'right' side as was the case in later periods, when he operated opposite the 'chief draftsman' (who was the fourth 'captain'). In a full ration list of year 64 of Ramesses II the 'chief workman' and the 'scribe' for the 'right' both received 2 *khar* of barley and 4 *khar* of emmer, whereas there is no mention of a 'scribe' amongst the ration list for the 'left'.⁶⁸⁰ In year 2 of Ramesses IV the 'senior' scribe Amennakht (v) is similarly affiliated with the 'right side'.⁶⁸¹ During the reign of Ramesses IX we have several implicit references which indicate that the 'chief draftsman' was considered to be one of the four 'captains'.⁶⁸² Černý has suggested that the addition of the 'chief draftsman', as the fourth 'captain', was effected between years 1 and 3 of Ramesses VI.⁶⁸³ However, there are anomalies in the extant data. For example, it would appear that in year 6 of Ramesses IX the 'chief draftsman' might not yet have been considered to number amongst the 'captains'.⁶⁸⁴ Nevertheless, by year 16 of that reign the 'chief draftsman' was being paid a ration equal to those of the two 'chief workmen' and the 'senior' scribe.⁶⁸⁵ It is conspicuous that, in this same ration-distribution, two additional 'scribes' each received the same amount (2 *khar*) as the four 'captains' had.⁶⁸⁶ This pair can undoubtedly be identified as the twin *smdt*-scribes. However, we should not place too much emphasis on the meaning of these identical amounts, for the simple fact that the door-keeper, a man of much lower rank, received 3 *khar* in the very next entry.⁶⁸⁷ Two broken passages, which are preserved in a text of year 19 of Ramesses IX, can confidently be restored to demonstrate that a pair of 'captains' was assigned to each side of the gang.⁶⁸⁸ Nevertheless, it is not possible to determine whether the fourth 'captain' was the 'chief draftsman' or a second 'senior' scribe.

⁶⁷⁸ See p. 55.

⁶⁷⁹ Ventura, *Living*, p. 72, with n. 62. Further evidence in support of this argument is provided by several ration-lists in which the 'scribe' received exactly half the amount of the ration accorded to the 'chief workmen' from both sides (O.DM 179, rto. 5, vso. 4; O.Strasburg H.110, rto. 2-3, vso. 2).

⁶⁸⁰ O.DM 621+O.IFAO 1080, 1 ff.

⁶⁸¹ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 6 ff.

⁶⁸² E.g., Pap. Turin 2071/224+1960, vso. 1:7-8 (year 14/15 of Ramesses IX).

⁶⁸³ Černý, *Community*, pp. 234-35.

⁶⁸⁴ Pap. Turin 1930/2050+2013, rto. x+6, records the 'three captains' receiving a slightly lower ration-amount than the 'chief draftsman', whose name appears listed separately. However, in what is apparently the same text the 'chief draftsman' received an equal amount to the two 'chief workmen' and the 'scribe' (rto. 2:3-4).

⁶⁸⁵ Pap. Turin 1884, rto. 2:10.

⁶⁸⁶ Pap. Turin 1884, rto. 2:12.

⁶⁸⁷ Pap. Turin 1884, rto. 2:12.

⁶⁸⁸ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, rto. 2:2, 2:5.

We have discussed above that the first definitive attestation for two 'senior' scribes does not occur until the reign of Ramesses X.⁶⁸⁹ It is likely that this newly founded appointment of a second 'senior' scribe was intended as a replacement for the 'chief draftsman' as the fourth 'captain'. An entry in a text, which probably dates to year 2 of Ramesses X, reads: '[..... draft]sman Amenhotep, son of Amen[.....]'.⁶⁹⁰ There is the possibility that this person is to be correlated with the 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakht (v), in which case he would have relinquished the rank of 'captain', probably in favour of the installation of a second 'senior' scribe.

The function of the two offices of 'scribe' at Deir el-Medina, those of the 'senior' scribe and of the *smdt*-scribes, served entirely differing purposes. The 'senior' scribe was primarily engaged with the work at the royal work-sites.⁶⁹¹ These responsibilities resulted in his absence from the village during the working-week. Conversely, it was not part of the mandate of the 'senior' scribes to organize the various commodity-shipments which arrived at the village on a regular basis. This responsibility fell squarely on the shoulders of the *smdt*-scribes. These deliveries, made sporadically throughout the week, were undoubtedly deposited at the *htm n p3 hr* under the scrutiny of the duty watchman.⁶⁹² On a number of occasions, the *smdt*-scribes are even attested giving assistance to members of their staff with these deliveries. There is even one text which explicitly records how the *smdt*-scribe had brought a fish delivery on behalf of a fisherman.⁶⁹³ However, the principal roles of the *smdt*-scribes was to methodically record the contents of the deliveries received at the *htm* by a particular watchman on a given day. The implementation of such a procedure would undoubtedly have helped to deter incidents of misappropriation. The final stage of this process was fulfilled by the copying of these figures onto papyrus, possibly by the 'senior' scribe, for the benefit of the central administration. These documents formed an integral part of the day-to-day administrative record, which described the progress of the work on the royal tombs. In the main, the monthly grain-rations were received by the workmen directly from the *smdt*-scribe.⁶⁹⁴ However, the ordinary *smdt*-personnel were sometimes delegated this duty.⁶⁹⁵ During the workmen's habitation of the village of Deir el-Medina, the rations for the general workforce were distributed by the 'senior' scribes, whilst those of the *smdt*-staff were distributed by their own administrative scribes.⁶⁹⁶

The issue of clothing for the workmen was a matter of some importance. Garments were sometimes delivered to the village by various external dignitaries, such as the 'deputy of the treasury', the 'scribe of the vizier',⁶⁹⁷ and on one occasion even the vizier himself was seen to be in

⁶⁸⁹ It is possible that a reference to *p3 sš n p3 hr*, probably in year 17 of Ramesses IX, may be suggestive of a solitary 'senior' scribe (Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 25, l. 4).

⁶⁹⁰ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 1:8.

⁶⁹¹ Černý, *Community*, pp. 226-27.

⁶⁹² There is unambiguous evidence that the grain-rations were deposited at the *htm*: 'Year 2, 4th month of Shomu, day 27 - what was brought by the scribe to the *htm* - grain, 26 1/4 sacks' (O.DM 380, 1-3).

⁶⁹³ O.Zouche H.6, 1.

⁶⁹⁴ E.g., O.DM 698, 4; O.Strasburg H.110, rto. 1, vso. 1; O.DM 376, I:1; O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 11-12; O.DM 380, 1-3; O.DM 153, rto. 3-4; O.CGC 25280, 1-2.

⁶⁹⁵ O.DM 189, I:1, 6, II:3.

⁶⁹⁶ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 1:7-8, 2:1-2, 3:1-2, 3:14-15; vso. A, 1:1-3.

⁶⁹⁷ O.CGC 25562, 5.

attendance.⁶⁹⁸ However, the actual laundry service may have fallen within the orbit of the 'senior' scribe,⁶⁹⁹ as did the monitoring of the copper work tools.⁷⁰⁰ An entry in the necropolis journal for year 17 of Ramesses IX strongly suggests that the *smdt*-scribe was expected to answer directly to the 'senior' scribe on administrative matters: 'day of the account of the fisherman Qenkhopshef in the office of the scribe Wennefer for the *ss n p3 hr* Harshire'.⁷⁰¹ We also learn that during the reign of Ramesses XI the wages of the *smdt*-scribes were considerably lower than those earned by the 'senior' scribes, being equal to the amounts received by several of the ordinary *smdt*-men.⁷⁰² It therefore seems that they were expected to supplement their income by other means, and that their duty to the Deir el-Medina community was only on a part time basis.

The argument as to whether certain *smdt*-scribes were involved as witnesses in legal cases held at the village remains open to discussion. Frequently these disputes took place between one of the workmen and a member of the *smdt*-personnel, or even a Medjay.⁷⁰³ Therefore, it might be argued that the *smdt*-scribes were morally obliged to represent their employees in court, thereby ensuring that equitable outcomes were reached. One such legal action, involving a workman and a chief Medjay in year 18 of Ramesses III, was witnessed by the scribes Amennakht and Akhpet and the 'two scribes'.⁷⁰⁴ The first two named officials may have been 'scribes of the vizier' who were active at this time. The identity of the 'two scribes' is debatable. They may have been a combination of the 'senior' scribe Wennefer (v) with either his assistant, Amennakht (v), or one of the *smdt*-scribes. The attendance of the scribes Paser and Pentaweret at three internal litigations, two of which concerned the theft of state property, is more difficult to explain and has already received discussion above.⁷⁰⁵ Professor Janssen has suggested to me that they may have been acting as the vizier's representative in local affairs.⁷⁰⁶ However, since they are not explicitly referred to as 'scribes of the vizier', consideration ought to be given to the possibility that they were in actual fact scribes who worked directly on royal tomb projects.

It would appear that the *smdt*-scribes did not generally live at Deir el-Medina, and there is certainly no evidence to suggest that they owned tombs in the village necropolis.⁷⁰⁷ The house of the 'scribe Hori', which appears to have been located in the village,⁷⁰⁸ may in fact have been the residence of the 'senior' scribe Hori (see below). The *smdt*-scribe Amenemope (xvi) may have been the grandson of the 'senior' scribe Amenemope (i), owner of TT 215/265, though there exists no firm evidence that

⁶⁹⁸ Pap. DeM 24, 3.

⁶⁹⁹ O.Černý 22; cf. O.DM 314.

⁷⁰⁰ O.CGC 25568; cf. Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), p. 44.

⁷⁰¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 35, V:1-2.

⁷⁰² Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 4:2 & 4:16 ff., vso A, 1:1 ff.

⁷⁰³ O.DM 133; O.Gardiner 104; O.Gardiner 181; O.Gardiner 196; and possibly O.CGC 25553, which is a dispute between the workman Khnummose and Amenemone.

⁷⁰⁴ O.Turin N.57381, rto, 4-5.

⁷⁰⁵ O.Nash 1 & 2; O.DM 225. To these example we may add the appearance of the scribe Pashedu at a property dispute between villagers in year 11 of Ramesses III (O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 1).

⁷⁰⁶ Personal communication, 25.5.1995.

⁷⁰⁷ The 'scribe' Anupemheb (i)'s tomb (TT 206) was situated in the private cemetery at Khôkha.

⁷⁰⁸ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 82.

he remained a resident of the village during his official career. Consequently, it is hardly surprising that no graffiti can definitely be attributed to a single *smdt*-scribe. Although the names of the likes of Wennefer, Paser, Pentaweret, Neferhotep and Hori are all commonly attested with the title of 'scribe' in the Theban mountain inscriptions, it is impossible to determine from these inscriptions whether their status was that of a true 'scribe', a 'draftsman', or simply a workman who could write his own name and who employed the title *sš* to indicate this skill. It is also likely that the *smdt*-scribes were not granted access to the royal work sites, which might have precluded them from recording their names in these places.

APPENDIX B

An expedition to mine gold

A curious entry, which occurs in a papyrus recording a series of expeditions to mine deposits of both gold and galena, is worthy of note.⁷⁰⁹ The text is dated in years 1 and 2, probably of the reign of either Ramesses V, Ramesses VII, Ramesses VIII or Ramesses X.⁷¹⁰ The passage under review forms part of the 'sixth expedition' of year 1, and enumerates that the total gold mined on that occasion was 5 *deben* and 5 *qite*. The final destination for this was the treasury of the temple of Amun.⁷¹¹ An additional 1 1/8 *qite*, presumably of gold, was placed in the charge (*hr-ꜥwy*) of the 'scribes of the Tomb' (*nš sšw n pš hr*).⁷¹² Judging by their titles, these officials can undoubtedly be identified as Deir el-Medina men. Although we can not be certain, it is likely that these were the only scribes who played a direct part in this venture.⁷¹³ There is a good possibility, as we shall discuss below, that the 'scribes' had been present in person on this mission. However, when it comes to offering an explanation as to the reasons behind their inclusion, we are at a loss. A precedent for similar external responsibilities of the Deir el-Medina scribe was the employment of the 'scribe' Neferhotep on one of Ramesses IV's quarrying tours to the Wadi Hammamat (see above).⁷¹⁴ It is possible that these Deir el-Medina 'scribes' had been employed in a professional role to record the quantities of gold mined. Consequently, the 1 1/8 *qite* might have represented the payment of their wages. It should also be noted that for the sixth and seventh expeditions the 'scribe' Nesithuty received 8 *qite* of gold from the combined profits and an identical amount from the eighth and ninth expeditions, even though there is no indication that he took part in either.⁷¹⁵ Unfortunately we are unable to offer an explanation as to

⁷⁰⁹ Pap. IFAO [no number]: Koenig, 'Livraisons d'or et de galène au trésor du temple d'Amon sous la XXe Dynastie', in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron I*, pp. 185-220, pls. XXX-XXXVIIa; re-edited by Koenig, 'Livraisons d'or et de galène au trésor du temple d'Amon sous la XXe Dynastie: document A, partie inférieure', *BIFAO* 83 (1983), pp. 249-55, pls. 52-54a; *KRI* VI:397-403, VII:364-368.

⁷¹⁰ Koenig, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron I*, p. 218.

⁷¹¹ Document 1, 1:11 ff.

⁷¹² Document 1, 1:18.

⁷¹³ The likeliest identification of this pairing would have consisted of a 'senior' scribe and an assistant (possibly even a *smdt*-scribe). It is improbable that both 'senior' scribes would have been absent from West Thebes, unless work on the royal tomb had not yet started. For this to be possible, a date in the reign of Ramesses VII, or later, must be assumed.

⁷¹⁴ See p. 134.

⁷¹⁵ Document A, 2:12, 2:25.

the nature of these payments. It is possible that Nesithuty had not actually been involved in any of these expeditions and was for some unknown reason an independent beneficiary of their success. Alternatively, he may merely been absent only from the sixth expedition. Černý has demonstrated that during the reign of Ramesses IX '1 *qite* of good gold' was equivalent to 5 *khar* of grain.⁷¹⁶ Therefore, the fact that the necropolis scribes were paid the amount of 1 1/8 *qite* of gold paid is insufficient to support the argument that this might have represented a payment of the entire crew's monthly wages in lieu of their regular grain ration. Nevertheless, it might very well have represented the payment of the wages to the two 'scribes' during their absence from duty at the royal necropoleis.

APPENDIX C

How many scribes called Hori?

In the light of the importance of the role played in local affairs by the 'scribe' Hori' and due to the ambiguity that his appearance lends to many of the documents discussed above, it now seems expedient to consider the true nature of his status. In one respect we are fortunate to have preserved for us so many texts bearing witness to his activities; on the other hand, the ubiquity of the name Hori might easily result in the mis-attribution of certain references that contain this name. Thus, we must systematically review the contextual evidence offered by the documents in which the 'scribe' Hori appears. The trail begins in year 23 of Ramesses III, where the *sš n pꜣ* [*hr*] Hori set a payment on a Medjay-policeman for the hire of a donkey.⁷¹⁷ Two years later the same man bears witness to an oath in a similar donkey transaction.⁷¹⁸ In the Turin Strike Papyrus, of year 29 of Ramesses III, the *sš n pꜣ hr* Hori had intended personally to issue the grain-ration which had been brought for the villagers.⁷¹⁹ An interesting entry in this same document reads: 'The list of the duties of the *smdt* of the Tomb by the scribe Hori, the scribe Amennakht, the two chief workmen and the entire workforce'.⁷²⁰ This is followed by a roster that enumerates the different classes of the *smdt*-personnel. Nevertheless, Hori's role in the events of year 29 of Ramesses III remains obscure, although it seems that he was in some way associated with the affairs of the *smdt*-staff. In year 31 of Ramesses III, as well as in another undated text, the 'scribe' Hori is recorded actually issuing the workmen with the grain-ration.⁷²¹ Elsewhere Hori actually brings the grain to the *htm* for distribution in a 'year 2'.⁷²² Proof that delivery of the grain-rations may have been the responsibility of the *smdt*-scribes is provided by a text dated to year 11 of Ramesses III. It states unequivocally that the 'scribe' Pentaweret (iii), a well-known *smdt*-

⁷¹⁶ Černý, *Prices and Wages*, p. 905; for a comparison of grain prices in the mid- to late XXth Dynasty see Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 120-21.

⁷¹⁷ O.Petrie 4, vso. 1-2.

⁷¹⁸ O.Gardiner 196, rto. 4.

⁷¹⁹ *RAD*, p. 56:6-7. It should be noted that Hori was not one of the three 'captains' who are specifically mentioned in this episode (*RAD*, p. 55:17). In fact a ration-list for the 2nd month of Peret shows that *pꜣ sš* 'the scribe' drew an amount exactly equal to that paid to the 'chief workman' from either side of the gang (*RAD*, p. 50:2-9).

⁷²⁰ *RAD*, p. 46:7-8.

⁷²¹ O.DM 153, rto. 3-4; cf. O.Gardiner 107, vso. 1-2.

⁷²² O.DM 380, 1-2.

scribe, was responsible for delivering the grain rations to the village.⁷²³ In year 31 of Ramesses III the 'scribe' Hori is attested bringing cattle and vegetables.⁷²⁴ It is presumably the same scribe who made a delivery of wood at about this time.⁷²⁵ It would appear that in a 'year 1', probably of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI, the *sš n p3 hr n hnw* Hori was responsible for the supply of clothing to the 'gardeners of the Tomb', as well as that for the 'left side' of the gang.⁷²⁶ And finally, the *sš n p3 hr* Hori is recorded taking receipt of various copper vessels (e.g., *tbw*, *kt*).⁷²⁷ An explanation for this is not forthcoming. It is possible that these were privately owned objects destined for re-smelting in the coppersmith's workshop. Hence, Hori's responsibility may have been in recording the weight of these objects, thus ensuring that any attempt at misappropriation would be detected.

McDowell has brought our attention to the fact that a 'scribe' Hori may well have been considered as one of the 'captains'.⁷²⁸ One of the texts that she quotes⁷²⁹ is dated in a 'year 4' and explicitly makes mention of the 'four captains'. The fact that the size of the workforce stood at 62, precludes the possibility that the reign of Ramesses IV was meant, since we know that the workforce was doubled to 120 in year 2 of that reign,⁷³⁰ and was probably not reduced again until the reign of Ramesses V.⁷³¹ Consequently, it is likely that O.DM 381 is to be dated to year 4 of Ramesses VI, or of a later reign. McDowell has identified the so-called third 'captain'/(senior) scribe as Hori, son of Khons,⁷³² from the second text she employs, which probably dates from year 6 of Ramesses VI.⁷³³ However, I remain strongly sceptical of this identification since the name of Hori, son of Khons, occurs in direct apposition to the mention of the 'three captains'.⁷³⁴ Furthermore, the title of Hori has not been preserved. There is a strong possibility that this individual is to be identified with the 'scribe' Hori, son of Penta[weret], who is attested in year 6 of Ramesses IV assisting the 'scribe' Harshire (i) with the

⁷²³ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 11-12; cf. also O.DM 179, rto. 1, 4, vso. 1; O.Strasburg H.110, rto. 1, vso. 1; O.Berlin P.14255, rto. 2.

⁷²⁴ O.Prague H.14, rto. 6, 15.

⁷²⁵ O.Berlin P.10632, 1; for the dating of this text see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 441-42.

⁷²⁶ O.Černý 22, rto. 1-2.

⁷²⁷ O.AG 33.

⁷²⁸ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 83-84. Janssen, *JARCE* 31 (1994), p. 96, has, however, suggested that Hori 'was evidently not quite equal to the others, namely the chief workmen and the (senior) scribe Amennakhte'.

⁷²⁹ O.DM 381.

⁷³⁰ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 5.

⁷³¹ Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135 ff.

⁷³² Pap. Turin 1879, vso. II; McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 83; cf. Harrell & Brown, *JARCE* 29 (1992), p. 100; Janssen, *JARCE* 31 (1994), p. 96. If this correlation is proven to be correct, there seems to be little reason why Hori, son of Khons, is not to be identified with the 'chief draftsman' Hori (ix), whose father is otherwise unknown. However, McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 83, has argued against this identification since, in her view, the two 'chief draftsmen' Hori were known to have been the sons of Nebnefer and Harmin. In fact the 'chief draftsmen' Hori are to be identified as Hori (xi) and Hori (v), sons of Nebnefer (ix) and Harmin (i) respectively. A third 'chief draftsman' Hori may have been the son of the *wa'b*-priest Amen[...] (graffito no. 774 (d): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 63). This individual may be identical with the 'draftsman' Hori (x) who is presumably a son of Amennakht (v) (graffiti nos. 1288 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 18, pl. 52) and 2042 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 33)). Another argument against this identification is that Hori (ix) is never referred to as 'scribe' in the graffiti that were written by his sons.

⁷³³ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 131.

⁷³⁴ Pap. Turin 1879, vso. II:10-11.

interrogation of various local thieves.⁷³⁵ I am at a loss to explain any possible attribution of the rank of 'captain' with the 'scribe'. We should not lose sight of the fact that this occurrence of 'three captains' does not necessarily preclude the existence of a fourth 'captain', who would, therefore, have to be identified with the scribe Amennakht (v). At the distribution of the supplementary rations in year 5/6(?) of Ramesses IX, the *sš n p3 hr* Hori received the same amount as the two chief workmen.⁷³⁶ This particular Hori is unlikely to be identified as a *smdt*-scribe, since it can be shown that these officials received a salary considerably less than that of the 'captains'.⁷³⁷ However, in the same text it is recorded that two months later the two 'chief workmen', the 'scribe' and the 'chief draftsman' all received the same ration.⁷³⁸ We know that Harshire (i) was the 'senior' scribe at this time. A number of possible interpretations can be mooted: for example, was the writing of the name of Hori, the *sš n p3 hr*, a scribal mistake for Harshire, whose name is actually attested elsewhere in this document;⁷³⁹ had Hori died in this short interval to be replaced by the 'chief draftsman' as the fourth 'captain'; or can we identify the *sš n p3 hr* Hori as the 'chief draftsman' of this passage?

In year 9 of Ramesses IX, the 'scribe' Hori, son of A[.....] is recorded issuing grain to ten gardeners.⁷⁴⁰ A year earlier the clothing for the workmen was received by the 'captains' from the 'scribe' Hori.⁷⁴¹ During the reign of Ramesses IX there is no doubt that the duties of this 'scribe' Hori were clearly connected with the organisation of the *smdt*-staff. On at least two occasions he is recorded, as *sš n p3 hr*, delivering wood⁷⁴² and once bringing figs.⁷⁴³ We may now tentatively suggest that the 'scribe' Hori, son of A[mennakht(?)], was a *smdt*-scribe between years 8 and 17 of Ramesses IX. Similarly, there is the probability that he is to be identified with the 'draftsman' Hori (x), son of Amennakht (v).⁷⁴⁴ Considering these facts carefully, the following chronological arguments may now be proposed:

(i) that the *smdt*-scribe Hori, known from year 23 of Ramesses III, was later promoted to a position amongst the 'captains' by about year 4 of Ramesses VI, possibly as the second 'senior' scribe.⁷⁴⁵ If the title of *sš n p3 hr n hnw* can be proven to have referred exclusively to the 'senior' scribes (see below),

⁷³⁵ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:8-9.

⁷³⁶ Pap. Turin 1930/2050+2013, rto. 1:4-5.

⁷³⁷ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 4:3-4 and vso. A, 1:1-3. Since there are unfortunately very few complete ration-lists for the reigns of Ramesses III's immediate successors, we are not able to determine whether the 'scribe' Hori ever drew the same ration as the 'chief workmen' and the 'senior' scribe on any other occasion.

⁷³⁸ Pap. Turin 1930/2050+2013, rto. 2:3-4.

⁷³⁹ Pap. Turin 1930/2050+2013, rto. 1:11.

⁷⁴⁰ Pap. Turin 1900, vso. 1:16. Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 110, n. 13, has restored the name of Hori's father in this text as Amennakht. A 'scribe' Hori, son of Amennakht, is attested in graffito no. 495 a (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 43), and the 'scribe' Hori, son of(?) Amennakht, appears in the unpub. O.Gardiner 182, rto. 6, dated to a 'year 1'. Because of the appearance of the 'guardian' Khay (iv) in O.Gardiner 182, this text can probably be dated in the reign of Ramesses IV or Ramesses V (see below p. 198).

⁷⁴¹ Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 1:1-2.

⁷⁴² Pap. Turin 1900, vso. 2:8; Pap. Turin 1884, rto. 2:5.

⁷⁴³ Pap. Turin 1881, vso. 5:5. See further above.

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 83.

⁷⁴⁵ This closely agrees with Černý's assumption that the introduction of the fourth 'captain' was initiated between years 1 and 3 of Ramesses VI (*Community*, p. 235).

Hori may have been awarded this position in year 1 of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI (see above).⁷⁴⁶ His tenure in this position may have continued until year 5/6 of Ramesses IX. Subsequently, he would have been replaced as the fourth 'captain' by the 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep towards the end of the reign of Ramesses IX,⁷⁴⁷ and possibly by Paybes (ii) (see below). There is little doubt that this *sš n p3 hr* Hori can be identified as the official who was instrumental in the division of the property of the deceased scribe Amennakht (v) in year 7 of Ramesses VI.⁷⁴⁸ It should also be considered important that the *sš n p3 hr n hnw* Hori was concerned with the same side of the gang (the 'left') to which the 'chief draftsman' as one of the four 'captains' was attached. It is not impossible for this 'scribe' Hori to be identified with the 'draftsman' and 'chief draftsman' Hori (ix), who is known from year 13 of Ramesses III.⁷⁴⁹ A more likely solution, however, may be to correlate him with the 'scribe' Hori, son of Pentaweret,⁷⁵⁰ thereby making the identification of a third 'scribe' Hori redundant. The second and later scribe Hori, possibly the son of A[mennakht], was in charge of the *smdt*-personnel and served during the reign of Ramesses IX. Nevertheless, adherence to this chronology would raise questions about the role played by the *sš n p3 hr* Hori, who is attested in year 2 of Ramesses V.⁷⁵¹ As has been suggested earlier, this official can only be considered to have been a *smdt*-scribe.

(ii) that the *smdt*-scribe Hori was active from at least year 29 of Ramesses III, if not earlier, until year 17 of Ramesses IX. His tenure was, for a time, contemporaneous with a second scribe Hori who was occasionally considered as one of the 'captains'.

It is noticeable that both Hori and Paybes (ii) bore the title of *sš n p3 hr n hnw*.⁷⁵² Elizabeth Thomas presumed that the identifier *p3 hr n hnw* was merely a variation of the fuller forms *p3 hr n hnw hnt* and *p3 hr hnt hnw*.⁷⁵³ Ventura has more recently suggested that the title *sš n p3 hr n hnw* was

⁷⁴⁶ Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 462, with n. 46, has tentatively proposed that Ramesses III's reign saw the introduction of a second 'senior' scribe. Apart from the contemporaneity of the 'scribes' Amennakht (v) and Hori, Janssen probably based his conclusion on the evidence contained in a text dated to year 18 of Ramesses III (O.Turin N.57381). Here a legal case is held before the 'scribes' Amennakht and Akhpet, the 'two chief workmen', the 'two scribes' and the entire workforce. Although there is a good possibility that Amennakht and Akhpet were 'scribes of the vizier', there is, however, no positive proof that the anonymous 'two scribes' mentioned here were both 'senior' scribes. This could just have been a reference to the 'senior' scribe Wennefer and his assistant Amennakht (v). In fact, Janssen has demonstrated that in year 29 of Ramesses III there was only one 'senior' scribe who received an equal salary from each side of the gang (*CPRP*, p. 461, n. 35; cf. O.DM 180, vso. 1-3). On the other hand Eyre, *Glimpses*, p. 84, suggested that this innovation was introduced under Ramesses VI. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 83, presumed that Hori was never a 'senior' scribe, whilst Ventura, *Living*, pp. 75-76, is altogether against an attribution of a second 'senior' scribe as the fourth 'captain'.

⁷⁴⁷ For the 'chief draftsman' as one of the 'captains' on the 'left side' in year 14/15 of Ramesses IX see Pap. Turin 2071/224+1960, vso. 1:8.

⁷⁴⁸ Pap. Turin 1885, vso. 2-3.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Ventura, *Living*, p. 74, who certainly believed this to have been the case. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 83, has, however, argued against this identification since two 'chief draftsmen' Hori were known to have been the sons of Nebnefer and Harmin. However, the father of the 'chief draftsman' Hori (ix) is not known and may well have been the Khons who McDowell assumed was the father of the so-called 'captain' Hori (Pap. Turin Cat 1879, vso. II:11; cf. Harrell & Brown, *JARCE* 29 (1992), p. 100; cf. discussion above n. 732).

⁷⁵⁰ Pace Černý, *Community*, p. 218, n. 12, who mistook Hori for Harshire in Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:8.

⁷⁵¹ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 2; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁷⁵² O.Černý 22, rto. 2; Pap. Abbott, rto. 6:18.

⁷⁵³ Thomas, *JEA* 49 (1963), p. 59; cf. Ventura, *Living*, p. 66; McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 82, n. 260.

employed exclusively by members of the family of Amennakht (v).⁷⁵⁴ Furthermore, he explains that the use of this title by Paybes (ii) was merely a 'possible exception', though he is at a loss to explain the enigmatic reference.⁷⁵⁵ Another 'senior' scribe who might have held this title was Pauer'a (i), son of Thutemheb (i), if we trust the restoration 'the scribe Pa[wer'a n p3 hr] n hny (> hnw)'.⁷⁵⁶ Ventura further argued for the attribution of a single sš n p3 hr n hnw as one of the 'captains' until the middle of the reign of Ramesses IX.⁷⁵⁷ Although Paybes (ii) occurs with this title in year 16 of Ramesses IX, the attestation of Hori as sš n p3 hr n hnw can probably be placed much earlier (see above).⁷⁵⁸ It was suggested earlier that Hori as sš n p3 hr n hnw may have been one of the four 'captains'. Consequently, it would be tempting to place Paybes (ii) in a similar role in year 16 of Ramesses IX. However, we have demonstrated that the fourth 'captain' at about this time was a 'chief draftsman', not a 'scribe'.

The earliest possible attestation of the 'chief draftsman' as one of the 'captains' most probably occurs in a text which is to be dated to either year 14 or 15 of Ramesses IX.⁷⁵⁹ He maintains this position until the 1st month of Akhet, day 26 in year 16 of this reign at the latest.⁷⁶⁰ This date pre-dates the appearance of Paybes (ii) as sš n p3 hr n hnw by two months.⁷⁶¹ Consequently, there is a possibility that Paybes (ii) may therefore have been one of the 'senior' scribes, and by direct implication the fourth 'captain'.⁷⁶² The last known reference to 'four' captains appears in a papyrus which is dated to year 19 of Ramesses IX.⁷⁶³ A later section of this same text, similarly dated in the reign of Ramesses IX, records the name of the '[..... draft]sman Amenhotep, son of Amen[.....]'.⁷⁶⁴ This individual might possibly be identified with the former 'captain' and 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep, son of Amennakht (v). In concluding, it is not impossible that the 'scribe' Paybes (ii) had replaced the 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep as the second 'captain' of the 'left side' early in the 16th year of Ramesses

⁷⁵⁴ These were Amennakht (v) who held the titles of sš-nsw n hnw (graffito no. 1109: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 4, pl. 8), and p3 sš p3 hrt(sic) hn(i) hnw (graffiti nos. 785 and 787: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 63-64; cf. nos. 2773-74 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 122)); Harshire (i) who is referred to as sš n p3 hr n hny (> hnw) hni, sš n p3 hr n hnw hni and sš n p3 hr n hny (> hnw) (Pap. Abbott, rto. 5:16-17, 6:9-10, 6:18); and Thutmose (ii) who employed the titles sš-nsw n hnw (graffito no. 1109: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 4, pl. 8) and sš-nsw m šht nhḥ [n p3 hr n] hnw hni (graffito no. 405: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 35).

⁷⁵⁵ Ventura, *Living*, p. 76, n. 89. McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 212, assumed, without further substantiation, that Paybes was a 'scribe of the vizier'.

⁷⁵⁶ Pap. Turin 1818, vso. A, 5:7.

⁷⁵⁷ Ventura, *Living*, p. 77, with n. 90.

⁷⁵⁸ Ventura, *ibid.*, p. 77, n. 90, supposed that all the examples of the title sš n p3 hr n hnw are to be dated to year 16 of Ramesses IX and later. A broken portion of a 'year 10' text which reads: '..... the scribe Pa(y)bes, the sš 2 n hnw' remains ambiguous (O.CGC 25305, vso. 2-3). It is possible that Pa(y)bes was considered to have been one of the sš 2 n hnw, or that his name stands in apposition to this term, so that he should be differentiated from these officials. A further problem lies in the fact that the dating of this text to a particular reign is uncertain (see above, p. 120 for a discussion of this text).

⁷⁵⁹ Pap. Turin 2071/224+1960, vso. 1:8.

⁷⁶⁰ Pap. Turin 1884, rto. 2:10.

⁷⁶¹ Pap. Abbott, rto. 6:18, dated to the 3rd month of Akhet, day 20 of year 16.

⁷⁶² Thomas, *JEA* 49 (1963), pp. 60-61, would have us believe that Paybes was inferior in rank to Harshire (i).

⁷⁶³ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, rto. 2:2-5.

⁷⁶⁴ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 1:8.

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

IX. If this could be shown to be true, Paybes (ii) may well have functioned as an assistant scribe to the 'captains' between years 10 and 16 of Ramesses IX.

CHAPTER 4

THE DRAFTSMEN

§ 31: The family of the draftsman Pay (i): chart 10

It seems reasonable to believe that a graffito,¹ carved by the 'draftsman of Amun' Pay (i), son of Ipu(y) (v), and the 'sculptor of Amun' Piay (ii), below the prenoms of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I, bears testimony to their careers under these particular monarchs.² Consequently Pay (i)'s well-known sons, Prehotep (i) (also known as Rehotep), Preemheb (i) and Nebre (i),³ all of whom were draftsmen, may have been incumbent on the gang as early as the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II.⁴ Pay's father, Ipu(y) (v), the commonly used diminutive of Amenemope, and not to be confused with Ipy, who is called a 'draftsman of Amun in the Southern City',⁵ may have had his origins outside Deir el-Medina, for example in East Thebes. Thus, he may have been recruited onto the royal workforce at the renewed occupation of Deir el-Medina during the reign of Horemheb. The name of Pay (i)'s mother, Wadjetronpet (iii), is known to us from several monuments.⁶ Ipu(y) (v) is depicted with Sennefer on the front of a stela recovered from the Ptolemaic Temple Enclosure.⁷ On the back of this monument Nebdjefa (i), Pay and Piay are all named. There can be little doubt that this Pay is to be identified as the son of Ipu(y) (v) and that Piay was the famous 'sculptor' Piay (ii). However, the identity of Sennefer remains an obscure point. The so-called 'scribe' Ipu(y), who occurs on a stela of Neferabu (i),⁸ was probably more likely to have been the 'draftsman', Ipu(y) (vi), son of Prehotep (i), and hence a grandson of Pay (i).⁹

Amongst Pay (i)'s other progeny, born to his wife Merytre (ii), we are able to recognize the names of another son Reweben (ii) and two daughters Baketre (i) 'senior' and Baketre (ii) 'junior'.¹⁰ Two of Pay (i)'s grandchildren, Huy (xi) and Wadjetronpet (iv), can not as yet be attributed to any particular

¹ No. 817 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 66; KRI I:391). Following the custom of many other draftsmen, Pay (i) referred to himself as 'scribe' (obviously an abbreviated form of *ss-kd*) in graffito no. 3814 a (Sadek, *GMT* IV/5, p. 231; KRI III:646).

² Cf. Malek, *RdE* 31 (1979), p. 156.

³ Cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 100.

⁴ Pay (i) is depicted together with his son Nebre (i) in the tomb of Qen (ii) (TT 4: PM I, 1, p. 11 at (3) I; KRI III:681:3-4; Černý, *Répertoire*, I, p. 50). Because of the attestations of the vizier Paser and the scribe Ramose (i), this monument is known to have been carved in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.

⁵ Stela Turin N.50048 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 82-83, 281; KRI I:391).

⁶ A table of offerings Turin N.22029 (Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 34-37, (136-37); KRI III:648:6) and stela Turin N.50052 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 87-88, 283; KRI I:390).

⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 47, fig. 135, p. 98.

⁸ BM 150+1754 (James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34 f., pl. XXX; KRI III:775:11).

⁹ For this individual see below p. 152.

¹⁰ An extensive genealogy of Pay (i)'s family is fortunately to be gleaned from information recorded on a table of offerings, Turin N.22029 (Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 34-37, (136-37); KRI III:647-648). Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 37, has compiled a family tree, whilst a comprehensive inventory of the monuments attributable to Pay (i) has been prepared by Malek, *RdE* 31 (1979), p. 154, n. 5.

child of his.¹¹ It would be an understandable mistake to confuse Pay (i), son of Ipu(y) (v), with his homonymous grandson, the draftsman Pay (ii), son of Prehotep (i);¹² consequently, it is impossible to determine with complete certainty which of these Pays is represented performing the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony in the tomb of Amennakht,¹³ on the stelae of Neferabu (i)¹⁴ and Merwaset,¹⁵ as a 'servitor of Amun' in TT 219 of Nebenmaat (ii), son of Amennakht (xxi),¹⁶ and on an undated ostrakon.¹⁷ However, it seems more than likely that the draftsman who worked on a *ḏbꜣt*¹⁸ for Thuthirmaktef (i) in the early years of Ramesses II¹⁹ was the elder Pay (i).²⁰ Similarly, the Pay who gave evidence at a 'tribunal' (?) in year 47 of Ramesses II²¹ may in fact have been Pay (ii), or less likely the water-carrier Pay (iii).²²

Prehotep (i), the son of Pay (i), was married to the lady Taysennofret (ii),²³ who was probably the daughter of Neferronpet (i).²⁴ His sons included the draftsman Ipu(y) (vi)²⁵ and the draftsman Pay (ii).²⁶ Prehotep (i)'s home in the village can be identified as house S.O. IV from a fragment of a jamb bearing his name which was found there.²⁷ His popular standing amongst his colleagues is unquestionable, since he is represented in the tombs of the sculptor Nakhtamun (TT 335),²⁸ the sculptor Qen (ii) (TT 4),²⁹ the servant in the Place of Truth Amennakht (TT 218)³⁰ and the servant in

¹¹ Both are known from Turin N. 22029. The identities of Ipu and Amenemope, two further grandchildren of Pay, who are named on this stela, shall be considered in due course.

¹² Malek, *op. cit.*, p. 154, n. 5.

¹³ TT 218 (PM I:1, p. 317 at (1) II-IV; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 64-68; *KRI* III:709-710).

¹⁴ BM 150+1754 (PM I:1, p. 14; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34 f., pl. 30/30 A; *KRI* III:776).

¹⁵ BM 444 (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29, pl. 69; *KRI* VII:215).

¹⁶ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 12, scene 13 (pl. 2); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 77/78, fig. 52; *KRI* III:758:11.

¹⁷ O.DM 240, vso. 1 & 5. Also named on the verso is Preemheb (l. 2), whilst on the recto the scribe Ramose (i), the draftsman Nebre (i) (l. 1) and Rehotep (l. 10) all appear.

¹⁸ See Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 238-39.

¹⁹ O.DM 233 (Černý, *OHNL* III, p. 11, pl. 20; *KRI* III:844). Although the dateline is damaged, Černý, *Prices and Wages*, p. 911, suggested that this transaction took place between years 1 and 4 of Ramesses II. See above p. 89, n. 115 on this document.

²⁰ In fact both Pay (i) and Thuthirmaktef (i) appear in the unpublished O.IFAO 1086, 4-5, which is probably dated to a 'year 8'; cf. Černý Nb. 110, p. 54.

²¹ O.Turin N.57062, rto. 6.

²² O.DM 370, l.x+7, in which another Pay is attested (l.x+3).

²³ Turin N.22029 contains the inscription: 'the daughter of his son, Mutemheb, the wife of his son, Taysennofret'. Although the 'son' in question is never referred to by name, he is likely to have been Prehotep (i), since his daughter-in-law, Mutemheb (i) (married to his son, Ipu(y) (vi)), is named on Turin N.22028 (Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 195-96, pl. III; Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 32-33, 135; PM I:2, p. 743; *KRI* III:649).

²⁴ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 33, n. 3. This meant that Prehotep (i) was the brother-in-law of Neferabu (i), son of Neferronpet (i) (cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105).

²⁵ Turin N. 22028.

²⁶ Witnessed by the inscription on a wooden statuette of Taweret, Turin 526 (PM I:2, p. 714; *KRI* III:649). cf. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 33, for these individuals.

²⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), pp. 324/25, fig. 195; PM I:2, p. 703; *KRI* III:649.

²⁸ PM I:1, p. 402 at (14) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 138 f., fig. 93; *KRI* III:674.

²⁹ PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 49-50; *KRI* III:680, in a scene with the scribe Nebre (probably his brother, the draftsman, Nebre (i)).

³⁰ PM I:1, p. 317 at (1) II-IV; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 64-68; *KRI* III:709.

the Place of Truth Neferabu (i) (TT 5).³¹ Furthermore, his name appears in association with that of the scribe Amenemope on a rock stela,³² and with Wennekhhu, Harmin and Amenemwia on a block.³³ Prehotep (i) is probably synonymous with the draftsman Rehotep who is attested in year 36 of Ramesses II,³⁴ and with the untitled Rehotep who occurred in a work register dated to year 40 of the same reign.³⁵

We have already noted that Ipu(y) (vi) is specifically referred to as a 'grandson' of the draftsman Pay (i) on a table of offerings, which is now housed in the Egyptian Museum in Turin.³⁶ Allusion is made on this same monument to Mutemheb, a granddaughter of Pay. She is referred to as the sister of Ipu(y) and may, therefore, have been his wife and by consequence only an in-law of Pay.³⁷ On the west wall of the first vault of TT 5 belonging to Neferabu (i), Ipu(y) is cast as a 'brother' of the tomb-owner,³⁸ when in actual fact Ipu(y) (vi) has already been identified as a nephew of Neferabu (i).³⁹ The 'draftsman' Ipu(y) was similarly named on a stela of Neferabu (i) amongst a list of his relatives.⁴⁰ The name of the 'scribe' Ipu(y) occurs twice in the administrative records.⁴¹

Ipu(y) (vi), son of Prehotep (i), is most probably to be identified with the Ipu who is mentioned in a graffito, alongside the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i), commemorating a visit made by the vizier Panehsy during the reign of Merenptah.⁴² A separate graffito names an Ipu together with Kel (ii) (Kenro), the son of the foreman Anhurkhawy (i).⁴³ A workman Ipu occurs in administrative records from the reigns of Amenmesses,⁴⁴ Seti II⁴⁵ and Siptah,⁴⁶ working on the 'left side'. This Ipu can

³¹ PM I:1, p. 12 at (2-3); Vandier & Vandier d'Abbadie, *La Tombe de Nefer-Abou*, p. 31, pls. 8 & 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 52:B; KRI III:767:11.

³² MMA 14.6.183: PM I:2, p. 590; KRI VII:33.

³³ BM 36861: PM I:2, p. 740; Maspero *RT* 2 (1880), p. 169 V, 172 XIX; KRI III:726.

³⁴ O.Gardiner 133; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 53.

³⁵ O.BM 5634, vso. 17.

³⁶ Turin N.22029 (=Suppl. 6259): KRI III:648:9. This relationship is corroborated by an inscription found on a wooden statuette dedicated to the goddess Taweret (Turin 526: PM I:2, p. 714; KRI III:649), which includes the names of Ipu(y) (vi) and Pay (ii) as sons of Prehotep (i).

³⁷ Cf. Turin N.22028 (Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 195-96, §11, pl. III; Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 32-33, 135; PM I:2, p. 743; KRI III:649, where this monument is incorrectly attributed to Prehotep (i)).

³⁸ Vandier & Vandier d'Abbadie, *La Tombe de Nefer-Abou*, p. 31, pls. 8, 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 52:B; PM I:1, p. 12 at (2-3); KRI III:767:12.

³⁹ Cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105.

⁴⁰ Stela BM 150+1754: PM I:1, p. 14; KRI III:774-776. James, *BMHT* 9, p. 34, was however unable to 'assign these names with certainty to specific figures'. A 'scribe' Ipu who is named in the label texts of the middle register may be synonymous with Ipu(y) (vi).

⁴¹ O.DM 641, rto. 2 and O.W.M.Staring (Brussels), a letter to his uncle (lit. 'brother') Preemheb (i).

⁴² No. 764 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 62; KRI IV:158).

⁴³ No. 589 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 48; Petrie, *A Season in Egypt, 1887*, pl. 18:651; KRI III:611:7-8); for Kel's activity during the reigns of Siptah and Ramesses III see above pp. 19-20.

⁴⁴ O.CGC 25779, rto. 6 *passim*; O.CGC 25780, 1; O.CGC 25782, rto. 14-15; O.CGC 25783, rto. 4-5.

⁴⁵ O.CGC 25556, 3; O.CGC 25512, rto. 12.

⁴⁶ O.CGC 25516, vso. 3 *passim*; O.CGC 25519, rto. 4; O.CGC 25521, vso. 19; O.CGC 25561, vso. II:4; O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:14.

definitely be distinguished from Amenemope (iii), son of Pay, who also appears during this period.⁴⁷ Since Amenemope (iii) was undoubtedly a son of Pay (ii), son of Prehotep (i), the contemporary Ipu(y) (vi) and Amenemope (iii) were actually uncle and nephew. An interesting entry in one of the journals, dated from the 3rd month of Shomu, day 18 of year 4 of Amenmesses, was most probably concerned with this family: 'Qenhirkhopshef, Nebnakht, Amenemope, Mer(y)sekhmet, Neferhotep and Nebamun buried Pay; Ipu(y) was idle'.⁴⁸ It would appear that the workmen had been granted a day's leave to pay their last respects to Pay (ii), son of Prehotep (i). If this was a reference to Ipu(y) (vi), why was he not in attendance at the funeral of his own brother? An alternative solution would be to suggest that we may possibly have to do with a different Ipu(y) altogether.

It is conceivable, though not proven, that Amenemope (iii), son of Pay (ii), is to be identified with Amenemope, the father of Meryre.⁴⁹ He may also have been the workman who is affiliated to the 'left' side of the gang during the reign of Siptah.⁵⁰ Although we have extensive evidence for the existence of an Ipu(y) during the reign of Ramesses III and later, there is good reason to presume that Ipu(y) (vi), son of Prehotep (i), did not survive beyond the end of Dynasty XIX. This, however, does not necessarily preclude the idea that Ipu(y) (vi) is to be identified with Ipu(y) (ii), the father of the famous scribe Amennakht (v).⁵¹ In fact, Bierbrier did make the suggestion that Amennakht (v)'s father may have been the workman who is mentioned in the administrative documents from the reign of Siptah.⁵² Conversely, Ipu(y) (ii), the father of Amennakht (v), may have originated from a completely different family.

The 'prophet' Ipu(y), who appears in year 11 of Ramesses III,⁵³ is likely to be identical with the workman Ipu(y) (iii) who is attested in years 14,⁵⁴ 20⁵⁵ and 24⁵⁶ of the same reign, and who was possibly still active as late as year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁵⁷ The wife of this Ipu(y) (iii) is named as Mer(t)seger (ii) in an ostrakon, which can be dated to the end of the reign of Ramesses III.⁵⁸ A graffito, carved in year 28 of Ramesses III, contains the name of the *wa'b*-priest Qedakhtef, son of the *wa'b*-priest Ipu(y).⁵⁹ This Qedakhtef is probably identifiable as the 'deputy' Qedakhtef (ii), whose sons

⁴⁷ O.CGC 25780, 2; O.CGC 25782, rto. 4 and O.CGC 25783, rto. 8 (all year 3 of Amenmesses). He is similarly to be distinguished from the 'wood-carrier' Amenemope, who is named in Pap. Gardiner 8 = Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1960.1283, rto. 2.

⁴⁸ O.CGC 25784, 2-4.

⁴⁹ See below pp. 229 ff.; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 214.

⁵⁰ O.CGC 25516, vso. 9; O.CGC 25519, vso. 13; O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:9.

⁵¹ A later addition to a graffito (no. 817 (b)) of Pay and Piay (see above) reads: "Made by his son (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 70, n. 1)/the son of his son (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 66), the draftsman in the Place of Truth and sculptor in the Horizon of Eternity, Amennakht, son of Ipu(y)". It is possible that Amennakht (v) used the term 'his son'/son of his son' loosely as a reference to his ancestor, i.e., Pay, whose name had been commemorated in the older inscription.

⁵² Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 39.

⁵³ O.Geneva MAH 12550, vso. 2.

⁵⁴ O.CGC 25555, vso. 5.

⁵⁵ O.Berlin P.12636, 2.

⁵⁶ O.Gardiner 152, 7; for this dating see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 105-106.

⁵⁷ O.DM 634, II:5.

⁵⁸ O.Petrie 31, rto. II:1; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 416, for this dating.

⁵⁹ No. 609 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49-50; KRI V:528).

were known to have been the *wa'b*-priest Neferhor (ii) and the 'first prophet' Ipuy (iv)⁶⁰ (see above p. 55). In year 2 of Ramesses IV, we also hear of a Neferhor (i), son of Ipuy,⁶¹ who may have been a second son of Ipuy (iii).

The memory of Nebre (i) has been preserved on a variety of monuments. In the tomb of Nebenmaat (ii) (TT 219)⁶² the 'draftsman of Amun' Nebre (i) and his wife Pashed(et) (i)⁶³ are shown being offered to by two of their sons, the 'draftsman of Amun' Nakhtamun (iii) and Khay (i). A second scene from this tomb depicts Nebre (i)'s son, the 'draftsman' Paherypedjet (iii), offering to his parents.⁶⁴ As a 'lector priest of the Lord[s] of Truth and draftsman of Amun' Nebre (i) is represented on a stela in the central chapel of the tomb of Ramose (i) (TT 250) performing 'the opening of the mouth' ceremony.⁶⁵ The parentage of Amenemope, who is named on a table of offerings as a grandson of Pay (i), is at first sight not clear.⁶⁶ However, there is no doubt that he is to be correlated with Amenemope (iv), who is attested on another stela as the son of Nebre (i).⁶⁷ Nebre (i) appears with his father, Pay (i) and his brother, Rehotep (i.e., Prehotep (i)), in the tomb of the sculptor Qen (ii).⁶⁸ He is similarly depicted in the tombs of Amennakht (xxi), son of Nebenmaat (i) (TT 218)⁶⁹ and Khabekhnet (i), son of Sennedjem (i) (TT 2).⁷⁰

Nebre (i) erected a number of stelae within Deir el-Medina,⁷¹ the most striking of which is Berlin 20377.⁷² This monument was promulgated by Nebre (i) and his son, the 'scribe' (>draftsman) Khay (i) in commemoration of the munificence shown by Amun to Nebre (i)'s son, Nakhtamun (iii), whose ailments were reputedly the result of his sins. Nakhtamun (iii) is referred to as a 'scribe' (>draftsman)

⁶⁰ Stela Chicago OIC No. 11107 (PM I:2, p. 728; Cartwright, *AJSJL* 45 (1928/29), pp. 188/9, fig. 15; KRI V:667).

⁶¹ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 9.

⁶² Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 9, scene 1, pl. 1, top and rt.; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), fig. 48, rt., p. 70; PM I:1, p. 321 at (4); KRI III:759. Due to the representation of the scribe Ramose (i) and his wife Mutemwia (i) in one of the scenes, this tomb was cut in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.

⁶³ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 34, believed that Pashed(et) (i) was 'undoubtedly' the daughter of the workman Kel (cf. p. 237 below). The lady Iyi (v), wife of Nebre, who occurs in an ostrakon, pre-year 40 of Ramesses II (O.CGC 25573, II:12-13), remains an obscure figure, unless she can be identified as a second wife of Nebre (i). Alternatively, it could be posited that the name Iyi was a diminutive of Pashed(et). However, there is no evidence to support such a suggestion.

⁶⁴ Maystre, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, below, scene 26; PM I:1, p. 321 at (9); KRI III:762:4-6.

⁶⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 63 ff., 71 ff., pl. VI; Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pl. 6; PM I:1, p. 336 at (6); KRI III:616.

⁶⁶ Turin N.22029.

⁶⁷ Turin N.50036: Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 70, 275; KRI III:656:4.

⁶⁸ PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 49-50:B:4; KRI III:680-681. The 'draftsman of Amun of Opet and lector of Amenophis I', Nebre, is attested with other colleagues on a pillar base of Qen (Cairo J.25111/51512: PM I:2, p. 739; Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 194 f., pl. IX; Maspero, *RT* 3 (1882), p. 103, §103; KRI III:682).

⁶⁹ PM I:1, p. 317 at (1) II-IV; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 64-68; KRI III:709.

⁷⁰ PM I:1, p. 6 at (5) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 25-27; KRI III:809.

⁷¹ Stela BM 251 (2), dedicated to Haroeris; stela Turin N.50036, dedicated to Khons by Nebre (i) and his son Amenemope (iv); stela Turin N.50063, dedicated to Merteseger; and stela Turin N.50056, dedicated by Nebre (i) and his sons, the draftsmen Nakhtamun (iii) and Khay (i).

⁷² KRI III:653-655; Kitchen, *PT*, pp. 200/202.

on a stela of Neferabu (i), where he accompanies his relatives, the draftsman Pabaki, the draftsman Pashedu and the scribe Ipu.⁷³ The sculptor Nakhtamun, whose tomb (TT 335) can be dated before year 35 of Ramesses II, was a contemporary of the draftsman Nakhtamun (iii).⁷⁴ Consequently, this fact casts doubt on the identity of the workman who appears in various ostraca, which are dated to year 40 of Ramesses II, or earlier.⁷⁵ However, we can be assured in the knowledge that it was the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth', Nakhtamun (iii), who shared a graffito with the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i).⁷⁶ The draftsman Nebre (i) was the author of several graffiti with colleagues such as the guardian Khawy (ii),⁷⁷ Kasa (i) and Nebamentet,⁷⁸ and Anuy (ii), son of Kasa (i).⁷⁹

A stela in Berlin⁸⁰ contains proof that the 'scribe' (>draftsman) Khay (i) and the 'draftsman' Nakhtamun (iii) were both sons of Nebre (i).⁸¹ The draftsman Khay (i) is identified as the author of a letter, which he sent to a fellow draftsman/scribe(?) during the reign of Ramesses II. Unfortunately, the name of the addressee has since been lost.⁸² The purpose of the letter is twofold, principally containing a request for writing materials and for Meryre to send food supplies to the ailing Khay (i). The 'scribe' Khay (i) also wrote letters to 'his brother' Pahy,⁸³ and to his uncle Preemheb (i).⁸⁴ In a letter to the scribe Huynefer, Werel (f.) sent the following message to Nofretkhau (ii): 'Likewise, give your attention to Khay your brother, do not abandon him'.⁸⁵ Regardless of whether Khay was, in fact, the son of Nebre (i) or not, we can infer from this that Nofretkhau (ii) was either the wife or sister of this man.

⁷³ BM 150+1754 (PM I:1, p. 14; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34 f., pl. 30/30A; *KRI* III:774-776).

⁷⁴ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 156; cf. comments of Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 25, who placed the 'sculptor' in the first third of this reign.

⁷⁵ O.BM 5634, vso. 19; O.DM 86, I:2. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 156, n. 8, automatically assumed that the sculptor Nakhtamun was still in office in year 40, whilst ignoring the possibility that the reference to Nakhtamun in this year may have been to the homonymous draftsman.

⁷⁶ No. 670 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 54). The draftsman Nakhtamun also occurs in graffito no. 2493 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 62).

⁷⁷ No. 849 f (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 69; *KRI* III:659:5-6).

⁷⁸ No. 1050 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 89; *KRI* III:659:9).

⁷⁹ No. 1045 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 89; *KRI* III:659:7-8).

⁸⁰ No. 20377.

⁸¹ Both Khay (i) and Nakhtamun (iii) are also attested on stela Turin N.50056 (=1591): PM I:2, p. 727 (d); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 92, 285; *KRI* III:656. It is interesting to note that a 'scribe' Nakhtamun is named on stela BM 150+1754 of Neferabu (i), a brother-in-law of Nebre (i).

⁸² O.DM 581.

⁸³ O.DM 681: Černý, *OHNL* VIII, p. 13, pl. 21; Wente, *Letters*, pp. 155-156. With reservation, Wente dated this document within the XIXth Dynasty. I am not aware of any other scribes by this name later than the reign of Ramesses II. Because of the unfamiliarity of the named individuals, this letter may have been the work of the scribe of the *smdt*-staff, Khay (see pp. 125-6, 155). Alternatively Pahy may have been an abbreviated form of the name of Paherypedjet (iii), who was one of Khay (i)'s brothers.

⁸⁴ Papyrus fragment published by Grdseloff, *ASAE* 40 (1941), pp. 533-36.

⁸⁵ O.DM 560, rto. 7-8. The only references to ladies named Nofretkhau that I am aware of during the XIXth Dynasty are:

(i) Nofretkhau (iv), daughter of Khabekhnet (i) (cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 31);

(ii) Nofretkhau (iii), the daughter of Wennakht (i) and wife of the sculptor Piay (ii);

(iii) Nofretkhau (i), the daughter of the sculptor Piay (ii) and wife of the scribe Huy (x).

Khay (i), son of Nebre (i), is not to be confused with the 'stonemason of Amun' Khay (ii), the brother of the 'stonemason of Amun' Kel (i) (Karo) and the son of the 'stonemason of Amun' Simut (i) and Pashed(et) (ii).⁸⁶ This Khay (ii) was the uncle of Pashedet (i), the wife of Nebre (i). A third Khay (iii), referred to as a 'scribe', was attached to the *smdt*-staff, and is attested in an account of fish deliveries from year 42 of Ramesses II.⁸⁷

Preemheb (i) was the recipient of several letters from members of his family: for instance, O.Brussels E 6781, addressed by his brother Nebre (i), is chiefly concerned with the preparations for the festival of Amenophis I, the patron of the village; O.Černý 19, written by his father Pay (i); a fragmentary papyrus contains a brief communiqué from the draftsman Khay (i) to 'his brother' Preemheb (i), requesting the provision of a meal.⁸⁸ Preemheb (i) also received a missive from a certain Ipu(y),⁸⁹ and he may have been the correspondent of O.Berlin P.11247 written by Pay. Since Preemheb (i) was a popular conduit for the requests and grievances voiced by his relatives, it is surprising that his name does not appear in any of the tombs of his colleagues. His only other attestation in the administrative documents of Deir el-Medina occurs in a sandal account.⁹⁰

§ 32: The family of the draftsmen Pashedu (vii) and Maaninakhtuf (i): chart 11

In a surviving relief from TT 323, the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth' Pashedu (vii)⁹¹ and his wife the 'chantress of Amun' Nefertari (v) record the names of their son, the draftsman Maaninakhtuf (i) and his wife Tentamentet (ii).⁹² In fact, Tentamentet (ii) is known to have been a sister of the workman Neferabu (i), which explains the attribution of several monuments to both Maaninakhtuf (i) and Neferabu (i).⁹³ The draftsman Pashedu who occurs, together with a Didi, on a fragmentary stela, which was recovered from the court of TT 359, is most probably to be identified as Pashedu (vii).⁹⁴ Due to the rarity of the name, this second individual can in all likelihood be correlated with the 'chief craftsman' Didi (i). The same Pashedu is also probably responsible for a fragmentary graffito, carved

⁸⁶ Stela Turin N.50012 (=old Cat. 1636): PM I:2, p. 398; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 47-49, 266; KRI III:824-826.

⁸⁷ O.Gardiner (Gayer-Anderson), 2-7, 12-13.

⁸⁸ Grdseloff, *ASAE* 40 (1941), pp. 533-36, fig. 65; KRI III:542. Grdseloff, p. 536, has rightly pointed out that Khay was a son of Nebre (i) and therefore nephew to Preemheb (i).

⁸⁹ O.W.M. Staring (Brussels). Grdseloff, *op.cit.*, p. 536, has assumed that this Ipu(y) was identical with Amenemope, son of Nebre (i) (Turin stela N.50036 (=old Cat. 307)). It is possible, however, that Ipu(y) of O.W.M. Staring was in fact Ipu(y) (vi), son of Prehotep (i), and therefore a nephew of Preemheb (i) (see above).

⁹⁰ O.DM 240, vso. 2. The 'draftsman' Pay, possibly the father of Preemheb (i) is also mentioned in this text.

⁹¹ He was later to be promoted as the 'chief draftsman' (stela Hermitage Museum 8726, St Petersburg).

⁹² PM I:1, p. 395 at (5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 85; KRI I:394:2-3. A provenance of TT 323 for the fragment of a relief containing the names of the draftsman Pashedu and his son [...]nakhtu[...] has been rejected by James, *BMHT* 9, p. 41, in favour of 'the tomb of a son or grandson of Pashedu'. Nevertheless, the traces of the broken name are entirely consistent with a reconstruction of a writing of [Maani]nakhtu[f]. Hence the origin of this particular monument is subject to debate.

⁹³ Most notably stela BM 269, which had been dedicated in honour of Maaninakhtuf (i) by Neferabu (i) (PM I:2, p. 725; *BMHT* 7, pl. 40; KRI III:651) and a base of a jamb, now in the Rennes Museum (PM I:2, p. 739 (b); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 84, fig. 39; KRI III:651).

⁹⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 91:11; KRI I:402:16.

close to TT 323 at the Speos du Nord, for which the restoration 'the draftsman Pa[shedu]' has been proposed.⁹⁵

A further scene in TT 323 names the 'draftsman' Maaninakhtuf (i) and Irunefer (i) as grandsons, and Pashedu (viii) as the great grandson, of the 'draftsman in the Mansion of Sokar' Amenemhat (i) and Mutnofret (i).⁹⁶ It is noticeable that Pashedu (vii) employed a similar title, 'draftsman of Amun in the Mansion of Sokar', which is almost identical to that of his father Amenemhat (i).⁹⁷ The idea of the 'draftsman' Amenmose (iv) as a second son of the 'chief draftsman' Pashedu (vii) is quite possible.⁹⁸ Indeed, the name Amenmose, son of Pashedu, is attested in an undated set of accounts, which probably dates to the reign of Ramesses II.⁹⁹ There is similar uncertainty as to the paternity of Irunefer (i), who has been identified as a grandson of Amenemhat (i). He may have been the son of Pashedu (vii) or of another unknown son of Amenemhat (i).

The draftsman Pashedu (viii) and his sister, Mutemwia (ii), are attested as the children of Maaninakhtuf (i) and Tentamentet (ii) in TT 323.¹⁰⁰ Kitchen has striven to identify Mutemwia (ii) as a daughter of Pashedu (vii).¹⁰¹ But, his argumentation, in which he suggests emending a scribal error *s3.f sš-[kd] P3-šd* to read *s3 sš-[kd] P3-šd*, appears somewhat fragile. Whatever the case, the affiliation *s3t.f*, by which Mutemwia (ii) is introduced, can only possibly have referred to Maaninakhtuf (i). Consequently, this might indicate that Mutemwia (ii) was named after her paternal aunt, Mutemwia (iii).¹⁰² One solution to this conundrum would be to assume that the draftsman responsible for this relief drew 1 man and 3 women instead of 2 men and 2 women, and that the 'draftsman' Pashedu (viii)¹⁰³ and Mutemwia (ii) were the children of Maaninakhtuf (i). Two additional sons of Maaninakhtuf (i) are named as Merysekhmet (i) and Pabaki/Baki (i).¹⁰⁴ A stela from the tomb of

⁹⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), p. 62.

⁹⁶ PM I:1, p. 394 at (3); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 83; KRI I:392. Pashedu (viii) is here attested with the lady Mutnofret (ii), who has been identified by Kitchen, *RITANC* I, p. 288, as his wife. If we adopt this hypothesis, then Mutnofret (ii) may prove to have been a collateral relative of Pashedu (viii), as a descendant of Mutnofret (i).

⁹⁷ PM I:1, p. 394 at (3); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 84; KRI I:393:2-3.

⁹⁸ Stela Hermitage Museum 8726, St Petersburg (PM I:2, pp. 732/33 (a); Bogoslovsky, *VDI* 119 (1972/1), pp. 96-103, pl. 2; KRI I:394-95); cf. the reservations expressed by Malek, *JEA* 77 (1991), p. 180, in this respect.

⁹⁹ O.CGC 25627, 'a', rto. 2, 6. However, an identification with Amenmose (iii), son of Pashedu (i), son of Hehnekhu (i) is equally suitable.

¹⁰⁰ PM I:1, p. 394 at (4); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 82; KRI I:392:4-5; cf. stela Kestner Museum Inv. 2937 (PM I:2, p. 725; Cramer, *ZAS* 72 (1936), pp. 95-96, pl. VII:4; KRI III:651:4). The Pashedu who is named on stela BM 305 as a grandson (i.e., the 'son of his daughter') of Neferronpet (i) can only be identified as Pashedu (viii), son of Maaninakhtuf (i). Pashedu (viii) may be identified with a draftsman of that name who appears in the unpublished O.IFAO 361, 5 (Černý Nb. 103, p. 14). For the possibility that Amenemheb was Mutemwia (ii)'s husband see below p. 161.

¹⁰¹ Kitchen, *RITANC* I, p. 288.

¹⁰² For Mutemwia (iii) as a daughter of Pashedu (vii) see PM I:1, p. 394 at (3); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 83; KRI I:392:12-13.

¹⁰³ For Pashedu (viii) as a 'draftsman' see stela Kestner Museum, Inv. 2937.

¹⁰⁴ For these names see below p. 157.

Pashedu bearing the cartouches of Seti I¹⁰⁵ enables us to date Maaninakhtuf (i)'s activity early in the reign of Ramesses II, when the family probably occupied house N.O. XV in the village.¹⁰⁶

Maaninakhtuf (i)'s widespread popularity amongst his colleagues can not be questioned. Most important is the attestation of his name on a stela of the foreman Nebnefer (i),¹⁰⁷ which can be dated prior to year 40 of Ramesses II. Furthermore, he is represented as a *wa'b*-priest, bearing the bark of Amenre, on a stela of the workman Merwaset.¹⁰⁸ The latter is probably to be identified with Merwaset (i), one of the sons of the opposite foreman, Qaha (i).¹⁰⁹ The draftsman Maaninakhtuf (i) appears in a scene in the tomb of his brother-in-law Neferabu (i).¹¹⁰ This scene also contains a representation of the draftsman Pashedu who can probably be identified as Pashedu (viii), son of Maaninakhtuf, due to his inferior position. Maaninakhtuf (i) appears with his sons, the draftsmen Pashedu (viii) and Pabaki (i), on a stela erected by Neferabu (i).¹¹¹ Bernard Bruyère rescued an unfinished stela, dedicated by [Maani]nakhtuf (i) to Amenophis I and Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, from amongst the debris of votive chapel no. 1190 at Deir el-Medina.¹¹² The names of Maaninakhtuf (i)'s sons - (Pa)baki (i), Merysekhmet (i), Pashedu (viii) and Iuenamun (i) and his daughter Mutnofret (iii) are similarly preserved on this monument. The last dated appearance which we have for Maaninakhtuf (i) from the village archive occurs in year 40 of Ramesses II.¹¹³ With the exception of the letter that he sent to his father,¹¹⁴ we glean almost nothing from the life and career of Pabaki (i). He is probably synonymous with the draftsman Pabaki whose name appears amongst a group of men in the third register of a stela dedicated by (his uncle?) Neferabu.¹¹⁵ There can be no confusing Pabaki (i) with either the homonymous water-carrier, Pabaki (ii),¹¹⁶ or with another member of the *smdt*-staff, Pabaki (iii), who is recorded making deliveries of emmer to the village.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 86-87, fig. 15; KRI I:394.

¹⁰⁶ PM I:2, p. 702; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 43, 291; KRI I:395; Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 145-46.

¹⁰⁷ Stela BM 267 (PM I:2, p. 727 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 42 f., pl. 37:1).

¹⁰⁸ Stela BM 444 (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29, pl. 69; KRI VII:215).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29.

¹¹⁰ PM I:1, p. 12 at (2-3); Vandier, *La Tombe de Nefer-Abou*, p. 31, pls. 8-9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 52:B; KRI III:767.

¹¹¹ BM 150+1754 (PM I:1, p. 14; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34 f., pl. 30; KRI III:774-776).

¹¹² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), pp. 39-40, pl. IX.

¹¹³ O.BM 5634, rto. 18. He also appears in an undated list of workmen, O.DM 266, 4, which probably dates from the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.

¹¹⁴ O.DM 328.

¹¹⁵ Stela BM 150+1754 (PM I:1, p. 14; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34. f., pl. 30/30A; KRI III:774-776). For a discussion of the relationship of Pabaki to Maaninakhtuf see Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105. Named alongside Pabaki are: the 'scribe' (>draftsman) Ipu, Nedjemger (son of Neferabu), Meriunu (son of Neferabu), the 'scribe' Nakhtamun, the draftsman 'Pashedu' (probably the son of Maaninakhtuf and hence brother of Pabaki (cf. also Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105)), and Neferronpet (son of Neferabu). A single male mourner at the funeral of Neferronpet in the second register can be identified as the 'draftsman' Ma[aninakhtuf]. The restoration of this name is merely tentative, though I am aware of no other draftsman from the Deir el-Medina corps whose name began with this element 'Ma....'

¹¹⁶ O.DM 626, rto. 1.

¹¹⁷ O.Gardiner 91, rto, I:3.

As a result of the close relationship between Maaninakhtuf (i) and Neferabu (i), it now seems pertinent for us to investigate the family history of the latter. The tomb of Neferabu (i) (TT 5) offers an excellent platform on which we may begin to construct his family pedigree.¹¹⁸ Neferabu (i) was apparently the son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Neferronpet (i) and Mahi (i).¹¹⁹ Despite the fact that Amenmose (i) is referred to as the 'father' of Neferabu (i) in TT 5, it can be shown that he was actually the father of Neferabu (i)'s wife Ta-Isis (i) (or Isis).¹²⁰ Neferabu (i) was active in the necropolis at some point during the first half of the XIXth Dynasty. His activity can definitely be pinned down to years 36¹²¹ and 40¹²² of Ramesses II.

Among the numerous progeny of Neferabu (i) attested in his tomb were the sons Nodjemger (i), Neferronpet (iii), Ramose (ii), Meriunu (i) and the daughters Henuttu (i), Mahi (ii), Tenthaynu (ii) (named after her paternal grandmother, Tenthaynu (i)), Hotepy (i), Mutemopet (iii), Istnofret (i), Henut-iunet (i) and Roruti (i).¹²³ It is a notable fact that the filiations recorded in Egyptian funerary reliefs do not always reflect reliably a particular 'blood' relationship. This is especially applicable in Neferabu (i)'s case. We are able to identify at least 11 'so-called' brothers from several monuments attributable to him: the guardian Amenemope, Anhotep, the draftsman Ipu, Huy, Merymaat,¹²⁴ the draftsman Rehotep, the draftsman Maaninakhtuf,¹²⁵ Merysekhmet, Pay and Nebneteru¹²⁶ and finally Ai.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, from closer investigation in certain cases, we are able to ascertain the true relationship which these men shared with Neferabu (i). Neferabu's sister, Taysennofret (ii),¹²⁸ married

¹¹⁸ PM I:1, pp. 12-14; Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, *Nefer-Abou*; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 51-57; KRI III:766 ff. The rich assortment of monuments promulgated under the name of Neferabu (i) has already been discussed by James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34-35.

¹¹⁹ Stela BM 150+1754.

¹²⁰ The name of the mother of Ta-Isis similarly occurs in TT 5 as Tenthaynu (PM I:1, p. 13 at (4); Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 51:B). Furthermore, Tenthaynu was married to the 'scorpion controller' Amenmose; cf. the findings of Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 19; James, *BMHT* 9, p. 34; Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 2.

¹²¹ The recto of O.Gardiner 133 is a note of a payment by Neferabu (i) to his brother-in-law, the draftsman (P)rehotep (i). A further payment to Anhotep (Neferabu's brother/brother-in-law, for whom see below) is the subject of the text on the verso.

¹²² O.BM 5634, vso. 4.

¹²³ These relationships occur in the scenes on the east wall of the 1st vault (PM I:1, p. 13 at (4); Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, pls. 6-7; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 51:B) and the east and south walls of the 2nd vault (PM I:1, p. 13 at (12-13, 8); Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, pls. 10²/11²; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 53/54). Neferronpet (iii) is elsewhere named as Neferabu (i)'s son on a statuette in Valetta Museum, Malta (PM VII, p. 406; PM I:2, p. 712 (a); Moss, *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 132-34, pl. 13; KRI III:769).

¹²⁴ There can be no certainty that Merymaat was a blood-brother of Neferabu, though it remains unlikely that he is synonymous with the woodcutter [Mery]maat of Pap. Gardiner 8 = Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1960.1283, rto. 2 (assuming Gardiner's conjectured restoration to be correct).

¹²⁵ All named in TT 5: PM I:1, pp. 12-13 at (2-3) & (4).

¹²⁶ Attested on stela BM 150+1754 (PM I:1, p. 14; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 34 f., pl. 30/30A; KRI III:774-776).

¹²⁷ Ai is named as a son of Neferronpet, together with Huy and Merymaat, on stela BM 305 (PM I:2, p. 728; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 36 f., pl. 32/32A; KRI III:770-771).

¹²⁸ See stela Copenhagen National Museum AAd 8/B.6 (PM I:2, pp. 728 f.; KRI III:776) where she is named as a daughter of Mahi. Tentamentet is cited with her sisters, Tanofret and Taweret, on stela DM 285 (PM I:2, p. 729; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 122/23, no. 285, fig. 205; KRI III:777). And another sister of Neferabu was Istnofret (PM I:1, p. 13 at (4); Vandier & Vandier d'Abbadie, *Nefer-Abou*, pp. 29-30, pls. 6-7; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 51; KRI III:767:6).

the draftsman Rehotep (>Prehotep) (i) and had three sons, the draftsman Ipu(y) (vi), Pay (ii) and Nebneteru (i);¹²⁹ thus Rehotep (i) was a brother-in-law of Neferabu (i), and his three sons were nephews of the latter.¹³⁰ Similarly, a second sister Tentamentet (ii), who is named on the Copenhagen stela, was married to the draftsman Maaninakhtuf (i). Therefore, Maaninakhtuf (i) must have been an in-law of Neferabu (i).¹³¹ Two additional sisters of Neferabu are named as Istnofret (ii)¹³² and Taweret (iii).¹³³ The broken attestation from a stela of a Merysekhmet, which has been restored as a 'son of [Maaninakhtuf] by Bruyère,¹³⁴ therefore completes the link between Merysekhmet (i) and Neferabu (i) as nephew and uncle.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, we are not so fortunately informed with regard to the others; and until further evidence comes to light, we can only assume that their relationship to Neferabu as 'brothers' was a reflection of the truth.¹³⁶

The name of the guardian Amenemope (v) is included in a list of the holders of that office compiled by Černý, where he is indicated as having been a contemporary of the guardian Khawy (ii), though senior in office, in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.¹³⁷ Černý was not, however, entirely convinced of the filial tie between the guardian Amenemope (v) and Neferabu (i), and

¹²⁹ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 100, has shown that Nebneteru (i) was the son of Prehotep (i) and grandson of the draftsman Pay (i). This may help to clarify a colophon of a *kmyt*-ostrakon: 'By the draftsman in the Place of Truth, Prehotep (and) his beloved assistant Panakht, his father/father of (*it.f/it*) Nebneteru' (Cairo J.56842=O.DM 1172, x+20-x+22; Posener, *Catalogue des Ostraca hiérat. litt.* II/1, pl. 21; *KRI* III:650). Here the affiliation *it.f/it* may suggest that Nebneteru was the father of Panakht (as was Demarée's understanding, *Stelae*, p. 45), or that Prehotep was father to Nebneteru. Consequently, a letter (O.DM 317, vso.) from the scribe Nebneteru to the scribe Pay can now be understood as having been written from a grandson to his *it* 'grandfather'. A Pay and Nebneteru are also represented with their 'brother' (>uncle of Nebneteru) Neferabu on stela BM 150+1754.

Furthermore, it is possible that the name of Nebneteru's mother, which is partially preserved in letter O.DM 119, is to be read as [Taysen]nofret (i.e., wife of Prehotep). In his publication of this ostrakon Černý, *OHNL* II, p. 2, pls. 4-5, tentatively transcribes her name as *H[...].nfrt*. However, the initial element is too badly damaged to validate this reading. Conversely the surviving traces may be consistent with the beginning of the name Taysennofret.

Nebneteru also appears on a fragmentary table of offerings with the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (PM I:2, p. 743; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1931-32), pp. 10-11, fig. 8; *KRI* III:757). As a 'servitor of Amun' he appears alongside Nebamun offering to the latter's parents, Nebamentet and Hunero, in the tomb of Nebenmaat (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pp. 9-10, scene 3; PM I:1, p. 321 at (5) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 70, fig. 49; *KRI* III:760:6-7).

¹³⁰ Cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105.

¹³¹ Cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105. The Mutemwia named on stela BM 305, jointly dedicated by Neferronpet and Neferabu, is likely to have been Mutemwia (ii), the daughter of Maaninakhtuf (i) and Tentamentet (ii), i.e., a niece of Neferabu (i).

¹³² PM I:1, p. 13 at (4).

¹³³ Taweret (iii) is named as 'daughter' of [Mahi] (i) and Neferronpet (i) on stela DM 285 (PM I:2, p. 729; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 122/23, no. 285, pl. 44, fig. 205; *KRI* III:777).

¹³⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 40; Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105. The argument that the name is to be restored as Maaninakhtuf is strengthened by the attestation, on the same stela, of two additional sons of Maaninakhtuf, namely (Pa)baki and Pashedu. From other sources we know that Maaninakhtuf had sons called Pabaki (i) (perhaps a fuller form of his name) and Pashedu (viii) (see above).

¹³⁵ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 105. Merysekhmet is again attested as a 'brother' of Neferabu on stela BM 150+1754.

¹³⁶ E.g., the 'guardian' Amenemope (v) (for whom see further below), Anhotep (i) (see below), Huy (xii), Merymaat (i), and Ai (i).

¹³⁷ Černý, *Community*, pp. 153-154. Amenemope (v) appears only in undated texts, e.g., O.DM 442, 1-2, and O.DM 431, 2.

therefore concluded by identifying him with the son of the 'guardian' Tusa (i).¹³⁸ It is likely that both Khawy and Amenemope, who are named in a text requesting tools for the workmen in year 24 of Ramesses II, were in place as guardians at that stage.¹³⁹ This supposition would relate well with the partially-known career of Amenemope's so-called 'brother' Neferabu (i). Unfortunately, the sole surviving objects which testify to Amenemope (v)'s existence are a box-lid¹⁴⁰ and a fragment of a coffin-lid,¹⁴¹ both found in TT 356 of Amenemwia. Unfortunately these objects shed no further light on the career of Amenemope (v) as 'guardian'. Although a ushabti-coffin and a canopic jar with the titles of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' and the 'guardian in [the Place of Truth]' Amenemope (v) were found in TT 265, this monument can be attributed to the 'scribe' Amenemope (i).¹⁴² Therefore, TT 215 of the 'scribe' Amenemope (i) and TT 265 belonged to the same individual.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, the available evidence at hand does indeed suggest the existence of two contemporary Amenemopes. And in fact, the sepulchre of the 'guardian' Amenemope (v) was the focus of an official investigation.¹⁴⁴ In the 4th year, the 4th month of Peret, day 10, probably in the reign of Ramesses IV, the 'captains' of the workforce opened up the tomb of 'the guardian Amenemope' in order to inspect its condition and to compile an inventory of the funerary equipment, before it could be assigned to the workman Menna.¹⁴⁵ The reasons behind the instigation of this inspection were either left unrecorded or have since been lost. However, it seems likely that the question of the legal ownership of the tomb had resulted in a dispute between Menna and a fellow villager.

A broken relief inscription, now in Tübingen, has now been reasonably restored by Brunner as: '[An]hotep, his sister, the Lady of the House, Mahi [Lady] of the House, Ta-Isis'.¹⁴⁶ Accepting such a restoration would allow the adoption of one of three equally tenuous explanations.¹⁴⁷ Had Mahi been the daughter of Neferronpet (i) and Mahi (i), with Anhotep being a brother-in-law of Neferabu (i)?¹⁴⁸ Since Anhotep (i) is additionally named on a statuette as the brother of Neferabu, was it merely a coincidence that he married a lady with the same name as his own mother?¹⁴⁹ Or was Anhotep (i) married to his niece, Mahi (ii), the daughter of Neferabu (i) and Ta-Isis (i)? The final word on this debate must be postponed for the present due to the absence of further evidence. Nevertheless, some semblance of order may be brought to bear on this problem were we to adopt

¹³⁸ Černý, *Community*, pp. 153-154. For the career of Tusa (i), see pp. 191-2 below.

¹³⁹ O.CGC 25803.

¹⁴⁰ PM I:2, p. 747; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 111:2, fig. 56:11 (p. 98).

¹⁴¹ PM I:2, p. 741; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 112:6, fig. 57:1 (p. 99); (1929), p. 107.

¹⁴² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 107; PM I:1, p. 346.

¹⁴³ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 107; see above pp. 76-8 for the 'scribe' Amenemope (i).

¹⁴⁴ O.Madrid 16243 (KRI VII:335-336).

¹⁴⁵ It may be possible that the Menna in question was a distant descendant of Merysekhmet (i), nephew of Neferabu (i) and Amenemope (v).

¹⁴⁶ Tübingen Univ. Collection No. 100; PM I:2, p. 740; Brunner, *Katalog Tübingen*, p. 76, pl. 86; KRI VII:216:3

¹⁴⁷ The appearance of Ta-Isis makes it likely that here we have to do with the family of Neferabu (i) and hence the reasoning behind Brunner's restoration.

¹⁴⁸ Anhotep is attested in a payment by Neferabu (i) to the draftsman (P)rehotep (i) (O.Gardiner 133, vso. 1). However, he ought not be mistaken for the slave Anhotep (ii) (O.C. Campbell 17, vso.1; see McDowell, *HO*, pp. 22 ff.).

¹⁴⁹ Valetta Museum, Malta: PM VII, p. 406; PM I:2, p. 712 (a); Moss, *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 132-34, pl. 13; KRI III:769.

Demarée's suggestion that Anhotep (iii), son of Khabekhnet (i) and Sahte (i), is synonymous with Anhotep (i).¹⁵⁰ Thus, this individual might be identified as a brother-in-law of Neferabu (i).¹⁵¹

Nodjemger (i), the son of Neferabu (i), must not be confused with Nodjemger (ii), son of the 'servitor (*b3k*) of Amun' Pennestytawy (i), who is attested in TT 250 of the scribe Ramose. (i).¹⁵² There is, however, one unambiguous citation of Nodjemger in an ostrakon¹⁵³ which appears to be a list of members of the family of Neferronpet (i) and Neferabu (i), arranged in four columns:

<i>Neferronpet</i>	<i>Amenemheb</i>	<i>Neferabu</i>	<i>His son Meriumu</i>
<i>Neferabu</i>	<i>His brother Ramose</i>	<i>His son Neferronpet</i>	<i>Re[....]</i>
<i>Ipu</i>		<i>His son Ramose</i>	<i>His brother Anhotep</i>
		<i>His son Nodjemger</i>	

Of all these individuals, only the name of Amenemheb is not a known member of the family of Neferronpet (i). However, this anomaly can be explained if Mutemwia, who occurs on three separate monuments as the wife of the servant in the Place of Truth Amenemheb,¹⁵⁴ can definitely be identified with Mutemwia (ii), the daughter of Maaninakhtuf (i) and Tentamentet (ii).¹⁵⁵ Consequently, if Amenemheb had been a nephew-in-law of Neferabu (i), his so-called 'brother' Ramose, whose name follows his in the text above, would have been his cousin Ramose (ii).¹⁵⁶

We have observed above that the Merysekhmet (i), referred to as a *sn* 'brother' of Neferabu (i) on stela BM 150+1754,¹⁵⁷ was by all accounts the nephew of the latter.¹⁵⁸ It is certainly fortuitous for the sake of today's genealogists that the name of Merysekhmet was quite a distinctive one amongst the Deir el-Medina workforce. As Janssen had done previously,¹⁵⁹ I have been able to identify three separate Merysekhmets. The eldest is undoubtedly Merysekhmet (i), son of Maaninakhtuf (i), who was to become a draftsman, like his father. In this capacity, Merysekhmet (i) supervised the development of the career of the young Nefersentut sometime during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁶⁰ It is to this draftsman Merysekhmet (i) that we may also be able to attribute stela Berlin 24029, which

¹⁵⁰ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 24.

¹⁵¹ It should be noted that Anhotep (iii) does not appear with a wife in the tomb of his father Khabekhnet (i). However, there is no guarantee that he was not simply a bachelor when the reliefs were completed.

¹⁵² PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 63; KRI III:617:12-13.

¹⁵³ O.Gardiner 276, III:4.

¹⁵⁴ Statue DM 103 (PM I:2, p. 696; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 41, 57, pl. 4, fig. 117 D; KRI III:706); stela Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E.SS.52 (PM I:2, p. 715; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) III, p. 39; KRI III:707); pyramidion BM 468 (PM I:2, p. 744; BMHT 8, pp. 56-57, pls. 49-50; KRI III:707-708).

¹⁵⁵ It is equally possible that Mutemwia was married to Pashedu (see above).

¹⁵⁶ This may be one of the rare instances in which the affiliation *sn* was employed to denote the relationship for 'cousin'; cf. comments of Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁷ James, *BMHT* 9, p. 35.

¹⁵⁸ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 128, n. 50, has raised doubt that Merysekhmet (i) was a 'true' brother of Neferabu (i), using in his defence the fact that the appellation *sn* could refer to a 'member of the same generation'. However, this point was not recognised by either Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 65, or James, *BMHT* 9, p. 35, who both accepted Merysekhmet (i) as a full 'brother' of Neferabu (i).

¹⁵⁹ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 116.

¹⁶⁰ *Loc. cit.*

was dedicated in honour of the goddess Mertseger.¹⁶¹ This monument has also preserved the names of Merysekhmet (i)'s wife Noferu (i),¹⁶² and his sons, the draftsman Neferhotep (ix), the draftsman Pashedu (ix), the draftsman Maaninakhtuf (ii) and Iuy (i).¹⁶³

The second of the three was Merysekhmet (ii), who is known to have operated from at least year 63/64 of Ramesses II¹⁶⁴ down to the reign of Amenmesses¹⁶⁵ and perhaps even as late as year 2 of Seti II.¹⁶⁶ There is a strong possibility that it is Merysekhmet (ii) who merited a mention in an ostrakon which probably dates to the XIXth Dynasty: "What Anakhtu gave to Merysekhmet in exchange for the decorating of his 'štzyt-chamber'".¹⁶⁷ The contextual evidence offered by this document certainly appears to corroborate the fact that Merysekhmet's métier was that of a 'draftsman'. The third and final Merysekhmet (iii), son of Menna (i), is the infamous character who was also known by the sobriquet 'Pairy' (see p. 164 below), and who lived in the middle of the XXth Dynasty. Though it is impossible to substantiate, Mersekhmet (iii) may well have been a great grandson of Merysekhmet (i), though this relationship is impossible to substantiate beyond all doubt.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, we are not well-enough equipped to determine which of the three Merysekhmets lived in house N.E. IV in the village,¹⁶⁹ owned the chapel no. 1190¹⁷⁰ or was the dedicatee of stela Turin N.50017.¹⁷¹

The 'draftsman in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep is named in two graffiti carved in the West Theban mountains.¹⁷² He can, in all certainty, be identified with Neferhotep (ix), son of the 'draftsman' Merysekhmet (i) and Noferu (i).¹⁷³ The first known dated attestation of the draftsman Neferhotep (ix) may be that recorded in a broken graffito from the reign of Merenptah, commemorating the visit of the vizier Panehsy.¹⁷⁴ Both Spiegelberg and Kitchen¹⁷⁵ have adopted the restoration of the title *šš-[kḏw]* 'draftsman' in their respective transcriptions. Neferhotep (ix)'s career

¹⁶¹ PM I:2, p. 726; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 99, fig. 42; KRI IV:439-440. For a reading of the name, Meryre, as opposed to Merysekhmet, see Bruyère, *ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁶² To the best of my knowledge, the name Noferu occurs in a single, undated, text (O.DM 230, 3).

¹⁶³ The sons of Merysekhmet (i), namely Pashedu (ix) and Iuy (i), may have been named after their homonymous uncles, Pashedu (viii) and Iuy (ii), who are attested elsewhere (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 40). It is, however, interesting to note that an apparently different Neferhotep is named as a son of Meryre in graffito no. 179 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 19).

¹⁶⁴ O.DM 621, 4.

¹⁶⁵ O.CGC 25784, 3.

¹⁶⁶ O.Brunner, vso. E, 1 (for the dating of this document see Helck, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 10).

¹⁶⁷ O.DM 198, vso. 1-3; cf. Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 118.

¹⁶⁸ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 65 (see remarks on Menna in n. 145 above).

¹⁶⁹ Identified by the names on an ebony stela dedicated to Anukis which was found there (see Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 247-249, fig. 127).

¹⁷⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), pp. 41-42, 43-44 & 65-66.

¹⁷¹ Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 67-68, pl. VII.

¹⁷² Nos. 209 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 20; KRI IV:440:8) and 1956 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 28; KRI IV:440:9).

¹⁷³ Stela Berlin 24029.

¹⁷⁴ No. 764 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 62).

¹⁷⁵ KRI IV:158.

can be traced from at least year 1 of Amenmesses¹⁷⁶ down to year 2 of Siptah.¹⁷⁷ A 'year 9' text, in which he appears, can be assigned to the reign of either Merenptah, Tewosret or Ramesses III.¹⁷⁸ Neferhotep (ix) is also mentioned decorating some objects for Paneb in a 'year 8'.¹⁷⁹ The interest that this text holds lies in the fact that it may conceivably have some bearing on the career of the foreman Paneb (i), assuming that this was the beneficiary of Neferhotep's work. It is dated to year 8, the 3rd month of Peret, day 5, and records 'the day of absence by the draftsman, Neferhotep, in order to paint the wood-tar vessels¹⁸⁰ of/for Paneb'. If Neferhotep's client had been the foreman, Paneb (i), then the 'year 8' could only have referred to the reign of Tewosret (see above p. 36).¹⁸¹ Conversely, if Paneb (i) had still been a simple workman, the reign can, without doubt, be identified as that of Merenptah.

We must be careful in not mistaking the draftsman Neferhotep (ix) for the contemporary 'scribe' (of the *smdt*-staff) Neferhotep (vi), who was active in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty.¹⁸² The son of this official may be identified as the 'scribe in the Place of Truth', Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, who is attested in a graffito dated to year 28 of Ramesses III,¹⁸³ and with the 'scribe, Neferhotep, son of the scribe, Neferhotep'.¹⁸⁴ In an unofficial capacity Neferhotep (ix) is frequently recorded in the ostraca performing private commissions for colleagues and fellow villagers, e.g., Nakhy, the ladies Iyemwaw and Nodjmet,¹⁸⁵ Haremwia,¹⁸⁶ and most notably Paneb (i).¹⁸⁷

Menna, son of Neferhotep,¹⁸⁸ who appears in year 1 of Ramesses IV,¹⁸⁹ may well be synonymous with the well-known draftsman Menna (i), father of the notorious Merysekhmet (iii). Would the suggestion that Menna (i)'s father was the 'draftsman' Neferhotep (ix), son of Merysekhmet (i) be too fanciful? In fact, possible evidence in support of this proposition occurs in a West Theban graffito which reads: 'The draftsman in the Place of Truth, the one who fashions the sacred images of the gods in the Golden Mansion, Neferhotep, his son the draftsman in the Place of Truth, Men(na)'.¹⁹⁰ Janssen has put forward an alternative opinion through the suggestion that the draftsman Menna (i) may have been the son of Merysekhmet (ii) who was active between the reigns of Ramesses II and

¹⁷⁶ O.CGC 25779, rto. 2.

¹⁷⁷ O.CGC 25521, rto. 10, 20.

¹⁷⁸ O.Zouche H.2, vso. 2.

¹⁷⁹ O.DM 594, 2-4.

¹⁸⁰ For *hry-mrḥ* see Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 245.

¹⁸¹ It is not unlikely that Neferhotep's absence from work on that day was at the instigation of the foreman Paneb (i); cf. other occasions on which Neferhotep was known to have been 'moonlighting' for an untitled Paneb (O.CGC 25521, rto. 3, 10 and 20).

¹⁸² O.DM 323, 1-2; see above for this official, pp. 92-3, 126.

¹⁸³ No. 609: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49-50; *KRI* V:528.

¹⁸⁴ O.Brussels E. 3211, I:1; for this man see McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 79. Bogoslovsky, *ZAS* 107 (1980), p. 103, has mistakenly correlated this scribe, Neferhotep, with the draftsman, Neferhotep (ix).

¹⁸⁵ O.Mich. 14.

¹⁸⁶ O.Mich. 13, rto. 1-2.

¹⁸⁷ O.DM 594; O.CGC 25521, rto. 3, 10 and 20 (see above).

¹⁸⁸ See the 'draftsman' Neferhotep above.

¹⁸⁹ O.DM 254, 3; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 272, who has dated this ostrakon within the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.

¹⁹⁰ No. 711 b (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 56-57).

Amenmesses.¹⁹¹ The distinct possibility remains that Menna (i) named his son Merysekhmet (iii), called Païry,¹⁹² after his own grandfather Merysekhmet (i). Due to the erratic and often spurious employment of titles in both administrative and private records, it is now impossible to determine whether all the references to the 'draftsman' Menna (i) and the 'workman' Menna from the first half of the XXth Dynasty pertain to the same person. A possible indication that the two putative contemporary Mennas were indeed the same individual can be found in two ostraca, both dating from year 28 of Ramesses III. Firstly, there is O.DM 62 which records a transaction between the (work)man Menna and Tji'a and secondly O.Petrie 14 which is a dispute between the draftsman Menna (i) and the water-carrier Tji'a. It is probable, though not entirely infallible, that the same Menna was at the centre of both cases, in which he holds both titles of '(work)man' and 'draftsman'.¹⁹³

The workman Menna first occurs in an oracular pronouncement in year 8 of Ramesses III,¹⁹⁴ though an implicit reference to him is known from a year 7 text of the same king.¹⁹⁵ Yet an even older attestation of a Menna on the 'right side' of the gang occurs during the reign of Siptah at the end of the XIXth Dynasty, and could conceivably refer to the same workman.¹⁹⁶ The 'workman' Menna is involved in a legal dispute with the Medjay, Montumose, which erupted in year 17 of Ramesses III and continued down to year 3 of Ramesses IV.¹⁹⁷ In year 31 of Ramesses III Menna, who until this time had been deployed on the 'right side' of the gang since year 23/24,¹⁹⁸ is suddenly seen to be transferred across to the 'left side'.¹⁹⁹ The activity of the draftsman Menna (i) can, however, definitely be attested in both year 28²⁰⁰ and year 30²⁰¹ of Ramesses III. We learn that the tomb of the guardian Amenemope (v) was assigned to the workman Menna in year 4, possibly of the reign of Ramesses IV.²⁰²

It has been suggested that there was possible only *one* Menna who was active between the reign of Siptah and year 4 of Ramesses IV. Such an individual may, therefore, have been the 'draftsman' Menna (i), the son of Neferhotep (ix) and the father of the infamous Merysekhmet (iii). Nevertheless, a closer scrutiny of the title attributed to Menna at different times may prompt an alternative result. A papyrus,²⁰³ which has been dated by Gutgesell to between year 24 and year 30 of Ramesses III,²⁰⁴

¹⁹¹ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 117. A 'draftsman' Menna certainly does appear in graffito no. 2079 as a son of Merysekhmet (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 37; *KRI V*:639:2-3).

¹⁹² For this sobriquet see graffito no. 445 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 38; *KRI VI*:218:10-11); O.OIC 12074, rto. 1.

¹⁹³ Cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁹⁴ O.DM 672, 2.

¹⁹⁵ O.Turin 9611.

¹⁹⁶ O.CGC 25522, vso. I:8 and O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:11; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 277, n. 1, 361, n. 1.

¹⁹⁷ O.OIC 12073.

¹⁹⁸ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 11.

¹⁹⁹ O.Prague H.14, rto. 13.

²⁰⁰ O.Petrie 14, rto. 2.

²⁰¹ O.Ashmolean Mus. 1933.810, vso. 4.

²⁰² O.Madrid No. 16243. Another attestation of Menna in the the reign of Ramesses IV is likely (O.Gardiner 14, rto. 3:9; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 330, for the dating of this text).

²⁰³ Pap. DeM 27, vso. 6.

²⁰⁴ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 412.

names Menna, father of Merysekhmet (iii), as a simple 'workman'. Since the 'draftsman' Menna (i) is known to have been operative from years 28 to 30 of Ramesses III, an argument that the workman had been promoted between c. year 24 and 28 might be reasonably raised. However, a later ostrakon, dated simply to a 'year 4' again mentions the 'workman' Menna.²⁰⁵ Therefore, there may well have been at least *two* Mennas: (a) the draftsman Menna (i), son of Neferhotep (ix), who is attested in years 28 and 30 of Ramesses III, and who probably appears even earlier; (b) a second Menna, who originated from an entirely separate family and who was the father of Merysekhmet (iii). Like Menna (i), this Menna would have served as an ordinary workman prior to his promotion as a 'draftsman'. This fact becomes apparent in the reading of the address of letter O.OIC 12074, where the draftsman Menna writes to his son, the 'scribe Pairy'. The extent of this confusion should serve adequately as a strong caveat to the reader regarding the irregular habits adopted by the ancient scribes in their attribution of titles.

It has been shown above that the workman Merysekhmet (iii), son of the workman Menna, is attested in c. years 24-30 of Ramesses III.²⁰⁶ A graffito written by the deputy Hay (vii) mentions the 'servant' Merysekhmet and his son the draftsman Menna (ii).²⁰⁷ The fact that Hay (vii) is known to have been 'deputy' between at least year 27 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI, would suggest that here we are concerned with Merysekhmet (iii), son of Menna. Merysekhmet (iii), son of Menna, occurs in a text from a 'year 4'²⁰⁸ which is most probably either the reign of Ramesses V²⁰⁹ or Ramesses VI.²¹⁰ Interestingly, Merysekhmet (iii) is commonly known by the sobriquet, Pairy, in both graffiti and ostraca.²¹¹ Employing this nickname, he wrote a graffito which probably commemorates the Valley Festival, which took place on the west bank of Thebes: 'The scribe Pairy(?) - he made (this) when he came to see Amun whilst he (=Amun) reposed in [the Temple of(?)] king Nebhepetre, l.p.h., in year 30 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usimare Mery[amun] ...'²¹² A workman Pairy is known to have replaced Menna on watch-duty in an ostrakon which has been dated to year 22 of Ramesses III.²¹³ It is likely that this is the earliest known evidence for the existence of Pairy/Merysekhmet (iii), son of Menna. That Merysekhmet (iii) was trained in the art of draftsmanship is witnessed by the title he is given in several graffiti.²¹⁴

Furthermore, the names of three sons of Merysekhmet (iii), son of Menna, are preserved in graffiti inscriptions: Menna (ii), Hapiwer (i)²¹⁵ and Amenemope (vi).²¹⁶ In fact, Amenemope (vi) is also

²⁰⁵ O.Madrid 16243, 2.

²⁰⁶ Pap. DeM 27, rto. 6; cf. Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 117.

²⁰⁷ No. 2079 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 37; *KRI V*:639:2-3).

²⁰⁸ O.BM 5625, rto. 5-6.

²⁰⁹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 251.

²¹⁰ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 118.

²¹¹ E.g., Graffito no. 462 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 40); O.OIC 12074, rto. 1.

²¹² No. 1012 a, ll. 4-7 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 85; *KRI V*:542:7-8). For the reading of 'Nebhepetre' and the attribution of lines 4-7 of this graffito to Pairy see Davies, *SAK 24* (1997), pp. 51-52.

²¹³ O.DM 339, vso. 3-5; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 10.

²¹⁴ E.g., nos. 466 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 40; *KRI VI*:272:3-4) and 2080 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 37; *KRI VI*:272:4-5).

²¹⁵ No. 398 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 34).

referred to by his fuller name, Hekamare-enope, in a graffito text which names Merysekhmet (iii) as a 'draftsman in the Place of Truth'.²¹⁷ Janssen has suggested that Hekamare-enope may well have been born during the reign of Ramesses IV, after whom the name was adopted.²¹⁸ Surprisingly, evidence for at least three other Hapiwers towards the end of the XXth Dynasty is known: (a) Hapiwer (ii), son of Pa[...], who occurs on the 'right side' of the workforce in year 17 of Ramesses IX;²¹⁹ (b) Hapiwer (iii), son of Neferhotep, who is attested in year 2 of Ramesses X;²²⁰ (c) Hapiwer (iv), son of Amennakht.²²¹ Plausibly, any one of the four homonymous men could be identified with the Hapiwer who appears, without patronymic, in several other contemporary texts.²²²

It is conceivable that the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Prehotep, son of Men, who appears on a stela now in Turin,²²³ is to be identified with the workman Prehotep (ii), son of Menna, who occurs between years 2 and 17 of Ramesses IX.²²⁴ Furthermore, it may not be so unreasonable to suggest that this Men/Menna was identical with Menna (ii), one of the sons of Merysekhmet (iii). The 'scribe' Paneferemdjed (ii), son of Menna, who is attested in a solitary graffito may have been a son of either Menna (i) or Menna (ii).²²⁵ A less likely possibility would be to identify him in some way (as an in-law) with Paneferemdjed (i), son of the scribe Amennakht (v), in which case either Menna or Amennakht (v) would have been his father-in-law.

§ 33: An earlier Menna

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pashedu (x), who can be recognised as the owner of TT 3 and who is probably identical with the 'foreman' of that name,²²⁶ is named as the son of Menna (iii) and the lady Huy (i).²²⁷ Pashedu (x)'s own son, Menna (iv), was undoubtedly named after his grandfather,²²⁸ and is arguably the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Menna whose offering table was recovered from TT 3.²²⁹ A funerary scene from TT 219 refers to Qaha and Menna as 'brothers' of Nebenmaat, the tomb owner.²³⁰ There is a strong likelihood that these men were the sons of Pashedu (x), since the 'servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes' Qaha (vi) is also known to have been a son of Pashedu (x) from inscriptional evidence in TT 3.²³¹ On this assumption, the true

²¹⁶ No. 994 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 82); cf. graffito no. 644 b (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 52).

²¹⁷ No. 356 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 32).

²¹⁸ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 117.

²¹⁹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 38, II:6.

²²⁰ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 3:5; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 149, has mistaken this name as Hapi-'a.

²²¹ Pap. Turin 2053/50+2028+1914+2053/49, rto. II: 2 (Černý Nb. 15, pp. 34-35).

²²² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 32, I: 8; Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 3:7; Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. 1:3.

²²³ N.50033 (PM I:1, p. 730; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 66-67, 274; KRI IV:442).

²²⁴ O.Gardiner 143, rto. 6-7; Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, I: 9; Pap. Turin 2005+2078+2001, rto. I:9.

²²⁵ No. 3734 (Sadek, *GMT IV/5*, p. 226; KRI VI:203:16).

²²⁶ See Kitchen, *RITANC I*, pp. 270 ff.

²²⁷ Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 38; KRI I:375:6-7.

²²⁸ PM I:1, p. 10 at (4-5); KRI I:375:13.

²²⁹ Cairo Museum TN 9/6/26/1 (PM I:1, p. 11 top; Nash, *PSBA* 23 (1901), p. 361, pl. III; KRI I:378).

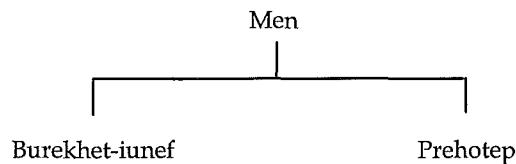
²³⁰ PM I:1, pp. 321-22 at (11); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pl. 7; KRI III:763:11.

²³¹ PM I:1, p. 10 at (4-5); KRI I:375:12.

relationship which existed between Menna/Qaha and Nebenmaat must remain uncertain. The career of the workman Menna is indeed obscure. His name appears in a single document which can be dated, without doubt, prior to year 40 of Ramesses II.²³²

§ 34: The family of the draftsman Burekhet-iunef (i): chart 11

Judging by the evidence of graffiti nos. 1971, 2151 and 2342, Burekhet-iunef's employment of the title of *sš* ('scribe') could be interpreted as merely a celebration of his literacy.²³³ However, a more realistic explanation for this usage was probably as an abbreviated form of *sš-ḳdḡw* 'draftsman', a title which Burekhet-iunef (i) is attributed in an ostrakon, dated to year 1 (of Siptah(?)).²³⁴ This text records his receipt of a payment for work which he had performed on the pyramid/tomb (*mr*) of the workman Neb[...]. Helck has restored this name as Neb[amun],²³⁵ in which case O.Brunner represents a record of previous business dealings between the same two men in year 2 (of Seti II). Here, Nebamun is attested receiving a payment from Burekhet-iunef (i).²³⁶ Further occurrences of the name of Burekhet-iunef (i) are not confined to commercial transactions. In a letter which he sent to the 'scribe' Renakht,²³⁷ he demanded his correspondent's diligence in supplying him with a *ʿ-n-ḥnty*, in order that he might remove the earth from his home. The earliest known attestation of Burekhet-iunef (i) occurs in an ostrakon dated to year 1 of Seti II, in which he is referred to by the hypocoristicon 'Burekhef'.²³⁸ His name is further mentioned in several contemporary documents.²³⁹ The same Burekhet-iunef (i) is possibly mentioned as the brother of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Prehotep, son of Men, on a stela in Turin.²⁴⁰



Accepting the relationship between the brothers Burekhet-iunef and Prehotep, it is not impossible that the latter is to be identified with the workman (P)rehotep (iii), who can definitely be placed between

²³² O.Gardiner 92, 3.

²³³ Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, pp. 37, 43, 54; *KRI* IV:441. Cf. the same usage in O.DM 228.

²³⁴ O.DM 215, 2-3; *KRI* IV:394. Helck, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 8, has preferred a date for O.DM 215 within the reign of Seti II.

²³⁵ Helck, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 8.

²³⁶ Helck, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 10.

²³⁷ O.DM 228.

²³⁸ O.MMA. 14.6.217, vso. 4.

²³⁹ E.g., O.DM 260, 1-2 (year 6 of Seti II(?); see W. Helck, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 8); O.CGC 25507, rto. II:b, 22 (Siptah(?)); O.CGC 25781, 8 (undated).

²⁴⁰ Turin N.50033. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 43, n. 54, has a different interpretation of the relationships on this stela. By his understanding Burekhet-iunef would have been the brother of Men, who was in turn the father of Prehotep.

year 1 of Amenmesses²⁴¹ and year 2 of Siptah.²⁴² If Janssen's suggestion that Burekhet-iunef been the uncle of Prehotep,²⁴³ the latter could conceivably be synonymous with the Prehotep who was active under Ramesses III,²⁴⁴ and later reigns.²⁴⁵ Unfortunately, such a scenario would render the parentage of Men open to debate. A completely different hypothesis to this might be to propose that Burekhet-iunef, who occurs on stela Turin N.50033, was the workman, Burekhet-iunef (iii), who is attested in the reign of Ramesses IV/Ramesses V.²⁴⁶ However, this identification would in no way benefit any attempt at resolving the relationships stipulated on this monument. Alternatively, one might identify these three men as Men(na) (ii), Prehotep (ii) and Burekhet-iunef (ii), the son and grandsons of Merysekhmet (iii) ('Paity'), who are attested towards the end of the XXth Dynasty.²⁴⁷ Consequently, the 'scribe' Burekhet-iunef, who is mentioned in the graffiti cited above, could plausibly be identified with a 'scribe' Burekh who formed an association with the famous Tomb-scribe Thutmose (ii).²⁴⁸

§ 35: The family of the chief draftsman Hori (ix): chart 12

The 'draftsman' Nebnefer (ix) is referred to in a graffito, written in cursive hieroglyphs, and dedicated to Amun in the guise of a ram's head, by his brother the draftsman Harmin (i).²⁴⁹ Their father Hori (ix) and their 'brother' Amenwa (i) are similarly named in the same inscription. The same relationship between this father and his sons occurs on a stela found in the Valley of the Kings.²⁵⁰ Here, Hori (ix) is entitled the 'chief draftsman in the Place of Truth',²⁵¹ whilst Amenwa (i) bears that same title of 'draftsman' held by his brothers. The name of the father of the 'chief draftsman' Hori is recorded as the 'wa'b-priest, Amen[...]' in another graffito.²⁵² The draftsman Hori is firmly attested in years 13,²⁵³ 14²⁵⁴ and probably 17²⁵⁵ of Ramesses III. Careful differentiation should be made between this individual and his own grandson, the draftsman Hori (v), son of the draftsman Harmin (i),²⁵⁶ or the draftsman Hori (x). This Hori (x), who appears in a graffito from year 2 of Ramesses

²⁴¹ O.CGC 25779, rto. 14.

²⁴² O.CGC 25521, rto. 24.

²⁴³ See n. 240 above.

²⁴⁴ Pap. DeM 26, A vso. 2:6 ff. (year 16); O.Nash 5, vso. 5 (year 20); O.Mich. 5, rto. 1-3 (year 26).

²⁴⁵ O.IFAO 1425, 2 (year 7 of Ramesses VI; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 229).

²⁴⁶ O.Brussels E.301, vso. 8, dated by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 315 to the interval between year 7 Ramesses IV and year 1 Ramesses V; and O.IFAO 1354, vso. I:5, which can be dated, because of the appearance of the 'deputy' Hay (vii), to between year 27 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI; cf. Gutgesell, *ibid.*, p. 323, who dated O.IFAO 1354 in year 6/7 of Ramesses IV.

²⁴⁷ For these individuals see above, p. 166.

²⁴⁸ Graffito no. 2077 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 37; *KRI VI*:878:9-10).

²⁴⁹ No. 1082 (PM I:2, p. 593; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 208, fig. 107; Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 2, pl. 4; *KRI VI*:204-205).

²⁵⁰ Cairo J.38792 (PM I:2, p. 587; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 113, fig. 53; *KRI VI*:204).

²⁵¹ For this title of Hori cf. stela Turin N.50178 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 164, 331; *KRI VI*:205).

²⁵² No. 774 d (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 63; *KRI V*:658:11).

²⁵³ O.CGC 25555, rto. 3.

²⁵⁴ O.Berlin P.1268, rto. 8.

²⁵⁵ O.Prague H 10, (cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 357).

²⁵⁶ PM I:1, p. 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 36; *KRI VI*:200:4.

IV,²⁵⁷ may have been the son of the scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii). Either one of these later Horis can probably be identified with the man of that name who appears in several texts between year 3 of Ramesses IV/Ramesses V²⁵⁸ and year 15 of Ramesses IX.²⁵⁹

A fourth son of Hori (ix), the draftsman Amennakht (xxii), occurs in graffito no. 19,²⁶⁰ whilst a possible fifth is the draftsman Pentaweret (vi) who is named as the 'brother' of Harmin (i).²⁶¹ To add to the confusion, both Nebnefer (ix) and Harmin (i) followed good Egyptian tradition by naming their own sons, Hori (xi) and Hori (v), after their father.²⁶² Three further sons of Nebnefer (ix) are mentioned in yet another graffito as Pairsekheru (i), Ptahkhau (i) and Pa'anemsetmaat (i).²⁶³ The draftsman Nebnefer (ix) is named in the bandeau texts of the tomb of the foremen Nekhemmut and his father Khons.²⁶⁴ He is also named in an undated ostrakon with two of his sons, Hori (xi) and Pairsekheru (i).²⁶⁵ Fortunately Pairsekheru (i)'s name and title ('draftsman') occurs on a figured ostraca recovered from the tomb of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI (KV 9), alongside the artist of the piece, Nebnefer, who is most probably his father and mentor.²⁶⁶ It is possible that Hori (xi), son of Nebnefer (ix), is to be identified with the 'chief draftsman' Hori, son of Nebnefer.²⁶⁷ An alternative interpretation would correlate this official with the 'chief draftsman' Hori (ix), the father of the draftsman Nebnefer (ix).²⁶⁸ The draftsman Nebnefer (ix) appears in years 27²⁶⁹ and 31²⁷⁰ of Ramesses III, in year 2 of Ramesses V²⁷¹ and can be identified with the untitled Nebnefer who occurs in 'year 6' of an unnamed king who may have been either Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII.²⁷² The possibility that Nebnefer (ix) is to be identified with Nebnefer (vii) has been suggested to me by Kathleen Keller, though this identification remains unproven.²⁷³ The 'scribe' Nebnefer, son of

²⁵⁷ Graffito no. 1288. An alternative interpretation of this text is possibly: Hori, son of the 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakht (v). Cf. graffito no. 1927 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 26; *KRI* V:652:15) in which the 'scribe (>draftsman(?)) Hori, son of Amennakht is named. It is possible that Hori (x) is identical with Harshire (i) ('little Hori'), the son of Amennakht (v). Could it be possible that the chief draftsman Hori (ix) was simply the same man as Hori (x), son of Amennakht (v)?

²⁵⁸ O.DM 398, vso. 5.

²⁵⁹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 140.

²⁶⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 5; *KRI* VI:206:6; cf. graffito no. 2837 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 126; *KRI* VI:208:7-8). Amennakht (xxii) may be identified with Amennakht (xii).

²⁶¹ Graffito no. 259 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 24; *KRI* VI:207:3-4).

²⁶² Graffiti nos. 1094-95 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 3; *KRI* VI:207:7).

²⁶³ No. 2222 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 48; *KRI* VI:209:1-3); cf. graffito no. 337 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 30).

²⁶⁴ PM I:1, p. 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 36; *KRI* VI:199-200.

²⁶⁵ O.CGC 25065, 3-4.

²⁶⁶ O.CGC 25092 (Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 18, pl. XII). A similar ostrakon, also found in KV 9, probably once contained the name of [Pa]irsekheru (i) (O.CGC 25041: Daressy, *ibid.*, p. 9, pl. IX).

²⁶⁷ Graffito no. 3835 (Sadek, *GMT* IV/5, p. 233).

²⁶⁸ However see comments above where a 'chief draftsman' Hori is referred to as a son of an Amen[...].

²⁶⁹ O.Gardiner 106, vso. 3. However, this Hori (ix) could easily have been the son of the draftsman Amennakht.

²⁷⁰ O.Gardiner 104, 5.

²⁷¹ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 8-9; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

²⁷² O.DM 434, 4; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 48; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 274.

²⁷³ For Nebnefer (vii) as the son/son-in-law of Hay (vii) see p. 228.

Hori, occurs in a graffito alongside that of the 'royal scribe' Thutmose (ii).²⁷⁴ If the two inscriptions can be shown to be contemporaneous, Nebnefer would certainly not be identified with Nebnefer (ix).

The draftsman Harmin (i) and his wife Meramundua (i), who appear together in the tomb of Anhurkhawwy (ii), have already been discussed in a previous chapter.²⁷⁵ One of the many broken entries that occur throughout the *Stato Civile* may be restored as '[Har]min, son of Hori and Isis'.²⁷⁶ Consequently, the father of Harmin (i), Hori (ix), would seem to have been married to the lady Isis (xiii). Harmin (i), who holds the unusual title of a 'wa'b-priest, one skilled in Memphis', is named in TT 359 along with his son Hori (v) and daughters Henutneteru (iii) and Isis (ix).²⁷⁷ The draftsman Harmin (i) appears in a number of ostraca. Unfortunately, none of these texts can be definitely dated, though they do originate in the period following the reign of Ramesses III.²⁷⁸ According to Gutgesell's calculations, Harmin (i) can not be attested before year 6/7 of Ramesses IV.²⁷⁹ However, he actually appears in a tripartite graffito together with the foreman Khons (v),²⁸⁰ who had died and been succeeded by his son Nekhemmut (vi) prior to year 2 of Ramesses IV.²⁸¹ This would indicate that Harmin (i) would easily have been active early in the reign of Ramesses IV. And, as if any further confirmation was needed, the draftsman Harmin (i) is actually mentioned in a graffito which is dated to year 2 of Ramesses IV.²⁸² The draftsman Harmin (i), son of Hori (ix), occurs later in year 4 of Ramesses IX²⁸³ and probably survived until year 17 of that same reign.²⁸⁴ It is likely that Harmin (i) is to be differentiated from the homonymous 'workman' who appears in a 'year 2', probably of Ramesses V.²⁸⁵ The draftsman Harmin, who is associated in a graffito with the foreman Khyrenef (i), presumably lived at the end of the XXth Dynasty. However, there is no possibility of identifying him successfully with Harmin (i).²⁸⁶

In the bandeau texts decorating the tomb of the foreman Khons (v) and his son Nekhemmut (vi), Hori (v) is similarly accorded the title of 'draftsman', like his father Harmin (i) before him.²⁸⁷ In all likelihood, Hori (v) can be identified with a Hori, son of Harmin, who is attested in years 9 and 10 of Ramesses IX²⁸⁸ and year 1 of Ramesses X.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, his name can possibly be restored as

²⁷⁴ No. 2011 f (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 31). For the career of Thutmose (ii) see above p. 137.

²⁷⁵ See above pp. 23-24.

²⁷⁶ Černý Nb. 15, p. 79.

²⁷⁷ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 14; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 58; KRI VI:194:10-12.

²⁷⁸ O.Gardiner 182, vso. 5 (year 1); O.Turin N.57441, vso. II:3 (year 2); O.Gardiner 137, rto. 8 (year 3); O.DM 204, vso. 2 and O.DM 138, rto. 2 (year 4); O.Gardiner 181, vso. 4 and O.Strasburg H.84, rto. 2 (year 7).

²⁷⁹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 412; for the 'draftsman' Harmin (i) see Eyre, *SAK* 11 (1984), pp. 200 ff.; idem, *BiOr* 44 (1987), p. 24.

²⁸⁰ No. 613 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 50; KRI V:626).

²⁸¹ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 6.

²⁸² No. 839 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 68; KRI VI:208:2-3).

²⁸³ Pap. Turin 1905, rto. 6.

²⁸⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 9.

²⁸⁵ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 8; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

²⁸⁶ No. 1349 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 23, pl. 66; KRI VI:874:1).

²⁸⁷ PM I:1, p. 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 36; KRI VI:200:4.

²⁸⁸ Pap. Turin 2072, rto. I:8, vso. I:4.

²⁸⁹ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 3:1.

'Hori, son of Har[min]' in a text dating to year 9 of Ramesses XI,²⁹⁰ although an equally likely restoration would be the name of one of his contemporaries, Hori (iv), son of Har[nefer].²⁹¹ Another son of Harmin (i) can be identified as the 'workman <of>the Tomb' (*rmṯ-ist <n> pꜣ hr*) Pawerakhetef (i), son of Harmin, who was implicated during the investigations into tomb robbery in year 19 of Ramesses XI.²⁹² His name, like that of his father, is not particularly common during the second half of the XXth Dynasty. Consequently, he is probably synonymous with Pawerakhetef, whose earliest appearance occurs in a papyrus which is dated to years 9/10 of Ramesses IX.²⁹³ On a round-topped stela Pawerakhetef (i) appears as a young boy, though under the guise of Werakhetamun, together with his elder brother, the 'chief draftsman in the Place of Truth' Hori (v); also named on this monument are their father Harmin (i) and a previously unattested brother of theirs, named Amennakht.²⁹⁴ Furthermore, it is tempting to correlate Pawerakhetef (i) with the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth' Paweret who inscribed graffito no. 2871,²⁹⁵ in which case he would seem to have followed both his father and elder brother in the profession of 'draftsman'.

An inscription in the tomb of the deputy Hay (vii) names the 'draftsman of the Lord of the Two Lands' Amenwa (i) as one of his 'sons'.²⁹⁶ This same scene also includes the name of the lady Nubiyi (i), who is perhaps the wife of Amenwa, her son the 'draftsman of Amun on the West of Thebes' Hay (ix),²⁹⁷ also known as Paidenu, and her daughter Taynodjem (i).²⁹⁸ Unfortunately, the remaining inscriptions of this tomb do not identify whether Amenwa (i) was the son of Hay (vii) or the son of Hori (ix) (i.e., a son-in-law of Hay (vii)).²⁹⁹ By chance the names of the wife and daughter of an Amenwa have been preserved as Hathor(?)-emheb and Tadehnetemheb.³⁰⁰ Unfortunately, this text can not be dated, nor are we able to associate these two ladies with the family of either Amenwa (i), son of Hori (ix)/Hay (vii), or a second contemporary Amenwa (ii), the son of Amenpahapi. The draftsman Amenwa (i) is attested with his brother Harmin (i) in a graffito dated to either year 1 or 2 of

²⁹⁰ Pap. Turin 2018, vso. B, 2:6.

²⁹¹ Cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 151. For Hori (iv) see p. 30 above.

²⁹² Pap. BM 10052, rto. 2:2, 6:17.

²⁹³ Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. I:11.

²⁹⁴ M. Suzuki, 'Les Antiquités Égyptiennes dans la Collection Ôhara', *Orient* 16 (1980), pp. 126-7, no. 12, pl.

12.

²⁹⁵ Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 129.

²⁹⁶ PM I:1, p. 349 at (9); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 28, II, F, pl. 15; KRI V:631-632; cf. graffito no. 421 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 36; KRI V:635:9) in which the 'scribe' Amenwa (though the name could possibly be read as Amenkhau) is referred to as a son of the deputy Hay (vii). It is not surprising that Amenkhau is attested elsewhere as a son of Hay (unpub. O.Cairo J.72466, rto. II:4).

²⁹⁷ Cf. Černý, *Community*, 138 and Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 38, n. 2. A draftsman Hay appears in the undated O.Berlin P.14222, 2.

²⁹⁸ It is possible that Hay (ix) ('Paidenu') and Taynodjem (i) were the children of the deputy Hay (vii), taking the relationship 'her son' and 'her daughter' as referring to Henutmeter (i) and not Nubiyi (i).

²⁹⁹ Whilst working on the genealogy of the family of Hay (vii), Černý decided to leave this question unanswered (*Community*, p. 138). However, Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 38, actually assumed Amenwa (i) to be a son of Hay (vii).

³⁰⁰ Pap. Vienna (no number), vso. I:6-7. Hathoremheb is further mentioned in O.CGC 25660, A:16, which Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 352, dates to temp. Ramesses IV-Ramesses V.

Ramesses IV.³⁰¹ However, the appearance of the workman Amenwa (ii), son of Amenpahapi, in a 'year 7'³⁰² of one of Ramesses III's successors simply precludes further definite identifications of Amenwa in the administrative records. Furthermore, Bierbrier provisionally accepted that the untitled Amenwa, who is named in TT 2B, may have been the son of the foreman Nekhemmut (vi), the younger.³⁰³ The name of the workman Amenwa is further attested in year 6 of Ramesses IV,³⁰⁴ year 1 of Ramesses V,³⁰⁵ year 1 of Ramesses VI³⁰⁶ and year 7 of Ramesses VII,³⁰⁷ as well as in several other undated documents originating from this period.³⁰⁸

The career of the workman Amenwa can be traced down to his involvement in tomb robberies committed in West Thebes in year 17 of Ramesses IX. A group of eight suspected thieves, who were arrested for questioning, included Amenwa, son of Hori,³⁰⁹ the deputy Paanqen (i), son of Amenwa, Nekhemmut (iv), son of Amenwa and Hori (xii), son of Amenwa.³¹⁰ As part of the succeeding enquiries into these crimes recorded in Pap. BM 10068 and Pap. BM 10053, both of which are dated to year 17 of Ramesses IX, the workmen Amenwa, son of Hori,³¹¹ Paisen (ii), son of Amenwa,³¹² Anqen/Paqen (>Paanqen (i)), son of Amenwa,³¹³ and Hori (xii), son of Amenwa,³¹⁴ were all arrested and imprisoned. Bierbrier has raised the suggestion that Nekhemmut is probably either synonymous with Paisen or that he was released when the latter, his brother, was arrested.³¹⁵ Another family member who was arrested at this time, though undoubtedly released later, was Seramun (i), son of Amenwa.³¹⁶ Various individuals were also accused of having been 'handlers' of certain amounts of the plunder. Those suspected included the ladies Taisenet (i), wife of the thief Paisen (ii)³¹⁷ and 'Aref (i), wife of the workman Hori (xii).³¹⁸ Although the identity of the thieves and their accomplices is

³⁰¹ No. 839. 'Year 1' is adopted by both Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 68, and Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 80, whilst KRI VI:208:2-3, has emended this reading to 'year 2'.

³⁰² O.Petrie 18, rto. 6-7.

³⁰³ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 34.

³⁰⁴ O.Berlin 12652, rto. 2; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 250, for the dating of this text.

³⁰⁵ O.CGC 25609, vso. 1:6; see Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), p. 38.

³⁰⁶ O.BM 50730, rto. 6.

³⁰⁷ O.Strasburg H.84, rto. 2.

³⁰⁸ See Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 595 (index).

³⁰⁹ The 'thief' Amenwa is attested in a fragmentary document which is undoubtedly associated closely with these robberies (Pap. Turin 2106/2107, 2 = Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, 17C).

³¹⁰ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 12, ll. 8-11. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 34, has dated this text to year 16 of Ramesses IX.

³¹¹ Pap. BM 10068, rto. 1:16; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 1:8.

³¹² Pap. BM 10068, rto. 2:24; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 5:4.

³¹³ Pap. BM 10068, rto. 3:1; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 6:13. This man is perhaps to be correlated with 'Heqmare-Neb(?)anqen', son of Hori (graffito no. 1092: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 3; pl. 5; KRI VI:208:6).

³¹⁴ Pap. BM 10068, rto. 3:11; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 5:17.

³¹⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 126, n. 126.

³¹⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 9. Seramun (i), son of Amenwa, may be synonymous with the 'draftsman' Ser[...], who occurs in a graffito (no. 1613: Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 3) and perhaps also with the 'scribe' (>'draftsman'(?)) Seramun who is mentioned in a letter dated to 'year 6' of Ramesses IX(?) (Pap. Turin 1976, rto. 9). These correlations are, however, merely speculative. Seramun (i) is definitely not to be identified with the 'superintendent of the district' Seramun, who occurs in year 15 of Ramesses XI (Pap. BM 9997, 5A:3).

³¹⁷ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 5:10; cf. Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 21, l. 6.

³¹⁸ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 2:18.

known, the attribution of this gang to a particular family is more doubtful. There is a strong possibility that Amenwa, son of Hori is to be identified with the draftsman Amenwa (i), son of the draftsman Hori (ix). Amenwa's son, Paanqen (i), can certainly be recognised as the deputy, Paanqen for the 'right' side who operated between years 15 and 17 of Ramesses IX.³¹⁹ He appears to have been married to Isis (xi), daughter of a Nekhemmut, and they bore one daughter called Henutmefek (i).³²⁰ Had Amenwa been the son-in-law of the deputy Hay (vii), it is likely that he named his son Paanqen (i) after his brother-in-law Anqen (i), son of the deputy Hay (vii).³²¹ Amenwa (i)'s sons would therefore have been Paisen (ii), the deputy Paanqen (i), Nekhemmut (iv), Hori (xii) and Seramun (i). On the other hand, Bierbrier has compiled a different scenario.³²² He willingly accepts that the suspected thieves, Paanqen, Hori, Nekhemmut, Paisen and Seramun were sons of Amenwa (iii), who was the son of the foreman Nekhemmut (vi). Furthermore, he identifies Amenwa, son of Hori, as a grandson of this Amenwa (iii). Bierbrier's arguments are at present unsubstantiated, since Amenwa (iii), the putative son of Nekhemmut, is not accorded any title in TT 2 B. Furthermore, there is a fundamental flaw in his hypothesis, in that he has failed to recognise the existence of any other Amenwas.³²³

A careful study of the texts in which the deputy Paanqen (i), son of Amenwa, is mentioned during year 17 of Ramesses IX reveals a remarkable fact that has a significant bearing on the sequence of events which took place during the tomb-robbery investigations of that year. On 1 Peret day 8, the thief Paanqen (i), son of Amenwa, made his deposition before a high-powered inquisition.³²⁴ This statement contained a detailed list of the names of the recipients of Paanqen (i)'s loot. There can be little doubt that Paanqen (i), together with his accomplices, had already been apprehended and imprisoned at this point. However, it comes to our notice two days later, on 1 Peret, day 10, that the two deputies Paanqen (i) and Amenhotep (iv) are still involved in the administration of the Tomb workforce.³²⁵ Thus, it appears that the suspected thieves may have been permitted to continue their work, whilst released on conditional 'bail'. It is remarkable that the authorities felt little threat in allowing the culprits to continue their everyday business affairs despite the fact that they had openly confessed their guilt in capital offences. Even more incredulous is the fact that both Paanqen (i) and Amenhotep (iv) were entrusted with the handling of valuable copper supplies used by the workmen. Nevertheless, by 2 Peret, day 6, one of the posts of deputy had been filled by Amennakht, son of Hay.³²⁶ We can not be certain whether this was the position vacated by Paanqen (i) or Amenhotep (iv). Furthermore, we learn that by 2 Peret, day 10, the necropolis thieves had been imprisoned in the

³¹⁹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 28, l. 21; pl. 42, l. 5 (see Černý, *Community*, p. 141); cf. Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 12, l. 9 for this identification. It will be determined below that the deputy Paanqen (i) probably disappeared from the record in year 17 of Ramesses IX. Consequently, Gutgesell's proposed dating of Pap. Turin 2077/197+2024/178+2052/297 (*Datierung*, p. 346), in which the deputy Paan[gen] occurs (rto. 1), in the interval between year 17 of Ramesses IX and year 1 of Ramesses X now requires minor adjustment.

³²⁰ Černý Nb. 15, pp. 68-69.

³²¹ Graffiti nos. 221 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 21; KRI V:636:8) and 1631 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 4; KRI V:635:2-3).

³²² Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 34.

³²³ But see now his revised comments in *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 103-04.

³²⁴ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 6:13.

³²⁵ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 42, ll. 5, 7.

³²⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 14, l. 2; KRI VI:570:13. He is probably identical with Amennakht (xii), son of Hay (vii).

granary of the temple of Maat in Eastern Thebes.³²⁷ The perplexing question of just when these felons had been formally arrested and delivered to the Theban authorities must be tackled. It is possible that we need look no further than an entry in the necropolis journal, which closely pre-dates 1 Peret, day 14.³²⁸ Here an unnamed dignitary recites before the workforce the names of the eight thieves. In her commentary on the tomb-robberies, McDowell was perplexed by the exact nature of this event.³²⁹ However, I believe that we may not be far from the truth in suggesting that it was on this day that the eight thieves were finally removed from their positions on the gang and incarcerated.

We learn that Hori, son of Amenwa, is earlier attested in years 9,³³⁰ 10³³¹ and 15³³² of Ramesses IX. Paisen (ii), son of Amenwa, should be differentiated from a Pa(i)sen who can be attested as early as the reign of Ramesses IV.³³³ This earlier workman probably appears in one document, where his name can be emended to read 'Pa(i)sen (iii), <son of> Hori'.³³⁴ On this understanding, Paisen (iii) can probably be identified as a member of the family of Amenwa (i), son of Hori (ix), perhaps as a brother of Amenwa (i). It has already been mentioned above that the lady Taisen(et) (i) was the recipient of certain stolen property from Paisen (ii), son of Amenwa (i), and that she was the wife of this man and not of the contemporary Paisen (i), son of Pahemneter. It is highly improbable that Paisen (ii), son of Amenwa (i), and for that matter his criminal fraternity, survived the events of year 17 of Ramesses IX. The name of Paisen lived on in the guise of the 'chief workman' Paisen (iv) who occurs towards the end of the XXth Dynasty and who is undoubtedly a different man.³³⁵

§ 36: The draftsman Pauer (i)

Pauer (i) appears in a graffito³³⁶ with the unusual title of the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth of pꜣ hr'. In another rock inscription, the same draftsman Pauer is named alongside the 'scribe' Penparei.³³⁷ If we accept a correlation between the scribe Penparei and the homonymous foreman,³³⁸ this text must surely pre-date year 20 of Ramesses XI since by that date Penparei (i) had acceded to the foremanship.³³⁹ However, an identification with the true 'scribe' Penparei (ii), who was probably active prior to year 19 of Ramesses XI, is more likely.³⁴⁰ The draftsman Pauer is mentioned in a text

³²⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 14, l. 10.

³²⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 12, ll. 7 ff.

³²⁹ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 196.

³³⁰ Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. I:12.

³³¹ Pap. Turin 2049/141+1963+2042+1917+1913, rto. 3:9.

³³² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 29, l. 4.

³³³ E.g., O.DM 41, rto. 13; O.DM 44, vso. 6.

³³⁴ O.MMA. 09.184.702, I:4.

³³⁵ Gardiner weight no. 11 (KRI VII:397); see Černý, *Community*, p. 312; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 384-85.

³³⁶ No. 526 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 45; KRI VI:670:7).

³³⁷ Graffito no. 1947 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 28; KRI VI:670:9).

³³⁸ For examples in which the foreman Penparei (i), son of Nebnefer, is referred to as 'scribe' see graffiti nos. 1375 and 1944 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 71; Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 27).

³³⁹ See above p. 55.

³⁴⁰ See above p. 104 for Penparei (ii).

from a 'year 14', which can be dated to none other than the reign of Ramesses IX, due to the appearance of Harshire (i).³⁴¹ A pardonable mistake would be to take Pamer (i) for the senior 'scribe' of the right side, Pamer'a (i), son of Thutemheb, who occurs in year 1/2 of Ramesses X,³⁴² and who was still active in years 8-10 of Ramesses XI.³⁴³ The identity of a Pamer'a who is attested in year 10 of Ramesses IX is uncertain. However, it is possible that he may be synonymous with Pamer'a (i).³⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it seems likely that Pamer'a (i) and Pamer (i) were completely different individuals. In fact, Pamer'a (i)'s son is known to have been the workman of the 'right side' Pentawomet (i), who was active in years 8-10 of Ramesses XI.³⁴⁵ It is noticeable, however, that Pentawomet's quantity of emmer-ration in this text equals exactly half that accorded to the other workmen (rto. 2:9). Consequently, it is likely that this reduced payment was a reflection of Pentawomet (i)'s junior status on the workforce. We may suggest here an alternative identification of the draftsman Pamer (i) with one of the sons of the draftsman Harmin (i), Pamerakhetef (i) (see p. 171 above), though this remains a purely speculative suggestion.

³⁴¹ O.BM 5672+O.CGC 25649, rto. 3.

³⁴² Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 1:6; for this official see Černý, *Community*, p. 203.

³⁴³ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 1:8, vso. A, 2:4.

³⁴⁴ Pap. Turin 2049/141 (+1963+2042+1917+1913), rto. 1:9.

³⁴⁵ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 2:9, 3:9, *passim*.

CHAPTER 5

THE SCULPTORS

§ 37: The family of the sculptor Qen (ii): chart 13

In the opinion of his contemporaries, the sculptor Qen (ii) must have seemed to have been a wealthy and a pious colleague. This fact is supported by the abundance and variety of monuments that he erected, to both local and national gods, in and around the village of Deir el-Medina.¹ That we can attribute Qen with two wives, Henutmehyt (iii) and Nefertari (vi), is borne out by these records. However, whether both women lived simultaneously remains a conjectural issue. Nevertheless, since polygamy was not uncommonly practised in ancient Egypt, there is every possibility that Qen (ii)'s financial stature could have permitted the support of both wives concurrently. Unfortunately the extant records, in which both women are frequently depicted on the same monuments as their husband, offer scant hope of a resolution to this issue.² As a result, attempts at attributing Qen (ii)'s children to a particular wife are extremely difficult. A good example of this can be seen in the case of the sons, Tjauenhuy (i) and the sculptor Huy (xiii), who are on occasion named with both of Qen (ii)'s wives.³ Fortunately, we can successfully determine the true parentage of several of the remaining children through the careful study of certain vignettes in Qen (ii)'s tomb (TT 4) and from stela inscriptions. The children from Qen (ii)'s relationship with Nefertari (vi) included the sculptor Merymery (i) and a daughter Taqari (i);⁴ whilst Pendua (i), Kewer (i), Tjauenanuy (i),⁵ Huyemtjebutyfy (i), Baki (iv)⁶ and

¹ E.g., stela Turin N.50074; New York MMA.59.93; DeM 320; Turin Cat. 1634; BM 815; Bordeaux Museum (Clère, *RdE* 27 (1975), 72-77); BM 8493; Copenhagen National Museum B.3 (AA.d.11); two offering tables, one from TT 4 (PM I:1, p. 12) and the other now in Cairo, CGC 23075; a pillar base commemorating the cult of Amenophis I on which Qen is called a 'servitor of Djoserkare'; and a votive group of *smn*-geese (for the inscriptions contained on these objects see *KRI* III:681-82).

² PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) IV; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 48:B:1; *KRI* III:678. Cf. an offering table found in TT 4 (PM I:1, p. 12; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 182, fig. 122; *KRI* III:681-682). Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 92, has proposed that Qen (ii)'s first wife was Henutmehyt (iii), after whose death he subsequently married Nefertari (vi). His argument is based on the fact that the children of the latter, Taqari (i) and Merymery (i), are represented as 'youngsters' in TT 4. Whilst this is indeed true for Taqari (i), there is as yet no decisive evidence to oppose Qen (ii)'s having committed bigamy with two ladies.

³ The evidence is weighed strongly in favour of Henutmehyt (iii) as the mother of Tjauenhuy (i) (see PM I:1, p. 11 at (7) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 45: C; *KRI* III:677; cf. stela Bordeaux Museum and the offering table in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E SS-15). Nevertheless, he is depicted in TT 4, together with his brother Merymery (i), offering to Qen (ii) and Nefertari (vi) (PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 49:B:3 left; *KRI* III:679-680). This scene had been overlooked by Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 92. Huy (xiii) appears in scenes with both 'prospective' mothers (PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 48:B:2; *KRI* III:679 and New York stela MMA.59.93). Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 92, is right in favouring an attribution of Henutmehyt (iii) as Huy's mother. Huy (xiii), son of Qen (ii), appears in O.CGC 25573, II:9 (which can be dated before year 40 of Ramesses II). He is also depicted on a painted piece of linen, censuring and libating over a pile of offerings in front of his daughter, Tanodjemethemsi (i) (Berlin Museum 13709: PM I:2, p. 748; *KRI* IV:240).

⁴ PM I:1, p. 11 at (4), (5) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 44:A, pp. 44-45; *KRI* III:675-676.

Khaemwaset (i)⁷ can be identified as sons of Qen (ii) and Henutmehyt (iii). The attestation of the name Qen on a stela belonging to the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pendua seemingly corroborates the owner's relationship with the family of Qen (ii).⁸ The names of Pendua's wife, Tal (i), and his children Huy (xiv) and Tentnub (i) were also inscribed on this monument.⁹

The sepulchre chosen by Qen (ii) can be dated to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II as a result of a scene on the west wall of its south hall, which shows this king followed by the vizier Paser, the 'royal scribe of the Lords of Truth' Ramose (i), and the tomb owner.¹⁰ For the purpose of chronology, it is indeed fortunate that this scene has survived, since the name of Qen (ii) appears, all too rarely, in the ostraca from Deir el-Medina.¹¹ Following the example set by his father before him, Qen (ii) undertook an apprenticeship in a specialised field at Deir el-Medina.¹² However, it would seem that his promotion from the status of an ordinary gang member to that of 'sculptor' did not take place before either of his marriages.¹³ During the time he spent as a simple 'workman', he probably served a period of apprenticeship under the tutelage of one of the full-time sculptors. Similarly, Qen (ii)'s introduction to Henutmehyt (iii), the daughter of the sculptor Piay (ii), may have been the result of a professional association.¹⁴ Henutmehyt (iii) is attested with Qen (ii) in the scenes from the tomb

⁵ Due to the rarity of his name, Tjauenanuy (i) is probably to be identified with the owner of the *ḥt ikr n R* stela no. A 46 (Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 122-123). The name Tjauenanuy is attested in numerous ostraca, e.g., O.Nims, vso. 5; O.DM 670, 1; O.Gardiner 144, 1 (unpublished) and O.Leipzig 34, 1 (an unpublished letter written to his mother Henutmehyt (iii)).

⁶ As Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 92, has remarked, Baki (iv) could have been the father of the two brothers, Anhotep (iv) and [...jka[...], who are named with him on Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E SS-15. The profession of Huyemtjebutyfy (i) and Baki (iv) as 'sculptors' is recorded on a stela of Neferabu (i) (BM 150+1754), where they appear amongst a group of friends and relatives carrying furniture and food to the tomb of Neferabu (i). However, I find myself at a loss to explain James' emendation of the name of Huyemtjebutyfy to read Hunerotjebutyfy (*BMHT* 9, p. 35, n. 2).

⁷ For some of these relationships, see PM I:1, p. 11 at (2), (3) III, (5) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 44-45, 48:B:2, 50:A; *KRI* III:676, 678-679; cf. the Bordeaux Museum stela and the table of offerings, Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E SS-15. A second daughter born to Henutmehyt (iii) is named as Mutemwia (iv) on the Cambridge monument (Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 85-92, esp. pp. 87 & 92).

⁸ Turin N.50040 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 74-75, 277; PM I:2, p. 732; *KRI* III:688). It is likely that Pendua's relationship as a son of Henutmehyt (iii) had originally been recorded on Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E SS-15 (Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 87).

⁹ For the workman Pendua (i), son of Qen (ii) see p. 11 above.

¹⁰ PM I:1, p. 11 at (6:I); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 47; *KRI* III:678:6-8.

¹¹ O.DM 266, 5, in which Qen is named together with the likes of Buqentuf and Maaninakhtuf. Whether the workman Qen, who appears during the reign of Amenmesses (O.CGC 25779, rto. 6, *passim*; O.CGC 25782, rto. 17, *passim*), was related, in some way, to the 'sculptor' Qen (ii) can not now be verified.

¹² We meet his parents, the 'sculptor of Amun in the Residence' Tjanefer (i) and Maatnofret (i) in TT 4 (PM I:1, p. 11 at (5) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 45; *KRI* III:676-677). The same couple appear on a fragmentary stela, found in tomb no. 1102. The broken inscription can probably be restored as: '[The sculptor(?) Qen, justified, son of *title*] Tjanefer, justified, born of the Lady of the House, Maatnofret' (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 96; *KRI* III:838:11).

¹³ See the table of offerings recovered from his tomb, in which he is named as a 'servant in the Place of Truth' alongside Nefertari (vi) and Henutmehyt (iii) (PM I:1, p. 12; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 182, fig. 122; *KRI* III:681).

¹⁴ PM I:1, pp. 402-403 at (7), (23); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 122, 162, figs. 83-84, 108; *KRI* III:670, 674.

of her brother-in-law Khabekhnet (i) (TT 2).¹⁵ The parents of Nefertari (vi) are named as Qen (i) and Wadjetronpet (v).¹⁶ It has been suggested by several scholars¹⁷ that the 'sculptor of Amun' Qen,¹⁸ owner of TT 337, ought to be identified with Qen (i), the father-in-law of Qen (ii). However, the fact that the name of the 'sculptor' Qen is all that has survived from the fragmentary inscriptions of the tomb is an inadequate base from which to determine whether the original owner was Qen (i) or Qen (ii). A 'sculptor' Huy, who appears in an undated graffito¹⁹ with Anuy²⁰ and the 'scribes' Wennefer (vii) and Qen<hir>khoshef (i), both of whom were operative under Merenptah,²¹ might possibly be identified with Huy (xiii), the son of Qen (ii). Furthermore, it is probably the same 'sculptor' Huy, who occurs on a piece of painted linen, named as the father of the lady Tanodjem(t)hensi.²²

§ 38: The family of the sculptor Piay (ii): chart 14

The abundance of Piay (ii)'s monuments which has been recovered from the village of Deir el-Medina provide a rich source of information concerning his extensive family.²³ Piay (ii)'s parentage is hitherto unknown, unless we agree with Černý's understanding that the two men, the 'sculptor in the Place of Eternity' Piay and the 'sculptor of Amun' Piay, shown on a stela adoring Khonsu-in-Thebes, were father and son.²⁴ The names of the 'sculptor of Amun' Piay (ii) and the draftsman Pay (i) occur in apposition to the cartouches of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I in graffito no. 817.²⁵ There is little doubt that both officials served during the reigns of these monarchs. Furthermore, Piay (ii) is depicted in a funerary scene in the tomb of one of his contemporaries, Amennakht.²⁶ A clear distinction should, however, be drawn between the sculptor Piay and his namesake, Piay (i), who is named in the tomb (no. 9) of his father, the 'scorpion controller' Amenmose (i).²⁷

Piay (ii) was married to the lady Nofretkhau (iii), daughter of Wen[nakht] (i).²⁸ Their children included Neferronpet (ii), Nakhtamun (ii), Ipuy (i) (called Amenemope), Sahte (i) and Henutmehyt

¹⁵ PM I:1, p. 7 at (11) IV; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 16; KRI III:804. Khabekhnet (i) was married to Sahte (i), another of Piay (ii)'s daughters (see pp. 45-6 above; cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 19).

¹⁶ PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 49:B:3 left; KRI III:679-680.

¹⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 80; Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 116.

¹⁸ PM I:1, pp. 405-06; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 79; KRI III:681:8-11.

¹⁹ No. 1114 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 5, pl. 10; KRI V:643:3-4).

²⁰ Anuy may have been synonymous with the sculptor, Anuy (iii), son of Ipuy (i) (see below p. 273).

²¹ See pp. 99-100 above.

²² Berlin 13709 (PM I:2, p. 748; Roeder, *Äg. Inschr. Berlin II*, p. 340; KRI IV:240). See further pp. 224-5.

²³ For a most recent and complete survey of this famous family see Bierbrier's seminal publication of Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E SS-15 in *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 85-92.

²⁴ Černý, *Banks Stelae*, No. 8; PM I:2, p. 733 (a); KRI I:396.

²⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 66; KRI I:391.

²⁶ PM I:1, p. 317 at (1) II-IV; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 64; KRI III:708-709.

²⁷ PM I:1, p. 19 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 71-72; KRI VII:42. Piay (i) can be identified as the co-author, with his brother Meryre (i), of O.DM 126 (Green, *Orientalia* 45 (1976), pp. 396-97).

²⁸ Stela Louvre E.14405 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), pp. 139 f., fig. 64; PM I:2, p. 733 (c); KRI I:396).

(iii).²⁹ An inscription on a lintel above the entrance to TT 210 seems to indicate that the sculptor Piay (ii) was the 'father' of the tomb owner, Reweben (iii).³⁰ The pertinent inscription reads: 'By his father, the sculptor in the Place of Truth, Piay, justified; his son, his beloved, the sculptor in the Place of Truth, Ipuy, justified before the great god; his mother, Lady of the House, Nofretkhau, justified'. The preponderance with which the name of the 'sculptor' Ipuy (i), son of Piay (ii), occurs within this tomb strongly suggests that Reweben was closely associated with the family of Piay (ii).³¹

Ipuy (i) and his wife Duaemmeres (i) were the owners of TT 217,³² from whose inscriptions we can glean invaluable information about various members of his family. In addition to his sons Nebnakht (i) and Huy (xv), who are mentioned above, the names of several other children of Ipuy (i) are preserved in scenes from this tomb, for example, the sculptor Anuy (iii), Merymose (i), Iamemheb (i) and Werel (Wernuro) (ii).³³ Several of the stelae erected by Ipuy (ii) not only bear testimony to the existence of further offspring but can also afford valuable insight into some of their relative ages. For instance, on stela Zagreb No. 15,³⁴ Nebnakht (i) and Werel (Wernuro) (ii) are represented as adults whilst their brother Amenhotep (viii) is still only a child. Similarly, on stela Turin N.50031,³⁵ Nebnakht (i) and Huy (xv) are shown as grown-ups, whilst Werel (Wernuro) (ii) is depicted as a girl, and another son of Ipuy (ii), Nefersekheru (i), is portrayed as a boy.

Ipuy (i) appears in scenes from no less than four tombs at Deir el-Medina: (a) with his wife and their son, Iyernutef (ii), in TT 336 of his brother Neferronpet (ii);³⁶ (b) in TT 335 of his brother Nakhtamun (ii);³⁷ (c) in TT 10 of Kasa (i) and Penbuy (i);³⁸ (d) in TT 2 of his sister Sahte (i) and her husband Khabekhnet (i).³⁹ His appearance in these closely contemporary tombs enables us to place Ipuy (i)'s career firmly within the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. The name of an Ipuy is mentioned in at least two undated texts.⁴⁰ His exclusion from O.BM 5634 of year 40 of Ramesses II

²⁹ Louvre E.14405 and Louvre D.19. According to Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 123, n. 43, Nofretkhau (i), the wife of the scribe Huy (x), may have been a third daughter.

³⁰ PM I:1, p. 307 at (1); KRI III:783:4.

³¹ Ipuy (i) is represented in TT 210 along with his wife [Duaemmeres (i)] and Nebnakht (i), who appears to have been his son (PM I:1, p. 307 at (1); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 19; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 85; KRI III:783:10-12). In fact Nebnakht (i), son of Ipuy (i), and Duaemmeres (i) appear in TT 217 (PM I:1, p. 316 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 112, C:3 b; KRI III:662:4). It is possible that a second son of Ipuy (i), who is represented in TT 210 as a child alongside Ipuy (i), is Huy (xv) (PM I:1, p. 307 at (1); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 84; KRI III:783:6). In fact, this Huy (xv) can be differentiated from Huy (xvi), son of Reweben (iii), who appears on the opposite side of this same scene (PM I:1, p. 307 at (1); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 17, fig. 12; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 84; KRI III:782:16).

³² PM I:1, pp. 315-317; Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pp. 33-76, pls. 20-42; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 110-112; KRI III:660 ff.

³³ PM I:1, p. 316 at (3), (6); Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pp. 43 f., pls. 25, 26 & 36; KRI III:662-663.

³⁴ PM I:2, p. 721 (a); KRI III:663.

³⁵ PM I:2, p. 721 (b); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 63-64, 273; KRI III:665-666.

³⁶ PM I:1, p. 404 at (7); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 91, fig. 59 (p. 89); KRI III:668:4.

³⁷ PM I:1, p. 402 at (8+13); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 123, fig. 84; KRI III:671:1-2.

³⁸ PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) III; KRI III:736:7-8.

³⁹ PM I:1, p. 7 at (11) IV; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 16; KRI III:804:10.

⁴⁰ O.Gardiner 87, 3 and in O.DM 698.

may be indicative of his death prior to that date. There is little doubt that differentiation should be made between the sculptor and a workman Ipuy (vii), who is attested between year 1 of Amenmesses⁴¹ and at least year 1 of Siptah.⁴²

The strong possibility that Reweben was a son of Piay has already been discussed above.⁴³ However, a note should be made of an inscription on a table of offerings of the draftsman Pay, where he names Reweben (ii) as one of his sons.⁴⁴ The meagre remains of the now badly damaged tomb of Reweben (TT 210)⁴⁵ include the lintel to the entrance of the chapel⁴⁶ and its outer door jambs, which name Reweben, his wife Nebtiunu (i), their three adult daughters Henutwedjebu (i), Tahaynu (i) and Raia (ii), and two small sons Ramose (iii)⁴⁷ and Huy (xvi). The rarity of the name Henutwedjebu at Deir el-Medina makes it most likely that she was the wife of Amenmose (iii), son of Pashedu (i).⁴⁸

Mention of Reweben in the ostraca is confined to an indirect reference to him as the father of the 'workman' Ramose (iii) in a text which can be dated before year 40 of Ramesses II.⁴⁹ The same Ramose (iii) was undoubtedly the owner of a wooden standard-statue, now in Turin, in which he holds the title of 'servant in the Place of Truth'.⁵⁰ This object's importance lies in the fact that it depicts Ramose (iii)'s wife, a 'servitor of Hathor', Henutdjuu (iii), the daughter of one Nebwa'wy (i),⁵¹ and several of the couple's offspring. A double inscription on the base of the statue in the first instance names Ramose (iii) and his wife Henutdjuu (iii). Ramose is subsequently attributed with a second wife, Wernuro (iii). Two possible explanations for this can be mooted - firstly, that the name Wernuro was merely a sportive diminutive of the name Henutdjuu; or secondly, that Ramose (iii) was in fact married to two different women. This statue also bears the names of several other sons of Ramose (iii), namely Huy (xvii), Penshenabu (i), Nebwa' (ii), who was probably named after his maternal grandfather Nebwa'wy (i), Pashedu (xi) and those of two daughters, Wadjetronpet (vi) and Tahaynu

⁴¹ O.CGC 25779, rto. 5. His name is recorded in O.Zouche H. 2, vso. 3, dated to a 'year 9' of the reign of either Merenptah, Tewosret or Ramesses III.

⁴² O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 3.

⁴³ This affiliation is only tentatively held by Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 35.

⁴⁴ Turin N.22029 (=Suppl. 6259): Habachi, *Tavole*, pp. 34-37, 136-137; *KRI* III:647-648. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 35, suggested that this filiation 'need not be taken literally', presumably to strengthen his preference in associating Reweben as a son of Piay (ii). Nevertheless, there is little benefit to be gained from denying the possible existence of two contemporary Rewebens as Bierbrier has apparently done.

⁴⁵ PM I:1, p. 307; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 16-22; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 84-86; *KRI* III:782 ff.

⁴⁶ PM I:1, p. 307 at (1); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 17; *KRI* III:782-783.

⁴⁷ Reweben and Ramose are also named on stela BM 320, dedicated by Qenemkhopshef in honour of the god Re-Horakhty.

⁴⁸ This couple are cited in TT 250 of Ramose (i) (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 32, 35; cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 101). See below pp. 222 ff. for Pashedu (i), son of Hehnekhu (i).

⁴⁹ O.CGC 25573, II:11.

⁵⁰ Turin Cat. 3046 (PM I:2, p. 713; Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), pp. 185-86, §63; *KRI* III:785-787). Two further Ramoses are known from the reign of Ramesses II, though neither is referred to explicitly by the title of 'servant in the Place of Truth': (a) Ramose (iv), a son of Sennedjem (i) (TT 2: PM I:1, p. 7 at (10) IV; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 15; *KRI* III:804); (b) Ramose (ii), a son of Neferabu (i) (stela BM 150+1754: James, *BMHT* 9, p. 35; *KRI* III:776:6).

⁵¹ There is the possibility that Henutdjuu (iii)'s father is to be identified with the *smdt*-member, the 'water-carrier' Nebwa', who appears in an ostrakon which is datable to the reign of Ramesses II (O.DM 447, vso. 1).

(ii). The career of Reweben (iv) stands out from amongst Ramose's children. He can be traced serving on the gang between the reigns of Amenmesses and Siptah.⁵²

The name of Ramose (iii) frequents the ostraca, thus enabling his career to be placed chronologically either side of year 40 of Ramesses II.⁵³ He takes his place alongside his uncle, the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Huy (x), in a West Theban graffito,⁵⁴ and it is possible that his parents named him after a close colleague of their brother Huy (x), namely Ramose (i), the celebrated senior 'scribe'. A Ramose, who Bierbrier identified as the 'son of Reweben',⁵⁵ is represented as a 'wa'b-priest' carrying the stately bark of Amenre on a stela of his colleague Merwaset.⁵⁶

There is doubt as to whether Ramose (iii)'s son Penshenabu (i)⁵⁷ was employed at all as a full-time member of the workforce. However, this name does occur amongst the employees of the administration at Deir el-Medina. The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Penshenabu (ii) and his wife Tentnub (ii) were the owners of TT 322,⁵⁸ a monument which is regrettably now badly defaced. The close proximity of TT 322 to TT 10 of Kasa (i) and Penbuy (i), and the identification of Penshenabu as a brother of Penbuy (i) in the latter,⁵⁹ strongly suggests that we have to do with one and the same man. Penshenabu's name occurs on two ostraca: the first of which is a name list datable prior to year 40 of Ramesses II,⁶⁰ whilst the second text is merely a record of his name.⁶¹

The tomb of the sculptor Nakhtamun (ii) (TT 335)⁶² is located just to the south of TT 336 of his brother Neferronpet (ii),⁶³ and to the north of TT 4 of his brother-in-law Qen (ii).⁶⁴ A substantial proportion of the painted reliefs from TT 335 have retained much of their original splendour. As a result of this excellent level of preservation, it is possible to determine certain features of Nakhtamun (ii)'s family life. A scene on the east wall of room A depicts Nakhtamun (ii) and his wife Nubemshaes (i), together with their young children, Penkhnun (i) and Nodjemhemsiset (i), receiving the offerings

⁵² O.CGC 25779, rto. 3 (year 1 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25517, vso. 7 (year 1 of Siptah). See also Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 35.

⁵³ O.CGC 25573, II:11 (pre-year 40) as the 'son of Reweben'; O.BM 5634, vso. 15 (year 40); O.DM 621, vso. 12 (year 2 of Merenptah). According to Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 35 (after Valbelle, *Poids*, no. 5029) the last attestation of him occurs in year 6 of Merenptah.

⁵⁴ No. 1210 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 11; *KRI* III:646:9).

⁵⁵ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29.

⁵⁶ BM 444.

⁵⁷ See p. 181 for this individual.

⁵⁸ PM I:1, pp. 393-94; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 56-59; *KRI* III:745-746. Statue DM 256 (PM I:2, p. 712; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 59, 112, pl. 43; *KRI* III:747) and a fragmentary offering table, DM 392 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 145; *KRI* III:748) can both be attributed to this individual.

⁵⁹ PM I:1, p. 21 at (6) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 81; *KRI* III:738:10-11.

⁶⁰ O.Gardiner 199, II:8.

⁶¹ O.Turin N.57420.

⁶² PM I:1, pp. 401-404; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 113-173; *KRI* III:669 ff.

⁶³ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 113.

⁶⁴ Nakhtamun (ii) is attested in both of these tombs (for TT 336 see PM I:1, p. 404 at (7); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 90-91, fig. 59; *KRI* III:668:2; for TT 4 see PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 48; *KRI* III:679:12). Similarly, he is mentioned in TT 219 of Nebenmaat (ii) (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 11, scene 12 (rt.), pl. 2; *KRI* III:758:14).

due from their adult daughters Webkhet (v) and Henutiamu (i) and their adolescent son Ankhou (i).⁶⁵ The names of Nubemshaes (i)'s parents are recorded on the west wall of this room as Pashedu (i) and Mekhay-[ib] (i).⁶⁶ Similarly, Piay (iv), Baki (v) and Pashedu (xii), the sons of the tomb owner, Nakhtamun (ii), are all represented in the ritual purification of their parents on the south wall,⁶⁷ whilst their brothers, Nodjemger (iii) and the scribe Ankhou (i), and their sister Hemtneter (iii), occur amongst a group of their siblings on the south wall of room B.⁶⁸ A second register on the same wall depicts the deceased Nakhtamun (ii) being mourned by his wife and his daughter, Webkhet (v), and his so-called 'brothers': the scribe User-setet, Khons, Khaemwaset, Tjauenanuy, Pendua and Wadjshemsu.⁶⁹ That not all of these 'brothers' were blood-relatives of Nakhtamun (ii) can be shown by a closer investigation into their identities. Khons is indeed to be identified with Khons (i), another son of Piay (ii), whereas Tjauenanuy, Khaemwaset and Pendua may be identified as the sons of Qen (ii) and Henutmehyt (iii) (see chart 13), which would mean that they were nephews of Nakhtamun (ii). Furthermore, User-setet (i) was the brother of Nubemshaes (i), the wife of Nakhtamun (ii).⁷⁰ It is possible that Wadjshemsu appears under a contracted form of his name, Shemsu, who occurs as a 'sculptor' in year 40 of Ramesses II.⁷¹ In actual fact, Wadjshemsu is represented in TT 2, seemingly as the 'brother' of Sahte (i), the sister of Nakhtamun (ii), and possibly also as the husband of Henutweret.⁷² Therefore, he may have been a true 'brother' of Nakhtamun (ii), or more likely his wife, Henutweret, is to be identified with Henutweret (i), the daughter of Khabekhnet (i) and Sahte (i),⁷³ in which case Wadjshemsu would be the husband of Nakhtamun (ii)'s niece.

Unfortunately the career of the sculptor Nakhtamun (ii) occurred roughly in parallel to that of the draftsman Nakhtamun (iii), son of Nebre. Thus, any positive identification of the Nakhtamun, who was active in year 40 of Ramesses II, is not possible.⁷⁴ However, the sculptor Nakhtamun (ii) is identifiable from an undated ostrakon which can be dated to the reign of Ramesses II.⁷⁵ Furthermore, there is every possibility that he is to be identified with a 'sculptor' Nakhtamun/Amen<nakh>t(?), who is mentioned in a papyrus which dates from approximately the reign of Merenptah.⁷⁶ A comparison of the writing of the title and name of this individual against those used for the 'sculptor Nakhtamun' in O.Gardiner 195, suggests that this name may well be read as Nakhtamun. A restored inscription in the tomb of Nebenmaat (ii), in which the sculptor Pen[khnum] (i) can be identified, suggests that this son

⁶⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 121, fig. 82 (p. 120). Ankhou (i) is without doubt the same man who wrote letter O.DM 324 to his daughter Nubemshaes (ii) (Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 6).

⁶⁶ PM I:1, p. 402 at (10); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 124 f., figs. 86/87; KRI III:671:9-10. See pp. 222 ff. below for Pashedu (i), son of Hehnekhu (i).

⁶⁷ PM I:1, p. 402 at (5), (6); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 119 f., figs. 80-81; KRI III:670:5-8.

⁶⁸ PM I:1, p. 402 at (16) I; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 128-131, figs. 88/89; KRI III:671:14-672:3. Henutshenu (ii), another daughter of Nakhtamun (ii), is named in a ceiling bandeau from vault C (PM I:1, p. 403 at (23); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 167, fig. 113; KRI III:674:8).

⁶⁹ PM I:1, p. 402 at (16) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 131-132, fig. 89; KRI III:672:6 ff.

⁷⁰ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 24, chart VI; idem, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 105-106. See p. 223 below.

⁷¹ O.Gardiner 215, 2.

⁷² See p. 45 above.

⁷³ Cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 105-106.

⁷⁴ O.BM 5634, vso. 19; cf. O.DM 86, I:2.

⁷⁵ O.Gardiner 195, rto. 10.

⁷⁶ Pap. Gardiner 8 (=Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1960.1283), rto. 4. See p. 126 above for the dating of this text.

of Nakhtamun (ii) pursued the trade adopted by his father.⁷⁷ The only other citation of the name of Penkhnun, of which I am aware, can be found on a fragment of a stela recovered from house N.E. III at Deir el-Medina.⁷⁸

The 'sculptor in the Place of Truth' Neferronpet (ii), son of Piay (ii), and his wife Huynofret (ii) were the owners of TT 336,⁷⁹ which can be found adjacent to the sepulchre (TT 335) of his brother Nakhtamun (ii). It is possible that the family once resided in house C. II at Deir el-Medina, wherein a fragmentary jamb bearing the name of the sculptor Neferronpet was found.⁸⁰ Fortunately the scarce inscriptional material surviving from TT 336 is of positive value. A banqueting scene on the south wall of the first vault shows Neferronpet (ii) and Huynofret (ii) receiving the offerings brought by some of their sons, namely Piay (v), Huy (xxiv), Pashedu (xiii), Nefermenu (i), and a daughter Tabaki (i).⁸¹ A second couple represented in this vignette are referred to as Neferronpet (ii)'s 'brother' (-in-law), namely the 'royal scribe' Huy (x) and his wife Nofretkhau (i), sister of Neferronpet (ii). They are similarly served by their daughter (Mutem)wia (i) and her husband the 'scribe' Ramose (i). From stela Turin N.50046, dedicated by Neferronpet (ii) to Thoth, we learn of the existence of a second daughter of his, Wernuro (iv).⁸² It is likely that the '[servant] in the Place of Truth' Huy, who is depicted with his wife Nofretemiunu (i) in a scene from TT 336, can be identified with Huy (xxiv), the son of Neferronpet (ii).⁸³

The name Neferronpet was distinctly common within the community of Deir el-Medina. Therefore, a fair degree of caution needs to be exercised when distinction is drawn between individuals bearing this name. The sculptor Neferronpet (ii) is included in the reliefs of TT 4,⁸⁴ TT 335,⁸⁵ and TT 218⁸⁶ of Qen (ii), Nakhtamun (ii) and Amennakht respectively, in addition to an appearance on a libation basin of the ꜥꜣ n ꜥ Harnefer.⁸⁷ The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Neferronpet (iv) and his brother, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Bakenmut (ii) are attested on the pyramidion of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemheb (vi) and his wife Mutemwia (v).⁸⁸ Two additional Neferronpets, each of which could conceivably be correlated with this workman, are known to have been Neferronpet (i) and Neferronpet (iii), the respective father and son of Neferabu (i).⁸⁹

⁷⁷ PM I:1, p. 320 at (3) II-III; Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 12, scene 13, pl. 2; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 77/78, fig. 52; KRI III:758:10-11.

⁷⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 202/203, 245:2; KRI III:745.

⁷⁹ PM I:1, pp. 404-405; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 80-105; KRI III:666 ff.

⁸⁰ PM I:2, pp. 702, 704; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 44 top.

⁸¹ PM I:1, p. 404 at (7); Bruyère, *Rapport*, pp. 90-91, fig. 59; KRI III:667. The lady Tabaki is depicted in TT 335 of the sculptor Nakhtamun (ii) offering to a couple, whose names have since been lost (PM I:1, p. 402 at (14) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p.138, fig. 93; KRI III:673:13).

⁸² Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 80-81, 280; PM I:2, p. 729; KRI III:668-669.

⁸³ PM I:1, p. 404 at (7); KRI III:668:9-10.

⁸⁴ PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 48; KRI III:679:10.

⁸⁵ PM I:1, p. 402 at (13); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 124; KRI III:671:2-3.

⁸⁶ PM I:1, p. 317 at (1); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 64; KRI III:709:3.

⁸⁷ James, *BMHT* 9, p. 39, pl. 34; PM I:2, p. 746; KRI III:796-797.

⁸⁸ *BMHT* 8, pp. 56-57, pls. 49-50; PM I:2, p. 744; KRI III:707-708.

⁸⁹ Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 2; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 36-37.

The stela erected by the sculptor, Khons (i), son of Piay (ii), in honour of Mertseger⁹⁰ records the name of his wife as Tentopet (i).⁹¹ In view of the rarity of her name, Tentopet (i) is probably identical with the daughter of the workman Kel (i) (Karo).⁹² As opposed to that of his wife, the name Khons was in widespread usage at Deir el-Medina during the XIXth Dynasty.⁹³ In the tomb of his brother Khabekhnet (i), the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Khons (ii) is similarly attested as a son of Sennedjem (i), together with his wife Tameket (i) and their children.⁹⁴ The name Khons is also associated as the owner of numerous monuments, including a stela dedicated to Mertseger.⁹⁵ A triangular stela, which overlooks the Valley of the Kings, was the work of the 'high-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands' Iyernutef and his son the *wa'b*-priest Khons.⁹⁶ However, Kitchen has suggested that this monument could have been the work of an Iyernutef of the XXth Dynasty.⁹⁷ A Khons (iii) is mentioned in the reliefs on the south wall of the chapel of TT 218 of Amennakht (xxi) as a brother of the tomb owner, and consequently a son of the elder Nebenmaat (i).⁹⁸ Consequently, it is not yet possible to identify correctly the Khons who is recorded in year 40 of Ramesses II⁹⁹ (and in O.DM 258, 7). But, we are able to identify positively Khons (ii), son of Sennedjem (i), who is mentioned with Tameket (i) in a bequest of property,¹⁰⁰ and similarly the sculptor Khons (i), who were the author of a letter to his mother Nofretkhau (iii).¹⁰¹

§ 39: The families of the sculptors Iyernutef: charts 14, 15, 18 and 38

An Iyernutef (ii) is known to have been a son of the sculptor Ipuy (i) and hence a grandson of Piay (ii) (see p. 179). It is possible that he is to be identified with the workman who is mentioned in year 40 of Ramesses II,¹⁰² though the possibility that he is identical with Iyernutef who occurs in an undated group of documents from the end of the XIXth Dynasty must not be overlooked.¹⁰³ The 'sculptor in the Place of Truth' Iyernutef (ii), the owner of a stela now in the Louvre was married to the lady

⁹⁰ Khons (i) is named as a son of the sculptor Piay (ii) and a brother of Nakhtamun (ii) in the latter's tomb chapel (PM I:1, p. 402 at (16) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), pp. 132, 167; KRI III:672:7, 674:11).

⁹¹ Louvre E.13935 (PM I:2, p. 725; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 123, fig. 63; KRI III:675).

⁹² Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 91 and n. 15. Cf. stela BM 818 in James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 49-50.

⁹³ Demarée's assumption (*Stelae*, p. 108) that 'the name Khonsu, at least during the 19th dynasty, appears to be exclusive to the family of Sennedjem' is, therefore, somewhat misleading.

⁹⁴ PM I:1, p. 6 at (3); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 32-33; KRI III:800-801.

⁹⁵ DM 227 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 101, pls. 16/18, fig. 172; PM I:1, p. 725; KRI III:821 ff.).

⁹⁶ PM I:2, p. 590 top; KRI III:660; Davies, in *Mélanges Maspero* I, p. 248, pls. III¹, IV¹, §V.

⁹⁷ Kitchen, *RI* III:660:6, note (a) (see below under Iyernutef, p. 184).

⁹⁸ PM I:1, p. 317 at (1) II-IV; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 64; KRI III:708:15.

⁹⁹ O.BM 5634, vso. 10.

¹⁰⁰ O.DM 112.

¹⁰¹ Pap. DeM 15; Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 91, n. 14.

¹⁰² O.BM 5634, vso. 18; cf. O.Gardiner 195, vso. 1.

¹⁰³ O.CGC 25507, vso. x+1; O.CGC 25523, rto. I:8; O.CGC 25526, rto. I:5; O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:7. This Iyernutef may have been the father of a Haremwia (vi), who is attested in year 20 of Ramesses III (O.Gardiner 54, rto. 4-5).

Tabaket (i) and had a son called Pamerihu (i).¹⁰⁴ It is possible that Pamerihu (i) is to be identified with a workman of that name who appears towards the close of the XIXth Dynasty (for whom see below). Consequently, the Paris stela may be dated to the middle of that dynasty. Furthermore, it is then possible that Tabaket (i), who is named as a daughter of the sculptor Neferronpet (ii), could have married her own cousin, Iyernutef (ii), son of Ipuy (i). Similarly, Iyernutef (ii), son of Ipuy (i), may be correlated with a 'first prophet of the Lord of the Two Lands' Iyernutef who is attested, together with his son the 'wa'b-priest' Khons, on a stela erected above the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁵ Further study of the occasions on which Iyernutef appears may, however, show that this identification is not correct, and that this Iyernutef and his son Khons operated in a later period.¹⁰⁶ A sculptor Iyernutef (iii) appears in years 21¹⁰⁷ and 28¹⁰⁸ of Ramesses III.¹⁰⁹ He is probably synonymous with the 'wa'b-priest' Iyernutef of year 14 Ramesses III,¹¹⁰ the craftsman Iyernutef of year 16 Ramesses III,¹¹¹ and the workman Iyernutef who appears in numerous work records between year 23/24 of Ramesses III¹¹² and year 5 of Ramesses IV.¹¹³ This sculptor Iyernutef (iii) may therefore have been the father of Khons (iv). An extension of this hypothesis might allow for the Iyernutef (iv), son of Khons, who is attested in a journal entry which can probably be dated to year 7 of Ramesses IX,¹¹⁴ to have been a son of Khons (iv) and hence the grandson of the sculptor Iyernutef (iii).¹¹⁵ Furthermore, it is possible that the Haremwia (vi), son of Iyernutef, who is attested in year 20 of Ramesses III,¹¹⁶ may also have been a son of the sculptor Iyernutef (iii).

It is necessary to remark that the workman Iyernutef (v), son of Qaha, who appears in years 9¹¹⁷ and 17¹¹⁸ of Ramesses IX, also belonged to a family of sculptors, since his father, Qaha (v), is known to have been a 'sculptor in the Place of Truth' whilst his grandfather Qenymin (i) was a 'chief sculptor in the Place of Truth'.¹¹⁹ Any identification between this Iyernutef (v) and the sculptor Iyernutef (iii),

¹⁰⁴ Stela Louvre N.662 (PM I:2, p. 722 (a); Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), p. 171, §XIV; Letellier, *RdE* 27 (1975), p. 158; *KRI* III:659-660). An interesting document is O.DM 295 which records a payment by the sculptor Iyernutef to an unnamed draftsman for the 'decoration' of some item for [Pa]merihu.

¹⁰⁵ PM I:2, p. 590 top; Davies, in *Mélanges Maspero* I, 1934, p. 248; *KRI* III:660.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Letellier, *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 157-58.

¹⁰⁷ O.Florence 2621, rto. 2.

¹⁰⁸ O.Berlin P.10663, 5.

¹⁰⁹ The sculptor Iyernutef (iii) also appears together with the foreman Khons (v) (O.Louvre E.13160, rto. 4).

¹¹⁰ O.CGC 25555, vso. 5.

¹¹¹ O.Turin N.57020, 4.

¹¹² O.Turin N.57026, rto. 5; also O.DM 37, rto. 3 (year 31) and O.DM 38, 8 (year 32).

¹¹³ O.Gardiner 4, vso. 2; also in O.DM 40, rto. 6 (year 1) and O.DM 44, rto. 10 (year 2). However, we must not lose sight of the possibility that the workman Iyernutef may be differentiated from his contemporary namesake.

¹¹⁴ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 6:13; another mention of an Iyernutef in this papyrus (vso. 3:13) may have been to the workman Iyernutef, son of Qaha (see below).

¹¹⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 35, chart VIII, has preferred to identify Iyernutef, son of Khons, as a son of either the deputy Khons (his Khons (iv)) or a son of the foreman Khons (his Khons (vi)).

¹¹⁶ O.Gardiner 54, rto. 4-5.

¹¹⁷ Pap. Turin 2072/142, rto. 1:7.

¹¹⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 7.

¹¹⁹ Stela Munich Äg. Sammlung Inv. 42 (PM I:1, p. 424 (3); Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pp. 48-49, fig. 29; *KRI* VI:209-10). Also named on this stela are Qaha (v)'s brothers, the 'wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands' Qedhirakhtef (iii) and Ramose (v) (cf. a stela from the 'col': PM I:2, p. 589 end; N. de Garis Davies, in *Mélanges Maspero* I/1, p. 247, pl. IV.3; *KRI* VI:210).

who served during the reign of Ramesses III, would be extremely unlikely. However, the possibility that they derived from the same family is worthy of consideration.

The 'sculptor' Qenymin (i) is attested in year 28 of Ramesses III.¹²⁰ However, the career of a workman Qenymin (ii) can be traced from year 15 of this reign¹²¹ down until a year 1, probably from the reign of Ramesses IV.¹²² Although it can not be proven, the rarity of the name points to them being one and the same man. This supposition might be refuted by an inscription in the tomb of the foreman Anhurhawwy (ii),¹²³ in which the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Qenymin is named. He may possibly be identified with the workman Qenymin (ii) and not with the sculptor Qenymin, since a Qaha, who is most probably Qaha (v), the son of the sculptor Qenymin (i), appears in another scene in the same burial vault as a 'brother' of Anhurhawwy (ii), where he is accorded the title of 'sculptor in the Place of Truth'.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, one might similarly argue that Qenymin's proper title as 'sculptor' could have been omitted from this scene in error. Furthermore, it is feasible that Qenymin (i) may have been synonymous with Qenymin (iii) who was a son of Siwadjet, probably Siwadjet (iv).¹²⁵ According to the *Stato Civile*, Qedhirakhtef (iii), son of Qenymin (i), was married to the lady Merutmut (i).¹²⁶ The sculptor Qaha (v) can with little doubt be dated to year 5 of Ramesses IV,¹²⁷ and may be identical with the contemporary workman Qaha.¹²⁸ It is possible that the three workmen, Qenymin, Qaha and Ramose, who appear in an undated list of supplies were the combination of a father and his two sons.¹²⁹ A Ramose is first attested in year 16 of Ramesses III.¹³⁰ Thereafter, his name occurs in several undated and unpublished ostraca from the mid-XXth Dynasty.¹³¹ This workman Ramose may be synonymous with a 'wa'b'-priest of Amun' of that name, who probably appears as one of the pall-bearers of the barque of Amun on a stela which was promulgated by the scribe Amennakht (v)¹³² and perhaps even with Ramose (v), son of Qenymin (i). It seems most

¹²⁰ O.Berlin P.10663, 5.

¹²¹ O.DM 253, vso. 3; cf. O.DM 222, 4, 9 (year 22); O.Brussels E.303, rto. 2 (year 23); on the dating of O.DM 253 see Helck, 'Zur Geschichte der 19. und 20. Dynastie', *ZDMG* 105 (1955), p. 33. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212, sets year 22 as the *terminus post quem* for the career of Qenymin.

¹²² O.MMA. 09.184.702, II:9. Qenymin also appears in the unpub. O.IFAO 574 II:2 and O.IFAO 1258, I:2, which Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 286, 318, has dated to year 2 of Ramesses IV and year 1 of Ramesses V respectively.

¹²³ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56, pl. XVI; KRI VI:193:8.

¹²⁴ PM I:1, p. 423 at (11) III, 16; *LDT* III, p. 297 top; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 69, pl. 22 middle; KRI VI:191:7. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 37, with n. 162, has mistakenly recognised the sculptor Qaha (his Kaha (iii)) as a blood brother of Anhurhawwy (ii). It is more likely in this instance that the term of relationship *sn* either indicated 'colleague' or even 'brother-in-law'.

¹²⁵ Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 213. See below pp. 264-5 for Siwadjet (iv).

¹²⁶ Černý Nb. 15, p. 74.

¹²⁷ O.Gardiner 4, rto. 1.

¹²⁸ O.DM 634, 2, 3 (year 2); O.DM 398, rto. 3 (year 3); O.Mond 209, 7 (year 5); O.CGC 25279, 2 (year 6). The proposed date-range from 11 Ramesses III to 3 Ramesses IV which Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 252, has assigned for Qaha is misleading since the Qaha who is mentioned in a text of year 11 of Ramesses III was already known to have been dead by that date (O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 3-4).

¹²⁹ O.CGC 25607, rto. 7-9. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 351, has dated this text to the reign of Ramesses IV.

¹³⁰ O.Vienna Aeg. 18, rto. 3.

¹³¹ E.g., O.MMA 09.184.708, rto. I:1; O.IFAO 1329, VII:1; O.Cairo J.37649, 5.

¹³² PM I:2, p. 716 (d); Hayes, *Scepter* II, p. 389, fig. 244; KRI V:645:4.

probable that Qenymin (i) and Qaha (v) were the individuals who were named on a pair of limestone seats found in rest-house K' (E) at the 'col' settlement.¹³³

By virtue of his unusual name, the 'sculptor in the Place of Truth', Pamerihu (i), who dedicated a stela in honour of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari,¹³⁴ is without doubt to be identified with the 'workman' Pamerihu who is known from the closing years of the XIXth Dynasty. As a member of the 'right side'¹³⁵ of the gang, Pamerihu is definitely attested in year 1 of the reign of Siptah.¹³⁶ The name also occurs in the undated O.DM 269, which contains the name of the 'scribe' Paser. Because of the long duration spanned by the tenure in office of several scribes called Paser (from c. year 8 of Merenptah down to the middle of the XXth Dynasty),¹³⁷ it is plausible that Pamerihu survived into the XXth Dynasty. The few attestations of this man that have survived do not portray a particularly enjoyable working life. For instance, he was absent from his duties on separate occasions, because of *t3 wbd* 'the scalding'¹³⁸ and due to the effects of a 'scorpion bite'.¹³⁹ The vicissitudes endured by Pamerihu do not end here, since a protracted illness is meticulously recorded, day by day, in an ostrakon dated to a 'year 1'.¹⁴⁰ Between the 4th month of Akhet, day 15 and the 1st month of Peret, day 21,¹⁴¹ Pamerihu happened to be absent from work on every day that the scribe cared to document,¹⁴² amounting to a total of 37 days.

§ 40: The family of the sculptor Amennakht (viii): chart 28

The reading of the name of the 'sculptor', which appears in an accounts papyrus from about the reign of Merenptah, is questionable.¹⁴³ It is possible that the name is to be interpreted as Nakhtamun and that this individual should be identifiable with the 'sculptor' Nakhtamun (ii) who occurs during the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁴⁴ However, an equally valid argument would support the reading of the name as Amen<nakh>t,¹⁴⁵ thereby leaving little doubt that he would be identified with the 'sculptor' and 'chief of sculptors in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (viii) who is attested amongst the graffiti with his sons Userhat (iv) and Kasa (vi).¹⁴⁶ Several of these rock inscriptions are unsurprisingly accompanied by drawings of the ram-head of Amun.¹⁴⁷ Although the sculptor Amennakht does occur in a solitary

¹³³ PM I:2, p. 589; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 354 (K' [E]), 357 (V [E]), pl. 39:3; KRI VI:210-11.

¹³⁴ Vienna Inv. 158 (PM I:2, p. 730; Bergmann, *RT* 9 (1887), pp. 38-39, §9; KRI IV:440).

¹³⁵ O.DM 269, 2-3; O.CGC 25593, rto. 13; O.CGC 25523, vso. I:8.

¹³⁶ O.CGC 25516, vso. 24; O.CGC 25519, vso. 6.

¹³⁷ See § 24 (pp. 102 ff.) above for the various 'scribes' called Paser.

¹³⁸ O.CGC 25787, 2; for *wbd* 'to be scalded' see Faulkner, *MED*, p. 59.

¹³⁹ O.CGC 25519, vso. 6.

¹⁴⁰ O.CGC 25521.

¹⁴¹ The text becomes too lacunary after the entry for this date.

¹⁴² With the exception of the damaged entry for 1st month of Peret, day 5, which doubtless included his name.

¹⁴³ Pap. Gardiner 8 = Ashmolean Mus. 1960.1283, rto. 4.

¹⁴⁴ See pp. 178 ff. for this man.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Eyre, *JEJ* 66 (1980), p. 113, note (f).

¹⁴⁶ Nos. 280, 285, 307, 350 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 25, 26, 27, 31); 1217, 1297 (Černý, *Graffiti*, pp. 12, 19, pls. 27, 53); 2812 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 125).

¹⁴⁷ E.g., graffiti nos. 280, 307 and 350.

administrative ostrakon,¹⁴⁸ any further positive identifications of him in the documentation of the Tomb during the XIXth Dynasty are impossible to make. Despite the fact that another graffito informs us that a son of the draftsman Amennakht (v), son of Ipuu (ii), was also named Userhat (iii),¹⁴⁹ there is, however, evidence that the 'chief sculptor' Amennakht (viii) is to be differentiated from the 'draftsman in the Place of Truth and sculptor in the Horizon of Eternity', Amennakht (v), son of Ipuu (ii).¹⁵⁰ An informative inscription is that recorded in graffito no. 2543, which reads: 'Made by the sculptor Amennakht, his father Kasa, justified; his son Userhat, his son Kasa, justified'.¹⁵¹ Thus Amennakht (viii), the father of Kasa (vi), appears to have been a son of Kasa (i). Corroboration of this is forthcoming in another graffito where we also learn that a 'brother' of the sculptor Amennakht (viii) is Nebamentet (i), who is well known as a son of Kasa (i).¹⁵² A second so-called 'brother' of the 'chief sculptor' Amennakht (viii) can be identified as Kasa (vii).¹⁵³ The origins of the workman Amennakht (xxiii), son of Kasa (viii), who appears in year 1 of Ramesses IV¹⁵⁴ and years 9¹⁵⁵ and 17¹⁵⁶ of Ramesses IX, are not clearly defined. Either he may have been the grandson of the 'sculptor' Amennakht (viii), or he even belonged to a later generation of the same family. The lady Henutanu (i), who may have been a daughter of Kasa (viii) and thus a sister of Amennakht (xxiii), appears twice in the mid-XXth Dynasty.¹⁵⁷ According to Gutgesell, the text in which Userhat, son of Amennakht, appears, ought to be dated to the reign of Ramesses IV.¹⁵⁸ Userhat may possibly have been the son of Amennakht (v), son of Ipuu (ii) and not the son of the sculptor Amennakht (viii).

§ 41: The family of the sculptor Pashedu (iii): chart 23

We have already discussed the possibility that the 'sculptor' Pashedu might well have been a son of Hori (iii).¹⁵⁹ The name of Pashedu (iii), son of Hori (iii), surfaces in a number of documents from the middle of the XXth Dynasty.¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, it is not possible to positively correlate this man with either the homonymous workman who appears between year 1 of Ramesses V¹⁶¹ and year 17 of

¹⁴⁸ O.CGC 25612, 1; cf. Černý, *OH*, p. 38, who dated this text, on palaeographical grounds, to the XXth Dynasty.

¹⁴⁹ No. 460 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 40; *KRI* V:644:5).

¹⁵⁰ For these titles see graffito no. 817 c (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 66).

¹⁵¹ Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 64.

¹⁵² Graffito no. 1297 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 19, pl. 53).

¹⁵³ Graffito no. 1217 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 12, pl. 27).

¹⁵⁴ O.DM 41, vso. 9; O.DM 47, rto. 5.

¹⁵⁵ Pap. Turin 2072/142, rto. I:7.

¹⁵⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, l. 7.

¹⁵⁷ Pap. Vienna (no number), II:4; O.CGC 25660, A, 17.

¹⁵⁸ Pap. Turin 2065, vso. 9, where the name is preserved as 'Userhat, [son of Amen]nakht'.

¹⁵⁹ See above p. 26, n. 325.

¹⁶⁰ E.g., O.Brussels E.301, vso. 33; O.Turin N.57006, rto. 17; and perhaps in both O.Gardiner 14, rto. 2:6 and O.Gardiner 20, vso. 4, as 'Pashedu, <son of> Hori'.

¹⁶¹ O.CGC 25609, vso. 2:4; Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), p. 38.

Ramesses IX,¹⁶² or, it would seem, with the 'craftsman' Pashedu, who is mentioned besides his brother, Merymose, in year 2 of Ramesses V.¹⁶³ A son of a Pashedu is named as the workman of the 'right' side of the gang, Pennes(ty)tawy (ii), in year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹⁶⁴ Pennes(ty)tawy (ii) is also attested in year 3 of Ramesses XI¹⁶⁵ and again in the famous *Stato Civile* text.¹⁶⁶ A careful note should be taken of the existence of a second closely contemporary Pennes(ty)tawy (iii), the son of Nessuamenope, who was active either at the end of the New Kingdom or in the early years of the XXIst Dynasty.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, a Qenna (ix), son of Siwadjet, who is called Pennestytawy (iv) is mentioned in year 6 of Ramesses IX.¹⁶⁸ The above mentioned Pashedu and his brother Merymose could possibly have been the sons of Hori (iii), since we learn of the existence of a 'Merymose (ii), <son of> Hori' from another text, dated to 'year 3', probably of Ramesses IV.¹⁶⁹ This Merymose (ii) is possibly to be identified with the contemporary 'wa'b-priest' Merymose,¹⁷⁰ and with the workman Merymose, who occurs in year 1 of Ramesses VI.¹⁷¹ Meryre (iv), son of Hori,¹⁷² appears in two texts which have been dated to the reign of Ramesses IV,¹⁷³ and he may have been another son of Hori (iii). Therefore, the financial transaction between Meryre and Minkhau, which formed the basis of O.DM 241, may have taken place between two brothers, the sons of Hori (iii). A similar association might have been recorded in a graffito which reads: 'The scribe Pashedu and Meryre'.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 38, B:15.

¹⁶³ O.Petrie 17, 3.

¹⁶⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11, l. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Pap. Turin 2003, rto. 2:4.

¹⁶⁶ Černý Nb. 15, p. 66.

¹⁶⁷ Graffito no. 1282 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 17, pl. 45; Reeves, *Valley*, pp. 169, 230-31, with table 10, no. 19). Reeves, *ibid.*, p. 230, has dated these inscriptions within the period Ramesses XI-Smenides I. This inscription contains the name of Butehamun (i), who was clearly the 'senior' scribe at this time.

¹⁶⁸ Unpub. Pap. Turin 2013, rto. II:2-3 (=Černý Nb. 16, pp. 34 ff.).

¹⁶⁹ O.DM 398, vso. 3; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 243.

¹⁷⁰ O.DM 255, 2.

¹⁷¹ O.BM 50730, rto. 1-2; cf. O.Colin Campbell 3, rto. 3;

¹⁷² Not to be confused with Meryre, son of Neferhotep (see p. 230 below) or with Meryre, son of Qaha (O.Brussels E.301, vso. 40).

¹⁷³ O.Gardiner 20, vso. 3 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 415); O.Turin N.57006, rto. 16 (Gutgesell, *ibid.*, p. 337).

¹⁷⁴ No. 1211 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 12, pl. 27).

CHAPTER 6

THE GUARDIANS

§ 42: The family of the guardian Amenemone (iv), son of Amenemwia (i): chart 19, cf. § 53 below (pp. 206 ff.)

The most remarkable detail concerning the family of the guardian Amenemone (iv) remains the probability that two of his sons, Qenhirkhopshef (ii) and Smentawy (i), may have succeeded him as 'guardian' in their own right. A statue dedicated by the 'stonemason of Amun' Qenhirkhopshef to his deceased father, the 'guardian' Amenemone (iv)¹ led Černý to conclude that a delay had elapsed before Qenhirkhopshef (ii) was finally accorded the promotion to his father's post.² It is, however, possible that during this interval the office of 'guardian' was administered briefly by Amenemone (iv)'s eldest son Smentawy (i).³ As a 'servant in the Place of Truth',⁴ Qenhirkhopshef (ii) is named alongside his wife Tanehsy (ii) on a stela dedicated by the foreman Qaha (i) jointly to Anubis and Osiris.⁵ It is likely that Tanehsy (ii) was the daughter of Qaha (i), whose own mother was also called Tanehsy (i).⁶ The couple's only known son is Khaemseba (i), who is represented on the south wall of the hall of the tomb (TT 2) of Khabekhnet (i) making offering to his parents, the guardian Qenhirkhopshef (ii) and Tanehsy (ii).⁷ Whether there existed any kind of relationship between the workman Khaemseba, who is frequently attested between year 1 of Amenmesses⁸ and year 9 of Ramesses III,⁹ and the family of

¹ Cairo JdÉ. 43576 (PM I:2, p. 698; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pp. 274-275, figs. 135/136 (p. 270); idem, *Rapport* (1928), p. 119:3; KRI III:692-693). An inscription on the right half of the base of this statue names Qenhirkhopshef (ii)'s mother as Mertseger.

² Černý, *Community*, p. 154.

³ Fortunately, there exists firm evidence to substantiate Smentawy's links with the family of Amenemone (iv). Inscribed on a wooden statue base are the names of the lady Mertseger (iii), wife of Amenemone (iv), and so-called daughter of Wadjetronpet, and her son Smentawy (PM I:2, p. 692; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-51), pp. 39 f., fig. 5; KRI III:692). It is more than likely that Mertseger (iii) was the daughter-in-law of Wadjetronpet (ii), who was the wife of Amenemwia (i). Whether Smentawy was the dedicator of stela BM 279 as a 'guardian' is not certain, though probable if we consider the rarity of his name at Deir el-Medina. Also recorded on this stela are the names of the 'standard-bearer' Ioteniotef and his wife Nefersen-taiunu, whose relationship to Smentawy are not stated and who are otherwise unknown at Deir el-Medina.

Černý, *Community*, p. 158, however, has suggested that the 'guardian' Smentawy was one and the same individual as the workman who is recorded towards the close of Dynasty XIX on the 'left side' of the workforce (O.Gardiner 57, vso III:1; O.DM 612, II:15). Černý's contention can not be upheld, unless it can be shown from new evidence that Ioteniotef and Nefersen-taiunu were the parents of this later Smentawy. The only other remaining attestation of a Smentawy during the XIXth Dynasty is the coppersmith in O.Berlin P.11239, 2 (see Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), pp. 39-47).

⁴ Another 'servant in the Place of Truth', Qenhirkhopshef, the son of Apiy and Baket (PM I:2, p. 704; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 42-43, fig. 11; KRI III:751-752), may have been the workman who is attested during the reign of Siptah (Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 123, n. 34).

⁵ BM 144 (PM I:1, p. 424; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 46 f., pl. 39; KRI III:602-603).

⁶ James, *BMHT* 9, p. 46.

⁷ PM I:1, p. 6 at (6) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 22; KRI III:811:13.

⁸ O.CGC 25779, rto. 10. On the dating of this ostrakon to the reign of Amenmesses/Seti II see Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 112.

Qenhirkhopshef (ii) remains subject to discussion.¹⁰ Nevertheless, a '[servant] in the Place of Truth' Khaemseba is mentioned on a fragmentary jamb with a certain Qenhirkhopshef whose title is similarly badly preserved.¹¹ In spite of this loss, we can safely assume that these men did, in fact, share a father-son relationship.

The appearance of the guardian Qenhirkhopshef (ii) and Tanehsy (ii), alongside the scribe Ramose (i), in a scene from the chapel of the tomb of Nebenmaat (ii)¹² indicates that Qenhirkhopshef (ii) had succeeded in his father's footsteps prior to year 40 of Ramesses II. One final question which remains to be satisfactorily answered concerns the identity of the 'Lady of the House' Si'a (i), who is shown accompanying the guardian Qenhirkhopshef (ii) in the tomb of the scribe Ramose (i).¹³ Might we be bold enough to venture that she became the guardian's second spouse following the death of Tanehsy (ii)?

§ 43: The family of the guardian Tusa (i), son of Amenemope (vii): chart 29

A stela, now in Turin, names the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Tusa and his son Amenemope.¹⁴ Opposite this pair, Tentnub (ii), the wife of Tusa, and 'her mother' Iahati (i) are also represented. Since the name is rare, Černý has suggested that this Tusa is to be correlated with the 'guardian' Tusa (i).¹⁵ Until now only a single reference to the guardian Tusa (i), from the tomb of the scribe Ramose (i) (TT 250), has survived.¹⁶ Černý has further proposed that Amenemope (viii), son of Tusa (i), succeeded his father as 'guardian'.¹⁷ There is, however, no definite evidence to validate this theory, though one might propose employing a scene in TT 250 in mitigation. The inscription in question reads: 'The guardian in the Place of Truth Tusa, her (sic) father, the servant in the Place of Truth Amenemope'.¹⁸ It could therefore be argued that Amenemope (vii), the father of Tusa (i), never served as a 'guardian', and that the 'guardian' Amenemope can still reasonably be identified with Amenemope (viii), son of Tusa (i). However, the scribe's usage of the title 'servant in the Place of Truth' does not automatically preclude the possibility that Amenemope (vii) had served as 'guardian' at some point in his career. Interestingly, Černý has advanced the theory that the 'guardian' Amenemope may well have been the predecessor of the 'guardian' Khawy.¹⁹ Furthermore, no less than four guardians, Khawy, Tusa, Qenhirkhopshef and Penbuy, are all attested in TT 250, whereas the name of the 'guardian'

⁹ O.Gardiner 115, 3-4.

¹⁰ Cf. Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 4, where he has proposed an identification of Khaemdud (our Khaemseba), son of Qenhirkhopshef, with this workman.

¹¹ KRI VII:245.

¹² PM I:1, p. 321 at (6); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 10, scenes 8, 9, pl. 1 bottom left; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 74-75, fig. 51; KRI III:760:9-10.

¹³ PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 62-63, pls. VII, VIII; KRI III:617:10-11.

¹⁴ Stela Turin N.50039 (PM I:2, p. 735; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 73-74, 276; KRI III:834-835).

¹⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 154.

¹⁶ PM I:1, p. 336 at (6); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 64, pl. VI; KRI III:616:3-4.

¹⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 154.

¹⁸ PM I:1, p. 336 at (6); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 64; KRI III:616:3-4.

¹⁹ Černý, *Community*, p. 153.

Amenemope is not found in this tomb. Therefore, it is possible that the guardian Amenemope had already passed away by this time, in which case he would have to be identified with Amenemope (vii).²⁰

Tentnub (ii), the wife of Tusa (i), was a sister of the guardian Penbuy (i), who was probably the son-in-law or brother-in-law of Kasa (i), as shall be noted in due course.²¹ There is, therefore, probably no coincidence that Tusa (i) was named with an Amenemope alongside three other men in a rowing scene on the right-hand side wall of a naos designed at the behest of the very same Kasa (i).²² Another interesting detail is the finding of a canopic vase, bearing the name of Amenemope as a 'guardian in [the Place of Truth]', in TT 265 of the 'scribe' Amenemope (i).²³ Furthermore, a fragment of a coffin of the 'guardian in the Place of Truth' Amenemope was discovered in TT 356.²⁴ It is, therefore, feasible that the tomb of the 'guardian' Amenemope, which became the focus of official attention in a 'year 4' of a reign of the XXth Dynasty,²⁵ was located somewhere between TT 265 and TT 356.

§ 44: The family of the guardian Khawy (ii)

The guardian Khawy (ii) is well known to us from the inscriptional sources preserved in both the poorly preserved decorative scheme of his tomb (TT 214) and those of several of his colleagues, as well as from the administrative corpus of ostraca. He was honoured with a representation in at least three tombs at Deir el-Medina: TT 4 of the sculptor Qen (ii),²⁶ TT 250 of the scribe Ramose (i)²⁷ and TT 10, which was jointly owned by the workman Kasa (i) and the guardian Penbuy (i).²⁸ Each of these monuments can be securely dated to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Further corroboration of Khawy (ii)'s period of active service is provided by his attestation in several ostraca, which bear dates ranging between years 11 and 36 of Ramesses II²⁹ and perhaps even as late as year 39.³⁰ Khawy (ii)'s definitive term of office as 'guardian' covered years 21 to 36,³¹ though it is

²⁰ See pp. 159-60 above for the 'guardian' Amenemope (v).

²¹ See pp. 194 ff.

²² Turin Cat. 2446 (PM I:2, p. 745; Valbelle, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), pp. 179-194, figs. 3-6, pls. 45-48; *KRI* III:831:9-10).

²³ PM I:1, p. 346; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 107, bottom. Amenemope's titles on this object are given as the 'servant in the Place of Truth' and the 'guardian in [the Place of Truth]'.
²⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 107.

²⁵ O.Madrid 16243.

²⁶ PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 48:B:2; *KRI* III:679:13.

²⁷ PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 63, pl. VII; *KRI* III:618:7.

²⁸ PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 75-79; *KRI* III:736:9. Khawy (ii)'s appearance in this tomb was possibly due to his close professional association with Penbuy (i), whose own titles included 'guardian in the inaccessible Place' and 'guardian in the Place of Truth'.

²⁹ This statement takes account of all attestations of the name Khawy, whether accompanied by the title of 'guardian' or not: O.DM 354, rto. 6-7 (year 11); O.MMA 09.184.183, 2 (year 21); O.CGC 25803, rto. 2-3 (year 24); O.Gardiner 133, 11 (year 36).

³⁰ The dateline of O.CGC 25798 is broken and can conceivably be interpreted as either year 19, 29 or 39. Khawy's name is noticeably absent from the list of workmen from year 40 of Ramesses II (O.BM 5634). It is

plausible that his appointment to this post may have taken place as early as year 11.³² In O.DM 431, the untitled Khawy appears following the name of the guardian Amenemope (v). Černý has suggested that such an arrangement of names might have reflected Amenemope's seniority over Khawy.³³ A study of the titles with which Khawy (ii) is attributed both in his tomb and graffiti inscriptions indicates that at some stage he had originally been employed as a 'servant in the Place of Truth', i.e., an ordinary gang workman.³⁴

We can determine almost no details concerning Khawy (ii)'s background. Unfortunately, the names of his parents have not survived the ravages of delapidation suffered by the reliefs in TT 214. However, the names of his wife Taweret (iv)³⁵ and his son Huy (xviii)³⁶ are preserved amongst the few extant scenes from this sepulchre. The provenance of several monuments bearing Khawy (ii)'s name make it likely that he may once have lived in house N.E. XV at Deir el-Medina³⁷ and in house P (O) at the workmen's rest settlement on the path between the village and the Valley of the Kings.³⁸ The names of some of his more intimate colleagues are recorded alongside his own in several graffiti. They include the 'draftsman of Amun' Nebre (i), son of Pay (i),³⁹ and the 'royal scribe in the Place of Truth' Amenemope.⁴⁰ Accompanied by this same 'scribe' Amenemope, the 'draftsman of Amun' Prehotep (i), son of Pay (i) and Amenemwia, Khawy (ii) paid a rare visit to the western branch of the Valley of the Kings. Here the workmen cut a rock stela to commemorate their visit, in which Khawy and Amenemope are shown adoring a representation of the ram's head that was sacred to the god Amun.⁴¹

possible that he no longer held a position on the gang at that time, though the fact that the name of the guardian had simply been omitted from this list would be an equally plausible explanation.

³¹ See n. 29 above for references.

³² Černý, *Community*, p. 153.

³³ Černý, *Community*, p. 153. However, since both names appear in direct apposition, the title of 'guardian' in reference to Amenemope (v), might similarly have been intended to refer to Khawy.

³⁴ Khawy (ii) is referred to as a 'servant in the Place of Truth' on a lintel Turin N.50207 from his tomb, and in graffiti no. 2785 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 123).

³⁵ PM I:1, p. 310 at (2); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 43, fig. 30; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 95; KRI III:695:3-4.

³⁶ PM I:1, p. 311 at (8); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pl. 3; idem, *Tombes Thébaines*, p. 97, pl. 29 b; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 97:C; KRI III:697:5. Huy (xviii) is also depicted in a scene in TT 250 of Ramose, offering a vase to his parents, Khawy (ii) and Taweret (iv) (PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 63, pl. VII; KRI III:618:7-10).

³⁷ Khawy (ii)'s name is preserved on a jamb recovered from room no. 1 (PM I:2, p. 702; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 43, 261:1; KRI III:700:7).

³⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 363; KRI III:700:8.

³⁹ Graffito no. 849 f (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 69; KRI III:659:5).

⁴⁰ Graffito no. 95 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 13; KRI I:388:15).

⁴¹ MMA.14.6.183 (PM I:2, p. 590; KRI VII:33).

§ 45: The family of the guardian in the Inaccessible Place Penbuy (i)⁴²: chart 29

The name of the 'guardian in the Place of Truth' Penbuy (i) is celebrated in the tomb (TT 250) of the scribe Ramose (i)⁴³ and alongside the famous scribe on stela Cairo JdE. 21064, where he is accorded the unusual title of 'retainer of [servants(?)]'.⁴⁴ Although Penbuy (i) never appears with the title 'guardian' in the administrative records,⁴⁵ the rarity of his name and his association with Ramose (i) confirms his existence within the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.⁴⁶ Penbuy (i) shared TT 10⁴⁷ with the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Kasa (i). The indirect relationship between the two men will be discussed in due course.⁴⁸ The scenes from this sepulchre bear testimony to the fact that Penbuy (i) had two wives, Amentetwosret (i)⁴⁹ and Irtnofret (i).⁵⁰ Unfortunately, we can not be certain whether Penbuy (i) indulged in a bigamous liaison. Bierbrier and De Meulenaere have demonstrated that the lady Amentetwosret (i), who appears on a stela now in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow, was probably Penbuy (i)'s first wife and mother to his son Amenmose (v), and that Penbuy (i) was subsequently married to Irtnofret (i).⁵¹ The Burrell stela also includes the name of Penbuy (i)'s mother Iahati (i), who was the wife of a certain Iry (i),⁵² as well a second son named Bakenwerel (i). As a result of this finding, it is most probable that Irtnofret (i) is the lady who is named with a husband, whose name has since been lost, on a stela which names Iahati (ii), presumably as their daughter.⁵³ This argument is given further weight since Sennedjem (i), who will be shown below to have possibly been the father of Irtnofret (i), is named in the lower register of this stela.

⁴² A checklist of monuments attributable to Penbuy (i) is provided by Bierbrier & De Meulenaere, 'Hymne à Taouëret sur une stèle de Deir el-Médineh', in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Sæve-Söderbergh*, p. 27. A second graffito (no. 650: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 52; KRI III:757:6) of the 'servants in the Place of Truth' Penbuy and Nebnefer can possibly be added to this list. However, this inscription might have been the handiwork of Penbuy and Nebnefer, who are known to have been workmen who were active in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty. Consequently, we must guard against confusing the guardian Penbuy (i) with the homonymous workman, Penbuy (ii), who is attested in years 3-4 of Amenmesses (O.CGC 25782, vso. 12; O.CGC 25784, 7).

⁴³ PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 63, pl. VII; KRI III:617:9-10.

⁴⁴ PM I:1, p. 722 (c); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 73/74, fig. 54; KRI III:621.

⁴⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 155.

⁴⁶ O.Varille 20, 6 (year 32); O.CGC 25573, I:8 (pre-year 40); O.Gardiner 116, vso. 4 (pre-year 40); O.Petrie 82, rto. 1; O.Gardiner 87, 4; O.DM 266, 7; O.DM 431, 1.

⁴⁷ PM I:1, pp. 19/21; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 75-83; KRI III:734 ff.

⁴⁸ See below, pp. 194 ff.

⁴⁹ PM I:1, p. 21; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 80, no. 5 (a) and 14 (b); KRI III:738:4.

⁵⁰ Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 82:b; Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, p. 60, pl. 14; KRI III:739:15.

⁵¹ Bierbrier & De Meulenaere, 'Hymne à Taouëret sur une stèle de Deir el-Médineh', in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Sæve-Söderbergh*, p. 28; see also similar comments made by Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 7.

⁵² For Iry see offering stand Turin N.22026 (Cat. 1559) (Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 30-31, 134; KRI III:741-742).

⁵³ Stela Turin N.50075 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 112-13, 294; KRI I:413-14). This monument can be attributed to the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Neb[...] and his wife Hunero. An Iahati appears in one of the administrative ostraca as the recipient of certain deliveries (O.Colin Campbell 1, rto. 2: McDowell, *HO*, pp. 3-4, pls. I/Ia). Unfortunately, in her commentary on this family, McDowell failed to recognise the relationship of Iahati (i) to Penbuy (i).

Several stelae erected by Penbuy (i) provide invaluable information on a number of his family relationships. We learn that Iahati (i)'s daughter was called Mutnofret (iv)⁵⁴ and that two additional daughters of Penbuy (i) were Meni (i) and Iyi[nofre]ti (i).⁵⁵ Iahati (i) is also said to have been the mother of Tentnub (ii), who was the wife of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Tusa (i).⁵⁶ Furthermore, a lady Tentnub is similarly attested as being the wife of Penshenabu (ii), the owner of TT 322.⁵⁷ Since Penshenabu is referred to as a 'brother' of Penbuy (i) in TT 10, it seems most likely that Tentnub (ii), the sister of Penbuy (i), was probably married to both Tusa (i) and Penshenabu (ii).⁵⁸ McDowell has suggested that Iahati (i), who appears in TT 322, was the daughter of Tewosret.⁵⁹ However, since Iahati is represented here merely as a child, seated behind the chair of Tewosret, she is certainly not to be identified with Iahati (i), the mother-in-law of the tomb owner.⁶⁰ As we have already noted above, it is possible that Iahati was the name of the daughter of Penbuy (i) and Irtnofret (i). Consequently, it is remotely possible that the Iahati, who is attested in TT 322, may have been the niece of Penshenabu (ii) and Tentnub (ii), and not the daughter of Tewosret.

Penbuy (i)'s close association with Kasa (i) was undoubtedly the result of his marriage to Amentetwosret (i), who can be identified as either the sister or daughter of the latter.⁶¹ Furthermore, we learn from a stela inscription that Penbuy (i) named his son Kasa (iii), presumably in honour of his favoured in-law.⁶² The name of Iyi, Kasa (iii)'s wife, also occurs on this monument. Bruyère has proposed that a text from TT 10 indicates that Irtnofret (i) was similarly a daughter of Kasa (i).⁶³ However, this suggestion can by no means be upheld due to the broken nature of this inscription. Alternatively, it seems more probable that Irtnofret (i) is to be identified with a woman of that name who is attested in TT 2 of Khabekhnet (i) as a daughter of Sennedjem (i).⁶⁴ Such a relationship would certainly explain Penbuy (i)'s appearance elsewhere in that tomb.⁶⁵

§ 46: The family of the guardian Yipuy (i): chart 44

A stela, now part of the Cairo collection,⁶⁶ dedicated to Amun and the tutelary patrons of the village, Amenophis I and Ahmose-Nefertari, portrays the 'guardian of the Lord of the Two Lands in

⁵⁴ Louvre E.16374 (PM I:2, p. 705; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 198-199, 334, fig. 206, pl. 22; KRI III:741).

⁵⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), pp. 54/55, pls. XII-XIII; KRI VII:207-208.

⁵⁶ Stela Turin N.50039.

⁵⁷ PM I:1, p. 394 at (5) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 58; KRI III:745:7-8.

⁵⁸ Bierbrier & De Meulenaere, 'Hymne à Taouêret sur une stèle de Deir el-Médineh', in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Sève-Söderbergh*, p. 28.

⁵⁹ McDowell, *HO*, p. 4. However, no actual affiliation between Tewosret and Iahati is indicated in this scene.

⁶⁰ For this scene see PM I:1, pp. 394 at (2); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 57; KRI III:745:15.

⁶¹ Bierbrier & De Meulenaere, 'Hymne à Taouêret sur une stèle de Deir el-Médineh', in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Sève-Söderbergh*, p. 28.

⁶² Stela Turin N.50037 (=Cat. 1449): Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 71-72, 275; PM I:2, p. 732 (d); KRI III:741:5.

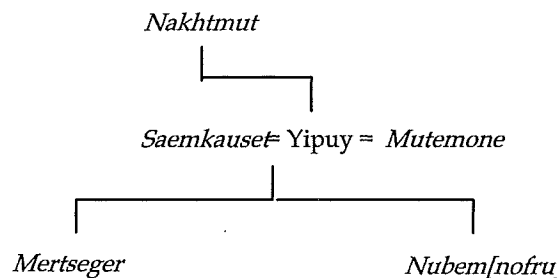
⁶³ Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, p. 63.

⁶⁴ PM I:1, p. 6 at (6) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 22-23; KRI III:812:6-7.

⁶⁵ PM I:1, p. 6 at (3); Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 32-33; KRI III:800:7.

⁶⁶ Cairo TN 26/25/5 (PM I:2, p. 721 end; Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 170-72, pl. 3; KRI IV:441).

the Place of Truth', Yipuy (i), with his wife Saemkauset (i), her daughter Mertseger (iv) and her mother Nubem[nofru(?)]. Because of the extreme rarity of this name - I for one am not aware of another individual at Deir el-Medina with this name - Yipuy (i) is undoubtedly synonymous with the Yipu who is accorded exactly the same title on a second stela dedicated in honour of the goddess Sakhmet.⁶⁷ Such a possible correlation casts speculation concerning the exact nature of the relationship between Yipu and the two ladies who are named in the lower register of this second monument. They are referred to as the 'Lady of the House', Nakhtmut and 'his sister, Lady of the House', Mutemone. It is not implausible that Mutemone (i) was actually a consanguineous 'sister' of Yipu. However, the more sensible interpretation would involve allocating the guardian Yipuy (i) with two wives, namely Saemkauset (i) and Mutemone (i). On this assumption, Nakhtmut (i), whose name obviously took precedence over that of Mutemone (i) may have been the mother(?) of Yipuy (i) as is illustrated in the following genealogy:



Although references to the guardian Yipuy/Yipu (i) are extremely scarce, they do show that he was active at the end of the XIXth Dynasty.⁶⁸ He is attested supplying wicks for the lighting of the work in the royal tomb in a year 5 (probably of Seti II),⁶⁹ and was also recorded as a member of the local *qnbt*-court on at least three occasions in approximately the same period.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ A stela in the Bower Collection (PM I:2, p. 736 a; KRI IV:441).

⁶⁸ As far as Černý, *Community*, p. 156, was aware, Yipuy is the only accountable guardian from the end of the XIXth Dynasty.

⁶⁹ O.CGC 25542, vso. II:19. On the methods employed to illuminate the work in the king's tomb see Černý, *Valley*, pp. 43-54.

⁷⁰ O.Nash 1, vso. 6 and O.Nash 2, vso. 18; O.Cairo J.72465, rto. 4. The dateline of O.Nash 1 of 'year 6, 3rd month of Shomu, day 10' (of Seti II), has similarly been attributed by McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 151, as the date of the undated O.Nash 2.

§ 47: The family of the chief guardian Penmennefer (i)

The 'chief guardian' Penmennefer (i) is first attested together with the 'scribe of the Tomb' Amennakht (v) in year 16 of Ramesses III.⁷¹ The use of this particular title is quite unusual, since Penmennefer (i) is commonly referred to simply as the 'guardian'.⁷² He appears in this capacity in a number of ostraca which date from the second half of the reign of Ramesses III.⁷³ In his discussion of the guardians, Černý⁷⁴ identified Penmennefer (i) with the untitled Penmennefer who occurs in year 6 of Ramesses IV,⁷⁵ and thus assigned him a period in this office of no less than 20 years. However, we should exercise caution in presuming, *a priori*, that the later Penmennefer (who appears in Pap. Turin 1966) was the same person as the homonymous 'guardian'. Similarly, it is not possible to correlate, with any degree of certainty, the guardian Penmennefer (i) with the workman Penmennefer, who is attested between years 24⁷⁶ and 30⁷⁷ of Ramesses III and whose career extended down to 'year 3' of Ramesses IV,⁷⁸ and a 'year 1', probably of Ramesses V.⁷⁹

Penmennefer (i) was involved in an interesting episode,⁸⁰ in which it seems that an indictment was brought against him:

'(1) Year 1, 3rd month of Shomu, day 1 - on this day (2) the memorandum of his absence, (namely) the workman (3) Penmennefer, <from> the work-in-progress of Pharaoh, l.p.h. (4) He set himself to stripping off copper from a coffin of *nbs*-wood'.⁸¹

The reign in question is, unfortunately, not recorded. However, since work on the tomb of Ramesses IV was not initiated until his second year,⁸² one could plausibly assign this document a date within the reign of one of his successors. However, certain evidence does exist to suggest that the workforce of Deir el-Medina was indeed actively engaged in some form of work in the Valley of the Kings during the first year of Ramesses IV.⁸³

⁷¹ Graffito no. 2578 b (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 109; *KRI* V:460:16); cf. graffito no. 3127 (Sadek, *GMT* IV/3, p. 161). The guardian Penmennefer (i) is similarly associated with the 'scribe of the Place of Truth' Wennefer in graffito no. 1340 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 22, pl. 62). He is attested, though without the attribution of any title, alongside the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nekhemmut in graffito no. 1063 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 1, pl. 1).

⁷² E.g., graffito no. 1340, where he appears with the 'scribe' Wennefer (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 22, pl. 62).

⁷³ Years 17 (O.Florence 2620, 3), 24 (Pap. Berlin P.10496, vso. 15) and 26 (O.DM 410, 5).

⁷⁴ Černý, *Community*, p. 156.

⁷⁵ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. I:4, 5.

⁷⁶ O.Turin N.57028, vso. 9.

⁷⁷ O.DM 175, rto. 4 (see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 31, 124).

⁷⁸ O.Gardiner 56, vso. 7.

⁷⁹ O.CGC 25609, vso. 2:6; for this dating see *KRI* VI:245; Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), p. 38.

⁸⁰ O.BM 50729 (*KRI* VII:351).

⁸¹ The term *nbs* was applied to the 'Christ's thorn-tree'. Its wood was usually employed in the manufacture of divine statues, bows and spear-shafts (Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* I, p. 69; Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*, p. 115).

⁸² Peden, *Ramesses IV*, pp. 44-45.

⁸³ Černý, *Valley*, p. 18.

Černý⁸⁴ has suggested that like Qaydjoret (i), Penmennefer had previously served as a 'door-keeper',⁸⁵ before being promoted to the office of guardian. However, there is a strong possibility that the 'door-keeper' called Penmennefer can be attested in year 30 of Ramesses III.⁸⁶ This would suggest either the existence of two contemporaries with the same name or a single individual who simultaneously held the offices of door-keeper and guardian. A stela of the 'guardian in the Place of Truth' Penmennefer (i), found in the village, possibly identifies his house as C. VI.⁸⁷

§ 48: The family of the chief guardian Khay (iv)

Following the example set by Penmennefer (i), who was either his predecessor or contemporary (see above), Khay (iv) also employed the title of 'chief guardian in the Place of Truth' on an ostrakon which he dedicated to the god Sobek.⁸⁸ The name of the guardian Khay (iv) occurs in a 'year 1' text,⁸⁹ which Gutgesell has dated within the reign of Ramesses V.⁹⁰ This attribution he based on the assumption that Harmin (i), who is also attested in this text, does not appear as early as the reign of Ramesses IV.⁹¹ However, we have already demonstrated that the draftsman Harmin (i) may have been active during the early part of the reign of Ramesses IV.⁹² On this evidence, we can not afford to preclude this 'year 1' text from having originated in that reign. The guardian Khay (iv) is definitely attested in years 4⁹³ and 6⁹⁴ of Ramesses IV. Nevertheless, further occasions on which his name appears can not be assigned a particular reign with any certainty: 'year 2',⁹⁵ 'year 3',⁹⁶ 'year 4',⁹⁷ 'year 5',⁹⁸ 'year 6'.⁹⁹ It is possible, as Černý has indicated,¹⁰⁰ that the guardian Khay (iv) was the junior partner of Penmennefer (i). Černý further suggests that both Khay (iv) and Penmennefer (i) embarked upon their respective careers as 'door-keepers' before their promotion to 'guardian'.¹⁰¹ However, a graffito, dated to 'year 4', appears to have been a record of Khay's burial: 'the door-keeper Khay was brought to pꜣ hr; they assigned the West to him in a happy old age'.¹⁰² Černý has dated this graffito to

⁸⁴ Černý, *Community*, pp. 168-69.

⁸⁵ No. 1155 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 8, pl. 16; KRI V:665:2).

⁸⁶ O.DM 175, rto. 4; KRI V:538:16.

⁸⁷ PM I:2, p. 705; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 199-200, pl. 23; KRI V:664.

⁸⁸ O.DM 2650, 2 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), pp. 196, 294-95, fig. 164), which was recovered from house N.O. XVIII in the village.

⁸⁹ O.Gardiner 182, rto. 6.

⁹⁰ *Datierung*, pp. 239-40.

⁹¹ But see his comments on graffito 1082, *ibid.*, p. 412.

⁹² See p. 170.

⁹³ O.OIC 12073, rto. 11.

⁹⁴ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:15.

⁹⁵ O.DM 634, 2:6.

⁹⁶ O.IFAO 1236, vso. 1.

⁹⁷ O.IFAO 1218, vso. 2-3.

⁹⁸ O.Gardiner 4, vso. 3.

⁹⁹ O.CGC 25291, 4; O.CGC 25286, 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Community*, p. 157.

¹⁰¹ *Community*, p. 169.

¹⁰² Graffito no. 1381 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 73; KRI VI:253:5-6).

the reign of Ramesses IV.¹⁰³ An anomalous situation now arises. If this text does indeed refer to the funeral party of Khay, and if the door-keeper Khay in question is to be identified with the guardian Khay (iv) as suggested by Černý, then this 'year 4' must logically follow 'year 6' of Ramesses IV, in which the guardian Khay is attested.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, our argument must take account of the fact that Khay (iv) either served the Tomb-administration simultaneously as 'door-keeper' and 'guardian', or less convincingly that he became a 'door-keeper' after having served as a 'guardian'. A less complicated resolution to the problem would be to distinguish between two separate, though contemporary, Khays - a 'door-keeper' and a 'guardian'. Finally, a brief mention must be drawn to the existence of Amenhotep (ix), son of Khay,¹⁰⁵ who was possibly a son of Khay (iv).

§ 49: The family of the chief guardian Pakharu (i)

The 'chief guardian of the Place of Truth' Pakharu (i) is known to us from numerous graffiti as being the father of the obscure 'chief workman' Khyrenef (i).¹⁰⁶ The only possible indication of the date(s) on which this group of inscriptions was made is the appearance of the 'draftsman' Harmin (i) in no. 1403. Harmin (i) has previously been shown to have been active until at least year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, a guardian Pakharu, who is undoubtedly the same individual as Pakharu (i), appears in years 4 and 9 of the reign of Ramesses IX.¹⁰⁸ It therefore seems certain that the foreman Khyrenef (i) was active towards the end of the XXth Dynasty when the affairs of the royal tomb workforce become less well documented following their re-location to the safer confines of the temple of Medinet Habu. It is unlikely that the 'guardian' Pakharu (i) is to be identified with a homonymous workman who is earlier attested in the village records. This man appears in a 'year 1' and several other documents which are probably to be dated to the reigns of the successors of Ramesses III.¹⁰⁹ The workman Pakharu (ii), whose *hnmw* was at the centre of a village controversy in year 4 of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI,¹¹⁰ was probably already dead by that date and may have been the Pakharu who is known from the turn of Dynasty XIX.¹¹¹ A Pakharu (iii), son of Pentaweret, is mentioned making a deposition to an official tribunal, which had been convened to investigate incidents of tomb robbery in year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹¹² He may be synonymous with the Pakharu from the mid-XXth Dynasty mentioned above, though more probably with the workman Pakharu of the 'left side' who is attested in

¹⁰³ *Community*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁴ Pap. Turin 1966, vso.

¹⁰⁵ O.Brussels E.301, vso. 39.

¹⁰⁶ Nos. 679 b, 995 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 55, 82; KRI VI:873:15); 1349, 1403 (Černý, *Graffiti*, pp. 23, 28, pls. 61, 75; KRI VI:874:1-2). The chief workman is undoubtedly identical with the 'chief workman' Khayrensu who is named in a graffiti with the 'chief guardian' Pakharu (no. 995: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 82).

¹⁰⁷ See p. 170 above for the career of Harmin (i).

¹⁰⁸ Pap. Turin 1900, rto. 3:9, vso. 1:13. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 254, however, suggested that Pakharu (i) was a guardian employed at one of the West Theban memorial temples.

¹⁰⁹ O. Černý 22, vso. 8; O.Gardiner 134, rto. 2; O.Brussels E.301, rto. 7.

¹¹⁰ O.BM 5625, rto. 4; for the respective datings see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 251 and Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 118.

¹¹¹ O.IFAO 420, 2, which can be dated before year 10/11 of Ramesses III, due to the appearance of the foreman Anakhtu (ii).

¹¹² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pls. 20, l. 5; 44, l. 1.

year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹¹³ The latter is, without doubt, synonymous with the Kharu who occurs in year 14 of the same reign.¹¹⁴

The name of Pakharu is linked inexorably with the families of a number of Medjays and several of the *smdt*-staff.¹¹⁵ For instance, the 'chief Medjay' Nebsmen (iii), son of Pakharu (iv), is attested in year 31 of Ramesses III,¹¹⁶ whilst in year 17 of Ramesses IX we learn of the existence of:

- (i) The Medjay Pakharu (v), son of Saroy and Anmedet.¹¹⁷
- (ii) The Medjay [Pa]kharu (vi), called Penpaihay, son of Qeny and Sa[.....].¹¹⁸
- (iii) The Medjay A[.....], son of Kharu (>Pakharu(?)) (vii) and Shepsetkur.¹¹⁹

§ 50: The family of the guardian Qaydjoret (i): chart 45

According to Černý, the guardian Qaydjoret (i) is first mentioned in year 14 of Ramesses IX.¹²⁰ However, he appears in a document, which might be dated as early as year 9 of this reign.¹²¹ By this reckoning, Qaydjoret (i) would have operated successively alongside the guardians Nakhtmin and Nebnefer.¹²² It is from the Turin Necropolis Journal that we learn that Qaydjoret (i) was the son of Penpamer (i).¹²³ His tenure in the office of guardian can be followed down to years 8-10,¹²⁴ 14¹²⁵ and 17,¹²⁶ all dating from the reign of Ramesses XI. Qaydjoret (i)'s final appearance occurs in one of the Late Ramesside Letters, which Wentz has dated to 'year 6 of *Wḥm-mswt* or later'.¹²⁷ An entry in Pap. BM 10068, vso. 1:15, has been mistakenly interpreted as containing the name of the 'chief guardian' Qaydjoret.¹²⁸ However, the name can clearly be read as the chief guardian Qashuti. Furthermore, there is no evidence to support the contention that this 'chief guardian' was in any way

¹¹³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pls. 36, l. 6; 38, l. 3.

¹¹⁴ O.CGC 25820, rto. 2.

¹¹⁵ E.g., the 'water-carrier' Pakharu (Pap. Turin 2003, rto. 1:1); the 'plasterer' Pakharu (Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, 1:15); the 'foreigner' Pakharu (Pap. Turin 2018, vso. E, 2); and the 'wood-cutter' Pakharu (Pap. Turin 2094, rto. 5).

¹¹⁶ Davies, 'Two or Three "Chiefs of Medjay": A Conundrum of Nebsmen', *GM* 143 (1994), pp. 37-39.

¹¹⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 47, l. 4.

¹¹⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 47, l. 6.

¹¹⁹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 47, l. 9.

¹²⁰ Černý, *Community*, p. 157; O.Leningrad [Ermitage], No. 2973, rto. 2-3. There is the possibility that a second Qa(djoret), son of Hay, is named in year 16 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin 2004+2007+2057/58+2106/396, rto. 3:4; KRI VI:651:16).

¹²¹ O.CGC 25742, 9; the reign is confirmed by the appearance in this document of the deputy Seny (i).

¹²² Černý, *Community*, p. 157. The existence of two contemporary guardians is by no means unprecedented (Černý, *Community*, p. 151).

¹²³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11, l. 8.

¹²⁴ Pap. Turin 2018, B, vso. 2:9, C, rto. 2:10, D, rto. 3.

¹²⁵ Pap. Berlin P.10460, rto. 3.

¹²⁶ *RAD*, p. 66:8. The date of this entry is without doubt year 17, and not 18/19 as was suggested by Černý, *Community*, p. 157, n. 12. The change in regnal year from 17 to 18 occurs at a later point in the papyrus (*RAD*, p. 67:16).

¹²⁷ LRL 1 (=Pap. Leiden I 369), 2; Wentz, *LRL*, p. 16.

¹²⁸ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 146.

associated with the Tomb-workforce. Gutgesell has further compounded his erroneous reading by incorrectly attributing this section of Pap. BM 10068 to year 17 of Ramesses IX. Both Peet and Janssen have respectively proved that this text was compiled no earlier than year 12 of Ramesses XI.¹²⁹

The 'door-keeper' Qaydjoret, who is named in O.Gardiner 249, is probably to be identified with Qaydjoret (i). Černý has suggested that Qaydjoret (i) followed the same career path as his father, in that he initially operated as a door-keeper before his promotion to the office of guardian.¹³⁰ Penpamer (i), the father of Qaydjoret (i), is named as a 'door-keeper' in year 24 of Ramesses III.¹³¹ His name occurs in another document which is dated to either year 18 or 28 of this reign¹³² and continues to appear as a 'door-keeper' throughout the last decade of Ramesses III and into the reign of Ramesses IV. Penpamer (i)'s last appearance occurs in a 'year 4' document, which Černý has demonstrated is to be dated to the reign of Ramesses V or later.¹³³ The family tradition was continued by Qaydjoret (i)'s own son, Thutmose (iv), who is similarly known in the office of 'door-keeper' in years 8-10 of Ramesses XI.¹³⁴ He must not be confused with an earlier 'door-keeper' Thutmose (v), the son of Ra[...], who occurs in year 16 of Ramesses IX.¹³⁵ A separate entry is of considerable interest at this point. It reads: '[...]mose, son of Qaydjoret'.¹³⁶ This name can undoubtedly be restored as that of Thutmose (iv), although he was probably not yet a 'door-keeper'.¹³⁷ The door-keeper Thut[mose] occurs again in year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹³⁸ He is probably to be identified with Thutmose (v), since his opposite number in that year is known to have been the door-keeper Khonsmose.¹³⁹ The only possible means by which Thutmose (iv) could have been in the position of 'door-keeper' in year 16 of Ramesses IX would have been if the 'door-keeper' Thutmose (v) had died between years 16 and 17 and had been replaced by Khonsmose. This, however, is not a particularly likely possibility. Thutmose (iv) is most likely to be correlated with the 'door-keeper of the Temple (=Medinet Habu)' who is mentioned in year 12 of Ramesses XI.¹⁴⁰ Černý has suggested that the door-keeper Thutmose (iv) was active at the very end of the XXth Dynasty by virtue of his appearance in one of the Late Ramesside Letters.¹⁴¹ However, Wente has correctly indicated that this document is to be dated around year 12

¹²⁹ Peet, *GTR*, pp. 85-86; Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 8.

¹³⁰ Černý, *Community*, p. 168.

¹³¹ O.Gardiner 140, rto. 1.

¹³² O.DM 427, rto. 8; cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 166.

¹³³ O.DM 133, vso. 1; Černý, *Community*, p. 166; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 244-45.

¹³⁴ Pap. Turin 2018, A, 1a:a, D, rto. 8.

¹³⁵ Pap. Turin 2004+2007+2057/58+2106/396, rto. 3:6 (*KRI* VI:652:1).

¹³⁶ Pap. Turin 2004+2007+2057/58+2106/396, rto. 1:17 (*KRI* VI:650:12).

¹³⁷ In his treatise on the 'door-keepers', Černý made no mention of this earlier reference to Thutmose, son of Qaydjoret (*Community*, p. 168).

¹³⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 37, l. 19; not cited by Černý, *Community*, p. 168.

¹³⁹ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 1:7 (cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 167).

¹⁴⁰ *RAD*, p. 40:14.

¹⁴¹ LRL No. 47 (=Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198 III), rto. 9, vso. 5; Černý, *Community*, p. 168.

of Ramesses XI.¹⁴² A noteworthy detail here is that Thutmose is accorded the titles 'door-keeper' and 'guardian' on the same occasion.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, Černý dismissed the credibility of these titles.¹⁴⁴ However, the fact that Thutmose (iv)'s father, Qaydjoret (i), once held the offices of 'door-keeper' and 'guardian', though admittedly not concurrently as far as we know, may confirm the validity of these titles accorded to Thutmose (iv).

¹⁴² Wentz, *LRL*, pp. 1-2, 16. Although we have seen that Thutmose (iv) was active in year 17 of Ramesses IX, Wentz, *LRL*, p. 2, n. 9, has mistakenly identified the door-keeper from LRL 47 with the door-keeper from year 17 of Ramesses IX (see discussion above).

¹⁴³ LRL 47, rto. 9.

¹⁴⁴ Černý, *Community*, p. 150.

CHAPTER 7

THE SERVANTS IN THE PLACE OF TRUTH

§ 51: The family of Apatjau (i): charts 16 and 18

The 'wa'b-priest of the Lady of the Two Lands' Apatjau (i) is referred to as a *sn* 'brother' of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii) in TT 359.¹ For the time being, we can only assume that this term of relationship meant colleague and not 'brother'. The same man is probably mentioned as a 'servant in the Place of Truth' in a bandeau text that was added by the foreman Nekhemmut (vi), son of Khons (v), to the decorative scheme of the burial chamber B in TT 2.² Apatjau (i) was the dedicator of at least three stelae: one bears witness to the name of his son Amenhotep (iii),³ the second was recovered from the workmen's col station,⁴ and the third monument is now in the Turin collection.⁵ Also found at the col, apparently in hut J (E), were the remains of a limestone seat which bore the name of Apatjau.⁶ From the graffiti which can be attributed to Apatjau (i), two are of particular interest. The first names him together with one of his contemporaries, the workman Montupahapi (i), who was presumably the son of Hay (v).⁷ The second example, which marked 'the place for keeping (*wꜥḥ*) the *mnt-jar*⁸ of the servant in the Place of Truth, Apatjau',⁹ indicates that he must have kept a water-container conveniently at hand for his extended journeying amongst the Theban hills.

The workman Apatjau (i) is attested in numerous texts, both dated and undated, the majority of which seem to originate from the reigns of the successors of Ramesses III.¹⁰ He appears on the 'right side' in a 'year 1'¹¹ and on the 'left side' in a 'year 4'.¹² This suggests that, unless we are confronted with two separate individuals, Apatjau (i) had at some point been transferred from one side of the gang to the other. Accepting that Apatjau (i) had been active as early as year 1 of Ramesses IV, it is still plausible that he is to be identified with the workman Apatjau, son of Siwadjet (iii), who is attested in year 17 of Ramesses IX,¹³ a period of some 42 years. According to an entry in the *Stato*

¹ PM I:1, p. 423 at (11) III:16; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 69, pl. XXII middle; KRI VI:191:6.

² PM I:1, p. 9; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 36; KRI VI:199:12.

³ PM I:2, p. 717 (b); Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 181-82, no. 3, pl. I:3; KRI VI:212.

⁴ PM I:2, p. 589; Davies, in *Mélanges Maspero* I/1, p. 247 III, pl. V:2; KRI VI:212.

⁵ Stela Turin N.50073 (PM I:2, p. 717 (a); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 109-10, 293; KRI VI:212).

⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 355, pl. 40; KRI VI:212.

⁷ No. 2090 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 38; KRI VI:212:16-213:1).

⁸ For the purpose of such containers, see Janssen, 'Gear for the Tombs', *RdE* 43 (1992), p. 114, note (s).

⁹ No. 2188 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 46; KRI VI:213:2-3).

¹⁰ Dated examples include years 1 (O.MMA. 09.184.702, II:3), 3 (O.DM 398, rto. 4), 4 (O.CGC 25599, II:10), 5 (O.Gardiner 4, vso. 2) and 6 (O.CGC 25284, 2).

¹¹ O.MMA. 09.184.702, II:3.

¹² O.CGC 25599, II:10.

¹³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 7; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 76, who identified Apatjau in the middle of the XXth Dynasty. Siwadjet (iii) could well have been the workman of that name who was active in years 23 and 24 of Ramesses III. Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 213, for a discussion of the family of Apatjau, son of Siwadjet.

Civile Siwadjet (iii)'s wife was the lady Mer[tseger], and his son, Apatjau, was married to Wabet (v), who was the daughter of Neferhor (x) and Dua[....]. We are also able to glean from this text that Apatjau and Wabet (v) had a daughter called Mertseger (vi).¹⁴ It is possible, though not proven, that Apatjau's father, Siwadjet (iii), is to be identified with Siwadjet (iv).¹⁵ Apatjau (i)'s son, Amenhotep (iii), first occurs in year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹⁶ The career of Amenhotep (iii) can be traced right up to his promotion as 'deputy' for the left side by year 8 of Ramesses XI. In this capacity he found himself subordinate to the chief workman Qenna (ii).¹⁷ In year 17 of the reign of Ramesses XI¹⁸ a journal extract records: '2nd month of Shomu, day 10 - dispatching the six craftsmen to the City in order to make the six columns for the ship of "The Countenance of Amun, He of Opet" - the deputy Amenhotep, Hori, Panodjem, Kanakht, Iyien-ashenef and Pamerenamun - a total of six men'.¹⁹ A separate entry from this papyrus records that work on this ship was carried out on the East Bank at Thebes, and that the same craftsmen were still employed there early in year 18.²⁰ A fact that is not made apparent in this document is that Pamerenamun (i) was most probably the brother of the deputy Amenhotep (iii).²¹ Pamerenamun (i), son of Apatjau (i), is first attested in year 2 of Ramesses X.²² He also appears, alongside his brother, the deputy Amenhotep (iii), on the 'left side' in year 10 of Ramesses XI.²³ The evidence that possibly indicates that Pamerenamun (i) may even have followed his brother as 'deputy', and was probably the father of the scribe, Sobeknakht (i), will be discussed in due course. Having served as the deputy for the left side, the natural career progression would have been for Amenhotep (iii) to have taken over the reins of the foremanship. Consequently, he is probably to be identified with the chief workman, Amenhotep, who appears towards the end of the XXth Dynasty.²⁴ Černý, however, is content with the identification of Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna (i), as the foreman Amenhotep.²⁵

The *ss n p3 hr* 'scribe of the Tomb' Sobeknakht (i) is named in graffito no. 1267, where he is referred to as 'the son of the deputy(?), Pamer[...].'²⁶ It is on the basis of the palaeography that Černý

¹⁴ Černý Nb. 15, p. 74.

¹⁵ Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 213. For the career of Siwadjet (iv), see pp. 264-5 below.

¹⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 11. However, it may be possible that the name '[Amenhotep], son of Apatjau' ought to be restored in an earlier text dating to year 9 of Ramesses IX (Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. 1:5). Amenhotep, son of Apatjau appears in the TNJ, which can be dated to year 17 of Ramesses IX due to the reference to Amenhotep (iv), son of Pentaweret, as a 'prisoner'.

¹⁷ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 3:17.

¹⁸ Not 'year 18' as assumed by Černý, *Community*, p. 142, with n. 7.

¹⁹ *RAD*, p. 67:4-6. The possibility that Amenhotep (iii), son of Apatjau (i), was promoted to the foremanship towards the end of Ramesses XI has been mooted earlier (see pp. 29-30 above).

²⁰ *RAD*, pp. 67:16-68:1.

²¹ The name of the son of Anakhtu, who appears in O.DM 204, vso. 3, should be read as Amenpa<hapi>, not Pameramun as has been suggested by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 265.

²² Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 2:6; for the reading of this name cf. Pap. Turin 2018, rto. D, 4.

²³ Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, 2:11 (b), rto. D, 4.

²⁴ LRL 1 (=Pap. Leiden I 369, 1); Černý, *Community*, p. 311, n. 4, restores this name as Amenhotep, though the faint traces of this name could support the restoration of either Amenhotep or Amennakht. See also above p. 55.

²⁵ Černý, *Community*, p. 311; for Amenhotep (ii) see above p. 29.

²⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 15, pl. 41.

has suggested a date for this inscription in the late XXth Dynasty.²⁷ An attempt to confirm Černý's proposal will be made in the following discussion. The full name of Sobeknakht (i)'s father is probably contained in another graffito which can be restored to read:

'The chief workman(?) in the Place of Truth and *sš n <p3> hr hni* Sobeknakht; <son of> the deputy(?) of *p3 hr* and the god's father Pamerenamun',²⁸

The fact that Sobeknakht (i)'s name is only mentioned in the published literature from graffiti inscriptions may suggest that he served the Tomb-administration at a period from which little written evidence has survived - perhaps at the close of the XXth Dynasty or even during the XXIst Dynasty. This has now been confirmed to me by Rob Demarée who recognised the name amongst a group of unpublished (BM) ostraca from Deir el-Bahari, which can be dated to the early XXIst Dynasty. This dating for him would fit perfectly with the suggestion that he had been the son of Pamerenamun (i).²⁹ Furthermore, if Pamerenamun (i) is to be identified as the father of Sobeknakht (i), we can be confident that by year 17 of Ramesses XI he had not yet attained the status of 'deputy', a title he is accorded in the graffiti.

§ 52: The workman Apehty in the XIXth Dynasty: chart 28

A tantalisingly broken inscription from TT 216 of the foreman Neferhotep (ii), the younger, reads: *[..]ph[.] m3c-hrw s3 Hr-ms m3c-hrw s3.f šdm-cš m [st]-m3t P[n-nbw] m3c-hrw [..]peh[.]*, justified, son of Harmose, justified, and his son, the servant in the Place of Truth, P[ennub], justified'.³⁰ Due to the rarity of the biliteral-sign *ph* amongst the conspectus of names known from Deir el-Medina, a restoration of the name [A]peh[ty] as the son of Harmose and father of Pennub may well be deemed justifiable. Although no precise dates can be assigned for the construction of Neferhotep (ii)'s tomb, we can be confident in placing this monument within the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. Maintaining the restoration of his name, Apehty is probably synonymous with the workman who occurs in a text from year 40 of Ramesses II³¹ as well as in an ostrakon which can be dated prior to this date.³² He may also have been the 'fan-bearer' who is cited on a pillar-base of the 'sculptor' Qen (ii).³³ Furthermore, we learn that an Apehty was the father of a Kasa (v)/(ix), who is attested in 'year 2' of an unspecified reign, perhaps that of Merenptah or Amenmesses.³⁴ He may, therefore, be identified either with Apehty (i), the son of Paneb (i), or more likely with Apehty (ii), a possible son of Nefer(em)senut (i).³⁵

²⁷ Černý, *Community*, p. 219.

²⁸ No. 3083 (Sadek, *GMT* IV/3, p. 158).

²⁹ The only other Sobeknakht that I am aware of is the fisherman Sobeknakht, son of Suti (Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 30, l. 4). The 'scribe' Nakhtsobek who is mentioned in year 6 of Ramesses IV is certainly a different official (Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vso. IV:2; *KRI* VI:144:12).

³⁰ Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 105; *KRI* III:589:4-5.

³¹ O.BM 5634, rto. 12, rto. 21.

³² O.Gardiner 199, I:2.

³³ Cairo Jd'É. 25111/51512: PM I:2, p. 739; Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 194 f., pl. IX; *KRI* III:682.

³⁴ O.DM 209, rto. 10.

³⁵ Cairo Jd'É. 43588 (PM I:2, p. 699; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 6, pl. I, fig. 74; *KRI* III:780); see p. 270 below.

§ 53: The family of the ꜥꜣ n ꜥ Amek (i): chart 19

The curious title ꜥꜣ n ꜥ, the precise meaning of which has eluded scholars, only seems to occur at Deir el-Medina during the first half of the XIXth Dynasty, with one exception from the XXth Dynasty.³⁶ Its use is confined to a single family. The title has been discussed briefly by a number of commentators, though unfortunately with limited results. Bruyère³⁷ proposed that the ꜥꜣ n ꜥ referred to a secular post 'dans les ateliers des cimetières royaux'. Conversely, Černý adopted a more cautious approach by suggesting that the holder of the title was involved in the ceremonial events which took place within the village.³⁸

The first attested holders of this office were Nebdjefa (i)³⁹ and Amek (i). An inscription in the tomb of his son, Amenemwia indicates that Amek (i) was married to the lady Wadjetronpet (i),⁴⁰ a union overlooked in Černý's discussion.⁴¹ The ꜥꜣ n ꜥ Pakharu (ix) is already definitely attested as a son of Amek (i).⁴² However, it is unfortunate that the term of relationship between an Amek and a Pakharu in an inscription on Bankes stela no. 5 has been damaged. The only legible sign following the name of Amek is that of the sꜣ-bird. Consequently, we could theoretically interpret this pair as being Amek (i) with either his father Pakharu (viii) or his son Pakharu (ix).⁴³ Apparently, the office of ꜥꜣ n ꜥ was retained in this family by a son of Pakharu (ix), whose name is partially preserved in a door-jamb as Hor[...]/A[.....].⁴⁴ Pakharu (ix) was probably synonymous with a workman of that name who occurs amongst the workforce in year 40 of Ramesses II.⁴⁵ Amek (i) had certainly been active in the tomb administration during the reign of Seti I⁴⁶ and was probably the owner of house S.E. VI in the village,⁴⁷ hut T (O) at the col settlement,⁴⁸ and TT 1164 in the western cemetery of Deir el-Medina.⁴⁹ Amongst his other titles, the rare appellation of 'servant of Sobekre' has been preserved on the jamb of

³⁶ The ꜥꜣ (n) ꜥ Prehotep occurs in a XXth Dynasty text (O.Prague H.10, rto. 5).

³⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 49.

³⁸ Černý, *Community*, p. 46, and idem, *Bankes*, No. 5, where he has tentatively translated ꜥꜣ n ꜥ as 'leader of the choir(?)'.

³⁹ For a discussion of the family of Nebdjefa (i) see p. 87 above.

⁴⁰ PM I:1, p. 420 at (7) bottom; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 82, fig. 45; KRI III:703; cf. Bruyère, *ibid.* pp. 97 f.; KRI III:705.

⁴¹ *Community*, p. 155.

⁴² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 358; KRI III:723. Also named on this door-jamb is 'A[...]/Har[...]' as a grandson of Amek (i), probably the son of Pakharu (ix).

⁴³ Černý, *Bankes*, No. 5, accepted Amek as the son of Pakharu in this context.

⁴⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-1935) III, p. 358; KRI III:723.

⁴⁵ O.BM 5634, vso. 6; also O.DM 189, II:1.

⁴⁶ See the pair of jambs Cairo J.40367 (& White No. 13506): PM I:1, p. 420, where they have been incorrectly ascribed to Amenemwia; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), pp. 118/119; KRI III:721-722.

⁴⁷ A jamb from a house shrine was recovered from room III N, bearing the name of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amek (PM I:2, p. 703; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 272, pl. 17:3; KRI III:723). Interestingly, a hieratic writing of the name of Pennub was found preserved on a block in room VII of the same building (see Bruyère, *ibid.*, p. 271, no. 3).

⁴⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-1935) III, p. 358; KRI III:723.

⁴⁹ PM I:2, p. 688; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), pp. 95 ff.

a shrine.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine from the available evidence whether any ties of kinship linked the families of Amek (i) and Nebdjefa (i), another workman who held the title ꜥꜣ n ꜥ.

A second so-called 'son' of Amek (i) and Wadjetronpet (i), Amenemwia (i),⁵¹ similarly held the post of an ꜥꜣ n ꜥ. Amenemwia's wife is named as the lady Wadjetronpet (ii) in the tomb of her husband (TT 356).⁵² This identification suggests that she was the daughter of Amek (i) and Wadjetronpet (i), having been named after her mother. Hence, Amenemwia (i) may simply have been a son-in-law of Amek (i), rather than his true son. The name [Amen]emwia can most probably be restored in a relief from TT 250 of the scribe Ramose (i), where he is accompanied by his wife Wadjetronpet (ii).⁵³ Amenemwia (i)'s son was the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemone (iv),⁵⁴ husband of the lady Mertseger (iii),⁵⁵ whilst his daughter can be identified as Nodjemka (i).⁵⁶ It has already been demonstrated that Amenemone (iv) later became encumbent in the office of 'guardian'.⁵⁷ In his capacity as an ꜥꜣ n ꜥ, Amenemwia (i) is honoured on a pillar base erected by the sculptor Qen (ii).⁵⁸ A certain Amenemwia is referred to as a 'servant in the Place of Truth' on a rock stela belonging to the scribe Amenemope in the West Valley of the Kings,⁵⁹ as well as on a block inscribed jointly for Wennekhu and Harmin.⁶⁰ Year 40 of Ramesses II was an eventful one for the workman Amenemwia. He was directly involved in the mummification of Harmose (i)⁶¹ and his sister is said to have 'passed away'.⁶² His name is also attested in two administrative ostraca from this period⁶³ and as the recipient

⁵⁰ PM I:2, p. 692; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-1951), pp. 51-52, no. 50, fig. 9 (a); KRI III:723.

⁵¹ Cairo J.40367 (& White No. 13506) (PM I:1, p. 420; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), pp. 118/119; KRI III:722:4); stela DM 175 B (PM I:2, p. 715; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 35, 46, fig. 108; KRI III:721:3); cf. § 42 above.

⁵² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), pp. 77 f., fig. 40; KRI III:702:12. A table of offerings found in tomb 1164 at Deir el-Medina mentions a Wadjetronpet with her sobriquet 'Hedjret' - 'jerboa' (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 97:3, fig. 55; KRI III:705). Tomb 1164 can safely be attributed to the family of Amek (i) judging from the inscriptional evidence found there.

⁵³ PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 63; KRI III:617:11.

⁵⁴ PM I:1, p. 420 at (4); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 82, fig. 42; cf. Bruyère, *ibid.*, (1928), pp. 86-87, fig. 46; KRI III:704:6.

⁵⁵ PM I:1, p. 420 at (7); KRI III:703:9-10.

⁵⁶ PM I:1, p. 420 at (4) top; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 87, fig. 46; KRI III:704:5-7.

⁵⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), pp. 97 f., fig. 56:3; KRI III:705:14; cf. Cairo J.43587 (PM I:2, p. 699; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-1940) II, p. 6, pl. I, fig. 73; KRI III:705); a naos-stela (PM I:2, p. 692; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-1951), pp. 39 f., fig. 5; KRI III:692); and stela Berlin 21538 (PM I:2, p. 706; KRI III:706). Cf. also Černý, *Community*, p. 155, n. 1; see above pp. 190 ff.

⁵⁸ Cairo J.25111/51512 (PM I:2, p. 739; Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 194 f., pl. IX; Maspero, *RT* 3 (1882), p. 103, § 103; KRI III:682). Differentiation should be made between the 'sculptor' and a second Qen, who occurs with his wife Ibhirnehtuf, in the tomb of Amenemwia (PM I:1, p. 420 at (5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), p. 89, fig. 48; KRI III:704:9-10).

⁵⁹ MMA 14.6.183 (KRI VII:33).

⁶⁰ BM 36861 (PM I:2, p. 740; KRI III:726).

⁶¹ O.BM 5634, vso. 2. Černý, *Community*, pp. 134 f., has correlated this Amenemwia with a deputy of the same name. However, Green, *Orientalia* 45 (1976), p. 400, sets the record straight by pointing out that Amenemwia is never referred to as *idnw* 'deputy' in his tomb (TT 356).

⁶² O.BM 5634, vso. 2; see Janssen, *SAK* 8 (1980), p. 138. The use of the term of relationship *snt* here most probably signifies a 'sister' and not 'wife'. The term for 'wife' is elsewhere in this text denoted as *hmt*.

⁶³ O.CGC 25573, I:11 and O.DM 189, I:4.

of at least two letters.⁶⁴ It has already been noted above (p. 190) that the stonemason Qenhirkhopshef (ii), a grandson of Amenemwia (i), was also active, like his grandfather, by the middle of the reign of Ramesses II. Despite the lack of evidence correlating this Qenhirkhopshef with the guardian Qenhirkhopshef, it might seem reasonable to infer that Qenhirkhopshef (ii) succeeded his father, Amenemone (iv), as guardian for the tomb. Were this theory to be substantiated, it could be theoretically argued on chronological grounds that the Amenemwia, who occurs in year 40 of Ramesses II,⁶⁵ ought not to be identified with the grandfather of Qenhirkhopshef. Thus, the argument in favour of two closely contemporary Amenemwias gains momentum.⁶⁶ On the principle of this same premise, it would be impossible for Amenemwia (i), the son of Amek (i), to be correlated with the homonymous workman Amenemwia (ii), the husband of Tiy (i), who is attested in year 9 of Merenptah⁶⁷ and in several other documents which can comfortably be dated in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty.⁶⁸

Mertseger (iii), the wife of the guardian Amenemone (iv), is referred to by her son Smentawy (i) as the 'daughter of Wadjetronpet' in an inscription on a wooden statue dedicated in her honour.⁶⁹ Confusingly an inscription testifies to the existence of 'the guardian in the Place of Truth Amenemone, whose father is Amenemwia'.⁷⁰ Consequently, in the absence of further evidence, it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty whether the true child of Amenemwia (i) and Wadjetronpet (ii) was Amenemone (iv) or Mertseger (iii).⁷¹ Amenemone (iv) is attested in a name-list of year 26 or 36 of Ramesses II.⁷² His children included a daughter, Nubemiry (ii)⁷³ and a son, the 'stonemason of Amun' Qenhirkhopshef (ii).⁷⁴

⁶⁴ O.DM 304 (from Haremheb) and O.DM 321.

⁶⁵ O.BM 5634, vso. 2.

⁶⁶ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 35, however, identified Amenemwia (i), son of Amek (i), with the workman of this year 40.

⁶⁷ O.Gardiner 197, rto. 4. Although the reign is not explicitly recorded there is no doubt that this ostrakon belongs to that of Merenptah as a result of the appearance of the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i).

⁶⁸ E.g., O.Colin Campbell 15, vso. 9; O.DM 353, rto. 6. In turn, Amenemwia (ii) can probably be differentiated from the contemporary 'coppersmith' of that name (O.Nash 3, 1-2).

⁶⁹ PM I:2, p. 692; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-1951), pp. 37-38:13, pl. 10:1; *KRI* III:692.

⁷⁰ PM I:2, p. 692; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-1951), pp. 39 f., fig. 5; *KRI* III:692:4.

⁷¹ Černý, *Community*, p. 155, argues for the attribution of Amenemwia (i) as the father of Amenemone (iv), whereas Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-51), p. 38, n. 1, has suggested that Mertseger (iii) was the daughter of Amenemwia (i) and Wadjetronpet (ii).

⁷² O.Turin N.57082, vso. 2-3. It is feasible that this is Amenemone, whose son Baki is mentioned as a member of the *smdt*-staff in years 35-37 of Ramesses II (O.OIC 17007=O.Nelson 11, rto. I:23).

⁷³ Stela Turin N.50045 (=1518): PM I:2, p. 715; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 79 f., 279; *KRI* III:693.

⁷⁴ Statue Cairo J.43576 (PM I:2, p. 698; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pp. 274-75, figs. 135/136 (p. 270); idem, *Rapport* (1928), p. 119:3; *KRI* III:692-693); cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 154, with n. 8. For Qenhirkhopshef (ii) see pp. 190 ff. above.

§ 54: The family of Akhpet (iii)

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Akhpet (iii), who appears in a graffito,⁷⁵ can be positively distinguished from the vizier's scribe, Akhpet (i), who is known from a number of Deir el-Medina documents (see above p. 118). The workman Akhpet occurs in several ostraca which appear to date approximately from the middle of the XXth Dynasty.⁷⁶ A stela, now in the Istanbul collection, refers to the 'craftsman of the Place of Eternity' Akhpet as the son of the 'craftsman of the Place of Truth' Neferronpet and [...].⁷⁷ Unfortunately, I have been unable to restore the name of this woman. An Akhpet (iv) is attested as the 'brother' of Amenpahapi (i) in a text preserved in the latter's tomb (TT 355).⁷⁸ The same inscription contains the closing phrase: 'Born of/Made by (*ir.n*) the draftsman in the Place of Truth, Neferronpet'. This could possibly imply that Neferronpet was the father of Amenpahapi. Furthermore, if we accept, for the moment, that Amenpahapi and Akhpet were the sons of the same Neferronpet, then we would similarly need to indicate that they had been born to different mothers, since the name of the mother of Amenpahapi is preserved in TT 355 as Hu[...]. However, it seems more likely that Amenpahapi (i), the owner of TT 355, is not to be identified as the son of Neferronpet.⁷⁹ Therefore, Neferronpet's association with Amenpahapi (i) may have been purely a professional one. It could further be argued that the 'draftsman' had been commissioned to do some work in the latter's tomb (TT 355).

§ 55: The family of Ipy (i): charts 30 and 31

The similarities in the spellings of the names Ipy and Ipuy could easily result in the misidentification of certain individuals. However, with care, it should not be possible to mistake one for the other.⁸⁰ Evidence found in the southern annexe of TT 329 would suggest that this monument once belonged jointly to the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (vii) and the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Ipy (i).⁸¹ The exact nature of the relationship that existed between the two men is unfortunately not stated in the surviving inscriptions. Nevertheless, their friendship, if that is all it was, must certainly have been a close one since they shared several monuments found in the village. Their joint stela, which was recovered from the court of the south annexe, names the respective wives of Mose (vii) and Ipy (i) as Taket (i) (or Katet) and Baket (i).⁸² A scene in the bottom register of this stela

⁷⁵ No. 2142 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 43); cf. graffiti nos. 348, 483 a, 489 a (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 30, 42, 43).

⁷⁶ O. Colin Campbell 3, rto. 3; O.IFAO 1354, vso. II:7, which can be dated between year 27 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses V/Ramesses VI due to the appearance of the deputy Hay (vii).

⁷⁷ Fr.-V. Scheil, 'Textes Égyptiens divers du Musée de Constantinople', *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), p. 198.

⁷⁸ PM I:1, p. 419; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 117, fig. 79; KRI VI:435:6. An inscription belonging to Amenpahapi, son of (*p3*, lit., 'he of') Neferhotep, is situated just below a graffito which might possibly be read as Akhpet (graffito no. 1376; Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 26, pl. 71).

⁷⁹ For an alternative argument see above pp. 26-7.

⁸⁰ For example Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29, has mistakenly suggested that the Ipy of stela BM 444 may be equated with either Ipuy, son of Play or Ipuy, son of Prehotep.

⁸¹ PM I:1, pp. 397-398; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 76-82; KRI III:749-750. TT 329 proper belongs to the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (iv) and his wife Henutwa'ti (i).

⁸² Louvre C.280 (PM I:1, p. 398 at (2); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 78-79, pl. IX; KRI III:750-751).

depicts four men and six women, who can be identified as an assortment of sons and daughters of Mose (vii) and Ipy (i).⁸³ Unfortunately, in the majority of cases, it is not possible to determine to which family these children belong. However, reference to supplementary material is beneficial in illuminating the nature of several of these relationships. For instance, Amenwahsu (ii) is attested as a son of Mose on a pair of door leaves from a naos.⁸⁴ And similarly, an inscription on a lintel records that Aniy (i) and Qenhirkhopshef (iii) were the sons of Ipy (i).⁸⁵

The attestation of Ipy (i) alongside the scribe Huy (x) on a stela of Thuthirmaktef (i), the father of the latter, confirms his period of service on the tomb workforce somewhere within the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.⁸⁶ As a 'prophet' he occurs, together with the draftsman Maaninakhtuf (i), as one of the bearers of the barque of Amenre on a stela of Merwaset.⁸⁷ Furthermore, he is named on several occasions in the administrative ostraca.⁸⁸ The fact that he can be identified as one of the beneficiaries of the legacy of the ʿꜥ n ʿ Amek (i) may suggest a filial tie with this renowned family.⁸⁹ Ipy (i)'s son Aniy (i) is not attested elsewhere amongst the monumental inscriptions at Deir el-Medina, although his name is widespread amongst the ostraca.⁹⁰ Although none of these documents is dated, the appearance of contemporaries such as the famous Tomb-scribes Ramose (i) and Qenhirkhopshef (i), place Aniy (i) comfortably in the middle- to late-reign of Ramesses II. The second son of Aniy (i), namely Qenhirkhopshef (iii), is not attested again and may well have been forced to seek employment outside of the village.

§ 56: The workmen Amenemope

The workman Amenemope, who testified at what appears to have been a deposition in year 47 of Ramesses II,⁹¹ could conceivably have been one of several individuals who were active in the Theban necropolis at about this time.⁹² The list of the possible candidates in question can be compiled as follows:

❖ Amenemope (iv), son of the draftsman Nebre (i).⁹³

⁸³ The extant names include those of Aniy, Amenwahsu, Thutmose, Amenmose, Tanofret, Henutmehyt, Henutnofret and Nebtuhet.

⁸⁴ Moscow Pushkin Museum I. 1 a, 4867 a/b (PM I:2, p. 745; KRI III:753-754).

⁸⁵ PM I:2, p. 704; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 42-43, fig. 11; KRI III:751-752. The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Aniy (i) is named in apposition to his father on a stela fragment now in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg AE.I.N. 724; PM I:2, p. 722; Koeford-Petersen, *Les Stèles égyptiennes*, p. 36, pl. 45; KRI III:752).

⁸⁶ Florence Inv. 2524 (PM I:2, p. 718 (c); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), pp. 47-49, fig. 23; KRI III:842).

⁸⁷ BM 444 (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 29, pl. 69; KRI VII:215).

⁸⁸ O.CGC 25573, II:8 (pre-year 40 of Ramesses II); O.Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet MM.14126, rto. II:8

⁸⁹ O.Gardiner 89, rto. 6.

⁹⁰ O.DM 112, vso. 3, in which the 'storehouse of Aniy' is bequeathed by Anuynakht to the lady Tasaket; O.DM 258, 5; O.Gardiner 195, rto. 3; O.Gardiner 199, II:1; O.Gardiner 239, vso. 4; Gardiner Weight No. 12, 2-3.

⁹¹ O.Turin N.57062.

⁹² We may exclude from this equation any titled necropolis employees such as the 'scribe' Amenemope (ii), son of the scribe Minmose (for whom see above pp. 77-8) or the 'guardian' Amenemope (v), a 'so-called' brother of Neferabu.

⁹³ Stela Turin N.50036 (=Suppl. 1589).

- ❖ The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemope (xvii), son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (vii)⁹⁴ and the husband of Nofretmah (i).⁹⁵ Mose (vii), who was married twice to Taket (i)⁹⁶ and Iyti (i),⁹⁷ can be identified as the son of Iahnefer (i).⁹⁸
- ❖ Amenemope (viii), son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Tusa, who may have served as a 'guardian'.⁹⁹
- ❖ Amenemope (xiii), son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Khaemtir.¹⁰⁰

Any attempt at attributing particular monuments to one or other of the above seldomly meets with any degree of success. Nevertheless, a graffito in which the names of Mose and Amenemope are attested in apposition most probably refers to Amenemope (xvii).¹⁰¹ The Amenemope who appears, alongside Tusa, amongst a group of men aboard a boat in a scene from the right-hand side wall of a naos of Kasa, can undoubtedly be identified as Amenemope (viii).¹⁰² Despite these minor improvements to our understanding of the ancient sources, many other attestations of Amenemope can not be resolved at all. These include, for example, a seated statue of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemope,¹⁰³ the stela of the 'servant' Amenemope,¹⁰⁴ or the attestation of the 'servant' Amenemope in a funerary scene from TT 219 of Nebenmaat.¹⁰⁵ The same difficulties are encountered for administrative records from the reign of Ramesses II in which the name Amenemope appears.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁴ Stela Louvre C.280 recovered from the court of the southern annexe of TT 329 (PM I:1, pp. 397/98 at (2); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 78-79, pl. IX; KRI III:750-751) and stela Turin N.50186 (=Suppl. 6204) (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 168, 332; KRI III:751). Mose is also named as a 'soldier (*w'w*) of the gang in the Place of Truth in the West of Thebes' (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 81 f.).

⁹⁵ PM I:2, p. 704; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 42-43, fig. 11; KRI III:751-752.

⁹⁶ Stela Louvre C.280.

⁹⁷ Her name occurs on a lintel (PM I:2, p. 704; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 42-43, fig. 11; KRI III:751-752).

⁹⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 81 f., fig. 57. Černý, *Community*, p. 251, placed Mose, son of Iahnefer, within the reign of either Merenptah or Amenmesses as a predecessor of Mose, the husband of Henutwa'ti and the owner of TT 329. Iahnefer may be synonymous with Ahaunefer, who is named on a pair of door-leaves as husband of Wadjetronpet (vii) and the father of the 'servant in the Place of Truth, stonemason of Amun in the work at Opet, *wa'b*-priest of Amun of "Great in Victories" at the quay of Avaris' Mose and the grandfather of the 'servitor of Taweret' Amenwahsu (ii) (Moscow, Pushkin Museum I. 1a. 4867 a/b; PM I:2, p. 745; Bogoslovsky, *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 122 (1972, No. 4), pp. 75 ff., figs. 6-9; KRI III:753-754).

⁹⁹ See p. 191 above.

¹⁰⁰ See p. 238 below.

¹⁰¹ No. 70 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 9; KRI III:756). Year 40 of Ramesses II can be set as the *terminus ante quem* for this document, based on the occurrence of the workman Harmose (see Green, *Orientalia* 45 (1976), p. 395).

¹⁰² Turin Cat. 2446 (PM I:2, p. 745; Valbelle, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), pp. 179-194, figs. 3-6, pls. 45-48; KRI III:830-832).

¹⁰³ DM 219 (PM I:2, p. 710; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 53, 96-97, 132, fig. 216; KRI III:706).

¹⁰⁴ Turin N.50043 (=Suppl. 1515) (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 77-78, 278; cf. KRI VII:406, where this monument is dated to the reign of Seti I).

¹⁰⁵ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 11, scene 11, pl. 2 top left; KRI III:759; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 78, fig. 48. The decoration of this tomb dates to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., O.Louvre E.13156, 7, in which he occurs possibly with a 'sister' Maani; O.DM 370, I:x+5; O.Stockholm Medelshavsmuseet MM.14126, rto. I:10; O.Gardiner 195, rto. 6.

There is similar uncertainty concerning the dating of the career of Amenemope (ix), another 'servant in the Place of Truth'. He is known from a stela of the foreman Neferhotep (ii) 'the younger' to have been married to Isis (vi).¹⁰⁷ However, we are told that Amenemope (ix) and Isis (vi) were the parents of Hunero (iii), the wife of Hesysunebef (i).¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, it is not possible to date this stela with any degree of accuracy. However, since Hesysunebef (i), who only appears in the ostraca as a 'workman' from the reign of Amenmesses onwards, is referred to on this monument as a 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth', we can safely assume that the stela was commissioned in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty. Thus, there are good grounds for identifying Amenemope (ix) with the workman of that name who is frequently mentioned as the 'son of Pay'¹⁰⁹ in the administrative records between the reigns of Amenmesses¹¹⁰ and Siptah.¹¹¹ And finally, the Amenemope who is attested bringing supplies of wood to the village in a mid-XIXth Dynasty papyrus was, without doubt, a member of the *smdt*-staff.¹¹²

§ 57: The family of Amenemone (iii): chart 4¹¹³

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemone (iii), who has been shown above to have been the father of the workman Seti (i)¹¹⁴ (see p. 24 above), is represented in the tomb of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii).¹¹⁵ This single mention confirms a date for his career at least within the reign of Ramesses IV. Furthermore, it is most likely that he is to be identified with the 'servant' Amenemone who appears on Bankes stela no. 10. This monument also bears testimony to the 'servant' Seti and the 'servant Hori' as so-called 'brothers' of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Penrennut, son of Nakhtmin.¹¹⁶ An entry in the *Stato Civile* records that Tadehnetemheb (i), the daughter of Amenemone (iii), was married to Penrennut (i), son of Nakhtmin (iii) and the lady I[...].¹¹⁷ Consequently, the workman Seti (i) can be identified as a brother-in-law of Penrennut (i). The same relationship holds true for Hori (xiv) who is named in a separate context as a son of Amenemone in year 1 of Ramesses VI.¹¹⁸ It is plausible that Nakhtmin (iii) may be identified with Nakhtmin (i), son of Huy (iii),¹¹⁹ in which case Penrennut (i) would have been married to his cousin, Tadehnetemheb (i).

¹⁰⁷ Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. 10:3; PM I:2, p. 682; KRI IV:238-239.

¹⁰⁸ See above pp. 32-3 for Hesysunebef (i).

¹⁰⁹ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 36, n. 5, suggests that Pay may be the son of Prehotep (i), son of Pay, the elder.

¹¹⁰ O.CGC 25780, 7-8; O.CGC 25782, rto. 4; O.CGC 25783, rto. 8.

¹¹¹ O.CGC 25516, vso. 9 (year 1).

¹¹² Pap. Gardiner 8 = Ashmolean Mus. 1960.1283, rto. 2.

¹¹³ It should be drawn to the reader's attention that the results of this study only slightly differ from the findings elucidated by Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), pp. 201-09.

¹¹⁴ The Hori (xiii), son of Seti, who appears in O.CGC 25575, 22 (dated to a 'year 7', probably of one of the reigns of Ramesses IX, Ramesses X(?) or Ramesses XI) may have been the grandson of Amenemone (iii).

¹¹⁵ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56; KRI VI:193:9.

¹¹⁶ Černý, *Bankes*, No. 10; PM I:2, p. 732; KRI V:665.

¹¹⁷ Černý Nb. 15, p. 72; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), p. 204. Following the discovery of a new fragment from this text, the name of this lady can be read as Iahati.

¹¹⁸ O.BM 50730, rto. 3.

¹¹⁹ See below.

Sobekmose (i), who is similarly mentioned in the upper register of the Bankes stela cited above, is referred to as a brother of Penrennut (i). There are indeed several individuals called Sobekmose who occur in the XXth Dynasty records of the village. There is substantial evidence to suggest that a certain Sobekmose was a member of the workcrew. Therefore, he could well be synonymous with Sobekmose (i). His name occurs in several undated documents which originate from the closing years of the reign of Ramesses III as well as from the following reigns.¹²⁰ As yet, there is no certainty that he is to be identified as the homonymous workman who operated on the 'left side' of the gang in year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹²¹ In year 16 of Ramesses III we encounter the water-carrier Sobekmose.¹²² A third Sobekmose, who was also an employee of the *smdt*-staff, is recorded delivering 'dung' (*hrit*) in an undated text.¹²³ It is possible that this man was actually one of the wood-cutters assigned to the workmen.¹²⁴ And finally, the 'chief Medjay' Sobekmose similarly appears in an undated text from the first half of the XXth Dynasty.¹²⁵

The relationships between Amenemone and Hay, who appear in the lower register of the Bankes monument with their sons, and Penrennut are not recorded. However, the third man who is referred to in this particular vignette as 'his father', was the 'servant' Nakhtmin (iii). He happens to be accompanied by a boy who is called 'the son of his son', Panakhtemheb (i). There is little doubt that these two individuals can be shown to have been the father and son of Penrennut (i).¹²⁶ A second Penrennut was the 'wood-cutter' Penrennut (ii), who is well represented in the administrative records of Deir el-Medina. His period of activity can possibly be traced from at least year 6 of Siptah¹²⁷ down to year 6 of Ramesses IV,¹²⁸ though it may prove more sensible to suggest two individuals who held the same position on the *smdt* staff. Only through a painstaking inspection of the context of these records can we expect to draw a positive distinction between the 'serf' and the homonymous workman, Penrennut (i), son of Nakhtmin (iii), who is similarly attested during the reign of Ramesses IV.¹²⁹ Finally, it seems worthwhile to briefly mention the existence of two earlier homonyms, Penrennut (iii) and Penrennut (iv). The former is attested during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II,¹³⁰ whilst the latter occurs as a 'cup-bearer' in year 7 of Merenptah.¹³¹ Three additional sons of Amenemone (iii)

¹²⁰ O.CGC 25588, rto. 7 (year 2); O.DM 398, vso. 5 (year 3); O.Ashmolean Mus. 1949.335, 3 (year 6); O.IFAO 1354, vso. I:1; O.Cairo J.72466, rto. I:6; O.Gardiner 14, vso. 1:2; O.Colin Campbell 3, vso. 6 and 9.

¹²¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 38, col. B:8.

¹²² O.Mich. 2, 3.

¹²³ O.DM 94, 4.

¹²⁴ Cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 367, n. 1.

¹²⁵ O.Turin N.57364, rto. 1-2. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 335-36, suggests that he may have succeeded Montumose in this position. Consequently, he has dated this document to the reign of Ramesses V. However, it remains impossible to date this Sobekmose more accurately until a comprehensive study of the careers of the chief Medjays has been undertaken. There is certainly no corroborative evidence to confirm whether Sobekmose indeed succeeded Montumose in office. On the other hand, Černý, *Community*, p. 268, has placed this Sobekmose within the opening years of the XXth Dynasty.

¹²⁶ Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), p. 204.

¹²⁷ Pap. Greg, vso. B, 10. He also appears in O.Brussels E.3211 (year 26 of Ramesses III).

¹²⁸ O.CGC 25804, A, 2, 6. For the dating of this document see KRI VI:147; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 295.

¹²⁹ O.Gardiner 247, vso. 3 and possibly O.IFAO 1323, IV:2. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 59, has mistakenly identified Penrennut (i), son of Nakhtmin (iii), with the wood-cutter of O.CGC 25804.

¹³⁰ O.IFAO 1347, rto. 13.

¹³¹ O.CGC 25504, rto. I:6.

can be identified on the Bankes stela. They are Nebamun (i), Qenamun (i) and Amenkhau (ii). Another stela, published in recent years by Bierbrier,¹³² includes, amongst others, two further sons of Amenemone (iii), namely Huy (xxiii) and Pentaweret (ix).

A workman Amenemone is attested in numerous ostraca dating from between year 6 of Seti II¹³³ and year 2 of Siptah.¹³⁴ The same man possibly occurs in year 7 of Ramesses III¹³⁵ and is recorded in a legal dispute with the workman Khnummose five years later.¹³⁶ The workman Amenemone, who was attached to the 'left side' of the workcrew, is named in years 23 (or 24),¹³⁷ 25¹³⁸ and 30¹³⁹ of Ramesses III. The last known dated attestation of his name occurs in year 2 of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.¹⁴⁰ However, he is to be distinguished from the contemporary fisherman Amenemone (v), the son of Amenkhau (iii).¹⁴¹ An interesting feature concerning the workman Amenemone is that on two further occasions he can be found at the centre of legal disputes. Firstly, he is pitted against Amenkhau and the *šw*-officer Khaemope,¹⁴² and secondly he has to contend with Iyi, the wife of Huy.¹⁴³

A stela in the Whitehead collection contains the names of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Huy (iii) and his wife Iyi (ii), together with those of their three sons, Nakhtmin (i), Amennakht (ii) and Hay (iii) and their daughter, Takhenty (i).¹⁴⁴ All three sons seem to be named on two further monuments with, on each occasion, apparently a pair of brothers. Firstly, they are represented on a table of offerings alongside Amenemone (ii) and Amen[....].¹⁴⁵ An inscription on this monument names their ancestors Huy (i) and Mehyt-khati (i). Secondly, a stela records their names with Amenhotep (i) and Pa[....].¹⁴⁶ It has been demonstrated that the workman, Huy, son of Huynefer, who was active towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty, was the father of a Nakhtmin.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, Iyi is named as the widow of a Huy in a lawsuit which she contested with the workman Amenemone, possibly her own son.¹⁴⁸ On the basis of these facts, there is a strong possibility that Huy (iii) is to be identified with Huy (vi)/(vii)/(ix), the son of Huynefer (ii)/(iv).¹⁴⁹ It is similarly plausible that Amenemone (ii), apparently a son of Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), is to be correlated with the workman Amenemone (iii).

¹³² Brussels E.755: Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), pp. 201 ff.

¹³³ O.CGC 25512, rto. 9; O.CGC 25517, rto. γ 10.

¹³⁴ O.CGC 25521, rto. 5.

¹³⁵ Pap. DeM 26, rto. A:1, 4, 5, 13, vso. B:11; cf. O.DM 99, 2, 4.

¹³⁶ O.CGC 25553, rto. 1.

¹³⁷ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 6.

¹³⁸ O.Gardiner 196, rto. 3.

¹³⁹ O.DM 448, rto. 2.

¹⁴⁰ O.Petrie 23, rto. 9; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 80.

¹⁴¹ O.DM 47 (+O.Vienna 5), rto. 2-3, 7; O.DM 44, rto. 4.

¹⁴² O.Turin N.57458.

¹⁴³ O.DM 225.

¹⁴⁴ Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), pp. 139-40.

¹⁴⁵ Louvre E.13996 (*KRI* I:401-402); cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), p. 205.

¹⁴⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 121, fig. 202, no. 282; *KRI* I:400.

¹⁴⁷ O.Brussels E.6311; Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), p. 204, n. 8.

¹⁴⁸ O.DM 225, 4.

¹⁴⁹ A discussion of the family and career of Huynefer (ii)/(iv) has been presented above (pp. 17-18).

The first appearance of Montupahapi (i) witnesses him as a beneficiary of the property of his father Hay (v), son of Huy (ix), in year 8 of Ramesses III.¹⁵⁰ It is probable that this Hay (v) is to be identified with Hay (iii).¹⁵¹ The same Montupahapi (i), son of Hay (v), appears on two further occasions. Firstly, his name is included in the lower register of a stela dedicated by Penrennut (i).¹⁵² The second attestation occurs in an undated ostrakon,¹⁵³ which Gutgesell has dated between year 7 of Ramesses IV and year 1 of Ramesses V.¹⁵⁴ Because of the unusual name, the same man is undoubtedly named in a list of workmen, which has been attributed a date within the reign of Ramesses IV.¹⁵⁵ His name occurs again in two unpublished texts, both of which have been dated by Gutgesell to the reign of Ramesses IV.¹⁵⁶ Montupahapi is one of the three workmen who were said to have been assaulted by 'Anakhtu in year 6 of Ramesses IV'.¹⁵⁷ His name is also represented amongst the West Theban graffiti commanding the title of 'servant in the Place of Truth'. In graffito no. 2090 Montupahapi is mentioned alongside the 'servant in the Place of Truth, the *wa'b*-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands' Apatjau,¹⁵⁸ whilst in no. 1339 his name is associated with that of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenkhau.¹⁵⁹ It is interesting to note that the same Amenkhau is also named as the son of the 'servant' Amenemone on the above-mentioned stela of Penrennut (i).

The workman Hay (v), son of Huy (ix), is first securely attested in year 8 of Ramesses III.¹⁶⁰ Thereafter, his name appears regularly during the course of this reign.¹⁶¹ The names of the children of Hay (v), son of Huy (ix), who appear in Pap. Bulaq 10,¹⁶² include Montupahapi (i), Qaha (iii),¹⁶³ Penniut (ii),¹⁶⁴ Bes (i) and Gerg (i). The final definite appearance that we have for Hay (v) occurs in an ostrakon which is dated to a 'year 3',¹⁶⁵ and which can probably be attributed to the reign of either Ramesses IV¹⁶⁶ or Ramesses V.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁰ Pap. Bulaq 10, vso. 9.

¹⁵¹ It is also possible that Huy (ix) is to be identified with Huy (v), the son of the foreman, Anhurkhaw (i).

¹⁵² Bankes stela no. 10 (PM I:2, p. 732; Černý, *Bankes*; KRI V:665).

¹⁵³ O.Gardiner 134, rto. 1. Bes (i), who was probably the brother of Montupahapi (i), is listed in this document as one of the recipients of decoration work executed by Montupahapi on his coffin (rto. 3).

¹⁵⁴ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 322.

¹⁵⁵ O.DM 236, rto. 3:5; Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 150; KRI VI:178.

¹⁵⁶ O.Gardiner 246 (year 2; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 235); O.MMA. 09.184.708 (Gutgesell, *ibid.*, p. 316).

¹⁵⁷ Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vso. III:1-2.

¹⁵⁸ Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 38; KRI VI:212-213.

¹⁵⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 22, pl. 61; KRI V:666:13-14.

¹⁶⁰ Pap. Bulaq 10, vso. 1.

¹⁶¹ O.CGC 25555, rto. 4 (year 13); O.DM 222, I:9 (year 22); O.Turin N.57026, vso. 10 (year 23 or 24); O.Turin N.57028, rto. 11, vso. 5; *RAD*, p. 55:9 (year 29).

¹⁶² Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 150.

¹⁶³ See pp. 20-21 above for Qaha (iii).

¹⁶⁴ See p. 262 for Penniut (ii).

¹⁶⁵ O.DM 398, rto. 4.

¹⁶⁶ Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 143; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 243.

¹⁶⁷ KRI VI:251; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), p. 207.

§ 58: The family of Amenemheb (vi) and Bakenmut (ii): chart 33

It is impossible to determine whether Amenemheb (vii), the son of Khabekhnet (i) and Sahte (i), was synonymous with the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemheb (vi), the husband of Mutemwia (v).¹⁶⁸ On no occasion when the adult Amenemheb (vii) is identified with his parents, whether in TT 2 or TT 335,¹⁶⁹ does he hold the title of 'servant in the Place of Truth'.¹⁷⁰ The picture is further distorted by the appearance of another contemporary during the reign of Ramesses II, namely Amenemheb (viii), the son of Roia (i).¹⁷¹ Amenemheb (vi) and Mutemwia (v) were the owners of a variety of monuments which have been recovered from Deir el-Medina. Within the confines of the *khenw* of Ramesses II they erected a dedicatory stela.¹⁷² Depicted in a relief on the side of another statue, attributable to Amenemheb (vi), are an Amenemone and a couple, Henuttawy and a second man whose name is lost.¹⁷³ A pyramidion, which once undoubtedly crowned the tomb-chapel of Amenemheb (vi) and Mutemwia (v) contains the names of the two brothers, the 'servants in the Place of Truth', Neferronpet (iv) and Bakenmut (ii).¹⁷⁴ On the basis of this evidence alone, we can not determine the extent of the relationship between these brothers and Amenemheb. Nevertheless, the inscriptions adorning a libation tank, now in the British Museum, testify that a Bakenmut (ii) was a son of Amenemheb (vi).¹⁷⁵ Thus, we may infer from this that Neferronpet (iv) was similarly a son of Amenemheb (vi). Bakenmut (ii) can probably be identified as the workman of that name who is well-known from the middle of the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁷⁶

§ 59: The workmen Amennakht from the XIXth Dynasty

In the absence of a patronymic descriptor, it is almost impossible to distinguish between the numerous Amennakhts, who are known to have operated at Deir el-Medina during the XIXth Dynasty. The scale of the problem is evident from the following list of Amennakhts who can be identified:

- ❖ The 'chief craftsman' Amennakht (xi), son of Didi (see above pp. 64-65 and chart 8).
- ❖ The 'chief craftsman' Amennakht (x), son of Buqentuf (see above pp. 62-63 and chart 8)
- ❖ Amennakht (i), father of the workman Penamun (ii) (see above p. 3).

¹⁶⁸ For Mutemwia as the possible daughter of Maaninakhtuf (i), see p. 156 above.

¹⁶⁹ PM I:1, pp. 6-7 at (3), (10) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, pp. 32, 17; KRI III:801:5, 805:15 (for TT 2); PM I:1, p. 402 at (7); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 122, fig. 84; KRI III:670:13-14 (for TT 335).

¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, Bakenmut (ii), son of Amenemheb (vi) (see below), is attested in O.Gardiner 199 with Khabekhnet (i). However, it would not be implausible for a man and his grandson to have been active contemporaneously.

¹⁷¹ O.CGC 25627, 'a', rto. 3.

¹⁷² DM 103 (PM I:2, p. 696; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 41, 57, pl. IV, fig. 117:D; KRI III:706).

¹⁷³ DM 180 (PM I:2, p. 710; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 46-47, pl. IV, fig. 117:E; KRI III:707).

¹⁷⁴ BM 468 (PM I:1, p. 744; *BMHT* 8, pp. 56-57, pls. 49-50; KRI III:707-708).

¹⁷⁵ James, *BMHT* 9, p. 56, pl. XLIV.

¹⁷⁶ O.Gardiner 199, I:3 (pre-year 40); O.BM 5634, vso. 16 (year 40); O.Gardiner 195, rto. 9; O.DM 266, 1; O.DM 314, vso. 3. He must not be confused with Bakenmut (iii) who occurs towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty delivering wood to the village (O.CGC 25603, 3; O.CGC 25593, rto. 8) and who can be further identified as the woodcutter of Pap. Greg, rto. B, 30 (year 5 of Siptah).

- ❖ The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (xxi), father of Nebenmaat (see below pp. 236-7).
- ❖ The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (xiii), father of the workman Nebdjefa (see above p. 87).
- ❖ The workman Amennakht (vii), son of the chief workman, Nebnefer (see pp. 34, 36).¹⁷⁷
- ❖ Amennakht (xxix), son of Khons (ii) (see above p. 46).
- ❖ The 'chief of sculptors' Amennakht (viii), son of Kasa (see above pp. 187-8).

§ 60: Two Amenhoteps from the XXth Dynasty: Amenhotep (ix), son of Khay (v), and Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna (i): chart 3

Amenhotep (ix), son of Khay (v), is attested just once in the Deir el-Medina corpus in an ostrakon which has been dated in the short interval between year 7 of Ramesses IV and year 1 of Ramesses V.¹⁷⁸ In year 16 of the reign of Ramesses IX the workman Amenhotep (ii), son of Qenna (i), was apparently attached to the 'right side' of the workcrew.¹⁷⁹ However, by year 8 of Ramesses XI a re-organisation of the gang resulted in his transfer over to the opposite side.¹⁸⁰

§ 61: The family of Wadjmose (i): chart 6

The career of Wadjmose (i) can be firmly attributed to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, due to his appearance alongside several colleagues on a stela of the foreman Nebnefer (i).¹⁸¹ An inscription on a stela¹⁸² of Wadjmose (i) and his father, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Huy (iv), containing the cartouches of Ramesses II, provides further support for this identification, were it required. The closeness of Wadjmose (i)'s affiliation to the family of the foreman Nebnefer (i) resulted from his marriage to the lady Iyemwaw (ii), whom he names on a stela dedicated in honour of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari.¹⁸³ The same lady is probably to be identified with Iyemwaw, the daughter of Nebnefer (i), who is attested on a stela in the British Museum.¹⁸⁴ It therefore follows that Nebnefer (iii), who appears on the verso of an ostrakon dated to year 2 (of Merenptah) as the 'son of Wadjmose',¹⁸⁵ had been named by his parents after his grandfather, the foreman Nebnefer (i).¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁷ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 1:1; O.CGC 25824. A workman Nebnefer, son of Amennakht, who is attested in a 'year 4' document, probably from the reign of Amenmesses (O.Gardiner 111, rto. 5), could well turn out to be the son of Amennakht (vii).

¹⁷⁸ O.Brussels E.301, vso. 39; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 315.

¹⁷⁹ Pap. Turin 2057, rto. 2:16; for his appearance in year 17 of this reign see Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 10.

¹⁸⁰ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 3:18. The patronymic 'son of [Qenna]' can confidently be restored following the name of Amenhotep (ii) in vso. B, 2:4 (year 9), due to the structured arrangement in which the names of the workmen appear in this papyrus.

¹⁸¹ BM 267 (PM I:2, p. 727 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 42 f., pl. 37:1; *KRI* III:582).

¹⁸² Turin N.50030 (PM I:2, p. 720 (c) top; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 62-63, 272; *KRI* III:790).

¹⁸³ Turin Cat. 1369 (PM I:2, p. 693; Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), p. 172, § XVI end; *KRI* III:725-26).

¹⁸⁴ BM 447; PM I:1, p. 15; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 44-45, pl. 38:1.

¹⁸⁵ O.DM 621, vso. 9-10. The date of 'year 64' (of Ramesses II), shown on the recto of this ostrakon, would certainly support the attribution of the verso text in the reign of Merenptah.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Bierbier, *LNKE*, p. 22 and idem, in *Village Voices*, p. 6.

Wadjmose (i) is further attested in texts dated to years 33¹⁸⁷ and 40¹⁸⁸ of Ramesses II. Additional occurrences of his name are uncommon - he appears in a list of supply-deliveries¹⁸⁹ and is briefly alluded to in a letter written by the scribe Turo (ii).¹⁹⁰

§ 62: The family of Wennekhu (i): chart 26¹⁹¹

The name Wennekhu (i) was indeed extremely rare amongst the villagers of Deir el-Medina. Two stelae refer to Penpakhty (i) as a son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Wennekhu.¹⁹² Although the name of the owner of a fragmentary coffin, which was recovered from TT 290 of Irynefer, has not been preserved, the name of his son has partially survived as Penpa[.....].¹⁹³ Since several other objects found in this tomb are testimony to Wennekhu (i)'s burial therein,¹⁹⁴ he is probably to be identified as the owner of the coffin, whilst the name of his son can be restored as Penpakhty. The extant inscriptions on Wennekhu (i)'s coffin also name his wife Mutaat (i), a second son Harmin (ii) and a daughter Wadjetemheb (i). On the Louvre stela (E.12964), Mutaat (i), who is accompanied by her daughter Wadjetemheb (i), is referred to as the sister of Mehyt-khati (ii), the wife of Irynefer (i).¹⁹⁵ The existence of this relationship explains the mystery behind Wennekhu (i)'s interment in TT 290. The closeness, as in-laws, between these two men is similarly reflected by the proximity of their houses adjacent to one another in the north-west quarter of the village: number IX of Wennekhu (i)¹⁹⁶ and number X of Irynefer (i). Although the parallel inscription of a Harmin and Wennekhu on a block in the British Museum does not include a reference to their relationship, there is no doubt that this pair was father and son.¹⁹⁷

Wennekhu (i) is attested on a stela in Copenhagen, on which 'his brother' is named as Nebnakht (ii).¹⁹⁸ The true nature of this term of relationship has been doubted by Demarée.¹⁹⁹ Wennekhu (i)'s

¹⁸⁷ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 21 and n. 20.

¹⁸⁸ O.BM 5634, rto. 7.

¹⁸⁹ O.Mich. 34, vso. 2.

¹⁹⁰ O.Černý 3+O.Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 1, rto. 11.

¹⁹¹ The results presented in this survey generally concur with the study of this family undertaken by Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 34-35.

¹⁹² BM 1248 (PM I:2, pp. 735/36 (a); *BMHT* 7, pl. 38; Bruyère & Kuentz, *MIFAO* 54, p. 9, pl. 20:2; *KRI* III:726) and a stela formerly in the Kelekian Collection (PM I:2, p. 736 (b); Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 176-177, fig. 1 A, pl. I; *KRI* III:727). The lady Iyi (vi), whose name occurs in an inscription on a shabti-box, may have been the wife of Penpakhty (i) (PM I:2, p. 747; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), p. 36, no. 2; *KRI* III:728).

¹⁹³ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), pp. 35 f., fig. 8; *KRI* III:728.

¹⁹⁴ For example, a pectoral of Wennekhu (i) (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), p. 29, fig. 4; PM I:2, p. 748; *KRI* III:726) and stela Louvre E.12964 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), p. 29, fig. 3; Bruyère & Kuentz, *MIFAO* 54, pp. 96-97, fig. 3; PM I:2, p. 736 (c); *KRI* III:727).

¹⁹⁵ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 35, identified Mutaat (i) as the sister of Irynefer (i), not Mehytkha'ti, as can be inferred from the inscription.

¹⁹⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1931-32), pp. 82, 89; *ibid.*, (1934-35) III, pp. 282/83, fig. 154; *KRI* III:726.

¹⁹⁷ BM 36861 (PM I:2, p. 740; Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, pp. 34-35; Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), pp. 169 V, 172 XIX, 174; *KRI* III:726).

¹⁹⁸ PM I:2, p. 726; Koefoed-Petersen, *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952), pp. 431-32, pl. 43; *KRI* III:727.

¹⁹⁹ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 73.

name is also represented on a stela of the workman Neferabu (i).²⁰⁰ His period of service on the workforce can be traced to year 2 of Ramesses II at the earliest.²⁰¹ A suggestion made by Demarée, that he probably died before year 40 of that reign due to his absence from O.BM 5634, is worth consideration.²⁰² The friendship between Wennekhu (i) and the family of the draftsman Prehotep (i) is reflected by his inclusion of the names of Prehotep (i) on a stela of his,²⁰³ and Ipu(y) (vi), son of Prehotep (i), in a graffito.²⁰⁴ Penpakhty (i), who we identified earlier as the son of Wennekhu (i), may be synonymous with the workman who occurs in two texts which can be placed prior to year 40 of Ramesses II.²⁰⁵ The name is also attested as the recipient of a letter from Huy.²⁰⁶

§ 63: The family of Bakenamun (i), son of Neferhor

The name of the workman Bakenamun (i), also found in the form of Bakamun, first occurs in year 22 of Ramesses III.²⁰⁷ He is attested in the turnus registers in years 1 and 2 of Ramesses IV.²⁰⁸ Several other occurrences of his name in years 3,²⁰⁹ 5²¹⁰ and 6²¹¹ can, without doubt, be attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV, or one of his successors. He is possibly identifiable with the Bakenamun, son of Neferhor, who is firmly attested in a contemporary text of year 6 of Ramesses IV.²¹² The last positive dating in which the name is represented occurs in a text dated to year 1 of Ramesses V.²¹³

§ 64: The workmen Bakenwerel: chart 47

It is during the reign of Ramesses II that a Bakenwerel (i), the son of the 'guardian' Penbuy (i), is encountered.²¹⁴ However, in the absence of any title we can not be certain whether this man served the Tomb administration. A 'superintendent of supplies' Bakenwerel (ii) occurs in year 58 of Ramesses

²⁰⁰ BM 150+1754.

²⁰¹ O.BM 50728, vso. 4 (unpublished).

²⁰² Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 73; cf. Janssen, *SAK* 8 (1980), pp. 128-29, who has assumed that the names of all the workmen active in year 40 had been included in O.BM 5634 since no absence days were recorded against two of the men (Nebamentet and Maaninakhtuf). Wennekhu (i) is attested in other ostraca, all of which remain undated: O.DM 370, I:x+2; O.Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet MM.14126, rto. II:12; O.IFAO 1068, vso. 6; and possibly in O.J.G. Milne [2], II:9.

²⁰³ BM 36861.

²⁰⁴ No. 69 a (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 9).

²⁰⁵ O.CGC 25573, II:6; O.Gardiner 199, II:3.

²⁰⁶ O.Gardiner 114.

²⁰⁷ O.DM 222, 5:7.

²⁰⁸ E.g., O.DM 41, vso. 12; O.DM 47, vso. 7; O.DM 44, vso. 17.

²⁰⁹ O.DM 398, vso. 4.

²¹⁰ O.BM 50744, rto. 5; O.Mond 209, 4. We can probably distinguish between the workman and the Bakenamun who appears, delivering food, in the unpub. O.BM 50744, rto. 5, and who seems to have been employed on the *smdt*-staff.

²¹¹ O.CGC 25279, 2, where he is named as a member of the 'right' side of the workforce.

²¹² Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:11.

²¹³ O.CGC 25609, vso. 1:5 (see Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), p. 38).

²¹⁴ See above p. 194.

II,²¹⁵ whilst a washerman called Bakenwerel (iii) is attested in year 9 of Ramesses III,²¹⁶ and a 'water-carrier' Bakenwerel (iv) is named in an undated ostrakon.²¹⁷ This triumverate all apparently served as *smdt* personnel, supplying the needs of the villagers. Other officials bearing this name include a 'chief Medjay' Bakenwerel (v)²¹⁸ and the plasterer, Bakenwerel (vi), who is affiliated to the 'left side' of the gang.²¹⁹ This pair both occur in documents which date to the end of the XIXth Dynasty/beginning of the XXth Dynasty.

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Bakenwerel (vii) is named on a stela base together with his son the 'sculptor in the Place of Truth' Nebnefer (x) and his 'brother' Userhat (vi).²²⁰ Since there are several possible people with whom Userhat (vi) may be identified, it not possible to ascertain who the parents of Bakenwerel (vii) may have been. Furthermore, I am not aware of any further attestations of a 'sculptor' named Nebnefer. However, the name of Nebnefer, son of Bakenwerel, does occur in year 9 of Ramesses IX.²²¹ Since the workman Bakenwerel (vii) was a contemporary of the draftsman Harshire (i),²²² he can probably be identified with the workman Bakenwerel who appears in years 21,²²³ 28,²²⁴ 29²²⁵ and 31²²⁶ of Ramesses III. In a list of workmen from a 'year 1', probably of Ramesses IV,²²⁷ Bakenwerel's name occurs on the 'left side' of the workforce, though we must ensure that he is not mistaken for the 'plasterer' Bakenwerel (v), who has been mentioned above and who lived at the close of the XIXth Dynasty. A reference to the 'house of Bakenwerel' is made in a text from year 6 of Ramesses IV,²²⁸ whilst year 2 of Ramesses V is the last positive dated text in which his name is witnessed.²²⁹ The name of Nebnefer, son of Bakenwerel, appears in a fragmentary entry of the *Stato Civile*.²³⁰ In all likelihood, they are to be identified with Bakenwerel (vii) and the 'sculptor' Nebnefer (x). Furthermore, we can also glean from this broken text that the name of Bakenwerel's wife was Isis (xiv), that Nebnefer's wife was Henutmefek (ii),²³¹ daughter of an Iyernutef, and that Nebnefer's son was probably named [Bakenwe]rel (viii), in honour of his grandfather. Unfortunately, all that remains of this entry is the badly damaged line: '[..... P/N, of Baken]werel, her mother

²¹⁵ O.OIC 12296, 1. There is a good chance that he is to be identified with the Bakenwerel who is recorded delivering supplies to the village in years 35 and 37 of Ramesses II (O.OIC 17007+O.Černý 6, rto. I:10 *passim*, rto. II:12).

²¹⁶ O.DM 564, 2.

²¹⁷ O.DM 602, rto. 4-5.

²¹⁸ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 92.

²¹⁹ Pap. Greg. rto. B, 14 (temp. Siptah).

²²⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 44, 94, pl. 13/15, fig. 167, no. 149; KRI V:663.

²²¹ Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. I:5.

²²² O.Berlin P.12343; for the reading of the title and name of Harshire (i) see Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 26. The name of Nebnefer (x) is also included in this text.

²²³ O.BM 5624, rto. 5-6; Pap. Berlin P.10496, rto. 10.

²²⁴ O.Berlin P.1121, rto. 1; O.Berlin P.10645+10646, rto. 5.

²²⁵ O.Gardiner 185, 2.

²²⁶ O.Gardiner 68, 2.

²²⁷ O.MMA 09.184.702, II:8.

²²⁸ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:12.

²²⁹ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 8; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

²³⁰ Černý MSS. 3.655, frag. 11; 3.672, C.

²³¹ I am grateful to Dr. R.J. Demarée for the reading of this name (personal correspondence 19.11.1995).

(being) Henut[mefket(?)]'. This entry can be interpreted in a number of ways. Firstly, the name lost in the lacuna belonged to a daughter of Nebnefer, in which case we would have to assume that the scribe added the name of her father incorrectly. Alternatively, the name may be that of a 'sister' of Nebnefer. However, this hypothesis presents certain irreconcilable problems. For instance, the mother of this 'sister' would have been different to the mother of her brother, otherwise we would be forced to admit to a similar scribal error here. Whichever way the entry is interpreted, it is apparent that some confusion has occurred during its compilation. Finally, we should mention that the father-in-law of Nebnefer is possibly to be correlated with Iyernutef (iii), who was similarly a 'sculptor' and who was active in the latter half of the reign of Ramesses III, and possibly into the reign of Ramesses IV.²³²

§ 65: The family of Buqentuf (iii)

A scene in the tomb of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii) (TT 359) refers to the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Buqentuf (iii) as a 'brother' (*sn*) of the tomb-owner.²³³ However, the designation *sn* could have simply indicated that Buqentuf (iii) was a colleague, not a relation, of the foreman. The same man is probably synonymous with the workman Buqentuf who is definitely attested in year 6 of Ramesses IV²³⁴ and in year 1 of Ramesses V.²³⁵ An ostrakon, which is dated to a 'year 1', includes Buqentuf amongst the workmen on the 'left' side of the gang.²³⁶ Any further attestations of the name of Buqentuf cannot be attributed with certainty to a particular reign.²³⁷ His son is possibly the workman Neferhotep (x), son of Buqentuf, who can be identified in year 16 of Ramesses IX²³⁸ and in year 1 of Ramesses X.²³⁹ An entry in the *Stato Civile* makes a reference to Buqentuf as the husband of the lady Tarekhanu (iii), the daughter of Neferhotep (xviii) and Khati (i).²⁴⁰ We may, therefore, confidently identify this Buqentuf with Buqentuf (iii), father of Neferhotep (x). The name of Buqentuf (iii)'s daughter, Qaytmehty (i), is also mentioned in this entry.²⁴¹ Unfortunately, the name of the son has not survived, though we do learn that he had been married to Tentpaope (i), the daughter of the scribe Khaemhedjet (i) and Tentkhenuemheb (i).

²³² See pp. 184 ff. above. An identification with the workman Iyernutef (v), son of Qaha (v), who operated during the reign of Ramesses IX (see above pp. 185-6) is not to be dismissed.

²³³ PM I:1, p. 423 at (11) III, 16; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 69, pl. XXII middle; KRI VI:191:6.

²³⁴ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:3, II:13.

²³⁵ O.BM 50730, vso. 4.

²³⁶ O.MMA.09.184.702, II:1; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 263, dates this text to the reign of Ramesses IV.

²³⁷ E.g., O.Gardiner 302+342, vso. 8; O.CGC 25660, A:18; O.Gardiner 160, rto. 2. However, Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 76, has dated O.Gardiner 302+342 to year 2 of Ramesses VI.

²³⁸ Pap. Turin 2057, rto. II:5.

²³⁹ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 3:4; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 149, for this dating.

²⁴⁰ Černý Nb. 15, p. 65.

²⁴¹ Černý's tentative restoration of the name of Amennakht as Buqentuf (iii)'s son is extremely doubtful (Černý Nb. 15, p. 65; Černý, *Community*, p. 357). It would be better to read this entry as Neferhotep, son of Buqentuf.

§ 66: The family of Payom (i)

The workman Payom (i), to whom at least three graffiti can be attributed,²⁴² is first mentioned in a text which probably originated from the reign of Seti II.²⁴³ Otherwise, the first definite occurrence of his name dates to year 1 of Siptah.²⁴⁴ The name Payom is attested in a number of texts dating to the late XIXth Dynasty. There is a period *ex silentio* before he re-appears in a *qnb*-court case in year 16 of Ramesses III (assuming that this was indeed the same individual).²⁴⁵ Payom is mentioned in several other documents later in this reign.²⁴⁶ Final reference to him occurs in year 24 of Ramesses III when he is included amongst the workmen of the 'left side'.²⁴⁷ Janssen has challenged the correlation between Payom (i), who was active in the late XIXth Dynasty, and this later homonym.²⁴⁸ I, however, can see no reason why this identification should not be made. The wife of Payom is named as Suiti (i) in an undated list of food provisions, which appears to date to the later years of Ramesses III.²⁴⁹ Two interesting facts concerning this family have survived: firstly, Payom was apparently implicated as an accomplice in the foreman Paneb (i)'s crimes against the state;²⁵⁰ and secondly, it was Payom's daughter who found herself pregnant by the philandering Merysekhmet (iii) whilst still being married to a 'servant of Amenemone'.²⁵¹

§ 67: The family of Pashedu (i), son of Hehnekhu (i): chart 24²⁵²

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pashedu (i), son of Hehnekhu (i),²⁵³ and his wife Mekhay-ib (i) can be identified as the owners of TT 292.²⁵⁴ The couple's eldest son was seemingly Amenmose (iii). He is represented, together with his younger brother Hehnekhu (ii), on a stela now in the British Museum.²⁵⁵ A more comprehensive schema of his family can be elucidated from a second stela of Pashedu (i).²⁵⁶ In addition to the aforementioned 'servants in the Place of Truth' Amenmose (iii) and Hehnekhu (ii), reference is made to a number of Pashedu (i)'s other children - the sons Khnummose

²⁴² Nos. 588 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 48; KRI V:664), 1332 and 1335 (Černý, *Graffiti*, pp. 21-22; KRI V:664).

²⁴³ O.CGC 25510, rto. 2.

²⁴⁴ O.CGC 25519, vso. 4.

²⁴⁵ Pap. DeM 26, rto. A, 13.

²⁴⁶ E.g., O.DM 424, 2 (year 19); O.DM 222, 4:7 (year 22).

²⁴⁷ O.Turin N.57029, 11.

²⁴⁸ Janssen, in *Gleanings*, pp. 129-30, n. 75.

²⁴⁹ O.Petrie 31, rto. 2:9; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 416.

²⁵⁰ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:12.

²⁵¹ Pap. DeM 27.

²⁵² The greater part of this section agrees with Bierbrier's extensive documentation concerning the chronology of the family of Pashedu in *LNKE*, pp. 24-26, chart VI.

²⁵³ Stela BM 262 (PM I:2, p. 733 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, p. 40, pl. 35:1; KRI I:406-407).

²⁵⁴ PM I:1, pp. 374-76; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 66-71; KRI I:404 ff. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 86, mistakenly assigned TT 292 to the later Pashedu (ii), son of Hehnekhu (ii), who is attested at the end of the XIXth Dynasty (see below).

²⁵⁵ No. 262.

²⁵⁶ Stela Turin Suppl. 6149, now N.50076 (PM I:2, p. 733 (b); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 113-115, 295; KRI I:407-408).

(ii), Nakhtset (i) and the scribe User-setet (i),²⁵⁷ and the daughters Mekhay-ib (ii), Nubhirtoret (i), Isis (iv), Nofret(em)satet (i), Henutwedjebu (i) and Nubemshaes (i). Despite the fact that Henutwedjebu (i) is named as a 'daughter' of Pashedu, she can in fact be shown to have been his daughter-in-law. Similarly, although both Khaemtir (i) and Nakhtamun (ii) are named on this monument as 'brothers' of Amenmose (iii) and Hehnekhu (ii), there is extraneous evidence to demonstrate that they were actually their brothers-in-law. Khaemtir (i) was married to the lady Nofret(em)satet (i),²⁵⁸ whereas Nakhtamun (ii)'s wife can be identified as Nubemshaes (i).²⁵⁹ The name of a third brother-in-law is also contained on this monument, namely the scribe Minmose (i), who happened to be the husband of Isis (iv).²⁶⁰

Amenmose (iii) and Hehnekhu (ii) are represented alongside their respective wives, Henut[wedjebu] (i) and Nubnofret (i), in a scene from TT 250 of the scribe Ramose (i).²⁶¹ Although the name of Henutwedjebu is partially damaged, the traces of the remaining signs are compatible with this reading. By contrast, both Bruyère²⁶² and Kitchen²⁶³ have preferred to transcribe the name as Henutshenusut. A lady called Henutwedjebu is certainly attested on stela BM 1388 in a position in which we would expect to find the spouse of the owner of this monument, Amenmose (iii).²⁶⁴ Furthermore, it seems reasonable to suggest that she is to be identified with Henutwedjebu (i), the daughter of the workman Reweben (iii).²⁶⁵ I am, however, less inclined to adopt Bruyère's and Kitchen's readings of the name of the wife of Amenmose (iii) and associate her with Henutshenu (ii), the daughter of the 'sculptor' Nakhtamun (ii), brother-in-law of Amenmose (iii).²⁶⁶ A last resort might be to admit to the existence of two separate Amenmoses, though this suggestion is, at best, extremely tenuous.

Unfortunately, the extant documentary evidence from TT 292 provides little direct indication as to when Pashedu (i)'s period of service on the royal workforce took place. However, a copy of his will, written sometime during the reign of Seti I, has survived.²⁶⁷ Amongst the numerous bequests, we can identify the payment of a fixed ration of grain for the benefit of Mekhay-ib, who was presumably his wife and not his daughter (see further below). The other named beneficiaries of Pashedu (i)'s legacy include his sons, Amenmose (iii) and Hehnekhu (ii), his daughters, Nubemshaes (i) and Isis (iv) and

²⁵⁷ The name of this man also occurs on an offering basin (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 72, fig. 9; PM I:2, p. 746; KRI I:406:9-13). Furthermore, he may be synonymous with the draftsman Setet, whose name is preserved on a fragmentary lintel (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 7).

²⁵⁸ Cf. Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 5; cf. below pp. 223, 238-9 for Khaemtir (i).

²⁵⁹ Bierbrier, *ibid.*, p. 6. Further evidence in support of this identification is provided by an inscription in TT 335 of Nakhtamun (PM I:1, p. 402 at (16) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 132, fig. 89; KRI III:672:7) where the scribe User-setet (i) is alluded to as 'his brother' (>brother-in-law); cf. Nakhtamun (ii) on pp. 181 ff. above.

²⁶⁰ Bierbrier, *ibid.*, p. 5; cf. pp. 76-77 above for Minmose (i).

²⁶¹ PM I:1, p. 336 at (4-5); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 63, pl. VII; KRI III:618:8-9. It is possible that Mekhay(-ib) (iii), who is represented serving Hehnekhu (ii) and Nubnofret (i) in TT 335 of Nakhtamun (ii), was actually their daughter (PM I:1, p. 402 at (14) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 139, fig. 93; KRI III:673:15).

²⁶² *Rapport* (1926), p. 63.

²⁶³ KRI III:618:8-9.

²⁶⁴ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 32.

²⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶⁶ See pp. 178 ff. above for the family of Nakhtamun (ii).

²⁶⁷ O.DM 108.

also the workman Nefersenut.²⁶⁸ The inclusion of Amenmose (iii) and Hehnekhu (ii) in the tomb of the famous scribe Ramose (i) places their careers chronologically within the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. In fact, Hehnekhu (ii) can be shown to have been one of the workmen in year 40 of this reign.²⁶⁹ Hehnekhu (ii)'s own son was likewise named Pashedu (ii) and is attested from year 2 of Merenptah,²⁷⁰ years 1 and 3 of Amenmesses,²⁷¹ year 2 of Seti II²⁷² and in texts which date from the reign of Siptah or later.²⁷³ A fragmentary passage in an ostrakon dated to year 63 of Ramesses II,²⁷⁴ which reads: '[.....], Heh', may have originally contained a reference to Pashedu (ii), son of Heh, a name by which Hehnekhu (ii) was frequently known.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, Helck²⁷⁶ has argued that Pashedu (ii), son of Heh, can be attested in an ostrakon which is similarly dated to year 63(?) / 64 of Ramesses II.²⁷⁷ However, consultation of the text shows that no patronymic was actually written. Consequently, this reference could in all probability relate to any number of men called Pashedu. A similar ambiguity occurs in an inscription on a fragmentary dorsal pillar from a statue group which was found in pit 1334 at Deir el-Medina. Although the text in question is legible, reading '[Pa]shedu, son of Hehnekhtu, justified', its subject can not be positively identified with either Pashedu (i) or Pashedu (ii).²⁷⁸ According to Bierbrier,²⁷⁹ the Heh (Hehnekhu (iii)), who is named in an undated text,²⁸⁰ was probably a son of Pashedu (ii).

It was without doubt Pashedu (ii) who accompanied Paneb (i) in writing a graffito which reads: 'Paneb, his father Nefersenut and Pashedu, his father Hehnekhu'.²⁸¹ The Nefersenut who we have shown to have been one of the beneficiaries of Pashedu (i)'s last will and testament, could well have been a direct ancestor of the foreman Paneb (i). Such a relationship would certainly go some way to explaining the bond between the two families. Furthermore, Amennakht (vii)'s attack on the foreman's misbehaviour accuses Pashedu (ii) of having been one of Paneb (i)'s henchmen.²⁸² The accusations levelled against the family of Pashedu (ii) do not end with this incident. A case of theft by Pashedu (ii)'s wife, Tanodjemethemsi (ii), in the time of the vizier Neferronpet,²⁸³ is cited as a legal

²⁶⁸ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 33, has presumed, *a priori*, that Nefersenut was another of Pashedu (i)'s sons, due to his inclusion in this will.

²⁶⁹ O.BM 5634, rto. 9.

²⁷⁰ O.Mich. 13, vso. 2; for the dating of this text see Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 86.

²⁷¹ O.CGC 25779, rto. 3 and O.CGC 25782, rto. 10-11; cf. references in Helck, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 9.

²⁷² O.Brunner, rto. A, 3-4 (see Helck, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), pp. 6 ff.).

²⁷³ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:11 and O.CGC 25520, rto. 5.

²⁷⁴ O.DM 285, 2.

²⁷⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 25.

²⁷⁶ *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 9.

²⁷⁷ O.DM 621, rto. 3.

²⁷⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 89: 1344:2; *KRI* IV:193.

²⁷⁹ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 26.

²⁸⁰ O.DM 373, 3.

²⁸¹ No. 1233 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 13, pl. 30; *KRI* IV:193:11-12). An equally viable reading of this inscription could be: 'Paneb, father of (*it* rather than *it.f*) Nefersenut'. However, a corollary to this suggestion would include the note that I am unaware of any inscription in which Neferemsenut is named as the son of Paneb.

²⁸² Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:11.

²⁸³ This vizier is firmly attested in years 57 and 60 of Ramesses II (Helck, *Verwaltung*, p. 452-53).

precedent during a later criminal trial held at Deir el-Medina.²⁸⁴ Tanodjemethemsi (ii) may be synonymous with either Nodjemhemsiset (i), daughter of Nakhtamun (ii) and Nubemshaes (i), or with Tanodjemethemsi (i), the daughter of Huy (xiii) and a granddaughter of Qen (ii).²⁸⁵

§ 68: One or two Patjauemdiamuns?

The name of the workman Patjauemdiamun, which means 'the wind which is the gift of Amun', occurs so rarely that one might be forgiven for attributing every occurrence of the name to the same workman who is attested during the reign of Amenmesses.²⁸⁶ Janssen and Pestman have suggested that he probably died before the last year of Seti II.²⁸⁷ His name is partially preserved in Pap. Bulaq 10 (rto. 3), which has been dated by the same commentators to the end of the XIXth/beginning of the XXth Dynasty.²⁸⁸ Patjauemdiamun (i) is referred to both on a stela base²⁸⁹ and a wooden snake figurine.²⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the *Sitz im Leben* of a short and incomplete text, in which he features, is unclear: 'The beginning of the bad behaviour (*šmt bin*)²⁹¹ of (lit. 'made by') Patjauemdiamun'.²⁹² One may best interpret this passage as some kind of reproach towards Patjauemdiamun. When accompanied by the title of 'servant in the Place of Truth', Patjauemdiamun is attested on a stela in the Leiden collection,²⁹³ together with the 'Lady of the House' Pennubet (i), who may possibly have been his wife, and the 'cup-bearer' Heqmare-sekheper-djamu. Demarée has suggested that the name of the cup-bearer was borrowed from that of king Amenmesses.²⁹⁴ However, there are serious reservations as to whether this was the case. In fact, the name seems most probably to have been based on Heqmare, the prenomen of Ramesses IV. Thus, the evidence in favour of a second and later Patjauemdiamun (ii) is undeniable.

²⁸⁴ O.Nash 1, vso. 9-10.

²⁸⁵ Tanodjem(et)hemsi is named with her father, the 'sculptor' Huy (xiii), on a piece of painted linen, Berlin 13709 (Roeder, *Äg. Inschr. Berlin* II, p. 340; KRI IV:240:7-8).

²⁸⁶ O.CGC 25779, rto. 8 (year 1) and O.CGC 25784, 7-8 (year 4).

²⁸⁷ Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 143.

²⁸⁸ Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 143.

²⁸⁹ PM I:2, p. 709; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 296, pl. 12:1; KRI IV:241.

²⁹⁰ Turin Cat. 2404 (Mysliwiec, 'Aal oder Schlange? - Atum oder Meresger?', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 380-81).

²⁹¹ I am grateful to Rob Demarée for this particular interpretation.

²⁹² Posener, *Cat. des Ostraca litt. DelM* II/3, p. 37, pl. 61/61a; KRI IV:241.

²⁹³ F 93/1.27; Boeser, *Beschreibung Äg. Sammlung* Leiden VI, pl. 7:48; KRI VI:219.

²⁹⁴ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 171.

§ 69: The family of Pennub (i) and its possible association with Harmose (i): chart 40

The 'servant in the Place of Truth', Pennub (i), first occurs in the administrative records of the village as a *mnḥ* 'stripling'.²⁹⁵ Černý placed a date in the middle of the reign of Ramesses II on this document.²⁹⁶ This calculation can partly find corroboration in an inscription preserved on a libation basin of Harnefer. Here, mention is made of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pennub (i) alongside several of his colleagues,²⁹⁷ one of whom was Thuthirmaktef (i), who is known to have been operating during the first part of this reign.²⁹⁸ Pennub (i) can be recognised as the co-recipient, together with the foreman Neferhotep (ii), of a letter addressed by Piay (i) and Mahuhy (i) which was concerned chiefly with the death of Harmose (iv) in year 40 of Ramesses II.²⁹⁹ Green has made the suggestion that Pennub (i) held a position of influence within the community, and may well have been the 'deputy' (*idnw*) for the chief workman Neferhotep.³⁰⁰ However, the context in which his name occurs in O.BM 5634 in no way suggests a position of authority amongst the workforce. In fact, an entry which recalls him 'carrying stones for the scribe' rather presents Pennub (i) in a somewhat obsequious role.

In the past, the investigations of several scholars into the genealogical history of the workman Pennub (i) have proposed a strong filial tie with Harmose (i).³⁰¹ Pennub (i)'s three known sons, Nebnakht (iii),³⁰² Pashedu (xiv)³⁰³ and Nebnefer (xi),³⁰⁴ are all attested in the reign of Amenmesses or later. A second workman Pennub (ii) occurs in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty, most prominently in a rota dated to a 'year 4'.³⁰⁵ There is considerable doubt whether the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Pennub, who is attested alongside his brother, the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Amennakht, should be identified with Pennub (i) or Pennub (ii).³⁰⁶ Bierbrier³⁰⁷ has suggested that

²⁹⁵ O.DM 352, rto. 3. On this term see Gardiner, *AEO* I, p. 214*; Černý, *Community*, pp. 113 f. The *mnḥ* generally received a lower wage than the average workman (cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 19-21).

²⁹⁶ Černý, *op. cit.*, p. 115. This calculation was based on the existence of both Pennub and Iyernuteḥ in a text from year 40 of Ramesses II (O.BM 5634); furthermore, another individual whose name occurs both in O.DM 352 and O.BM 5634 was Wennefer.

²⁹⁷ BM 28 (PM I:2, p. 746; James, *BMHT* 9, p. 39, pl. 34; *KRI* III:796-797).

²⁹⁸ Pennub is also attested alongside the foremen Neferhotep (ii) and Qaha (i) and the scribes Huy (x) and Ramose (i) in O.CGC 25573, II:3, a text which can probably be dated just prior to year 40 of Ramesses II.

²⁹⁹ O.DM 126. Other letters sent to him include O.DM 116 and O.Gardiner 67. His name also appears in a second text from this year (O.BM 5634, rto. 11), as well as in an undated document (O.CGC 25573, II:3), which can be placed prior to this year 40.

³⁰⁰ Green, *Orientalia* 45 (1976), p. 398.

³⁰¹ Most notably Green, *op. cit.*, p. 398; Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 90-92; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 61; *ibid.* (1934-35) III, pp. 161 ff.

³⁰² O.CGC 25779, rto. 9.

³⁰³ O.CGC 25779, rto. 11.

³⁰⁴ O.CGC 25505, rto. 7; O.CGC 25556, 3 (year 5 of Seti II); O.CGC 25521, rto. 15 (year 1 of Siptah).

³⁰⁵ O.BM 5635, 3 and 8. The dateline must belong in the reign of either Merenptah, Amenmesses or Seti II, since Paneb (i), who was to be promoted to the foremanship between years 1 and 5 of Seti II, is named as one of the duty personnel (*wṛš*) in this document. The *wṛš* was commonly one of the workmen, though never the chief workman (McDowell, *HO*, p. 11).

³⁰⁶ Stela Turin Cat. 1560 (PM I:2, p. 732 a; Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), p. 179 top; *KRI* IV:445).

³⁰⁷ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 32; see *KRI* IV:240-41.

Pennub (ii) may have been synonymous with the Pennub, son of Pashedu, who is attested on a stela in Cambridge.³⁰⁸ He would further propose that Pennub (ii) was the grandson of Pennub (i).

It is possible that a Pennub (iii) may occur as a son/grandson(?) of Harmose (i) in TT 216 of the foreman Neferhotep (ii), despite the damaged nature of the inscription in question.³⁰⁹ We can be certain that Harmose (i) died in year 40 of Ramesses II.³¹⁰ Unfortunately, we can not ascertain Harmose (i)'s age at death. Were this possible, we might have been able to calculate dates for Pennub (iii)'s period of activity. Demarée has identified Pennub (iii) of TT 216, a grandson of Harmose (i), with Pennub (ii).³¹¹ An inscription on a jamb from TT 339, in which one of the tomb-owners, the 'servant in the Place of Truth and stonemason of Amun in the Temple of Karnak' Pashedu (xv), is referred to as a son of Harmose, may lend some credibility to this argument.³¹² Nevertheless, if Pennub (iii) had been a son of Harmose (i), he would have been a brother of Pashedu (xv). Consequently, the following hypothesis may now be presented: Pashedu (xv) and Pennub (i),³¹³ both of whom were active in the middle years of the reign of Ramesses II, named their respective sons as Pennub (ii)/(iii) and Pashedu (xiv). These children followed in their fathers' footsteps and were active on the gang in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty. Demarée has suggested that Pennub, whose name occurs on numerous monuments closely affiliated with Khamy,³¹⁴ is likely to be identified as Pennub (ii). This supposition is largely based on the known period of activity of Khamy towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty.³¹⁵ Unfortunately, Demarée only recognised the existence of a single Khamy on the workforce,³¹⁶ and has, therefore, overlooked the possibility that the name of an earlier Khamy may, in fact, occur in year 26 or 36 of Ramesses II.³¹⁷ Consequently, we can not determine whether Khamy's association was with Pennub (i) or Pennub (ii).

³⁰⁸ Fitzwilliam Museum EGA.3002.1943.

³⁰⁹ The inscription in question, which is preserved in the outer chapel of TT 216, can be read as: 'the servant in the Place [of Truth, ...]pch(?), justified; son of Harmose, justified; his son, the servant in the [Place] of Truth, Pennub, justified' (Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 105; KRI III:589:4-5). Green, *Orientalia* 45 (1976), p. 398, preferred an identification of Pennub (iii) as a son of Harmose (i): 'further support for suggesting Pennub as deputy to Neferhotep II comes from the latter's tomb in which Pennub is mentioned as a son (or grandson?) of Harmose'.

³¹⁰ O.DM 126, 6.

³¹¹ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 91.

³¹² Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 54, fig. 34; KRI III:748:7-8. TT 339 was jointly owned by Pashedu and Huy, son of Seba. It would appear that Pashedu and Huy had both been married to the same lady, Takhuru (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 57, n. 1; PM I:1, p. 407), thus providing a suitable explanation for the co-ownership of TT 339. The fragmentary shabti of a 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pennub, which was recovered from pit 1034 (located in the southern corner of the court of TT 339; see Bruyère, *Rapport* (1924-25), p. 61), may have belonged to Pashedu's putative brother (see below) or even to his son. Pashedu, son of Harmose, is attested in O.CG 25627, 'a', rto. 4, which is dated to the reign of Ramesses II. His house occurs listed in O.Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet MM.14126, rto. I:4, which Janssen, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin, Stockholm* 14 (1979), p. 12, has dated to one of the later reigns of the XIXth Dynasty.

³¹³ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 90, has assumed, *a priori*, that the elder Pennub (i) was most probably a member of the family of Pashedu, one of the owners of TT 339.

³¹⁴ *Stelae* BM 359 and BM 372.

³¹⁵ Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 89-90. Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 372, has erroneously identified Khamy as the father of Pennub.

³¹⁶ Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 89-90.

³¹⁷ O.Turin N.57082, vso. 2. For a discussion of this document and Khamy (i) see § 86 (pp. 256-7).

§ 70: The family of Pentaweret (vii), son of Nebnefer (vii): chart 8³¹⁸

A stela, now in the British Museum, contains the names of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nebnefer, his wife Hutiyi, and their two children, Pentaweret and <T>aweretemmeh.³¹⁹ Any attempt to identify these individuals is prohibited due to the popularity with which the name of Pentaweret was employed, both amongst the ordinary workmen and the *smdt*-staff during the mid-XXth Dynasty. Furthermore, I am unaware of further dated attestations of Taweretemmeh. Nevertheless, mention of a Pentaweret (vii), son of Nebnefer (vii), do occur, both in year 6 of Ramesses IV³²⁰ and in a second text dated to 'year 4'.³²¹ In all likelihood, it is possible that this Pentaweret was the son of the workman, Nebnefer, who is known to have been active on the left side of the workforce in year 23/24 of Ramesses III,³²² and who may well be identified as the owner of the aforementioned British Museum stela. Hutiyi (i), the wife of Nebnefer (vii), may be identified with a woman of that name who is referred to as a daughter of the deputy Hay (vii).³²³ Similarly, it is interesting that a Nebnefer is quoted as being a son of the same deputy.³²⁴ There may, therefore, be some justification in suggesting that either Nebnefer (vii) or Hutiyi (i) was, in fact, directly related to Hay (vii), making the other an in-law of the famous official.³²⁵ As a consequence, Pentaweret (vii) and Taweretemmeh (i) would have been the grandchildren of Hay (vii). An equally viable proposal would be to suggest that Pentaweret (vii) was the son of one of the many Nebnefers who were active in the community at the end of the XIXth Dynasty.³²⁶ A workman Nebnefer (xii), son of Pentaweret, is also encountered in the same 'year 4'.³²⁷ His name is known from several other contemporary documents.³²⁸ His identity is not definitely assured, though he may be correlated with either the son or father of Pentaweret (vii), son of Nebnefer (vii).

§ 71: The two Ptahshedus

The *hrp srkt* or so-called 'scorpion controller'³²⁹ Ptahshedu (i) is attested in a single graffito alongside Khaemnun.³³⁰ The same Ptahshedu has associated his name with that of the 'City-Governor

³¹⁸ For Nebnefer (vii) as a son/son-in-law of the deputy Hay (vii) see pp. 68 ff. above.

³¹⁹ BM 811 (PM I:2, p. 730; *BMHT* VI, pl. 35; *KRI* V:666-67).

³²⁰ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:7.

³²¹ O.DM 204, vso. 6; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 265, has placed this text either in the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.

³²² O.Turin N.57026, vso. 6; O.Turin N.57046, rto. 8.

³²³ PM I:1, p. 349 at (7/8); Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay*, p. 29:II G; *KRI* VI:632:14.

³²⁴ O.Leipzig 1664 (Brunner-Traut, *Altägypt. Scherbenbilder*, pp. 77-78, no. 77, pl. 28; *KRI* V:634:5-6).

³²⁵ The citizeness Hutiyi appears in a document from year 14 of Ramesses III (O.CGC 25555, vso. 3), in which the workman Hay petitions the local oracle to give some wooden door-beams to her. Unfortunately, the text does not provide any indication of the existence of a relationship between the two. The name Hutiyi also appears in the undated O.Gardiner 136, 2.

³²⁶ E.g., Nebnefer (vi) son of Nakhy; Nebnefer (iii), son of Wadjmose; Nebnefer (xi), son of Pennub; Nebnefer (v), son of Amennakht; for these individuals see below pp. 234-5.

³²⁷ O.DM 204, vso. 7.

³²⁸ E.g., O.BM 50744, vso. 3 (year 5); O.Cairo J. 37649, 11; O.Berlin 14328, 15; O.AG 59, 2.

³²⁹ For a recent discussion of this title see Janssen, *Village Varia*, 27-29.

³³⁰ No. 35 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 6; *KRI* V:666:5).

and vizier' To in a second graffito, which we can be dated within the second half of the reign of Ramesses III.³³¹ Other graffiti mention a 'scribe' Ptahshedu³³² and a 'servant in the Place of Truth' Ptahshedu.³³³ It is possible that the *hrp srkt* Ptahshedu (i) is to be identified with the workman Ptahshedu (ii) who is first attested in year 5 of Seti II.³³⁴ This man, who was a member of the 'left side',³³⁵ occurs in a number of texts originating from the end of the XIXth Dynasty.³³⁶ His next appearance can be traced to a 'year 9' ostrakon³³⁷ and in a graffito of 'year 12' alongside the 'fisherman' Amenemone (vi).³³⁸ Both of these texts probably date from the reign of Ramesses III.³³⁹ The last known attestation of the name Ptahshedu occurs in a 'year 2', of the reign of one of the successors of Ramesses III.³⁴⁰ However, the fact remains that these references do not relate to the same individual. It is possible that we are dealing with two Ptahshedus - a workman, Ptahshedu (ii), who occurs at the end of the XIXth Dynasty, and a *hrp srkt*, Ptahshedu (i), who is known from the reign of Ramesses III and who was also probably employed on the gang of the Tomb.

§ 72: The family of Meryre (v), son of Amenemope (ix): chart 20³⁴¹

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Meryre (v) and his wife Tarekhanu (ii) are attested together with the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amenemope (ix) and his wife Isis (vi) in the bottom register of a stela, which was dedicated by Hesysunebef (i) in honour of his patron and guardian, the foreman Neferhotep (ii).³⁴² It has already been remarked that Amenemope (ix) and Isis (vi) were the parents of Hunero (iii), the wife of Hesysunebef (i). Bierbrier has posited that Amenemope (ix) was more than likely the father of a certain Meryre (v).³⁴³ Such a relationship might explain the appearance of Meryre (v) together with his 'brother-in-law' Hesysunebef (i) in two graffiti, though no term of relationship linking them in any way is given.³⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the name of a woman who appears in

³³¹ No. 91 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 12); on the dating of the vizier To, see Kitchen & Ockinga, 'A Memphite Monument of the Vizier T3 in Sydney', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), pp. 101, 103; Wolterman, *RdE* 47 (1996), pp. 164-65.

³³² No. 2304 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 53).

³³³ No. 2360 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 55).

³³⁴ O.CGC 25556, 1.

³³⁵ O.Gardiner 57, vso. II:8; O.Černý 4, rto. 12.

³³⁶ E.g., O.DM 611, II:9 (year 1 of Siptah(?)); O.Gardiner 111, rto. 6, which Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 18, has dated to year 4 of Siptah.

³³⁷ O.DM 564, 5.

³³⁸ No. 1357 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 24, pl. 66; *KRI V*:455:3-4). It is possible that Amenemone (vi) is identical with the fisherman Amenemone (v), son of Amenkhau (see above p. 214).

³³⁹ A 'fisherman' Amenemone is definitely attested in year 2 of Ramesses IV (O.DM 44, rto. 4; O.DM 46, rto. 12; O.Gardiner 113, rto. 6).

³⁴⁰ O.CGC 25588, rto. 9.

³⁴¹ The findings of this study are broadly consistent with those reached by Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 213-19.

³⁴² Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. 10:3; PM I:2, p. 682; *KRI IV*:238-39.

³⁴³ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 214.

³⁴⁴ Nos. 1634 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/1*, p. 4; *KRI IV*:443:7) and 2753 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT IV/2*, p. 121; *KRI IV*:443:7).

the upper register of a stela in Paris is preserved simply as 'Lady of the House, Ta[....]nu, justified'.³⁴⁵ However, her husband the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Meryre and their son Neferhotep (xi) are depicted in the lower register.³⁴⁶ Consequently, we may now be justified in restoring the name of this lady as Ta[rekha]nu (ii).

The workman Meryre (v) is firmly attested during the reigns of the later XIXth Dynasty.³⁴⁷ His tenure of service can be followed into the reign of Ramesses III where he appears in years 6(?),³⁴⁸ 11 (with his son Amenemope)³⁴⁹ and 15.³⁵⁰ A text, which possibly dates to the reign of Siptah, may afford an early attestation of a Neferhotep, the son of Meryre.³⁵¹ Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the entry in question is broken and has been restored tentatively as '[Ra]hotep, son of Meryre' by both Černý and Kitchen.³⁵² However, the preserved traces of the name, which can be discerned from Černý's facsimile, appear to be consistent with my proposed restoration of '[Nefer]hotep, son of Meryre'.³⁵³ Regardless of this possible early reference, Neferhotep (xi), son of Meryre (v), is definitely attested in a document dated to year 24 of Ramesses III.³⁵⁴ The same Neferhotep (xi) is seemingly referred to as a 'wa'b-priest', together with his sons the 'scribe' Neferhotep (xii) and Meryre (vi), in a graffito inscribed in year 20 of Ramesses III.³⁵⁵ Further graffiti can be cited to embroider the fabric of this family. In one such inscription, the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep and Meryre are named as the sons of Neferhotep.³⁵⁶ Similarly, a 'brother' (*sn*) of Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, is identified as the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Qedakhtef in the same text.³⁵⁷ In graffito no. 780 a Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, has employed his sobriquet 'Adjed'a'.³⁵⁸ This same Adjed'a occurs in yet another graffito, dated to a 'year 4', along with his father Neferhotep, and his putative uncles, the 'servants in the Place of Truth' Penanuqet and Amennakht.³⁵⁹ Graffito no. 891 presents a more problematic inscription: 'The scribe Paneferemdjed; the priest of

³⁴⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale no. 50 (Maspero, *RT* 2 (1880), p. 185, §LXI; Bruyère, *ASAE* 25 (1925), p. 82; *KRI* VI:675-76).

³⁴⁶ The same Meryre and his son Neferhotep appear together in a second stela, Cairo JdÉ 43656 (Bruyère, *ASAE* 25 (1925), pp. 81-82, pl. 1:3; *PM* I:2, p. 699; *KRI* VI:675).

³⁴⁷ E.g., O.CGC 25779, vso. 5 (year 1 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25783 (year 3 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25556, 3 (year 5 of Seti II); O.CGC 25510, vso. 8 (year 1 of Siptah); Pap. Greg. rto. B, 15 (on the 'right side' of the gang in year 5 of Siptah).

³⁴⁸ O.CGC 25531, rto. 2.

³⁴⁹ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 5-6.

³⁵⁰ O.DM 406, I:8.

³⁵¹ O.CGC 25797, I:10.

³⁵² Černý, *OH*, pp. 92, 113, pl. 108; *KRI* IV:432:13; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 216 with n. 1.

³⁵³ Although a workman Rahotep/Prehotep is attested in the late XIXth Dynasty, I know of no occasion on which he is accorded this patronymic.

³⁵⁴ O.DM 647, 4.

³⁵⁵ No. 889 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 73; *KRI* V:472:13-14); cf. graffito no. 61 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 8).

³⁵⁶ No. 885 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 72-73; *KRI* V:661:7-9).

³⁵⁷ The fact that Qedakhtef (ii) was indeed a son of Ipuy becomes apparent from graffito no. 609 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 49-50; *KRI* V:528:8-11) - see above, pp. 55-56.

³⁵⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 63; *KRI* V:659:14-16.

³⁵⁹ No. 1280 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 17; *KRI* V:661:11-14); cf. graffito no. 2677 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 116; *KRI* VI:136:15-16), similarly dated to a 'year 4', which mentions the 'scribe of the Tomb' Neferhotep and his son the 'scribe' Neferhotep.

Amenre, (he/<Lord>) of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep; his son Neferhotep called Adjed'a'.³⁶⁰ Taken at face value, this inscription contains a record attesting to four generations of men, all of whom were named Neferhotep. Furthermore, because of the appearance of the distinctive name of Paneferemdjed, this particular branch of Neferhoteps may have belonged to the family of the Tomb-scribe Neferhotep, as opposed to that of Meryre.³⁶¹ Alternatively, one could suggest that the second 'son of Neferhotep' was a scribal dittograph, thereby rendering the true inscription as Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep and his son Neferhotep ('Adjed'a'). The graffito in which the 'scribe' Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep is attested together with the famed 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Qen<hir>khopshef is rather ambiguous. This 'scribe' Neferhotep could, in all probability, have belonged to an entirely different family.³⁶² Our calculations are further complicated by the appearance of a Pahemneter as the son of Neferhotep, son of Neferhotep.³⁶³

A Meryre (vi), son of Neferhotep, is attested in a 'year 3', probably of the reign of Ramesses IV,³⁶⁴ and may well have been the workman of that name who occurs regularly in the turnus records from the closing years of Ramesses III's reign,³⁶⁵ and throughout the reign of Ramesses IV.³⁶⁶ The workman Meryre is mentioned in both year 1 of Ramesses VI,³⁶⁷ and year 8 of Ramesses VII.³⁶⁸ Unfortunately, we are not able to correlate these later references, with any degree of certainty, to either the earlier Meryre (vi), son of Neferhotep (xi) or to a later Meryre (vii), the son of Neferhotep (xii), who is firmly attested in years 2³⁶⁹ and 17³⁷⁰ of Ramesses IX.

The name of Pashunodjem, son of Meryre, which occurs in year 14 of Ramesses IX³⁷¹ is without doubt a mis-writing of Pasennodjem (i), son of Meryre, who is attested in year 17 of the same reign.³⁷² He is similarly mentioned in papyri dating to years 1-8 of Ramesses IX³⁷³ and to years 8-10 of Ramesses XI.³⁷⁴ In the latter text, he is initially attached to the 'right side' of the gang before acting

³⁶⁰ No. 891 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 73-74; KRI V:654:13-15).

³⁶¹ See § 17 above.

³⁶² No. 207 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 20; KRI V:660:14-15) See § 17 above.

³⁶³ Graffito no. 832 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 67; KRI V:661:6).

³⁶⁴ O.DM 398, rto. 2; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 243, for this dating.

³⁶⁵ E.g., O.DM 163, 9 (year 24); O.DM 167, 6 (year 27); O.Turin N.57040, rto. 5 (year 28); O.DM 175, vso. 4 (year 30); O.DM 38, 1 (year 32). However, these references may be attributed to other possible homonymous and contemporary workmen, viz. Meryre, son of Hori (O.Gardiner 20, vso. 3, which has been dated by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 415, to year 6 of Ramesses IV) and Meryre, son of Qaha (O.Brussels E.301, vso. 40, for which Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 315, has proposed a date between year 7 of Ramesses IV and year 1 of Ramesses V).

³⁶⁶ E.g., O.Strassburg H.42, 2; O.BM 50744, rto. 5; O.DM 40, rto. 13; O.DM 44, vso. 5.

³⁶⁷ O.BM 50730, vso. 6.

³⁶⁸ Pap. Turin 1883+2095, vso. 3:2.

³⁶⁹ O.Gardiner 143, vso. 2.

³⁷⁰ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, l. 5. His name appears in Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 6:8, which similarly dates from this reign.

³⁷¹ O.CGC 25820, rto. 5.

³⁷² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, l. 11.

³⁷³ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 3:4.

³⁷⁴ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 3:6 ('right side'), vso. A, 2:9 (b) ('left side'); for Kanakht's position on the 'left side' see vso. B, 2:5.

as a temporary replacement for the workman Kanakht on the opposite side. Panefer (i), son of Meryre, is mentioned as a member of the 'left side' in a text which possibly dates to year 2 of Ramesses VII.³⁷⁵ The last positive dating preserved for Panefer (i), son of Meryre, occurs in year 17 of Ramesses IX.³⁷⁶ It is extremely unlikely that he is to be identified with the 'foreman' Panefer who was active at the end of the XXth Dynasty.³⁷⁷ Another contemporary was the workman Panefer (ii), son of Pahemneter, to whom reference is similarly made in year 17 of Ramesses IX.³⁷⁸ It is possible, therefore, that Pasennodjem (i) and Panefer (i) were the sons of Meryre (vi), and that Panefer (ii) was the son of Pahemneter (iii). However, we can not positively identify the workman whose damaged name appears as '[Pa]ankhau, son of Panefer' in year 16 of Ramesses IX,³⁷⁹ though it is feasible that he was a son of Panefer (i). In spite of the attestation of the 'scribe' Paankhau in year 6 of Ramesses IX,³⁸⁰ there is little evidence to highlight what role he played in the affairs of the Tomb administration, providing he did in fact serve as a member of the workforce. Consequently, we must cast considerable doubt on any correlation with [Pa]ankhau, son of Panefer.

The workman Amenemope (x) is attested in year 11 of Ramesses III, together with his father Meryre (v) and his brother Neferhotep (xi).³⁸¹ Further references to Amenemope (x) can be found later in this reign, principally in years 24³⁸² and 28³⁸³ as well as in year 2 of Ramesses IV.³⁸⁴ He can most probably be correlated with the workman Amenemope, who is frequently mentioned in documents from the reign of Ramesses III.³⁸⁵ However, distinction should be drawn between him and the 'scribe' Amenemope (xi), who appears under Ramesses IV and who was seemingly charged with the supervision of the *smdt*-staff.³⁸⁶ In year 2 of Ramesses V, Amenemope (xi) is attested with the title of 'scribe of the Tomb',³⁸⁷ though this does not signify the position of senior 'scribe', an office that he certainly never filled.³⁸⁸ The name Amenemope was closely affiliated with that of the 'scribe of the Tomb' Amennakht (v). On one occasion Amenemope occurs in a graffito together with Amennakht (v) and the foreman Khons (v),³⁸⁹ whilst a 'chief craftsman' Amenemope is referred to as the 'brother' of

³⁷⁵ Pap. Turin 2070/154, rto. 2:12. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 242, dated the recto of this papyrus to one of the reigns of Ramesses IX, Ramesses X or Ramesses XI.

³⁷⁶ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, l. 10. A possible reference to a 'draftsman' Panefer, which occurs in year 3 of Ramesses X, can not be attributed definitely to this particular individual (Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 57, l. 17).

³⁷⁷ Gardiner Weight no. 11.

³⁷⁸ Pap. BM 10053, rto. 6:14.

³⁷⁹ Pap. Turin 2106, I/2, rto. 1:16 (=KRI VI:650:12). For a possible identification of this individual as a son of Pa(i)nefer (ii) see pp. 95 ff. above.

³⁸⁰ Pap. Turin 1930/2050+2013, rto. 1:10. For the 'scribe' Paankhau see above pp. 134-5.

³⁸¹ O.Geneva MAH 12550, rto. 5.

³⁸² Pap. Berlin P.10496, vso. 6.

³⁸³ O.Berlin P.10645+10646, rto. 6.

³⁸⁴ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 10; see also O.DM 433, 2, O.DM 44, rto. 19 and O.DM 40, rto. 9 for further attestations of the name Amenemope during this reign.

³⁸⁵ E.g., O.DM 406, II:14 (year 15); O.Florence 2620, 1-2 (year 17); O.Nash 5, rto. 2 (year 20); O.DM 32, rto. 3 (year 25); O.DM 156, vso. 3 (year 28); O.DM 155, vso. 3 (year 31).

³⁸⁶ O.DM 161, rto. 5; O.DM 45+O.Berlin P.12651+O.Vienna H.4, rto. 18.

³⁸⁷ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 2 (see now Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6); cf. O.CGC 25280, 2 of 'year 6' and O.DM 629, 2. See also Janssen's comments concerning Amenemope, in *Gleanings*, pp. 135-36, note (d).

³⁸⁸ See pp. 78, 129-30.

³⁸⁹ No. 610 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 50; KRI V:625).

Amennakht (v) in a stela inscription.³⁹⁰ The workman Amenemope (xii) who appears in year 17 of Ramesses IX is surely a different man.³⁹¹

The names of several children of an Amenemope have been preserved amongst the vast array of documentation relating to the tomb administration. Even so, there is uncertainty as to whether they all belong to the family of Meryre (v). Firstly Amenmose (vi), son of Amenemope, occurs in a text which is dated to 'year 1' which in all probability originates from the reign of either Ramesses IV or Ramesses V,³⁹² and in 'year 4' probably of Ramesses V.³⁹³ He may be synonymous with a workman Amenmose, who is known from year 30 of Ramesses III,³⁹⁴ from the reign of Ramesses IV³⁹⁵ as well as from year 2 of Ramesses VII.³⁹⁶ Similarly, he could feasibly be identified with the 'scribe' Amenmose, who was the author of several letters.³⁹⁷ There is no concrete evidence to support the suggestion that Amenmose (vi) is to be identified with the homonymous 'scorpion controller' who is attested in year 5 of Ramesses IV.³⁹⁸ However, there is evidence to suggest that Amenemope (x), son of Meryre (v), may well have been a descendant of the 'scorpion controller' Amenmose (i), who was active during the reign of Ramesses II. The identity of an Amenmose who is depicted as a 'wab-priest of Amun', one of the god's pall-bearers, on a stela of the scribe Amennakht (v) is uncertain.³⁹⁹ Meanwhile, a Hori (xv), son of Amenemope, is attested in a text from the first half of the XXth Dynasty,⁴⁰⁰ whilst a daughter of an Amenemope, Pipi (i) (or Petpet), is mentioned in a document from the mid-XXth Dynasty.⁴⁰¹

Nebnefer (xiii), the son of Amenemope, appears in year 2 of Ramesses VII⁴⁰² and again in year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁰³ Nebnefer, son of Amenemope, who is undoubtedly the same man, is attested as one of the 'foremen' in year 1 or 2 of Ramesses X.⁴⁰⁴ According to the *Stato Civile*, Nebnefer (xiii) was married to the lady Nefertari (ix), a daughter of a certain Harshire, who can be identified as the famous 'scribe' Harshire (i). The children of this couple included two sons, Penpare(i) (i) and

³⁹⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 21.2.6 (PM I:2, p. 716; Hayes, *Scepter* II, p. 389, fig. 244; *KRI* V:644-45).

³⁹¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 32, l. 23.

³⁹² O.Berlin P.10643, rto. 1.

³⁹³ O.CGC 25598, rto. 7; for this dating see Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 24.

³⁹⁴ O.DM 448, rto. 5.

³⁹⁵ O.CGC 25588, rto. 9; O.DM 395, vso. II:9; O.DM 381, rto. 9.

³⁹⁶ O.Strassburg H.84, rto. 8.

³⁹⁷ O.DM 336 (to the 'scribe' Amennakht); O.Mond 173 (to the 'scribe' Pentaweret); O.DM 327 (recipient unknown). A 'scribe' Amenmose is attested in the unpublished O.Berlin P.10663, vso. 1, which is dated on the recto to year 28 of Ramesses III.

³⁹⁸ O.Gardiner 4, rto. 3-4; cf. O.Cairo J.37649.

³⁹⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 21.2.6 (PM I:1, p. 716 (d); Hayes, *Scepter* II, p. 389, fig. 244; *KRI* V:644-645).

⁴⁰⁰ O.Louvre E.3262 b, 2.

⁴⁰¹ Pap. Vienna, II:8 (=KRI VII:348-49).

⁴⁰² Pap. Turin 2070/154, rto. 2:12; his name also occurs amongst a name-list, O.IFAO 1258, III:9, which according to Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 318, may be dated as early as year 1 of Ramesses V.

⁴⁰³ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 10, l. 10.

⁴⁰⁴ Pap. Turin 1932+1939, vso. 1:5; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 149, for the dating.

Pawebkhetnu (i), and a daughter, Henutemope (i)(?).⁴⁰⁵ Penparei (i), son of Nebnefer (xiii), similarly acceded to the foremanship at a later date.⁴⁰⁶ Penparei (i) makes his first appearance, as a workman, in year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁰⁷ In year 8 of Ramesses XI, he is still referred to in this role, on the 'right' side.⁴⁰⁸ Penparei (i) is, however, firmly attested as 'foreman' in year 2 of the 'Renaissance', i.e., year 20 of Ramesses XI.⁴⁰⁹ Attention should be drawn to the fact that Penparei (i) did not immediately succeed his father, Nebnefer (xiii), as 'foreman', since we learn that Khons (vii), son of Ipuv (viii) had been 'foreman' for that side of the workforce in year 8 of Ramesses XI.

According to graffito no. 1013 the foreman Penparei (i) was a son of the 'wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth' Pa-ihaywedja (i).⁴¹⁰ Černý has attempted to resolve this ambiguity by suggesting that *sz* be emended to read *sn* 'brother'.⁴¹¹ An alternative, and perhaps better, solution might be to consider Pa-ihaywedja (i) as the father-in-law of Penparei (i), whose real father was Nebnefer (xiii). It seems possible that Penparei (i)'s successor as foreman was indeed his own son and heir, Nebnefer (xiv), whose activity Bierbrier has placed between years 6 and 11 of Smendes.⁴¹² However, as Bierbrier himself notes, the foreman Nebnefer may have actually have been a son of the 'chief bowman' Bakenmut.⁴¹³ Unfortunately, there is no further evidence to substantiate a definite correlation between this Bakenmut and the 'foreman' Bakenmut (i). It is feasible that either Penparei or Bakenmut was simply the father-in-law of the foreman Nebnefer.

§ 73: A variety of Nebnefers in the late XIXth Dynasty

During the second half of the XIXth Dynasty there is a sudden increase in the popularity of the name Nebnefer at Deir el-Medina. Amongst these we can identify the contemporaneous Nebnefer (xi), son of Pennub (i), Nebnefer (vi), son of Nakhy (v) and Nebnefer (iii), son of Wadjmose (i).⁴¹⁴ This commonality means that any attempt to attribute certain monuments and inscriptions is rendered extremely difficult in cases where the name Nebnefer appears without a patronymic. A suitable example of the problems this causes is reflected in a stela, now in the British Museum, which was dedicated to Amun 'of the Good Encounter' by the 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place

⁴⁰⁵ Černý Nb. 15, p. 68.

⁴⁰⁶ Graffiti nos. 141, 149, 409 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 17, 35-36); 1946 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 28; *KRI* VI:873).

⁴⁰⁷ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11, l. 3.

⁴⁰⁸ Pap. Turin 2018, rto. A, 2:7; 3:6a. He appears named in graffito no. 1944 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 27; *KRI* VI:700:10) as a 'scribe', though this was surely never his true profession.

⁴⁰⁹ Pap. Turin 2094, rto. 2.

⁴¹⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 85.

⁴¹¹ Černý, *Community*, p. 311, n. 6.

⁴¹² Graffito no. 18 reads: 'Made by the <chief of> workmen Nebnefer, son of the chief of workmen <in> the Place of Truth Penparei, his son Paneferu' (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 4; *KRI* VI:873:1-2); cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 219.

⁴¹³ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 219, n. 6; graffito no. 48 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 7). He maintains doubt concerning the filiation, *sz*, between the names of Nebnefer and Bakenmut, though from Spiegelberg's facsimile it is difficult to suggest an alternative.

⁴¹⁴ See pp. 226, 67 and 217 respectively.

of Truth' Nebnefer.⁴¹⁵ Alternatively, a graffito which places the name of Nebnefer in direct apposition to Pennub could possibly be interpreted as Nebnefer (xi), <son of> Pennub.⁴¹⁶ This workman first appears in year 3 of Amenmesses,⁴¹⁷ again in year 5 of Seti II⁴¹⁸ and also in year 1 of Siptah.⁴¹⁹ His name is again cited in the famous Pap. Salt 124,⁴²⁰ which can probably be dated some time after year 2 of Siptah,⁴²¹ and he was a member of the 'left side'.⁴²² Another workman of the left side is Nebnefer (vi), son of Nakhy (v),⁴²³ who was active between year 1 of Amenmesses⁴²⁴ and year 6 of Seti II.⁴²⁵ On the opposite side of the workforce we find the workman Nebnefer (iii), son of Wadjmose (i),⁴²⁶ who can possibly be attested as early as year 4 of either the reign of Merenptah or Amenmesses.⁴²⁷ His period of service can be securely dated between year 3 of Amenmesses⁴²⁸ and year 2 of Siptah,⁴²⁹ and perhaps even later.⁴³⁰ Finally, I am aware of yet another Nebnefer (v) from this period, who may have been the son of Amennakht (vii).⁴³¹ In light of the above discussions, the workman Nebnefer, who was active in year 2 of Ramesses III,⁴³² may be plausibly identified with any one of the aforesaid individuals.

⁴¹⁵ BM 65356 (Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 39, pl. 89; *KRI* VII:359).

⁴¹⁶ No. 649 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 52; *KRI* III:757:5).

⁴¹⁷ O.CGC 25782, rto. 15.

⁴¹⁸ O.CGC 25556, 3.

⁴¹⁹ O.CGC 25521, rto. 2; his name can probably be restored in O.CGC 25516, vso. 15.

⁴²⁰ Rto. 1:20.

⁴²¹ Evidence in support of this dating can be gleaned from both internal and external sources. In Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:20, Nebnefer (iii), son of Wadjmose (i), is believed to have been ordered to feed Paneb (i)'s bull for two months. The fact that this charge against Paneb (i) was not a mere flight of fiction on behalf of the author of this text is substantiated by two other documents. In O.CGC 25519, vso. 21, Nebnefer (iii), son of Wadjmose (i), occurs feeding Paneb (i)'s bull in year 1, 4th month of Akhet, day [14(?)]. The same man occurs on a separate occasion feeding this animal, seemingly during the very next month in year 2, 1st month of Peret day 4 (O.CGC 25521, vso. 5; the accession date of Siptah being the 4th month of Akhet, day 28). If it were possible to prove that the dates on which Nebnefer (iii) is known to have fed the bull occurred in consecutive months of the reign of Siptah, and that these events refer to those described in Pap. Salt 124, one would possess positive evidence that Pap. Salt 124 was compiled either in year 2 of Siptah, or later.

⁴²² O.Gardiner 57, vso. I:9.

⁴²³ O.Gardiner 57, vso. II:3.

⁴²⁴ O.CGC 25779, vso. 4.

⁴²⁵ O.Nash 1, rto. 1; he also appears in O.CGC 25572, rto. 17, which is probably to be dated in the last years of the XIXth Dynasty (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 487).

⁴²⁶ O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:14.

⁴²⁷ O.BM 5635, 1.

⁴²⁸ O.CGC 25782, rto. 2-3.

⁴²⁹ O.CGC 25521, vso. 4-5.

⁴³⁰ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:20.

⁴³¹ O.Gardiner 111, rto. 5 ('year 4' of an unnamed king); cf. O.Berlin 11241, rto. 4 (dated 'year 5') and the undated O.DM 373+188, 7. See above pp. 33-34 for Amennakht (vii), son of the foreman Nebnefer (i), a possible forebear of this individual.

⁴³² O.Leipzig 1, 4.

§ 74: Nebnefer during the XXth Dynasty

It is a misfortune that the gang member of the 'left' side Nebnefer, who appears in years 23/24 of Ramesses III,⁴³³ year 2 of Ramesses IV⁴³⁴ and in year 3 of Ramesses V,⁴³⁵ is not attested with a patronym. The name was an extremely popular one during the XXth Dynasty, and we know some of the workmen who bore this name: Nebnefer (xvi), son of Roma (i), and Nebnefer (xvii), son of Amennakht, both of whom occur in mid-Dynasty;⁴³⁶ the workman Nebnefer (xviii), son of Mose, who is similarly mentioned during the mid-Dynasty;⁴³⁷ the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nebnefer (xix), son of the 'wa'b-priest' Neferhor;⁴³⁸ and the workman Nebnefer (x), son of Bakenwerel (vii), whose name is attested in year 9 of Ramesses IX.⁴³⁹ The real occupation of Nebnefer (x), son of Bakenwerel (vii), as one of the 'sculptors in the Place of Truth' is betrayed by an inscription on a stela-base, now in the Louvre.⁴⁴⁰ The final example we have for the name belongs to Nebnefer (xx), who is known to have served as a 'guardian' in year 13 of Ramesses IX.⁴⁴¹

§ 75: The family of Nebenmaat (i): chart 21

The tomb chapel of Nebenmaat (ii) (TT 219),⁴⁴² which is located neighbouring the sepulchres of his father, Amennakht (xxi) (TT 218) and his brother, Khaemtir (i) (TT 220),⁴⁴³ can be dated to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, due to the occurrence of the scribe, Ramose (i), in one of its scenes.⁴⁴⁴ The date of Nebenmaat (ii)'s period of service is further supported by numerous documents in which his name appears - namely between years 25/26⁴⁴⁵ and 64⁴⁴⁶ of Ramesses II. It is with good fortune that many of the scenes from TT 218 and TT 219 have survived virtually intact. The inscriptions which accompany them are invaluable when attempting to compile data regarding Nebenmaat (ii)'s closest family. However, one must bear in mind the fact that many of the relationships given in these texts are frequently ambiguous and can not always be taken literally.

⁴³³ O.Turin N.57026, vso. 6; O.Turin N.57046, rto. 8.

⁴³⁴ O.DM 634, I:6.

⁴³⁵ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, I:15.

⁴³⁶ O.Brussels E. 301, rto. 6 & 25; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 315.

⁴³⁷ O.DM 634, I:6; O. Turin N.57006, rto. 11; unpub. O.IFAO 1258, III:8 and unpub. O.IFAO 1323, IV:6.

⁴³⁸ Graffito no. 1236 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 13, pl. 30; KRI V:668:10).

⁴³⁹ Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. 1:5. It is likely that the Nebnefer who is mentioned in O.Berlin P.12343, vso. 4-5, was the son of Bakenwerel; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 443, has dated this text between year 29 of Ramesses III and 6 of Ramesses IV.

⁴⁴⁰ Louvre E.16363 (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 44, 94, pls. 13/14, fig. 167, no. 149; KRI V:663). Furthermore, the 'sculptor' Nebnefer appears in graffito no. 1215 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 12, pl. 26). See further § 64 above, with Chart 47.

⁴⁴¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 6, l. 1.

⁴⁴² PM I:1, pp. 320-322; Maystre, *Nebenmât*; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 53-58, 68-78, 82; KRI III:757 ff.

⁴⁴³ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 1, has misidentified Khaemtir as a son of Nebenmaat (ii).

⁴⁴⁴ PM I:1, p. 321 at (6); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 10; KRI III:760:9.

⁴⁴⁵ O.Gardiner 228, 3.

⁴⁴⁶ O.DM 621, rto. 8.

Both Nebenmaat (i), whose wife was Hotepty (i),⁴⁴⁷ and his son Amennakht (xxi) held the unusual title 'one who summons (ꜥꜥ) monuments for Amun'. In the southern wall of the chapel of TT 218,⁴⁴⁸ Amennakht (xxi) and his wife Iyemwaw (iii) are depicted with his 'brothers' Khons (iii), Bakemwia (i) and Amenmose (vii), his 'sons' Nebenmaat (ii), Tjaunodjem (i), Nebmehyt (iii),⁴⁴⁹ Amennakht (xxiv), Khaemtir (i) and Renefer (i), and his 'daughters' Henutmehyt (iv), Taweret (v) and Taemwadjeset (i). Yet another son of Amennakht (xxi), namely Qenna (iii), is named on a table of offerings.⁴⁵⁰

The wife of Nebenmaat, Mertseger (v), is attested in his tomb together with a group of their children, which includes Wepwatmose (i), Hunero (vi) and Ta-inenu (i).⁴⁵¹ On the same sepulchre we also learn the names of another sister of Nebenmaat (ii), Nodjemtjau (ii), as well as that of his grandson, Nebmehyt (iv).⁴⁵² The lady Mertseger (v) was in fact a daughter of the workman Kel (i) (Kenro) and Takhat (ii). This couple is represented in a further scene from this tomb, seated besides another daughter of Kel (i), Pashedet (i), and her husband, who was the draftsman Nebre (i).⁴⁵³ Similarly, Wepwatmose (i) is depicted with 'his sister' Takhat (iii) and his son Nakhy (vii).⁴⁵⁴ Since the term of relationship 'sister' was often used to refer to a man's wife, it might be suggested, *a priori*, that Takhat (iii) was the wife of Wepwatmose (i). However, Wepwatmose (i) is represented elsewhere accompanied by his wife Huy (ii).⁴⁵⁵ Consequently, it may be more prudent to suggest that Takhat (iii) was indeed a true sister of Wepwatmose (i), named after her grandmother Takhat (ii), rather than being identified as a second wife of this man.

Nebmehyt (iii) and Henutmehyt (iv), who were mentioned above as so-called children of Amennakht (xxi), were in fact husband and wife.⁴⁵⁶ However, it is not immediately apparent which

⁴⁴⁷ PM I:1, p. 319 at (6); Assmann et al., *Theben I*, pp. 288-289, §211; KRI VII:208-209.

⁴⁴⁸ PM I:1, p. 317 at (1) II-IV; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 64-68; KRI III:708-709.

⁴⁴⁹ The fact that Nebmehyt (iii) can, in fact, be shown to have been a son-in-law of Amennakht (xxi) will be discussed below.

⁴⁵⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 48:5, pl. XII; KRI III:711.

⁴⁵¹ PM I:1, p. 321 at (5), II, (7), (8); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pp. 9-10, 12, scenes, 3, 4, 7, 12, (left), 20, 34, pl. 1, (top and bottom right) pl. 2, pl. 4 (above), pl. 6; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), pp. 70-72, 78, figs. 49-50, 52; KRI III:759-761.

⁴⁵² PM I:1, pp. 321 at (9); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pl. 4; KRI III:762:8-9.

⁴⁵³ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pl. 4, scenes 25 & 26; KRI III:762. Opposite this scene, Pendua (iii) and Nefertari (ii) are shown receiving offerings from their sons Pashedu (v) and Kel (vi) (Kenro). This latter individual should be distinguished from the workman Kel (i). The name of Nebenmaat (ii) occurs on a table of offerings, together with Kel (i) and Takhat (ii); unfortunately the affiliation between these men has been lost (PM I:2, p. 743; KRI III:764; cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 39, fig. 26:1, where the tentative reading of 'Kel (Karo)' may indeed prove to be correct). The name of Kel (i), the husband of Takhat (ii), and the son of Simut (i), has been written as Karo in his own tomb (TT 330; see KRI III:824:12). The grandson of this Kel (i) was similarly called Kel (ii) (Kenro), and was the son of Anhurhawy (i). Another attestation of Kel (i) (Karo) names him with his wife, Takhat (ii), the sister of Qaha (i) (stela BM 144). The existence of two distinct forms of the name Kel as Kenro (*Knr*) and Karo (*Kr*) in respect of the same individual certainly corrects Ward's misconception that these othographs were used to denote separate names (in *Pharaoh's Workers*, p. 74).

⁴⁵⁴ PM I:1, p. 321 at (11); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pl. 7, scenes 51, 46/47; KRI III:762-763.

⁴⁵⁵ PM I:1, p. 321 at (9); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pl. 5 top, scene 29; KRI III:761:14-15. It is noticeable that Huy (ii) is referred to as a 'daughter' of Nebenmaat (ii) and Mertseger (v) (PM I:1, pp. 321-22 at (11); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pl. 7; KRI III:763:3).

⁴⁵⁶ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pp. 9-10, pl. 1 top and right; KRI III:759-760.

one was related by blood to Amennakht (xxi). A limestone jamb, now in Lisbon, names the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Amennakht (xxi) and his son Nebmehyt (iii),⁴⁵⁷ whereas elsewhere in TT 218, Henutmehyt (iv) is referred to as the daughter of Iyemwaw (iii).⁴⁵⁸ The man and girl who are represented at the base of a jamb are confusingly referred to as Amennakht and the 'daughter of his son', Henutmehyt.⁴⁵⁹ The main inscription sadly breaks off to leave: '[...] his sister, the Lady of the House, Iyemway, justified'. It is possible that this object had originally been carved for Nebenmaat (i), the father of Amennakht (xxi). Therefore, the identification of the 'daughter of his son' could have referred to the granddaughter of Nebenmaat (i), i.e., the daughter of Amennakht (xxi). Yet more inconclusive evidence is provided by a scene in the chapel of the tomb (TT 219) of Nebenmaat (ii), the son of Amennakht (xxi). Here, Nebmehyt (iii), who is named alongside his wife Henutmehyt (iv), is referred to as a 'brother' of the tomb-owner.⁴⁶⁰

Following his dedication of a standard statue to his parents Khaemtir (i), whom Janssen presumed to have been an elder brother of Nebenmaat (ii),⁴⁶¹ commissioned further standard statues for both his parents⁴⁶² and himself.⁴⁶³ The second of these objects is of importance both for its artistic value and especially for the genealogical information it contains. For example, it names Khaemtir (i)'s wife and son as Nofret(em)satet (i)⁴⁶⁴ and Amenemope (xiii) respectively. Amenemope (xiii) was undoubtedly the author of graffito no. 1867 which reads: 'The *wa'b*-priest Amenemope, his son Neferhotep (xiv), son of Khaemtir'.⁴⁶⁵ Like his brother Nebenmaat (ii), Khaemtir (i) was operative in the royal necropoleis in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. The earliest dated attestation of the name Khaemtir occurs in year 37 of that same reign.⁴⁶⁶ The text in question records how Khaemtir, who was probably an employee of the *smdt*-staff, was engaged in deliveries of wood to the village. Khaemtir (i) is mentioned as a workman in year 40 of Ramesses II.⁴⁶⁷ This position on the workforce means that he should not be correlated with the homonymous *smdt*-man. The final reference to the name Khaemtir during the XIXth Dynasty occurs for an individual who held the title of 'chief door-keeper'. He appears in year 2 of Merenptah,⁴⁶⁸ and again in year 8 of the same reign, though without

⁴⁵⁷ KRI VII:208:8-9.

⁴⁵⁸ PM I:1, p. 319 at (8); KRI VII:211:1-2.

⁴⁵⁹ Turin N.50222 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 190, 344; KRI III:711:4-5).

⁴⁶⁰ PM I:1, p. 321 at (5) II; Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pp. 9-10; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 71; KRI III:760:4.

⁴⁶¹ OMRO 58 (1977), p. 225, n. 31.

⁴⁶² Leiden D.19 (PM I:2, pp. 710/711; KRI III:710-711).

⁴⁶³ Leiden D.18 (PM I:2, p. 711; KRI III:819-820; cf. Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), pp. 221 ff.).

⁴⁶⁴ Nofret(em)satet (i) was the daughter of Pashedu (i) and Mekhay-ib (i) (cf. Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 5; see also pp. 222-3 above).

⁴⁶⁵ Černý & Sadek, GMT IV/1, p. 21; KRI III:821.

⁴⁶⁶ O.OIC 17007 (=O.Nelson 11)+O.Černý 6, rto. I:29. Janssen, OMRO 58 (1977), p. 225, has incorrectly assumed that Khaemtir's appearance occurred in year 35, which was the date in the opening line of this text.

⁴⁶⁷ O.BM 5634, rto. 13.

⁴⁶⁸ O.Mich. 13, rto. 7. Černý, *Community*, p. 165, doubted whether this particular Khaemtir was ever employed on the royal tomb workforce, noting that this is the sole surviving example of this title amongst the records of the village.

the title on that occasion.⁴⁶⁹ The attribution of references as late as these to the workman Khaemtir (i) can only be entertained with a fair degree of scepticism.

§ 76: Nebnakht in the XIXth Dynasty

The name of Nebnakht is particularly common at Deir el-Medina during the XIXth Dynasty. A Nebnakht (iv) is first attested on a naos inscription at the beginning of the Dynasty, together with his wife 'Auti (i) and their son, the workman Kasa (i).⁴⁷⁰ During the reign of Ramesses II, the name of Nebnakht (i), the son of the sculptor Ipuy (i), is encountered on a number of occasions.⁴⁷¹ According to Demarée, Nebnakht (v), father of Khabekhnet (ii), and Montumin (i), lived in the first half of the Dynasty.⁴⁷² Two additional Nebnakhts are attested in several documents from the reign of the 'usurper' king Amenmesses - Nebnakht (iii), the son of Pennub (i),⁴⁷³ and Nebnakht (vi), the son of Nakhtmin (iv).⁴⁷⁴ Furthermore, it has been demonstrated above that Nebnakht (ii) is attested as a 'brother' of Wennekhu in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.⁴⁷⁵ We can not be certain to which Nebnakht we should attribute TT 268.⁴⁷⁶ But we do know that the wife of this tomb-owner was called Tjay.⁴⁷⁷ And a stela fragment, found in the court of the tomb, could possibly have a bearing on his period of activity since it has preserved on it the cartouche of Ramesses II.⁴⁷⁸

§ 77: The family of Nakhtmin (iv): chart 34

Nakhtmin was a fairly common name during the history of the village of Deir el-Medina. The existence of other workmen of this name, viz. Nakhtmin (ii), son of Siwadjet (i), and Nakhtmin (i), son of Huy (iii), amongst others, has already been noted above. As far as this prosopographic study is concerned, the name-list O.DM 243 unfortunately presents a number of irreconcilable problems. The text simply reads:

'Nakhtmin, son of Huy; Nakhtmin, son of Tamehyt;

⁴⁶⁹ Janssen, *OMRO* 58 (1977), p. 225. In year 29 of Ramesses III we meet the water-carrier Khaemtir (ii) (O.Gardiner 185, 3).

⁴⁷⁰ Turin Cat. 2446 (PM I:2, p. 745; KRI III:832:5).

⁴⁷¹ In TT 217 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pl. 36; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 112; KRI III:662:4), TT 4 (PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 50; KRI III:681:2) and in TT 210 (PM I:1, p. 307 at (1); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 84; KRI III:783:6).

⁴⁷² Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 72. For this family see the circular libation basin found in tomb no. 1213, the 'Chapelle du Djebel' (Turin N.22030 (=Suppl. 6262): PM I:2, p. 690 (=p.746); Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 38-39, [138]; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 22; KRI III:765).

⁴⁷³ O.CGC 25779, rto. 9; O.CGC 25783, vso. 3-4.

⁴⁷⁴ O.CGC 25782, rto. 10 (see below pp. 240-1 for this workman).

⁴⁷⁵ See p. 218.

⁴⁷⁶ PM I:1, p. 349; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1931-32), pp. 49-53; KRI III:765. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 90, has attributed TT 268 to the workman Nebnakht, son of Pennub.

⁴⁷⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1931-32), p. 53 and n. 1; KRI III:765:9.

⁴⁷⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1931-32), p. 52.

Webkhet (f.); Tuy (f.).⁴⁷⁹

The names of Huy and Tamehyt cannot have been those of the parents of Nakhtmin (i), since his mother was known to have been Iyi (ii).⁴⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the name of Tamehyt was common amongst the family of Huy (iii). And indeed, two uncles of Huy (iii) can be associated with ladies who bore this name. In the first instance, Hay (ii) was married to Tamehyt (ii), whilst the foreman Qaha (i) had a daughter named Tamehyt (i). There exists a good possibility that the two men named in the aforementioned text were synonymous with the two workmen called Nakhtmin, who occur on opposite sides of the gang in the closing years of the XIXth Dynasty.⁴⁸¹ They can be distinguished as Nakhtmin (i), son of Huy (iii), and possibly Nakhtmin (iv), who would therefore be correlated with the son of the unidentified Tamehyt.⁴⁸² A further suggestion might propose that the ladies Webkhet and Tuy were the respective wives of the two Nakhtmins. But it should be remembered that there is no clear evidence exists for either relationship. An alternative, though less convincing, argument would accept the interpretation that the names of Huy and Tamehyt are to be identified as the parents of a single Nakhtmin (v), or possibly even Nakhtmin (iv). In this instance, a new Nakhtmin (v) can definitely be differentiated from Nakhtmin (ii), unless he happened to be a son-in-law of Siwadjet (i). Adopting such an approach, however, leaves unresolved the relationship of the two ladies to the other people in the text.

From the uncertainty of this inscription, we may now turn our attention to a Nebnakht (vi), who was the son of Nakhtmin (iv).⁴⁸³ He is identified by his patronym in an ostrakon, which is dated to year 3 of Amenmesses,⁴⁸⁴ and similarly in a text which was probably compiled during the reign of Siptah.⁴⁸⁵ Nevertheless, he must not be mistaken for the contemporaneous Nebnakht (iii), son of Pennub (i).⁴⁸⁶ The appearance of this second Nebnakht renders further positive identification of either man, in the absence of a patronymic, extremely difficult. The name Nebnakht is again attested in year 4 of Amenmesses⁴⁸⁷ and in year 1 of Seti II.⁴⁸⁸ It also occurs amongst the list of accomplices of the foreman Paneb (i),⁴⁸⁹ in addition to a graffito, again with the infamous foreman.⁴⁹⁰ In view of

⁴⁷⁹ Despite the scribe's use of a male determinative, Tuy is obviously a female name; cf. Tuy (i), the wife of Qaha.

⁴⁸⁰ See p. 214.

⁴⁸¹ O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:4 (on the side supervised by the foreman Paneb (i)), and vso. II:10 (under the foremanship of Hay (iv)); cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 57 (1982), p. 207; Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 32. Both Nakhtmins appear to have been implicated by Amennakht (vii) as accomplices to Paneb (i) in his nefarious exploits (Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:11-12).

⁴⁸² See further below.

⁴⁸³ Earlier Nebnakhts include: (a) the 'porter' Nebnakht (vii) who appears in TT 4 of the 'sculptor' Qen (ii) (PM I:1, p. 11 at (3) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 50; *KRI* III:681:2); (b) Nebnakht (iv), the father of Kasa (i) (see below pp. 267-8); (c) Nebnakht (i), the son of Ipuy (see p. 179 above; cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 72); (iv) Nebnakht (v), the father of Khabekhnet and Montumin (Turin N.22030, Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 38-39; cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 72; see above p. 239).

⁴⁸⁴ O.CGC 25782, rto. 10.

⁴⁸⁵ O.CGC 25522, rto. I:4. For the attribution of this date see Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 56; *KRI* IV:429.

⁴⁸⁶ O.CGC 25779, rto. 9, vso. 12.

⁴⁸⁷ O.CGC 25784, 3.

⁴⁸⁸ O.MMA 14.6.217, rto. 6.

⁴⁸⁹ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:11.

Nebnakht (vi)'s period of active service, we can reasonably argue for an identification of his father, Nakhtmin (iv), with his homonym who is attested as a workman both in years 40 of Ramesses II⁴⁹¹ and 2 of Merenptah.⁴⁹² Nakhtmin (iv) can be differentiated from the pair of Nakhtmins, who were identified above during the late XIXth Dynasty.⁴⁹³

The names of both Nebnakht (viii) and his brother, Pentaweret (viii) are recorded as beneficiaries of the will set down by their father Nakhtmin (vi).⁴⁹⁴ It can be inferred from the details of the division of his property, or the 'places' (*swt*) as they are called in this text, that Nakhtmin (vi) had recently died intestate.⁴⁹⁵ Unfortunately, the dateline of the text only makes reference to a 'year 7', without any further identification. However, a number of commentators have variously suggested that this date belonged in the reign of either Ramesses IV,⁴⁹⁶ Ramesses V/VI,⁴⁹⁷ or Ramesses VII.⁴⁹⁸ Furthermore, it seems likely that Nebnakht (viii) and Pentaweret (viii)⁴⁹⁹ should be identified with the two sons who are named with their brother, Pashedu (xvi),⁵⁰⁰ on a libation basin dedicated by the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nakhtmin and his wife, the lady Wa'b(et) (iii), which has been dated by Habachi to the XXth Dynasty.⁵⁰¹ It is certainly a stroke of good fortune that O.Gardiner 157⁵⁰² has survived the vagaries of time. Its importance lies in the fact that it contains a record of the bronze objects which Nakhtmin (vi) divided between his sons, Nebnakht (viii) and Pentaweret (viii), at his divorce from Wa'bet (iii). This couple's separation may hold the key to explaining the presence of the lady Merut (i) and 'her daughter'⁵⁰³ as additional beneficiaries of Nakhtmin (vi)'s bequest. As a result of her appearance, it has been suggested by a number of scholars that Merut (i) became Nakhtmin (vi)'s

⁴⁹⁰ No. 2696 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 117; *KRI* IV:193:12). A Nebnakht appears on the 'right side' under the 'foreman' Paneb (i) in an undated ostrakon, which probably dates from the end of the XIXth Dynasty (O.Gardiner 57, rto. I:7). It is noticeable that Nebnakht (vi), the son of Nakhtmin (iv), is elsewhere attested as a member of this 'side' of the workforce (O.CGC 25522, rto. I:4).

⁴⁹¹ O.BM 5634, rto. 10.

⁴⁹² O.DM 621, vso. 3; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 32; Green, 'B3w Expressions in Late Egyptian', in *Glimpses*, p. 110. Whether he is synonymous with Nakhtmin (ii), the son of Siwadjet (i) remains unclear.

⁴⁹³ Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 32; see above pp. 239-40.

⁴⁹⁴ Pap. Turin 2070/154, vso. II, 2:1 ff. Muszynski, 'P. Turin Cat. 2070/154', *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), p. 191, correctly identified Nebnakht and Pentaweret with the workmen who appear in O.CGC 25005, found in KV 9 of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI (Reeves, *Valley*, p. 117).

⁴⁹⁵ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 242; Muszynski, *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), pp. 191-92.

⁴⁹⁶ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 242.

⁴⁹⁷ Muszynski, *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), p. 191.

⁴⁹⁸ *KRI* VI:427.

⁴⁹⁹ This individual may possibly be identified with the 'district officer' Pentaweret, son of Nakhtmin, whose name occurs in the will of Naunakhte, which has been dated by Pestman, in *Gleanings*, p. 177, to year 3 of Ramesses V; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 56. The name of Pentaweret, son of Nakhtmin, is attested in several documents which are probably to be dated to the reigns of the mid-XXth Dynasty (O.DM 204, vso. 5; O.IFAO 1293, I:3; the dating of these texts has been discussed by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 265, 378).

⁵⁰⁰ Muszynski, *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), p. 194, has speculated that the omission of Pashedu's name from his father's will was due to his own death prior to this 'year 7'.

⁵⁰¹ Turin N.22031: Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 39-40; *KRI* IV:239-40.

⁵⁰² *KRI* VII:369-370.

⁵⁰³ And not the daughter of Nakhtmin as noted by Janssen, 'An Allusion to an Egyptian Wedding Ceremony?', *GM* 10 (1974), p. 26.

second wife.⁵⁰⁴ This interpretation seems more plausible than Muszynski's subsequent assumption that Merut (i) was the wife of Pashedu (xvi), the deceased son of Nakhtmin (vi), who had acquired her husband's rights of inheritance in her position as daughter-in-law of Nakhtmin (vi).⁵⁰⁵ It seems almost certain that this Nakhtmin (vi) is, therefore, to be identified with the Nakhtmin, son of Nebnakht, who is named in a papyrus,⁵⁰⁶ which Gutgesell dated between years 3 and 7 of Ramesses IV.⁵⁰⁷ Consequently, he was also probably the homonymous workman, who is attested in years 22⁵⁰⁸ and 25⁵⁰⁹ of Ramesses III.

Nakhtmin (vi) and Wa'bet (iii) were interestingly named as the dedicatees of a libation basin, which was the subject of a study by Borghouts.⁵¹⁰ The inscription preserved on this object can be interpreted in a number of ways -

'A boon which the king gives (to) <Ta>weret of Penbuy, that she may grant l.p.h. for the *ka* of the servant in the Place of Truth, Nakhtmin, and his sister, the Lady of the House, Wa'b(et)'.

or:

'A boon which the king gives, namely a *wrt* of Penbuy, that it may grant l.p.h.'

The first interpretation may in fact provide a rare reference to Nakhtmin (vi) and his wife's pronouncement of a cult which had been inaugurated by a certain Penbuy in honour of the goddess Taweret. In our second example, the mysterious *wrt* may have signaled a magical force that was inherent in the deceased Penbuy, and in which Nakhtmin (vi) had hoped to find succour. Whatever the true intent of the text, Borghouts believed that Penbuy had been an ancestor of this family. This inference may not be far from the truth, since an unidentified Penbuy is mentioned in a broken passage from the will of Nakhtmin (vi).⁵¹¹ Unfortunately, we can not ascertain the original context in which this fragmentary passage was written, nor does it specify whether Penbuy was related to the family or even whether he was still alive at the time of Nakhtmin (vi)'s death. By assuming this relationship, Penbuy could have been a direct descendant of his older homonym.

Further attestations of the name of Nakhtmin include the appearance of the 'guardian' Nakhtmin (ix), who occurs in year 11 of Ramesses IX.⁵¹² In year 17 of the same reign, a Nakhtmin (vii), son of Pentaweret, was one of a number of workmen who were arrested by the central authorities on suspicion of tomb-robbery.⁵¹³ We can propose two additional identifications - that Nakhtmin (vii)

⁵⁰⁴ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 242; Muszynski, 'P. Turin Cat. 2070/154', *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), p. 195; cf. Janssen, *GM* 10, p. 26.

⁵⁰⁵ *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), p. 197.

⁵⁰⁶ Pap. Turin 2065.

⁵⁰⁷ *Datierung*, pp. 343-44.

⁵⁰⁸ O.Turin N.57047, vso. 2.

⁵⁰⁹ Muszynski, *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), p. 191; Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 18, n. 3.

⁵¹⁰ Turin N.22031; Borghouts, in *Gleanings*, pp. 15 ff.

⁵¹¹ Pap. Turin 2070/154, vso. 2:7.

⁵¹² Pap. Turin 1891, vso. 9.

⁵¹³ Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 8, l. 6; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 2:11. Nakhtmin (vii), son of Pentaweret, also appears in the *Stato Civile* (Černý Nb. 15, pp. 69, 76). In Černý's fragment B (p. 69) the mother of Nakhtmin

may be correlated with the guardian Nakhtmin (ix), and that he was the son of Pentaweret (viii). A decision concerning the identity of the aforementioned Nakhtmin, who found himself involved in a case of theft, can not be reached.⁵¹⁴ This particular text records the address of Nakhtmin before the *qnbt*-court, in which he complains that the lady Tanehsy came and stole a cake, which had been intended as an offering for the goddess Taweret, whilst he was celebrating the anniversary of the 'birth' of this goddess in his *hnw*, 'chapel'. Fortunately in Nakhtmin's case, Tanehsy admitted her culpability ten days later, following the occurrence of a 'manifestation' (*bꜥw*) of the god.⁵¹⁵

§ 78: The family of Nakhtsu (i): chart 35

Two monuments from Deir el-Medina testify to the existence of the 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth' Nakhtsu (i) and his son Panakht (iii).⁵¹⁶ In the lower register of the Turin stela, the names of Nakhtsu (i)'s wife, Tawer(et)emheb (i), is preserved, together with three, possibly four, of the couple's children - Pakharu (x), Nubnofret (ii), Anuqet-khati (i) and the unidentified Hathor (vii). The workman Nakhtsu (i), who is known to have been a crew member of the 'left' side,⁵¹⁷ probably appears during the reign of Merenptah,⁵¹⁸ however, the earliest dated attestation of his name occurs in year 1 of Amenmesses.⁵¹⁹ His career can be plotted as a result of appearances in the subsequent reigns of Seti II⁵²⁰ and Siptah.⁵²¹ Final mention of him occurs in 'year 5' of this latter reign.⁵²² Judging by the career of Nakhtsu (i), it seems reasonable to propose that his son, Panakht (iii), may be correlated with the workman, Panekhu, who is known as early as the end of

(vii) is named as Hunero (xiii) (line 4). The name of Nakhtmin (vii)'s mother-in-law is also recorded as Nub(em)iyti (line 5). Nevertheless, a scribal mistake clearly follows these relationships in lines 6-7. Here we expect to find the names of two sons of Nakhtmin (vii): '(6) [His son, P/N, son of] Nakhtmin, his mother Nub(em)iyti (*sic*); (7) [his son, P/N, son of] Nakhtmin, his mother, Henuttawy'. Obviously, Nakhtmin (vii) could not have been married to Nub(em)iyti, the mother of his wife (line 6). Dr. Rob Demarée has suggested to me (personal correspondence, 27/10/1995) that the name of the mother of the son in line 6 was, in fact, written in a different hand, as a later addition. He therefore proposes that the second scribe had mistakenly copied the name of Nub(em)iyti from the line above. Consequently, the wife of Nakhtmin (vii) was Henuttawy (i) (line 7). Furthermore, it is possible that the mother-in-law of Nakhtmin (vii), namely Nub(em)iyti, is to be identified with Nubiyi (i), the wife of Amenwa (i).

⁵¹⁴ O.Gardiner 166; Green, 'Bꜥw Expressions in Late Egyptian', in *Glimpses*, p. 110, suggested that this Nakhtmin was the workman who was active in the middle of the reign of Ramesses II, and that Tanehsy was the mother of Siwadjet and wife of Huy.

⁵¹⁵ This event is described in detail by Borghouts, in *Gleanings*, pp. 4-5.

⁵¹⁶ Stela Turin N.50041 (Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 75-76, 277; PM I:2, p. 726 (a); KRI IV:442) and a stela base (PM I:2, pp. 689, 704; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), pp. 61:4, 62, fig. 26:5; *ibid.*, (1934-35) III, p. 165, pl. XX (20); KRI IV:442).

⁵¹⁷ O.Mich. 87, vso. I:2; Pap. Greg. rto. B, 15.

⁵¹⁸ O.CGC 25524, rto. 2.

⁵¹⁹ O.CGC 25779, rto. 3.

⁵²⁰ O.CGC 25572, rto. 13.

⁵²¹ O.CGC 25516, vso. 28; O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 12; O.CGC 25521, rto. 7.

⁵²² Pap. Greg. rto. B, 15. Bierbrier erroneously read an entry in O.CGC 25589, rto. 4, as the name of 'Nakhtsu'. Consequently, he has attributed this man a place in year 11 of Ramesses III (*LNKE*, p. 43). However, the correct reading of the phrase in question is *mnī sw* 'Look after it!'

the XIXth Dynasty.⁵²³ Incidentally, Panekhu also served on the 'left' side of the workforce.⁵²⁴ As far as I am aware, only one further Panakht can be positively identified in the records of the village - he was Panakht (ii), the father of the famous scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i).⁵²⁵

Since so very little can be gleaned from the lives and families of the various individual Panakhts, who have been discussed above, the identity of Panakht who occurs in O.DM 235 remains open to argument.⁵²⁶ This text records details of a dispute between the 'citiziness' Isis (vii) and the workmen, Khaemope, Khaemwaset and Amennakht in year 1, 2nd month of Shomu, day 30. The basis of the disagreement can be found in the claim made by Isis (vii) that 'the places of Panekhu, my husband, be given to me'. The court council did in fact rule in favour of Isis (vii) in awarding her the property. Both Kitchen and Gutgesell have dated this episode in the reign of Ramesses IV.⁵²⁷ We can infer from the textual evidence that Panekhu had died recently, possibly in the last year of the reign of Ramesses III, or in year 1 of his successor. Similarly, we may presume that the husband of Isis (vii) may well be identified with Panakht (iii), son of Nakhtsu (i).⁵²⁸

§ 79: The family of Nesamun (i), son of Amenkhau

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nesamun (i) can be identified as a contemporary of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii), since he is represented in a scene from the latter's tomb.⁵²⁹ It is possible to deduce from the administrative records that he was definitely active from at least year 28 of Ramesses III,⁵³⁰ until at least year 5 of Ramesses IV.⁵³¹ The name Nesamun also occurs in a text that Gutgesell has dated in 'year 1' of Ramesses V, simply on the grounds that Harmin (i) can not be attested until that year.⁵³² However, it has already been demonstrated above that Harmin (i) may well have been active as early as year 2 of Ramesses IV,⁵³³ which would permit a dating of this ostrakon within the reign of Ramesses IV. Nesamun (i)'s name probably appears in a text whose entries span the period between the 2nd month of Shomu, day 13 and the 1st month of Akhet, day 6 of an unspecified 'year 2'.⁵³⁴ Since these dates apparently all fell within the same regnal year, we can consequently discount a dating in the reign of Ramesses IV, whose accession date is known to have been the 3rd month of Shomu, day

⁵²³ The name is invariably written as Panekhu in the ostraca, e.g., O.CGC 25561, vso. I:3; O.CGC 25526, vso. II:8; O.CGC 25796, rto. II:28, O.Gardiner 57, vso. II:9. Cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 44, for additional references.

⁵²⁴ O.CGC 25522, rto. II:3, vso. I:16.

⁵²⁵ The name of Panakht (i), the son of Nekhemmut (ii), which was identified by Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 34, may in fact have been an elision of Panakhtemneb (i) (see p. 50 above).

⁵²⁶ Nevertheless, we can summarily discount Panakht (ii), father of Qenhirkhopshef (i), from the equation, both on chronological grounds and by virtue of the fact that his wife is known to have been the lady Sent-nefer (i) (see p. 84, n. 72).

⁵²⁷ *KRI* VI:105; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 239, 277, with n. 1.

⁵²⁸ Cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 45.

⁵²⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 55-56, pl. 16; *PM* I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; *KRI* VI:193:8-9.

⁵³⁰ O.DM 138, 3.

⁵³¹ O.BM 50744, rto. 7.

⁵³² O.Gardiner 182; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 239-40.

⁵³³ See p. 170 above.

⁵³⁴ O.Gardiner 11, vso. 15.

15.⁵³⁵ It is, therefore, probable that the 'year 2' originated in the reign of either Ramesses V or one of his immediate successors. Similarly, it is likely that this Nesamun (i) is synonymous with Nesamun, son of Amenkhau,⁵³⁶ and also with the 'chief craftsman' Nesamun who demarcated his 'seat' by means of graffito no. 442.⁵³⁷ The existence of a later individual, Nesamun (ii), who is attested during the reigns of Ramesses IX-Ramesses XI, has been accounted for by Gutgesell.⁵³⁸

§ 80: How many workmen Ruta?

A workman Ruta (i) is first attested as a member of the 'left side' of the gang in a number of undated documents towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty.⁵³⁹ The remnants of a badly broken text appear to suggest that Ruta (i) had received a severe beating as punishment for an incident of drunken behaviour.⁵⁴⁰ The same document records how subsequent to this reprimand, on days 15, 16 and 27 of the 1st month of Peret, Ruta (i) was absent from work as a result of an unknown illness. Furthermore, he was again missing from his post due to an injury 'in his leg' on day 5 of the following month. The reason for Ruta's disappearance from the records until he surfaces in year 13 of Ramesses III can probably be attributed to the dearth of documentation during the first part of the XXth Dynasty.⁵⁴¹ His name also occurs in years 16,⁵⁴² 17,⁵⁴³ 23/24 (again on the 'left side')⁵⁴⁴ and 24⁵⁴⁵ of that same reign. Nevertheless, the appearance of a Ruta in year 4 of Ramesses IV⁵⁴⁶ raises the possibility of the existence of at least two men of this name. This theory is proven by the attestation of Ruta in year 2 of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI,⁵⁴⁷ and in year 10 of Ramesses IX.⁵⁴⁸ However, I am unable to quantify on what grounds Gutgesell has based his assumption that the Ruta, whom he proposes was active between year 13 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses VI, should be distinguished from his homonym, attested in year 10 of Ramesses IX.⁵⁴⁹ Since our knowledge concerning the evolution of the composition of the workforce during the XXth Dynasty is so limited, we can not, with any certainty, establish precise dates of service for a large proportion of the workmen who were employed in the royal necropoleis. The extent of this problem is further highlighted in our inability to correlate Ruta (i), who appears in the late XIXth Dynasty, with the Ruta who was active during the reign of Ramesses III. However, in order to cut the Gordian knot in compromise, I am tempted to suggest

⁵³⁵ O.DM 44, rto. 1; Janssen, in *Gleanings*, p. 150; see Peden, Reign of Ramesses IV, pp. 14-15.

⁵³⁶ O.CGC 25597, rto. 4.

⁵³⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 38; KRI V:669:3. Cf. graffito no. 438 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 37-38; KRI V:638:13) which reads: 'The resting place of the workman Nes[amun] and the scribe Hay [.....]'.

⁵³⁸ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 262, 269 and *passim*.

⁵³⁹ O.CGC 25505, rto. 2; O.CGC 25525, 3 (year 1); O.CGC 25593, rto. 22; O.Turin N.57388, rto. 9.

⁵⁴⁰ O.Gardiner 37, rto. x+1-x+2.

⁵⁴¹ O.IFAO 1285, 2.

⁵⁴² Pap. DeM 26, rto. A, 21.

⁵⁴³ O.DM 176, 2.

⁵⁴⁴ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 6.

⁵⁴⁵ O.Turin N.57046, vso. 2.

⁵⁴⁶ O.OIC 12073, rto. 10.

⁵⁴⁷ O.Petrie 23, rto. 2; for the dating see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 80.

⁵⁴⁸ Pap. Turin 2049/141, rto. 4:1.

⁵⁴⁹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 268.

tentatively that Ruta (i) served on the gang from the late XIXth Dynasty until the later years of Ramesses III, whilst the second Ruta (ii) may have been attested between the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX. But, the reader should be warned that this career division is purely an arbitrary one. In the same fashion, we are unable to identify positively the workman Hori (xvi), son of Ruta, who is mentioned in the Lady Franklin Hieratic Inscription, which Gutgesell dated to the reign of Ramesses IV,⁵⁵⁰ as a definite son of Ruta (i). If the careers which we have calculated above prove to be accurate, it is probably Ruta (i) whose name occurs as the father of Qenna (iv) in an ostrakon from year 29 of Ramesses III.⁵⁵¹ Qenna (iv), son of Ru[ta], can be traced back to year 24 of Ramesses III at the earliest. Like his father he too served on the 'left side' of the gang.⁵⁵² Qenna (iv) is attested again in years 29⁵⁵³ and 31⁵⁵⁴ of this reign in addition to several undated ostraca that originate from this period.⁵⁵⁵ His name can be restored confidently in an unpublished ostrakon, which Gutgesell dated to 'year 5' of Ramesses IV,⁵⁵⁶ and he is mentioned in a text which has been dated as year 1 of Ramesses V.⁵⁵⁷ The popularity of this name during the XXth Dynasty precludes the identification of Qenna (iv) with further mention of this name. Reference to Qenna (iv) in a graffito in TT 1338, inscribed adjacent to a number of graffiti which can be attributed to the family of the scribe Amennakht (v), suggests a close link between these individuals.⁵⁵⁸ Fortunately, two of these graffiti (nos. 3 and 6) are dated to 'year 3, 2nd month of Peret, day 24', which can be assigned to either the reign of Ramesses IV or one of his successors.⁵⁵⁹ The purpose behind this group's visit to this particular area of the necropolis was to *sn̄n t̄z b̄hn(t) n̄ s̄š 'Imn-n̄ht n̄ p̄z hr̄* 'measure/lay-out the pylon for the scribe of the Tomb, Amennakht'.

The 'servant' Qenna (v), who appears on a stela, now in Zagreb, together with his wife Takhyheruy (i) and their son Amen[pa]hapi (v),⁵⁶⁰ may be identified with either Qenna (iv), son of Ruta (i), or one of several closely contemporary individuals, i.e., Qenna (vi) the son of Siwadjet (iv); Qenna (vii), son of Seba (iv); or Qenna (viii), son of Prehotep. The house of a Qenna which is mentioned in a fragmentary entry of the *Stato Civile*, datable to the period Ramesses IV-Ramesses IX,⁵⁶¹ probably belonged to one of these men. The name of the wife of this Qenna has been preserved as 'Nefertari, daughter of Huy/Huy[nefer?]'.

⁵⁵⁰ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 316.

⁵⁵¹ O.CGC 25242, rto. 4.

⁵⁵² O.Turin N.57029, 9.

⁵⁵³ *RAD*, p. 55:9.

⁵⁵⁴ O.DM 155, vso. B, 1.

⁵⁵⁵ O.CGC 25634, I:3, II:4; O.Gardiner 370, vso. T, 1.

⁵⁵⁶ O.Cairo 209, 8; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 270.

⁵⁵⁷ O.IFAO 1258, I:7; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 318.

⁵⁵⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 76, no. 5.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 76, n. 1; Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 66, n. 109; *KRI* VI:424-25.

⁵⁶⁰ Zagreb 16 (formerly 582); J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, pp. 32-33; PM I:2, p. 724; *KRI* VI:198; Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 121 with n. 2.

⁵⁶¹ Černý Nb. 15, p. 71; this dating was kindly provided to me by Dr. Rob Demarée (personal correspondence, 19.11.1995).

§ 81: The family of Roma (i)

Roma (i), the father of Nebnefer (xvi), is most likely to be identified with the workman who was active during the second half of the XIXth Dynasty and into the early years of the reign of Ramesses III. During this period, Roma (i) appears as a member of the 'right side' of the workcrew.⁵⁶² His first definite attestation occurs in a 'year 4' which possibly dates to the reign of Amenmesses.⁵⁶³ However, he must not be correlated with the 'chief craftsman' Roma (ii), who is mentioned during the reign of Merenptah, and who was, without doubt, an external dignitary connected with the work in the royal necropoleis.⁵⁶⁴ The workman Roma (i) next occurs in year 6, probably of Seti II,⁵⁶⁵ as well as in year 1 of Siptah.⁵⁶⁶ Furthermore, he was implicated by the workman Amennakht (vii) amongst the accomplices of the foreman Paneb (i),⁵⁶⁷ for whom he worked.⁵⁶⁸ A mention of Roma (i) is recorded in 'year 5' of Siptah,⁵⁶⁹ whilst an unpublished ostrakon, in which his name is mentioned, must be dated prior to year 10/11 of the reign of Ramesses III, as a result of the appearance of the foreman Anakhtu (ii).⁵⁷⁰ The identity of the craftsman Roma, who occurs in an undated document, can now be determined safely.⁵⁷¹ Assuming that the date accorded to this document by Gutgesell in the interval between year 30 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses IV can be shown to be correct,⁵⁷² it is most likely that this attestation did not refer to Roma (i), since his name is conspicuously absent from any of the turnus records relating to the 'right' side in the closing years of the reign of Ramesses III. Rob Demarée has suggested that the workman Roma (i), who was shown above to have been operative in the latter half of the XIXth Dynasty, may have been a descendant of an earlier Roma (iii). It happens that Roma (iii) was either a brother or half-brother of the workman Sennedjem (i), the son of Khabekhnnet (iii).⁵⁷³ In TT 1 Sennedjem (i) also names his brother(?), Tjaro (i), a son of Khabekhnnet (iii).⁵⁷⁴ It may, therefore, be no coincidence that the son of Tjaro (i) was similarly named Roma (iv).⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶² E.g., O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:2.

⁵⁶³ O.Gardiner 111, rto. 6.

⁵⁶⁴ O.CGC 25504, rto. I:9; O.CGC 25788, rto. 3.

⁵⁶⁵ O.CGC 25517, rto. γ, 18.

⁵⁶⁶ O.CGC 25517, vso. 22; O.CGC 25519, vso. 14; O.DM 611, III:3.

⁵⁶⁷ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:11.

⁵⁶⁸ O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:2.

⁵⁶⁹ Pap. Greg, rto. C, x+8.

⁵⁷⁰ O.IFAO 420, 4; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 361.

⁵⁷¹ O.Mich 33, rto. 11.

⁵⁷² Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 353.

⁵⁷³ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 81. For the theory that Sennedjem (i) and Roma (iii) were brothers, rather than half-brothers, see Kitchen, *RITANC I*, pp. 302-303; see further p. 42 above.

⁵⁷⁴ Kitchen, *RITANC I*, pp. 302-303.

⁵⁷⁵ PM I:1, p. 3 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 7; KRI I:411:6-7. See further § 6: The family of Sennedjem (i), pp. 43 ff. above.

§ 82: The family of Reshpetref (i): chart 20

In her discussion of the role played by the *štw*-officers, McDowell concludes that 'they certainly do not seem to have been members of the community'.⁵⁷⁶ However, the passage in the Turin Strike Papyrus, where the *štw*-officer Reshpetref is named amongst a group of Deir el-Medina workmen receiving various amounts of water rations, would suggest that the *štw*-officers did indeed play a prominent part in the affairs of the community.⁵⁷⁷ In fact, they may have even been employed as ordinary workmen, on whom special *ad hoc* responsibilities were bestowed. This presumption would permit the identification of the *štw*-officer Reshpetref with the homonymous workman, Reshpetref (i), who is first attested in year 15 of Ramesses III.⁵⁷⁸ The appearance of his name in numerous documents and duty rosters from the last decade of this reign would suggest that he served as a member of the 'right side' of the gang.⁵⁷⁹ It is, therefore, not surprising that he does in fact appear on the 'right side' in year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁵⁸⁰ The latest dated attestation for Reshpetref (i) occurs in a 'year 3' text, which could only plausibly have originated in the reign of Ramesses IV or one of his immediate successors.⁵⁸¹ According to an unpublished papyrus,⁵⁸² a certain Reshpetref was the son of Hesy(su)nebef. Nonetheless, there is no definite proof that this individual should be identified with Reshpetref (i).⁵⁸³ But, one of Reshpetref (i)'s sons, Amennakht (xxv), does appear during the reign of Ramesses IV.⁵⁸⁴ The widespread use of this name during this period frequently obviates an identification of Amennakht (xxv), especially in the absence of patronymns, with other references of the name.⁵⁸⁵ Amennakht (xxv), son of Reshpetref, also occurs in year 2 of Ramesses V,⁵⁸⁶ and again in year 9 of Ramesses IX,⁵⁸⁷ where (like his father before him) he is named as a member of the 'right side' of the workforce. We can most probably identify a second son of Reshpetref (i) as the workman Amenpahapi (iv).⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁷⁶ McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 55.

⁵⁷⁷ *RAD*, p. 51:13.

⁵⁷⁸ O.DM 406, II:13.

⁵⁷⁹ E.g., O.DM 222, 2:15 (year 22); O.Turin N.57028, vso. 12 (year 24); O.DM 32, rto. 2 (year 25); O.DM 33+O.Berlin P.12639, rto. 2 (year 27); O.DM 156, vso. 2 (year 28); O.DM 145, rto. 3 (year 30); O.DM 38, 15 (year 32).

⁵⁸⁰ O.DM 41, rto. 12.

⁵⁸¹ O.DM 398, rto. 5. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 315, proposed that the final attestation of Reshpetref occurred somewhere in the interval between year 7 of Ramesses IV and year 1 of Ramesses V, as a result of his appearance in O.Brussels E.301.

⁵⁸² Pap. Turin 2065.

⁵⁸³ Vso. 5.

⁵⁸⁴ O.DM 41, rto. 20; O.DM 42, vso. 6-7 (year 1).

⁵⁸⁵ E.g., O.DM 47, in which three different Amennakhts are named, viz. the son of Reshpetref (rto. 17); the son of Kasa (rto. 5); and the son of Khaemnun (vso. 2).

⁵⁸⁶ O.Berlin P.12654, rto. 7; cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, pp. 135-6.

⁵⁸⁷ Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. 1:1, 1:10.

⁵⁸⁸ O.DM 413, 3; O.Brussels E.301, vso. 26.

§ 83: Hay (x), son of Siwadjet

The workman Hay (x), son of Siwadjet, can be attested both in year 2 of Setnakht⁵⁸⁹ and in an undated ostrakon, which Gutgesell has provisionally dated to approximately year 23 of Ramesses III.⁵⁹⁰ His patronymic may indeed mean that he was the son of the workman Siwadjet (iv), who was a member of the royal workforce during the late XIXth Dynasty.⁵⁹¹

§ 84: A puzzle of Khaemopes

The name of the workman Khaemope is initially recorded on the 'right side' of the workforce in an undated document, which we can place towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty.⁵⁹² It may, therefore, be acceptable to identify him with the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Khaemope (iii), whose name occurs in an inscription on a block statue of his father, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Pashedu.⁵⁹³ It is, nevertheless, unfortunate that this statue can not be assigned an absolute date; nor are we able to determine the identity of its owner. An alternative view may be taken in correlating this individual with Khaemope (iv), son of Nakhtmin, whose house appears listed in an undated papyrus.⁵⁹⁴

It would appear from the extant inscriptions that TT 321 belonged to the homonymous 'servant in the Place of Truth' Khaemope (v) and his wife Maani (i).⁵⁹⁵ A graffito, inscribed in the entrance to this tomb, can be quoted to help validate this suggestion: 'Year 4, 1st month of Shomu, day 10 - the assigning of the place [of burial of] the workman [P/N] together with the workman Khaemope, in order to give it to Taweretherti, by the scribe Harshire'.⁵⁹⁶ The lady Taweretherti may have been identical with Taweretherti (i), the widowed wife of the workman Khaemwaset (i), son of Wennefer (ii) and Mutemopet (i).⁵⁹⁷ Otherwise, a second possibility might be to identify her with the 'chantress of Amun', Taweretherti (ii), the wife of the 'scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands' Pentaweret, who appears on a door-jamb belonging to the famous scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii).⁵⁹⁸ This particular Pentaweret is undoubtedly Pentaweret (iv), the son of Amennakht (v), and hence the brother of the scribe Harshire (i).⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁸⁹ O.UCL 19614, rto. 8 (=Allam, *HOP*, pl. 75).

⁵⁹⁰ O.DM 414, rto. 4 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 401-402).

⁵⁹¹ Cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 213, n. 4.

⁵⁹² O.Gardiner 57, rto. II:6.

⁵⁹³ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1948-51), pp. 29-30, no. 1, pl. IX; *KRI* V:669-70.

⁵⁹⁴ Pap. Vienna (no number), I:2-3 (=KRI VII:348-9). It is interesting that, as Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 18, n. 13, demonstrated, the workman Khaemope was replaced on the workforce in year 25 of Ramesses III by a certain Nakhtmin. Unfortunately, it can not be shown whether the nature of this arrangement was permanent or temporary. For the earlier Khaemope (i) and Khaemope (ii), who both occur during the first half of the XIXth Dynasty see pp. 13-14, 17, 66.

⁵⁹⁵ PM I:1, p. 393; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 72-73; *KRI* III:817-818.

⁵⁹⁶ *KRI* VII:368.

⁵⁹⁷ See above pp. 4-5; cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 119, who presumed that this Taweretherti was the wife of the workman Khaemwaset.

⁵⁹⁸ Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. 26; *KRI* VI:379.

⁵⁹⁹ See above pp. 105 ff.

The *ꜥꜣw*-officer Khaemope (vi) was brought before a local court in year 12 of Ramesses III, where he was charged to ensure that Khnummose made suitable reparation to Amenemone.⁶⁰⁰ It was probably Khaemope (vi) again who interrogated Amenemope in an obscure legal case four years later.⁶⁰¹ As a result of this identification, the name of the *ꜥꜣw*-officer, who appears with his colleague Neferhotep amongst a group of court officials, can now be confidently restored as Kha[emope] (vi).⁶⁰² The accuracy of this restoration is confirmed, since the names of both Khaemope and Neferhotep appear, with the title *ꜥꜣw*-officer, at the inspection of a ruined tomb which lay opposite the burial-place of the scribe Amennakht (v), son of Ipuy (ii).⁶⁰³ We may be tempted to correlate the *ꜥꜣw*-officer Khaemope (vi) with the homonymous workman, Khaemope (vii), who appears on the 'left side' of the gang in year 23/24 of Ramesses III.⁶⁰⁴ However, there is, at present, no evidence to definitely confirm that ordinary village workmen could be accorded the responsibilities of an *ꜥꜣw*-officer. The name of Khaemope also occurs amongst the record of the necropolis strikes in year 29 of Ramesses III.⁶⁰⁵ The workman Khaemope (vii) appeared, together with his colleagues Khaemwaset and Amennakht, in a legal dispute that they contested with Isis (vii), the wife of Panekhu[.] in a 'year 1'.⁶⁰⁶ This document can probably be dated within the reign of Ramesses IV or one of his successors.⁶⁰⁷ A clear demarcation should be drawn between this workman and another homonym and contemporary, the 'wood-cutter' Khaemope (viii).⁶⁰⁸

§ 85: The family of Khaemnun (i): chart 25

The earliest dated attestation of Khaemnun occurs in a 'year 4', probably from the reign of Amenmesses.⁶⁰⁹ The name subsequently appears in years 1 and 2 of Siptah as a workman on the 'left side' of the crew.⁶¹⁰ The workman Khaemnun (i), who is attested in year 21 of Ramesses III, might well have been identical with this earlier Khaemnun.⁶¹¹ It is from a separate document, whose contents are closely concerned with the same dispute recorded in O.BM 5624, that Neferhotep (xv) is named as the father of Khaemnun.⁶¹² Furthermore, Neferhotep (xv) is probably to be identified with the workman Neferhotep, the son of Khaemnun (ii), who is mentioned in year 20 of Ramesses III.⁶¹³ However, one might adopt the alternative, and probably more likely, position of identifying this

⁶⁰⁰ O.CGC 25553, rto. 6.

⁶⁰¹ Pap. DeM 26, rto. A, 8.

⁶⁰² O.Nash 5, rto. 5.

⁶⁰³ O.Vienna Aeg. 1+O.IFAO 628, 11.

⁶⁰⁴ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 10; O.Turin N.57046, rto. 6; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 373.

⁶⁰⁵ *RAD*, p. 51:10.

⁶⁰⁶ O.DM 235, 3-4.

⁶⁰⁷ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 239. We have already indicated above (p. 249) the possible existence of a relationship between Khaemope and Khaemwaset (i), in connection with the ownership rights to TT 321.

⁶⁰⁸ For whom see O.DM 164, 1:4; O.DM 143, rto. 1.

⁶⁰⁹ O.Gardiner 111, rto. 6.

⁶¹⁰ O.DM 611, II:8; O.CGC 25521, rto. 9; cf. O.Gardiner 57, vso. II:6.

⁶¹¹ O.BM 5624, rto. 1.

⁶¹² O.Florence 2621, rto. 3.

⁶¹³ O.Nash 5, vso. 2.

second Neferhotep (the son of Khaemnun) as the son of Khaemnun (i), i.e., Neferhotep (xvi) (see further discussions below).

It will also be shown below that Khaemnun (i) and his wife Naunakhte (i) were the parents of many children.⁶¹⁴ The appearance of Amennakht (xxvi), son of Khaemnun (i), has interesting implications for the genealogy of this family. The name of Amennakht (xxvi)'s son can most probably be restored as '[Khaem]nun (iii), son of Amennakht', in a document that dates from year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁶¹⁵ The existence of an adult grandson of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i) during the reign of Ramesses IV would certainly raise serious doubts concerning the accuracy of the genealogy set out above.

Bierbrier has suggested that Khaemnun (i), husband of Naunakhte (i), was active on the workforce from the closing years of the XIXth Dynasty, right down to year 4 of Ramesses V.⁶¹⁶ However, there is not one piece of conclusive evidence that would correlate the earlier Khaemnun to his later homonym, the son of Neferhotep (xv). Nevertheless, if Bierbrier's suggestion that the Neferhotep (xvi), who is attested in year 20 of Ramesses III,⁶¹⁷ was indeed the son of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i) is shown to be correct,⁶¹⁸ then Khaemnun (i) would have to have been an adult at the close of the XIXth Dynasty. Consequently, the existence of Khaemnun (ii) as the father of Neferhotep (xv) and grandfather of Khaemnun (i), can be discounted. On the criterion that the grandson of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i), namely Khaemnun (iii), son of Amennakht (xxvi), was in active employment in year 2 of Ramesses IV when he was c. 15-20 years old, the latest date for the marriage of Khaemnun (i) to Naunakhte (i) must have occurred towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty.

Due to the rarity of her name, Naunakhte (i)'s mother can in all probability be identified with the lady Henutshenu, who occurs as the 'mother of Naunakhte' in a partly unpublished document.⁶¹⁹ In fact, it will be demonstrated that a daughter of Naunakhte (i) was similarly named Henutshenu (iii) - which would, therefore, suggest that she had been named after her grandmother. The workman Khaemnun (i) is attested in years 21, 22 and 25 of the reign of Ramesses III.⁶²⁰ The occurrence of his name amongst the countless turnus records from the later years of this reign⁶²¹ would indicate that he must have been a member of the 'right side' of the gang.⁶²² The suggestion that was mooted above, that Khaemnun (i) may possibly be correlated with the XIXth Dynasty homonym, would therefore have to incorporate his transferral from the 'left' to the 'right' side - this, however, was certainly not

⁶¹⁴ Naunakhte (i) had, in fact, been previously married to the famous scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i), though the relationship had apparently produced no children.

⁶¹⁵ Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 12. The restoration is probably correct since I am aware of no other workman whose name ends with the element 'nun' during this period.

⁶¹⁶ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 28; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 73.

⁶¹⁷ O.Nash 5.

⁶¹⁸ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 28.

⁶¹⁹ O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 8; see now Janssen, *Village Varia*, 56 ff.

⁶²⁰ Pap. Berlin 10496, rto. 4; O.Gardiner 53, rto. 3; O.Vienna Aeg. 1+O.IFAO 628, 12.

⁶²¹ E.g., O.DM 145, rto 6; O.DM 36, rto. 3; O.DM 39, rto. 5.

⁶²² Janssen, in *Village Voices*, p. 85.

such an uncommon event.⁶²³ Khaemnun (i) continues to appear during the reign of Ramesses IV,⁶²⁴ and was still alive in a 'year 4', either of Ramesses V, or an even later reign.⁶²⁵

Černý has suggested that Nebnakht (ix), whose name occurs as a beneficiary of the preliminary division of Naunakhte (i)'s property, had been the husband of Wasetnakht (i), the daughter of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i).⁶²⁶ Such an identification would certainly explain the appearance of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nebnakht alongside Khaemnun (i) in a graffito.⁶²⁷ The inscription on a fragmentary stela is tantalisingly interesting in that it offers up several possible interpretations - 'The servant in the Place of Truth, Khaemnun, his son Neb[.....]'. Bruyère suggested Neb[setau] as a possible restoration of this name.⁶²⁸ However, as I am not aware that a Nebsetau was a son of Khaemnun (i), I have considered that the fragmentary name may once have been that of his son-in-law, Nebnakht (ix).⁶²⁹ However, it will be demonstrated in due course that Nebsetau (ii) was, in fact, the grandson of Khaemnun (i).

A limestone seat, discovered in the remains of the village, contains the names of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep (xvi) and his brother Maaninakhtuf (iii) as the sons of [Khaem]nun (i).⁶³⁰ The broken names of P[.....] and Kha[.....], two sons of Neferhotep (xvi), have also been preserved on this monument. The name of the latter can confidently be restored as Kha[emun], thanks to an ostrakon which lists Amennakht (xxvii), Khaemnun (iv), Pa'abekh(n)et (i) and Panebaku (i) as the sons of Neferhotep (xvi).⁶³¹ Neferhotep (xvi), son of Khaemnun (i), is securely attested in year 3 of Ramesses V.⁶³² His name also appears in a 'year 3' text, which may have its origins in either the reign of Ramesses V or that of Ramesses VI.⁶³³ According to the discovery of a new fragment of the *Stato Civile*, Neferhotep (xvi) was married to Hathor (xi), the daughter of Telmont (iv)⁶³⁴ and Raia (iv). Should Gutgesell's proposed dating of O.CGC 25607 within the reign of Ramesses IV prove to be correct, it would be unwise for us to identify the Amennakht, son of Neferhotep, who is named in this document (rto. 5), with Amennakht (xxvii), the grandson of Khaemnun (i). Although we learn scarcely

⁶²³ Cf. Janssen, *Village Varia*, p. 105, with n. 55.

⁶²⁴ E.g., O.DM 40, rto. 10; O.DM 44, rto. 2:25.

⁶²⁵ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 5:9; cf. Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 1:4 (year 3).

⁶²⁶ Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 52.

⁶²⁷ No. 1866 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 21; *KRI* VI:275:2). A second graffito (no. 1079: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 2, pl. 3), which simply reads 'his brother, the workman Nebnakht', appears to have been written in close proximity to an inscription of 'the scribe Qen<hir>khopshef' (no. 1078: Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 2, pl. 3). It is possible, though not definitely so, that the author of this graffito may have been Qenhirkhopshef (iv), the son of Khaemnun (i).

⁶²⁸ *Rapport* (1931-32), p. 100, fig. 65 left.

⁶²⁹ Furthermore, it may be possible to correlate Nebnakht (ix) with Nebnakht (viii), the son of Nakhtmin (vi) (for whom see above p. 241).

⁶³⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 141, no. 377; *KRI* VI:274. Another son of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i), who is otherwise unattested, either in the ancient sources or the modern literature, may possibly have been Pagafy/Pakanafy (O.Petrie 6, 4-5; for this individual see above p. 23, n. 281).

⁶³¹ O.CGC 25340 (Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 88; *KRI* VI:273:2-4).

⁶³² Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 4:4.

⁶³³ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 6.

⁶³⁴ See below pp. 276-7.

anything concerning the lives of the sons of Neferhotep (xvi), Bierbrier⁶³⁵ has suggested that a necropolis worker Panakhtenope (i), son of Panebaku, who is attested at the end of the XXth Dynasty,⁶³⁶ may have been one of Neferhotep's grandsons. This workman is not to be mistaken for the external 'attendant' Panakhtemope (ii), who is named in year 6 of Ramesses VI,⁶³⁷ nor with the 'fisherman' Panakhtemope (iii), who occurs in year 16 of Ramesses IX.⁶³⁸ Similarly, a correlation between this individual and the 'foreigner' Panakhtemope (iv), who appears during the reign of Ramesses XI, may prove to be spurious.⁶³⁹ Nevertheless, the possibility does remain that Panakhtenope (i)'s name is almost completely preserved as 'Panakhtem[...]' in a text dating from year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁴⁰

An informative graffito has preserved the name of Maaninakhtuf (iii) alongside those of his 'brothers' Neferhotep (xvi), Amennakht (xxvi), Pen[...], and his sons Userhatmer (i) and Wepetnefer (i).⁶⁴¹ The existence of two additional sons of Maaninakhtuf (iii), namely Amenhotep (x) and Amenmose (viii), is recorded in another rock inscription.⁶⁴² Spiegelberg has interpreted the reading of graffito no. 852 as - 'The scribe Maa(ni)nakhtuf, his brother the craftsman Amennakht, <his> son Kasa' - by assuming that the scribe had mistakenly omitted the suffix *f* from the term of relationship.⁶⁴³ However, a literal rendering of the inscription as it stands - 'Amennakht, son of Kasa' - would perfectly tie in with the attestation of a workman Amennakht (xxiii), the son of Kasa (viii), in year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁶⁴⁴ The use of the term 'brother' in this context need not necessarily have implied a consanguineous relationship between Maaninakhtuf and Amennakht. Otherwise, we might feel impelled to posit that Amennakht (xxiii), son of Kasa (viii), should be correlated with Amennakht (xxvi), son/son-in-law of Khaemnun (i).⁶⁴⁵ The workman Maaninakhtuf (iii) is attested in documents dating to years 1⁶⁴⁶ and 2⁶⁴⁷ of Ramesses IV and year 3 of Ramesses V.⁶⁴⁸ He was probably the author and recipient of several letters in which the titles of 'scribe' and '(chief) craftsman' are attributed to him.⁶⁴⁹ One of his sons, Userhatmer (i) is witnessed on the workforce in years 16⁶⁵⁰ and 17⁶⁵¹ of

⁶³⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 29.

⁶³⁶ Pap. Berlin 10494, rto. 11 (=Černý, *LRL*, pp. 23:16-24:1).

⁶³⁷ Pap. Turin 1879, vso. II:11.

⁶³⁸ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 34, l. 17.

⁶³⁹ Pap. Turin 2018, vso. A, 5:3.

⁶⁴⁰ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 32, l. 26.

⁶⁴¹ No. 284 b (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 25/26; *KRI* VI:269:7-8).

⁶⁴² Graffito no. 335 a (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 30; *KRI* VI:269:9-10).

⁶⁴³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 70, followed tentatively by *KRI* VI:269:15.

⁶⁴⁴ O.DM 41, vso. 9.

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. graffito no. 782 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 63; *KRI* VI:270:6-7), in which Maaninakhtuf is listed with his 'brothers' the draftsman Harshire (i) and the craftsman Amennakht. We know for certain that Maaninakhtuf (iii) and Harshire (i) were not blood-related; they are, however, both also attested in graffito no. 2531 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 63), which would suggest that their families may have been closely related.

⁶⁴⁶ O.DM 41, vso. 10.

⁶⁴⁷ O.DM 44, rto. 17.

⁶⁴⁸ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 3:2.

⁶⁴⁹ E.g., Pap. DeM 8; Pap. DeM 9; Pap. DeM 10; Pap. DeM 11; O.BM 50723; O.DM 418; O.Gardiner 273; O.Mich. 79; O.Vienna Aeg. 3. Were he shown to have been the author of letter Pap. DeM 13 to the vizier Nebmarenakht, his career would have continued through to the reign of Ramesses IX (Pestman, in *Gleanings*, p.

Ramesses IX. The name of this man is also recognisable in the form of 'Usermer' in a text dating to either year 9 or 10 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁵²

The family of Qenhirkhopshef (iv), the son of Khaemnun (i), is generously documented in the village records. From a single monument we are able to glean the names of his wife, Tanofret (i), and several of his children - Amennakht (xxviii), Ka<uem>perptah (i), Nebsetau (ii), Amenemheb (ix) and Naunakhte (ii).⁶⁵³ A fifth son, Ptahpahapi (i), is attested separately in a graffito inscription.⁶⁵⁴ Having served during the reign of Ramesses IV,⁶⁵⁵ the career of the workman Qenhirkhopshef (iv) can be traced into year 3 of Ramesses V.⁶⁵⁶ His name also occurs in a 'year 3' text, which can be dated in the reign of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.⁶⁵⁷ Bruyère has proposed that a stela, which is datable to the reign of Ramesses IV and which was found in hut R (E) at the col station, had been the work of Qenhirkhopshef (iv) as a result of a commission by the 'royal scribe and overseer of the two treasuries' Montemtawy (i).⁶⁵⁸ I have assumed that this suggestion was presumably made on the grounds that another stela belonging to a Qenhirkhopshef was recovered from the same building.⁶⁵⁹ The 'overseer of the two treasuries' Montemtawy (i)⁶⁶⁰ does actually appear in a number of records which concern the affairs of the workmen at Deir el-Medina. The dates of these texts range from years 1,⁶⁶¹ 2⁶⁶² and probably 3⁶⁶³ of Ramesses IV down to year 3 of Ramesses VI.⁶⁶⁴ Furthermore, he may possibly be identified with the 'royal scribe' Monttawy, to whom reference is made in a 'year 3' document.⁶⁶⁵

The workman Amennakht (xxvi), son of Khaemnun (i), first appears in the administrative documentation in year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁶⁶⁶ He also occurs in year 3 of Ramesses V,⁶⁶⁷ and in a 'year 3', which could have originated in the same reign or in that of Ramesses VI.⁶⁶⁸ An undated papyrus,

162; cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, pp. 94-95, who incorrectly referred to this letter as Pap. DeM 14; Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 335-36, 464-65).

⁶⁵⁰ Pap. Turin 2057, II:3, rto. 2:15 (=KRI VI:651:12).

⁶⁵¹ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 9, l. 5, pl. 36, l. 43; Pap. BM 10053, rto. 2:17; unpub. Pap. Turin 2053+2018+1914, II:4; and unpub. Pap. Turin 2073, II:9; cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 29.

⁶⁵² Pap. Turin 2072/142, vso. I:11; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 138.

⁶⁵³ Stela BM 278 (PM I:2, pp. 708-09; Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 46; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pp. 23/25, figs. 15-16, pp. 26 ff.; KRI VI:275-76).

⁶⁵⁴ No. 803 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 65; KRI VI:276:14-16); cf. graffiti nos. 830; 868; 869 b (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 67; 71).

⁶⁵⁵ O.CGC 25533, rto. 4; cf. O.CGC 25660, A, 15; O.DM 421, 7 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 351-52; 326).

⁶⁵⁶ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 3:3.

⁶⁵⁷ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 4.

⁶⁵⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), p. 360, fig. 209.

⁶⁵⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35), p. 360.

⁶⁶⁰ Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 518-19.

⁶⁶¹ Pleyte-Rossi, pl. 105:15 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 226).

⁶⁶² Pap. Turin 1891, rto. 3-4.

⁶⁶³ Pap. DeM 24, 3 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 244).

⁶⁶⁴ Pap. Bibl. Nat. 237, 17; this text was not quoted by Gutgesell, *Datierung*.

⁶⁶⁵ O.CGC 25267, 2.

⁶⁶⁶ O.DM 41, vso. 8.

⁶⁶⁷ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 3:5.

⁶⁶⁸ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 6.

now in Vienna (though without an inventory number), contains the name of Amennakht (xxvi), son of Khaemnun (i) (I:5), in addition to what would appear to be that of his brother, Anakhtu (v) or Minnakht (i), son of Khaemnun (i) (I:9).⁶⁶⁹ Unfortunately, a more definite interpretation of this name is not at present possible, since no further attribution of this man is known to me. The single attestation for the name Minnakht of which I am aware occurs in a graffito.⁶⁷⁰

The lady Menatnakht (i) is named as one of the daughters of Naunakhte (i), both in year 6 of Ramesses IV⁶⁷¹ and in year 3 of Ramesses V.⁶⁷² In the former document, she is alluded to in an oath made by Userhat (ix), who was presumably her husband. The same two individuals were apparently the subject of a property settlement in year 29 of Ramesses III - 'What belongs to Menatnakht, which is in the possession of Userhat and which is to be shared out'.⁶⁷³ Although it is not explicitly specified, the *Sitz im Leben* of this division of property may have been the formal separation of Userhat (ix) and Menatnakht (i). Unfortunately, the proposed existence of a divorce between this couple in year 29 of Ramesses III would merely contradict the interpretation of the events which had involved these parties in the document of year 6 of Ramesses IV, described above. Alternatively, one could argue that the settlement of property rights, prepared between Userhat (ix) and Menatnakht (i) in year 29 of Ramesses III, had been occasioned by the consummation of their marriage.⁶⁷⁴ Furthermore, it is possible, though unproven, that Menatnakht (i) might be identified with the citizeness Menat who, apparently as the wife of Qenna, had been accused by Penanuqet of having had a sexual relationship with Userhat.⁶⁷⁵ Penanuqet's allegations had been brought before the scribe Amennakht (v) and the foreman Khons (v) just four and a half months after the property arrangements of Userhat (ix) were drawn up. However, the timing of Menat's indiscretion with Userhat is not known, and could conceivably have taken place well before Penanuqet announced his accusations. It is therefore possible that Menat's peccadillo might have brought about her divorce from Qenna and her subsequent marriage to Userhat (ix). Whilst this interpretation is purely hypothetical, Menatnakht (i) might well be identified with the lady Menat who appears frequently in documents contemporary to this period.⁶⁷⁶ Alternatively, Menat, wife of Qenna, may be an entirely separate person.

The lady Henutshenu (iii) is known to have been one of the daughters who were disinherited by their mother Naunakhte (i) in year 3 of Ramesses V.⁶⁷⁷ It is possible that she is to be identified with Henutshenu (i), the wife of Amenemheb (i), who is represented in the tomb (TT 359) of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii).⁶⁷⁸ On the other hand, Bierbrier has suggested that Amenemheb (i), the so-called 'son' of the tomb-owner, may in fact be taken as the son of Telmont (i). We could then imply from this

⁶⁶⁹ KRI VII:348-49.

⁶⁷⁰ No. 2852 (c); Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 127.

⁶⁷¹ Pap. Turin 1966, vso. III:3.

⁶⁷² Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 3:7.

⁶⁷³ *RAD*, p. 48:3.

⁶⁷⁴ The assumption made by Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, p. 80, that Userhat had died recently, can now be dismissed.

⁶⁷⁵ *RAD*, p. 57:14.

⁶⁷⁶ E.g., O.DM 134, rto. 2:3; O.DM 629, rto. II:3; O.Louvre 696, vso. A, 6; O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 14; O.AG 63, vso. I; Menatnakht appears in the unpub. O.IFAO 1253, rto. 2.

⁶⁷⁷ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 4:6; Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 48.

⁶⁷⁸ PM I:1, p. 423 at (6-7) II, 7; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 46, pl. XI; KRI VI:188:9-10.

scenario that Henutshenu (i) was the daughter of Anhurkhawy (ii).⁶⁷⁹ Furthermore, the existence of two closely contemporary Henutshenus would require serious consideration. If, however, our earlier suggestion, in which Henutshenu (iii), daughter of Naunakhte (i), was correlated with the lady in TT 359, proves to be correct, then we would hold unequivocal evidence that Amenemheb (i) was a true son of Anhurkhawy (ii). Unfortunately the only other attestation of the name Henutshenu in the village records occurs in an undated and unpublished text.⁶⁸⁰

The lady Khatanub (i) was, like her siblings Neferhotep (xvi), Menatnakht (i) and Henutshenu (iii), disinherited by her mother Naunakhte (i).⁶⁸¹ She is probably to be identified with a lady Khanub who appears in at least two unpublished texts.⁶⁸² A closing remark concerning this family must note that Pestman's suggestion that a Khons was married to a daughter of Naunakhte (i) is otherwise unattested in the literature.⁶⁸³

§ 86: One or two Khamys?

A remarkable feature of the archaeological evidence that has survived from Deir el-Medina concerns the frequency with which stelae were jointly dedicated by the workmen Khamy and Pennub.⁶⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the fact that not one of these monuments makes reference to the nature of the relationship between the two men is a cause of considerable frustration. This, however, has not deterred commentators from proposing a variety of unsubstantiated theories. Bruyère has suggested that Khamy was the father of Pennub,⁶⁸⁵ whereas Porter and Moss claimed the reverse to be the case.⁶⁸⁶ Similarly, the affiliations (if any existed) between the lady, Webkhet (vii), and Khamy and Pennub, who are all represented on one of these monuments has been omitted by the ancient engraver.⁶⁸⁷

The service career of Khamy (i) as a member of the 'left side' of the workcrew⁶⁸⁸ can be traced through the successive reigns of Amenmesses,⁶⁸⁹ Seti II⁶⁹⁰ and Siptah.⁶⁹¹ It is noticeable that Khamy

⁶⁷⁹ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 102.

⁶⁸⁰ O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 8; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 359, has dated this document at the end of the reign of Ramesses III.

⁶⁸¹ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 4:7.

⁶⁸² O.Varille 27, rto. 1; O.BM 50737, 2-3. This latter text is a record of the 'list of money ('silver') given by the 'chantress of Amun' Khanub to the workman Qenhirkhopshef. It is possible that these individuals are to be identified with Khatanub (i) and Qenhirkhopshef (iv), both of whom were children of Naunakhte (i).

⁶⁸³ Pestman, in *Gleanings*, pp. 164-65.

⁶⁸⁴ E.g., BM 359 (PM I:2, p. 724/25:e; James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 50-51, pl. 41:1; *KRI* IV:443); BM 372 (PM I:2, p. 725:f; James, *BMHT* 9, p. 51, pl. 41:2; *KRI* IV:443); Turin N.50024 (PM I:2, p. 724:d; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 57-58, 269; *KRI* IV:444); stela DeM (no number: PM I:2, p. 724:b; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 152/53, fig. 62, pp. 327/28, fig. 198; *KRI* IV:444); cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 89. For the career and family of Pennub (i) see above § 69.

⁶⁸⁵ *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 372.

⁶⁸⁶ PM I:2, p. 724.

⁶⁸⁷ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 104.

⁶⁸⁸ O.CGC 25561, vso. I:4; O.DM 269, 3-4.

⁶⁸⁹ O.CGC 25779, rto. 10 (year 1); O.CGC 25782, rto. 18 (year 3).

(i) is referred to with the title of 'sculptor' in year 6 of Seti II.⁶⁹² Although Demarée⁶⁹³ has correctly remarked on the existence of this individual, a more detailed inspection of one particular document from the Deir el-Medina archive apparently provides evidence of an earlier Khamy (ii). A workman Khamy is included in a name-list, the date-line of which is not entirely legible.⁶⁹⁴ Kitchen,⁶⁹⁵ following the reading adopted by Lopez,⁶⁹⁶ has interpreted the regnal date as either year 26 or 36 of Ramesses II. However, this suggestion is by no means certain. Theoretically a closer cross-examination of the workmen who are named in this ostrakon against those who occur on the work rotas of the late XIXth Dynasty may provide us with an alternative result. All seven workmen who are attested in O.Turin N.57082 are, in fact, mentioned in an ostrakon which encompasses years 1 and 2 of Siptah.⁶⁹⁷ They are enumerated as follows:

Amenemone	-	O.CGC 25521, rto. 1 <i>passim</i> .
Haremwia	-	O.CGC 25521, vso. 3.
Huy, son of Huynfer	-	O.CGC 25521, rto. 16.
Kasa	-	O.CGC 25521, vso. 5 (as the son of Apehty).
Khamy	-	O.CGC 25521, rto. 13, 21.
Pashedu	-	O.CGC 25521, vso. 2.
Siwadjet	-	O.CGC 25521, rto. 4.

Consequently, O.Turin N. 57082 could, in all probability, be attributed a date somewhere in the later reigns of the XIXth Dynasty. This supposition would, therefore, concur with Demarée's contention that there was only one Khamy (i), who lived during the second half of the XIXth Dynasty and who is likely to have been closely associated with Pennub (ii), the grandson of Pennub (i). If, however, the Turin ostrakon did originate in the reign of Ramesses II, then we have evidence to corroborate the possible existence of two Khamys. In that case, the relationship noted at the outset of this discussion could have been between Khamy (ii) and Pennub (i) in the first half of Ramesses II's reign. Otherwise, it is marginally feasible that we are dealing with the career of a single Khamy, who served on the workgang from (at least) year 36 of Ramesses II down to the early reign of Siptah.

⁶⁹⁰ O.MMA 14.6.217, vso. 7 (year 1); O.Nash 2, rto. 9 (year 6); O.CGC 25517, rto. γ, 21 (year 6(?)).

⁶⁹¹ O.CGC 25516, vso. 11 (year 1).

⁶⁹² O.Nash 6, rto. 9.

⁶⁹³ *Stelae*, pp. 89-90.

⁶⁹⁴ O.Turin N.57082, vso. 2.

⁶⁹⁵ *KRI* III:530.

⁶⁹⁶ López, *Ostraca Ieratici* III/1, p. 42, pls. 49/49a.

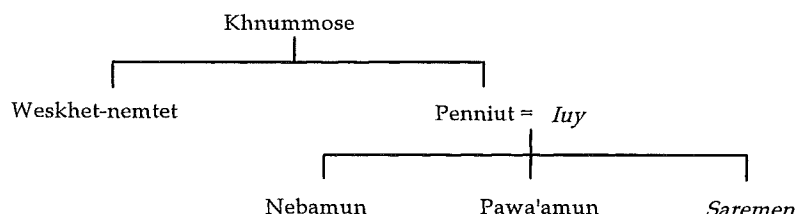
⁶⁹⁷ O.CGC 25521.

§ 87: The family of Khnummose (i): chart 5

A correlation between the workman, Nebamun (ii), who is attested alongside the scribe Ramose (i) during the reign of Ramesses II,⁶⁹⁸ and the homonymous workman who appears at Deir el-Medina at the beginning of the reign of Amenmesses can probably be discounted.⁶⁹⁹ The career of this latter individual, Nebamun (iii), can be traced until at least year 2 of Seti II.⁷⁰⁰ In fact, Nebamun (iii) can probably be identified as the son of the workman Nebamentet (i).⁷⁰¹ Although a name-ostracon may offer tenuous evidence in favour of the possible existence of a contemporary Nebamun, son of Amenemone, this document can, unfortunately, not be dated with any degree of certainty, and may indeed refer to a later Nebamun (i), son of Amenemone (iii).⁷⁰² A fourth Nebamun (iv) is attested in the middle of the XXth Dynasty amongst the family of the workman Khnummose (i). Indeed, an ostracon in the British Museum collection contains the names of the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Khnummose (i), his two sons Weskhet-nemtet (i) and Penniut (i) and a Nebamun, for whom no affiliation has been given.⁷⁰³

Further prosopographic data concerning this family is to be gleaned from a stela now in the Pushkin Museum.⁷⁰⁴ In the upper register of this monument we find representations of the workman Khnummose (i) and a second man whose name can be restored beyond all doubt as '[his son, the servant(?), W]eskhet-nemtet'. Nevertheless, the relationships between the people who appear in the lower register can not be so easily decided. Heading this group is the 'servant' Penniut, who is followed by the 'Lady of the House', Iuy, and her two sons, Nebamun and Pawa'amun, and her daughter, Saremen. Two possible interpretations of this arrangement can be constructed - firstly, that Iuy (iii) is represented in the company of her husband, Penniut (i), the son of Khnummose (i); or secondly, that Iuy (iii) was in actual fact the wife of Khnummose (i). Consequently, the result of both hypotheses are illustrated by the following genealogical tables:

Table I:



⁶⁹⁸ O.Gardiner 92, 3; cf. also O.Gardiner 239, vso. 7.

⁶⁹⁹ O.CGC 25779, vso. 8.

⁷⁰⁰ O. Brunner, rto. A, 1-2 and C, 2; on this date see Helck, 'Eine Zahlungsquittung', *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 10; for the attestations of this man, which are datable, see *ibid.*, p. 8, note (c).

⁷⁰¹ See pp. 269 (with n. 817), 271.

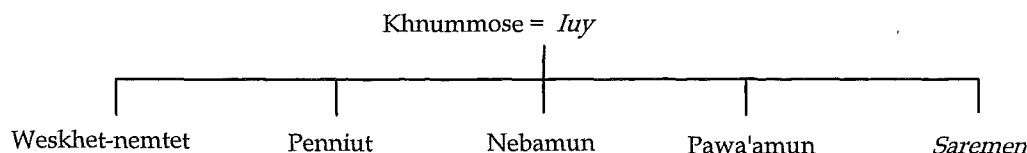
⁷⁰² O.CGC 25737.

⁷⁰³ O.BM 8510; Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 262, n. 2, understood the Nebamun of this text to have been a son of Khnummose. This supposition has henceforth been vitiated by Bierbrier, 'Notes de Prosopographie Thébaine', *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 220, n. 4.

⁷⁰⁴ Stela Pushkin Museum I, 1a. 6687 (Hodjash & Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, no. 91; KRI VII:352; discussed by Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 220-222).

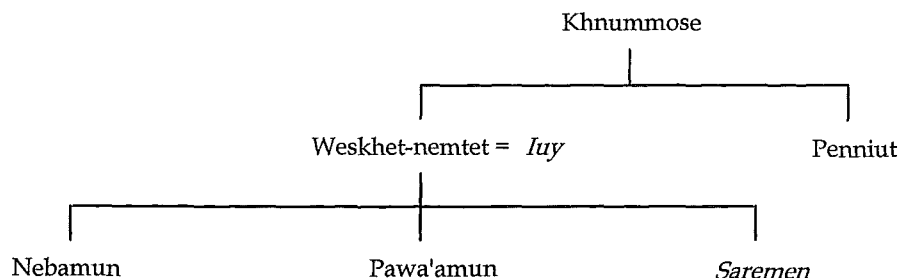
THE SERVANTS IN THE PLACE OF TRUTH

Table II:



However, in the final analysis the evidence offered by O.Brussels E.301 may contradict both of the above arguments.⁷⁰⁵ Here, reference is made to Nebamun (iv) as the son of Weskhet-nemtet (i). From this we might infer that the *Iuy* (iii) of the Pushkin stela may have been the wife of Weskhet-nemtet (i), and that their children were the Nebamun (iv), Pawaamun (ii) and Saremen (i), who are attested on this monument:

Table III:



A stela, recovered during excavations at the memorial temple complex of Medinet Habu, goes some way to substantiate the relationships indicated by chart no. III.⁷⁰⁶ Here, the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Nebamun, is named together with his father Weskhet-nemtet and a brother Pawaamun.⁷⁰⁷ A stela in the British Museum depicts a pair of men opposite one another, their arms raised in adoration.⁷⁰⁸ Their names are given as the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nebamun and his 'brother' *Iuy* (iv). Whereas Bierbrier had proposed that Nebamun may have been the son of Nebamentet⁷⁰⁹ (for whom see above), it seems just as plausible that we are dealing with two sons of Weskhet-nemtet (i), and that *Iuy* (iv) had been named after his mother.

It has been suggested by Janssen that Nebamun and the lady, Mutemmerset (i), who appear together in an hieratic inscription, dated to the XXth Dynasty, were husband and wife.⁷¹⁰ However, I

⁷⁰⁵ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 222, n. 1; *pace* Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 262, n. 2, who mistakenly quoted O.Brussels E.182.

⁷⁰⁶ PM I:2, p. 776; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 299, fig. 146; KRI VI:436-37.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. the family tree of Bierbrier, *CdE* 59, p. 221.

⁷⁰⁸ No. 8485: Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 36, pl. 83.

⁷⁰⁹ *BMHT* 10, p. 36.

⁷¹⁰ Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 52.

have been unable to ascertain whether this individual was Nebamun (iv), son of Weskhet-nemtet (i), or a second contemporary Nebamun (i), who was the son of Amenemone (iii).⁷¹¹ The text of a Berlin ostrakon presents one final problem for discussion.⁷¹² Ostensibly the text contains the record of 'all the property which Weskhet-nemtet gave to his father when he took (lit. 'made') Isis as [his] wife' (rto. 1-2). There is no doubt that the presentation of such gifts formed the basis of Weskhet-nemtet's bridewealth for his father-in-law on the occasion of his marriage to the lady Isis (xv). Unfortunately the name of the father of Isis (xv) has not been recorded. The rarity with which the name Weskhet-nemtet occurs would suggest that we are dealing with Weskhet-nemtet (i). This interpretation would mean that Weskhet-nemtet (i) had been married twice to Iuy (iii) and to Isis (xv). The closing lines of the text on the verso of O.Berlin P.12406 may in fact shed light on these relationships - 'List of the property which Nebamun (v) gave to him when he was promoted (*ts*)' (vso. 6-7). Although the recipient of these gifts was simply referred to by the suffix *f*, he can probably be identified as none other than Weskhet-nemtet, since no other antecedent appears named in this text. Furthermore, there is the possibility that Nebamun (v) was the father-in-law of Weskhet-nemtet, and that these were reciprocal gifts to commemorate Weskhet-nemtet's promotion to the gang. Unfortunately such reasoning is purely speculative. And indeed, there is no conclusive evidence to confirm whether a man's recruitment to the workforce coincided with his marriage, though this may well have been an example of such an event.

Leaving this discussion to one side, we can now turn our thoughts to the original genealogical problem. It is possible that Nebamun (iv), the son of Weskhet-nemtet (i), was named after his maternal grandfather Nebamun (v) (as was on occasion customary). However, it was demonstrated above that Nebamun (iv) is unequivocally described as a son of Iuy (iii) on the Pushkin Museum stela. Therefore, in order to consolidate this variance, we may suggest tentatively that Iuy (iii) and the lady Isis (xv) were one and the same person. An alternative, though less convincing, argument would be to suggest the possibility that Weskhet-nemtet (i) had originally been married to Isis (xv), the daughter of Nebamun (v), and that he subsequently married Iuy (iii), who bore him the son Nebamun (iv). Consequently, Weskhet-nemtet (i) may have named his son, Nebamun (iv), after his erstwhile father-in-law.

Bierbrier has postulated that the name of Mose, which appears in O.DM 204 as that of the father of Penniut, may have been a hypocoristic form of Khnummose (i).⁷¹³ An identical relationship is attested in the *Stato Civile* where Mose, the father of Penniut, is married to the lady Henutwa'ti (i).⁷¹⁴ Also represented in this entry are Penniut (i)'s wife, Raia (i), the daughter of Amenemheb (ii) and

⁷¹¹ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59, p. 206; cf. the name-ostrakon CGC 25737 (*KRI* IV:434:14).

⁷¹² O.Berlin P.12406.

⁷¹³ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59, p. 221; Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 65. The accuracy of this suggestion is further strengthened by the attestation of 'Penniut, son of Khnummose' in O.DM 254, 2.

⁷¹⁴ Černý Nb. 15, pp. 67-68. Henutwati (i) is also recorded as the wife of Mose (>Khnummose) in O.DM 643, rto. 8. She was possibly identical with Henutwati (ii), daughter of Nebamntet (i) (see chart 5). Furthermore, there is a possibility that Henutwati (i) is to be correlated with 'Henutwati, the mother of Mose' who is named in an unpublished text (O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 12). In O.CGC 25052, Nebnefer and Ramessesnakht occur as the sons of a Mose. It is not impossible that their father was Khnummose (i).

Henut[shenu],⁷¹⁵ and the children of Penniut (i), namely Mose (v), Amenemheb (iii) and Panakhtemope (i). In what is an undated and fragmentary list of property, the workman Penniut is named alongside the '[chantress] of Amun', Merut (ii).⁷¹⁶ Unfortunately, the context in which this document was written is not explained, nor are we able to ascertain whether Penniut and Merut were in any way related. Therefore, it would be a superfluous exercise to attribute Penniut (i) with a second wife.

Having completed the exploration of the relationships of Khnummose (i)'s closest family, it now seems timely to discuss the chronological position of these people within the framework of village life. An earlier Khnummose (ii), the son of Pashedu (i), is already known from the first half of the XIXth Dynasty.⁷¹⁷ The younger Khnummose (i) is attested serving on the workforce between the reign of Seti II⁷¹⁸ and year 24 of Ramesses III.⁷¹⁹ His career possibly continued into the reign of Ramesses IV.⁷²⁰ Unfortunately, the attestation of a Khnummose as a *ms-hr* is undated.⁷²¹ Several other ostraca may be used to illustrate interesting events in the life of Khnummose (i). For example, in year 12, 4th month of Peret, day 1, of the reign of Ramesses III, Khnummose (i) was found guilty by the *qnb*-court of neglecting to repay a debt of a quantity of loaves to Amenemone.⁷²² Such behaviour is made all the more remarkable when the potential financial power of Khnummose (i)'s family is investigated. Two independent sources can be used to highlight this affluence. The first example, O.Gardiner 162, records that a debt of 66 deben⁷²³ was owed by the 'chief Medjay' Nebmen (iv), son of the lady Raia (iii),⁷²⁴ to Khnummose (i); in the second case, we gather that Shedytemduat (i)'s outstanding debt, owed to the workman Penniut (probably the son of Khnummose (i)), amounted to 76 deben.⁷²⁵ These sums are by no means trivial, especially when one considers that the average monthly wage paid to a village workmen was the equivalent of just 11 deben.⁷²⁶

⁷¹⁵ The restoration of her name was kindly pointed out to me by Rob Demarée.

⁷¹⁶ O.DM 671, 1-2.

⁷¹⁷ See pp. 222-3 above; cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 127, Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 24, chart VI.

⁷¹⁸ O.CGC 25510, rto. 6; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59, p. 220, n. 2.

⁷¹⁹ O.CGC 25517, vso. 2 (year 1 of Siptah); O.DM 406, II:12 (year 15 of Ramesses III); O.Turin N.57039, rto. 7 (year 24 of Ramesses III). Cf. Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 127; Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 70.

⁷²⁰ His name appears in numerous undated XXth Dynasty texts; cf. Bierbrier, *CdE* 59, p. 220, and Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 81, who suggest that Khnummose (i) may have still been active under Ramesses V; however, McDowell, *HO*, p. 12, is opposed to this contention. Care must be taken not to confuse this man with Khnummose (iii), who is attested in the reign of Ramesses IX (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 138, 148, 246). Nevertheless, it is conceivable that Khnummose (iii) may be identified with Khnummose (iv), son of Weskhet-nemtet (i).

⁷²¹ O.Gardiner 112, 1.

⁷²² O.CGC 25553. Apparently this was not the only debt owed by Khnummose (i) to Amenemone (cf. O.Gardiner 194).

⁷²³ Not 76 deben as calculated by Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 533.

⁷²⁴ It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Nebmen (iv)'s mother, Raia (iii), is to be identified with Raia (i), the daughter-in-law of Khnummose (i). According to Černý, *Community*, p. 267, n. 1, the chief Medjay Nebmen, son of Raia, was active from the end of the reign of Ramesses III into year 2 of Ramesses IV, and was a contemporary of his namesake, the son of Panehsy, also a 'chief Medjay' (*ibid.*, pp. 266-67). For a more recent study of the complexities surrounding the 'chief Medjays' Nebmen see Davies, 'Two or Three "Chiefs of Medjay": A Conundrum of Nebmens', *GM* 143 (1994), pp. 37-39.

⁷²⁵ O.Gardiner 204. O.Gardiner 33 gives details of a separate debt owed to Penniut by the Medjay, Pasedty (i).

⁷²⁶ Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 534.

Weskhet-nemtet (i) is attested between year 1 of Ramesses IV and year 1 of Ramesses V.⁷²⁷ On this basis his son, Nebamun (iv), probably served the administration from the reign of Ramesses IV onwards, at the earliest. The workman Penniut (i), son of Khnummose (i), is well-known from the mid-XXth Dynasty.⁷²⁸ However, a certain Penniut, who was documented decades earlier as a beneficiary of a will in year 8 of Ramesses III,⁷²⁹ has already been identified as Penniut (ii), son of Hay (v).⁷³⁰ This identification renders the attribution of two graffiti, in which Penniut is named somewhat difficult.⁷³¹ A similar problem is encountered with the Penniut who was the dedicator of a stela, which once stood somewhere in the vicinity of the Valley of the Queens; the inscription on the base of this monument reads - 'I have made a stela in the temples besides the Place of Beauty, (namely) the servant in the Place of Truth, Penniut, justified before [the great god]'.⁷³² Since there is no concrete evidence to suggest that Penniut (ii), son of Hay (v), ever served the tomb-administration, the attribution of these memorials to the son of Khnummose (i) remains the sounder option. Gutgesell has not drawn any distinction between the sons of Khnummose (i) and Hay (v). Therefore, he prefers to admit to the existence of a single Penniut, who was operative between years 8 of Ramesses III and 2 of Ramesses VI.⁷³³ We do, however, have to take care in distinguishing between the workman Penniut and his name-sake, the 'water-carrier' Penniut (iii), who is attested towards the end of the reign of Ramesses III.⁷³⁴ The workman Khnummose (iv), son of a Weskhet (>Weskhet-nemtet(?)), who appears in year 11 of Ramesses IX,⁷³⁵ is most likely a grandson of Khnummose (i), as has already been noted above.⁷³⁶ An earlier reference to Khnummose (iv) occurred in a papyrus which covered years 1 to 8 of the reign of Ramesses IX.⁷³⁷

⁷²⁷ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 220-21.

⁷²⁸ O.BM 50744, vso. 1 (the recto of which is dated to year 5 of Ramesses IV); O.Colin Campbell 3, rto. 7 (dated by McDowell, *HO*, p. 6, to late in the reign of Ramesses III-Ramesses IV; cf. *KRI* VII:347); O.DM 254, 2 and O.DM 204, vso. 3 (respectively dated to years 1 and 4, and for both of which Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 272, 265, has assigned a date within the reign of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI; in O.DM 204 Penniut is specifically referred to as the 'son of Mose'); O.Gardiner 160, rto. 7 (dated to a year 2, which *KRI* VII:362, attributed to the reign of Ramesses VI). He may be synonymous with a Penniut who occurs in year 28 of Ramesses III (O.Berlin 1121, rto. 3). The name Penniut also appears in O.CGC 25314, vso. 7, which *KRI* VI:666, decided to place in the reign of Ramesses IX.

⁷²⁹ Pap. Bulaq 10, vso. 12.

⁷³⁰ Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 150.

⁷³¹ No. 1237 and 1240 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 13, pl. 31; *KRI* V:665:7; *KRI* VI:154:6-7).

⁷³² Bruyère, *Mert-Seger*, pp. 48, 296, pl. 12:4; *KRI* V:665.

⁷³³ *Datierung*, p. 240.

⁷³⁴ O.Gardiner 53, rto. 4 (year 22); O.Berlin P. 1121, rto. 3 (year 28); *RAD* 46:13 (year 29).

⁷³⁵ Pap. Turin 1891, vso. 6. He may also be mentioned in the undated O.Brussels E.301, vso. 37.

⁷³⁶ The possibility that this particular relationship existed is, however, absent from the family tree of Khnummose compiled by Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 221.

⁷³⁷ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 3:7.

§ 88: The family of Siwadjet (i): chart 26

The exact nature of the relationship between Irynefer (i) and Siwadjet (i), whose names are commemorated in a graffito,⁷³⁸ alongside the cartouches of their sovereign, Ramesses II, can be determined from the tomb of the former (TT 290).⁷³⁹ Amongst the scenes preserved in this sepulchre, Irynefer (i) is entitled 'servant in the Place of Truth', and his wife can be identified as Mehyt-khati (ii).⁷⁴⁰ The parents of Irynefer (i) were the 'ship's commander of Amun' and 'servitor of Amun' Siwadjet (i) and the lady Tewosret (i).⁷⁴¹ The names of a number of Siwadjet (i)'s close relatives can be gleaned, most notably, from inscriptions from a pair of monuments recovered from TT 290 - a table of offerings⁷⁴² and a stela, now in the Louvre,⁷⁴³ as well as from a second stela.⁷⁴⁴ Amongst these we can include Siwadjet (i)'s other sons - Amenmose (ix), Nebnefer (xxi), Minhotep (i), Reshuyirenef (i) and the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nakhtmin (ii), and his daughter Taseger (i). His grandchildren, the offspring of Irynefer (i), included the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Siwadjet (ii), Amenmose (x),⁷⁴⁵ Tewosret (ii) and Hathor (i). To my knowledge, only a single son, Amenmose (xi), is attested as a child of Siwadjet (ii) and his wife Sheritre (iii). Since the name of Irynefer (i) is not once mentioned on a single occasion amongst the formal administrative records of the royal workforce, it is probable that he had served in office during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, when surviving written evidence is more limited than in later periods. Despite the fact that his name is recorded in graffito no. 469, together with that of the 'scribe in the Place of Truth' Qenhirkhopshef (i),⁷⁴⁶ there is no evidence to suggest that this was not a memorial inscription written by his son Siwadjet (ii), or that Qenhirkhopshef (i) did not add his name at a later date.

It is likely that Irynefer (i)'s brother, Nakhtmin (ii), was indeed the workman who is attested until at least year 40 of the reign of Ramesses II.⁷⁴⁷ A reference in O.DM 243, which may name the parents of Nakhtmin as Huy and Tamehyt, could be attributed to an entirely different family,⁷⁴⁸ unless we are forced to assume that Nakhtmin (ii) was no more than a brother-in-law of Irynefer (i), being married to

⁷³⁸ No. 469: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 40; KRI III:644.

⁷³⁹ PM I:1, pp. 372-373; Bruyère & Kuentz, *Nakht-Min*, pp. 67-152 (for Irynefer); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), pp. 10-15, 37-38; KRI III:714 ff.

⁷⁴⁰ Bruyère & Kuentz, *Nakht-Min*, pp. 99-100, fig. 6, pl. 16:1-5. It is possible that the term of relationship 'her brother' has been used in reference to the boy, Anhornakht (i), in a scene from TT 290, refers to Mehyt-khati (ii). Also represented in this relief is 'her daughter Si[...] who may have been a child of the same Mehyt-khati (ii) (PM I:1, p. 372 at (4) I/II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1922-23), fig. 1; Bruyère & Kuentz, *Nakht-Min*, fig. 1; pl. 17:1; KRI III:714:11-14).

⁷⁴¹ PM I:1, p. 373 at (7); cf. an ostrakon found in TT 290 in which Irynefer (i) is depicted seated before a pile of offerings (Bruyère & Kuentz, *Nakht-Min*, pls. 15:3, 17:2, p. 102).

⁷⁴² Bruyère & Kuentz, *Nakht-Min*, pp. 99-100, pl. 16:1-5.

⁷⁴³ E.12964; PM I:1, p. 372 at (2); Bruyère & Kuentz, *Nakht-Min*, pp. 77-89, pls. 18-19.

⁷⁴⁴ Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge E.9.1896 (PM I:2, p. 682; Quibell, *Ramesseum*, p. 16, pl. 13:3+4; Bruyère & Kuentz, *Nakht-Min*, pp. 31-32, pl. IX:2).

⁷⁴⁵ Attested on the south wall of the chapel of TT 290 (PM I:1, p. 372 at (4) I/II; KRI III:714).

⁷⁴⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 40.

⁷⁴⁷ O.BM 5634, rto. 10; O.CGC 25573, II:1; graffito no. 1051 (together with Nebamentet (i), son of Kasa).

⁷⁴⁸ For the implications of this ostrakon see above pp. 239-40.

the latter's sister.⁷⁴⁹ It is not possible to identify positively the Nakhtmin who appeared at the centre of a court case, where he testified that the lady Tanehsy had stolen a *sš*-loaf from him whilst he was resting in his *hnnw*.⁷⁵⁰

Siwadjet (ii)⁷⁵¹ can probably be correlated with the workman of that name who appears in the interval between year 26/36⁷⁵² and year 40 of Ramesses II.⁷⁵³ He is represented, accompanied by his wife Sheritre (iii), in a fragmentary scene on the west wall of the chapel of the tomb of Penbuy (i) and Kasa (i) (TT 10).⁷⁵⁴ As a result of the fragmentary condition of these texts, the exact nature of the relationship between this couple and the tomb owners is no longer available.⁷⁵⁵ The Siwadjet (vi),⁷⁵⁶ son of Huy, who is attested in a graffito,⁷⁵⁷ together with the 'sculptor in the Place of Truth' Ipuy (i),⁷⁵⁸ is otherwise unknown.

The name of the workman Siwadjet (iv) is attested, albeit without affiliation, in the reigns of Amenmesses,⁷⁵⁹ Seti II⁷⁶⁰ and Siptah.⁷⁶¹ On one of these occasions Siwadjet (iv) was busy preparing a footrest for the foreman of the 'left' side, Hay (iv).⁷⁶² It is not surprising that in year 5 of Siptah, Siwadjet (iv) actually appears as a member of the 'left side' of the work-crew.⁷⁶³ The workman

⁷⁴⁹ The other Nakhtmins who can be dismissed from these discussions are the 'chief Medjay' Nakhtmin (viii), whose dated appearances fall between year 66 of Ramesses II (O.CGC 25237, rto. 2) and year 8 of Merenptah (O.CGC 25504, vso. II:1-2); and the Nakhtmin, who is mentioned in year 2 of Merenptah (O.DM 621, vso. 3).

⁷⁵⁰ O.Gardiner 166, rto. 1.

⁷⁵¹ I am aware of the existence of three further individuals named Siwadjet during the XIXth Dynasty: (a) Siwadjet (v), the brother of Huynefer and father of Qenymin (PM I:2, p. 734; Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 188-189:8, pl. 2:8; *KRI* IV:338); (b) the workman Siwadjet (iv), who is attested from the reign of Amenmesses (O.CGC 25782, rto. 11) until the reign of Siptah (O.CGC 25517, rto. 8, 4; Pap. Greg, rto. B, 11) and later, possibly under Ramesses III (Pap. Bulaq 10, rto. 13-15); (c) and possibly Siwadjet (vi), the son of Huy (graffito no. 2796: Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 124; *KRI* III:665), reading *hwšd* as *sš-wšd*.

⁷⁵² O.Turin N.57082 (=Suppl. 6378), vso. 2. Unfortunately the dateline of this text is damaged and may have read either 26 or 36. For the possibility that this text might be dated towards the end of the XIXth Dynasty see p. 257.

⁷⁵³ O.BM 5634, rto. 4. Siwadjet is also mentioned in a memorandum recording the receipt of a letter sent by the 'scribe' Ramose (i) (O.Mich. 23, vso. I:4). Due to the appearance of this official, we can attribute this text somewhere between years 5 and 38 of Ramesses II; he also appears in a letter (O.Louvre N.697, vso. x+3) alongside the names of Neferabu (i) and Anuy.

⁷⁵⁴ PM I:1, p. 19 at (1) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 78: B, 2; *KRI* III:734. A distinction must be drawn between this couple and Sheritre (iv), the daughter of Kasa (i), and her husband the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Ptahmose (i) (PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) II; *KRI* III:736:12-13, cf. pp. 268-9, 271 below). Demarée, *Stelae*, pp. 110-111, has cited examples of only two Sheritres, namely the daughters of Kasa (i) and Paneb (i).

⁷⁵⁵ Is it possible that Penbuy (i)'s son (*sš*), Amenmose (v) (stela BM 65355: PM I:2, p. 732: c; *KRI* III:740), was in fact his 'grandson', i.e., identifying him with Amenmose (xi), son of Siwadjet (ii) and Sheritre (iii). On these grounds, Sheritre (iii) would have been the daughter of Penbuy (i).

⁷⁵⁶ For this name written as *hwšd* see *KRI* III:665:10.

⁷⁵⁷ No. 2796 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/2, p. 124).

⁷⁵⁸ For a discussion of the career of this official see pp. 179-80 above.

⁷⁵⁹ O.CGC 25779, vso. 8 (year 1); O.CGC 25782, rto. 11-12 (year 3).

⁷⁶⁰ O.CGC 25512, vso. 1 (year 6).

⁷⁶¹ O.CGC 25516, vso. 26 (year 1); O.CGC 25521, vso. 5 (year 2).

⁷⁶² O.CGC 25516, vso. 26.

⁷⁶³ Pap. Greg, rto. B, 11.

Siwadjet, who similarly appears on this side in years 23⁷⁶⁴ and 24⁷⁶⁵ of Ramesses III, may have been Siwadjet (iv) or a collateral relative. The Siwadjet who is named in a graffito, with the draftsman Maaninakhtuf, could possibly be identified with Siwadjet (ii) - this, however, would presume that Maaninakhtuf was the son of Pashedu (vii) and Nefertari (v). An equally plausible identification of this individual would be with Siwadjet (iv) - here adopting the assumption that Maaninakhtuf had been the son of Merysekhmet (i) and Noferu (i). There is little doubt that the recipient of the 'place of Tanehsy', at the turn of the XIXth Dynasty, was Siwadjet (iv).⁷⁶⁶ In a second closely related text (O.Petrie 16), Siwadjet (iv) buried his mother, Tanehsy (iii), without any assistance from his siblings.⁷⁶⁷

A fragmentary stela,⁷⁶⁸ promulgated by the 'servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth', Siwadjet, could have been commissioned for Siwadjet (iv). Its inscription contains the names of Huynfefer (xii) and Qenymin (iii) as the respective brother and son of the owner. From a chronological standpoint, it is not possible for Siwadjet (iv) to have been the son of Tanehsy (i) and Huy (ii), whose son was similarly named Huynfefer (ii). However, it is feasible that the Siwadjet, who is attested on this stela, was a villager from an earlier period - either the brother of Huynfefer (ii) and the foreman Qaha (i), or identified with one of the Siwadjets mentioned above. Furthermore, it may be reasonable to suggest that Qenymin (iii), son of Siwadjet, should be correlated with the 'sculptor' Qenymin (i), who occurs during the reign of Ramesses III.⁷⁶⁹

We can probably attribute two more sons to Siwadjet (iv) - namely the workman Qenna (vi), who is named with his patronymic in years 16⁷⁷⁰ and 22⁷⁷¹ of Ramesses III and in 'year 4' of an unknown reign.⁷⁷² The second son is the workman Hay (x), son of Siwadjet,⁷⁷³ who is first definitely attested in year 2 of Setnakht.⁷⁷⁴ At first sight, a positive identification of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Qen(na) and his son, Harnefer, who are attested on at least two monuments from West Thebes,⁷⁷⁵ does not seem possible. However, their appearance in TT 359 (of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii))⁷⁷⁶ suggests that they ought to be identified as the son and grandson of Anhurkhawy, since the 'servant in

⁷⁶⁴ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 6.

⁷⁶⁵ O.Turin N.57046, vso. 3.

⁷⁶⁶ Pap. Bulaq 10, rto. 13-15. There is no concrete evidence to substantiate Tanehsy (iii)'s name occurring in year 8 of Ramesses III as suggested by Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 414; cf. Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 143.

⁷⁶⁷ O.Petrie 16, rto. 6-vso. 6. For a hypothetical reconstruction of the composition of the family of Siwadjet see Janssen & Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 157.

⁷⁶⁸ PM I:2, p. 734; Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 188-89, pl. 2:8; *KRI* IV:338.

⁷⁶⁹ See pp. 186-7 above.

⁷⁷⁰ Pap. DeM 26, vso. B, 9.

⁷⁷¹ O.DM 222, 4:14 - on this occasion as 'Qen, son of Siwadjet'.

⁷⁷² O.BM 5625, rto. 2; dated to Ramesses V by both *KRI* VI:252 and Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 251.

⁷⁷³ O.DM 414, rto. 4 (undated). Kitchen's attribution of this text to the reign of Ramesses III is probably correct (*RI* V:601) since it also features Khnummose (i), who was active between the reign of Seti II and year 24 of Ramesses III.

⁷⁷⁴ O.UCL 19614, rto. 8.

⁷⁷⁵ On twin seats from hut N. (E) at the col (PM I:2, p. 589; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 355/6, pl. 39:2; *KRI* VI:219) and on a stela recovered from the village (Bruyère, *Mert-Seger*, pp. 115/116, fig. 56; *KRI* VI:220).

⁷⁷⁶ PM I:1, p. 423 at (12) III, 13; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 56, pl.16; *KRI* VI:193:16.

the Place of Truth' Qenna (i) is elsewhere named in this tomb as a son of Anhurkhawy (ii).⁷⁷⁷ An additional generation can probably be added to this family by the attestation of Qenna (ii), son of Harnefer, who occurs in year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁷⁷⁸

§ 89: The family of Seba (iv): chart 39

Qenna (vii), son of Seba (iv), first appears in years 24⁷⁷⁹ and 27⁷⁸⁰ of Ramesses III as a member of the 'left side' of the gang. He is further attested during the reign of Ramesses IV,⁷⁸¹ and it is possible that he is to be identified with a certain Qenna, who is mentioned in year 6 of this same reign.⁷⁸² His brother was probably Hay (xi), son of Seba, who occurs in year 23 (or 24) of Ramesses III, similarly as a workman for the 'left' side.⁷⁸³ Hay (xi) is named in a 'year 4' text, which probably dates from the reign of one of the successors of Ramesses III;⁷⁸⁴ his name is also found in a number of undated texts.⁷⁸⁵ The remains of a graffito, which is dated to the second year of Ramesses V, can be read as: '... the servant in the Place of Truth, Qenna, [... P/N], son of Seba'.⁷⁸⁶ The name which once occupied this lacuna can probably be restored as that of Hay, as suggested by Gutgesell.⁷⁸⁷ In this case, the names of Qenna and Hay may have been written in apposition, both as sons of Seba (iv). Their father is probably the workman Seba who is initially attested in year 17 of Ramesses III,⁷⁸⁸ and who, like his sons, is witnessed serving on the 'left side' of the gang in years 23/24 of that reign.⁷⁸⁹ The final dated appearance of Seba (iv) occurs in a 'year 2' text, which probably falls in the reign of Ramesses IV.⁷⁹⁰ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to deduce, with any certainty, the precise origins of Seba (iv), though it is feasible that he had been a descendant of Seba (ii), or less likely of Seba (i), son of Baki (i).

⁷⁷⁷ PM I:1, p. 422 at (1); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p.36; KRI VI:184:4; cf. Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 4, fig. 1.

⁷⁷⁸ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 141, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 341-42, 344, 436. For this family see above pp. 29-30.

⁷⁷⁹ O.Turin N.57039, vso. 7; O.Turin N.57028, vso. 4.

⁷⁸⁰ O.Berlin 12627, 9.

⁷⁸¹ O.Turin N.57006, rto. 25; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 337.

⁷⁸² Pap. Turin 1966, vso. II:17.

⁷⁸³ O.Turin N.57026, rto. 7; O.Turin N.57028, rto. 4; O.Turin N.57056, rto. 7.

⁷⁸⁴ O.CGC 25599, II:7; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 264, who attributes this text to the reign of Ramesses IV.

⁷⁸⁵ E.g., O.DM 236, vso. 1:7; O.Turin N.57006, rto. 14; O.CGC 25532, vso. 4; O.CGC 25634, 1:2, 1:9; O.Berlin P.14222, 8; for Gutgesell's dating of these texts see *Datierung*, pp. 325; 337; 349; 351; 440 respectively.

⁷⁸⁶ No. 1252 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 14, pl. 35; KRI VI:246:9-11).

⁷⁸⁷ *Datierung*, p. 129.

⁷⁸⁸ O.DM 176, rto. 3.

⁷⁸⁹ O.Turin N.57026, vso. 5; O.Turin N.57029, 9; O.Turin N.57028, vso. 3; O.Turin N.57056, vso. 5.

⁷⁹⁰ O.Petrie 23, vso. 9; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 80, who has dated this text to the reign of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.

§ 90: Qenna (viii), son of Prehotep

The workman Qenna (viii), son of Prehotep, appears in a text which has been dated to the reign of Ramesses IV.⁷⁹¹ He is undoubtedly synonymous with a Qen, son of Prehotep, who occurs in a 'year 1'.⁷⁹²

§ 91: The family of Kasa (i): chart 28

Despite the fact that the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Kasa (i) and the 'guardian' Penbuy (i) were clearly joint owners of TT 10, their relationship to one another is never explicitly stated in the extant documentation. As we have already discussed in a previous section,⁷⁹³ Penbuy (i) was initially married to the lady Amentetwosret (i), a daughter of Kasa (i).⁷⁹⁴ One might be tempted into suggesting that Penbuy (i)'s second wife, Irtnofret (i),⁷⁹⁵ was similarly a child of Kasa (i), since the name of a lady Ir[...] occurs alongside those of her parents Kasa (i) and Bukhanef in TT 10.⁷⁹⁶ Furthermore, the name Irtnofret is elsewhere attested in the same tomb.⁷⁹⁷ Nevertheless, we have already demonstrated that the father of Irtnofret (i) was in fact Sennedjem (i).⁷⁹⁸

The question of Kasa (i)'s parentage, an issue which was overlooked in Valbelle's study of this family, can not be easily answered by the ancient sources at our disposal.⁷⁹⁹ Judging by a relief on the left wall of a naos, dedicated by Kasa (i) in honour of the Elephantine triumvirate of Khnum, Satis and Anukis, it is clear that his parents were Nebnakht (iv) and Auti (i).⁸⁰⁰ However, a lady Auti is attested as the 'sister' (>wife) of Nebnefer in TT 10. This scene, located on the front wall of the chapel, is comprised of a number of registers.⁸⁰¹ In the uppermost, Kasa (i) and his wife, Bukhanef (i),⁸⁰² are

⁷⁹¹ O.DM 415, 2; see Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 402.

⁷⁹² O.Berlin 10665, rto. 2.

⁷⁹³ See p. 194.

⁷⁹⁴ Černý, *Bankes*, No. 7; KRI III:828-29. The name of Penbuy is probably now lost from a scene on the right-hand wall of the chapel of TT 10 (PM I:1, p. 19 at (4); KRI III:737). The upper vignette depicts four men: Kasa, his son Neb[amentet] (i), [his son (-in-law) Penbuy (i)] and his son-in-law Pt[ahmose] (i), followed by three women: Sheritre (iv), Amentet-wosret (i) and Hathor (>Hunero (viii)). These ladies are known to have been the respective wives of Ptahmose (i), Penbuy (i) and Nebamentet (i). It may be interesting to note that the order in which these women appear is exactly the reverse to that by which their husbands are named.

⁷⁹⁵ Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 82; Bruyère, *Tombes Thébaines*, p. 60, pl. 14; KRI III:739:14-15.

⁷⁹⁶ PM I:1, pp. 19/21 at (3); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 75; KRI III:735:11.

⁷⁹⁷ PM I:1, pp. 19/21 at (1) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 79; KRI III:735:3.

⁷⁹⁸ See pp. 194-5 above.

⁷⁹⁹ Valbelle, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 194.

⁸⁰⁰ Turin Cat. 2446 (see Valbelle, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 188, fig. 5, pl. XLVII; PM I:2, p. 745; KRI III:832:5). Also named in this scene are Kasa (i)'s sisters, Huy (xix), Nubhirmahat (i) and Kiy (i), in addition to his brother, Nakhtamun (iv). The name of a second brother Pakharu (xi) is cited elsewhere on this monument (KRI III:831:13-14). Kasa (i)'s association with the Elephantine triad is further highlighted by means of his inclusion on a stela dedicated by the foreman Nebnefer (i) to these deities (BM 267: PM I:2, p. 727 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 42 f., pl. 37:1; KRI III:582:9-10).

⁸⁰¹ PM I:1, p. 19 at (3); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 75; KRI III:735.

depicted receiving offerings from a man and several women. The title of the man, 'servant in the Place of Truth', has been preserved, though his name is now lost. The women who directly follow him include Sheritre (iv), Nubirsen (i) and Nofret[...],⁸⁰³ all of whom were daughters of Kasa (i), as well as the 'Lady of the House' Hathor. Since Hathor is the only person attributed with this title, she was presumably married to the anonymous man. He is probably none other than Nebamentet (i), the son of Kasa (i), who married a lady Hathor (viii) (>Hunero).⁸⁰⁴ In the upper-middle register, a seated couple, referred to as 'his father' Nebnefer and 'his (=Nebnefer's) sister' Auti, are represented with an unnamed son.⁸⁰⁵ It would appear to be the case that Auti can hardly be anyone other than the wife of Nebnefer and the mother of Kasa (i). However, before we draw any definite conclusions from this, it may prove advisable to investigate several other possible scenarios. Firstly, one possible theory would argue that this Auti, the wife of Nebnefer, is not to be identified with Auti (i), the known mother of Kasa (i). Furthermore, Auti, as the mother of Kasa (i), may simply have been the true sister of this Nebnefer. A more probable scenario may include the suggestion that one of Kasa (i)'s so-called fathers, either Nebnakht (iv) or Nebnefer (xxii), may have been his step-father, who had married Auti (i) following the death of her first husband. Taking this thread of argumentation one step further, we might now propose that Nebnefer (xxii) was indeed the consanguineous father of Kasa (i). The basis for this assumption is rooted in the fact that Nebnefer (xxii) is shown in the same scene in TT 10 as the child Nebamentet (i), son of Kasa (i),⁸⁰⁶ whilst on Kasa (i)'s naos, which cites Nebnakht (iv) as Kasa (i)'s 'father', Nebamentet (i) is shown as a grown man. Nebnakht (iv) may have been the father-in-law of Kasa (i). The evidence contained in a stela, erected by Nefer(em)senut (i), son of Kasa (i), in a hill shrine on the path leading from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings, supports the existence of a close relationship between a Nebnefer and Kasa (i).⁸⁰⁷ Although the lower register contains a list of names, headed by Nebnefer and followed closely by Kasa (i) and some of his sons, any indication of a possible relationship has, like the titles of Nebnefer, since been lost.⁸⁰⁸ It may prove to be pure coincidence that Kasa (i) is commemorated, together with his son Anuy (ii), on two monuments erected by the foreman Nebnefer (i).⁸⁰⁹ The existence of any relationship between the two can, for the moment, be discounted, since we have already learned that the foreman Nebnefer (i) was married to the lady Iyi (i).

⁸⁰² A fuller form of her name, Bukhanef-Ptah, is recorded on Bankes stela no. 7 (Černý, *Bankes*; PM I:2, p. 717 end; KRI III:828-29).

⁸⁰³ Perhaps synonymous with the girl, Nofreti (PM I:1, p. 19 at (1) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 79; KRI III:735:2).

⁸⁰⁴ The name Neb[amentet] can probably be restored alongside that of his wife Hunero on a stela, now in Turin (N.50075: Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 112-13, 294; KRI I:413:15). Their daughter, 'Awi (i), and grandson, Hay (xiii), are represented as two of the mourners on this monument. The name of Penbuy (i) can be restored here, since one of his wives, Irtnofret (i), is similarly attested. It should be noted here that Penbuy (i) was the brother-in-law of Nebamentet (i) through his earlier marriage to Amentetwosret (i). Irtnofret (i) was the daughter of Sennedjem (i), who likewise appears on the stela along with that of his wife Iyinofteti (iii).

⁸⁰⁵ PM I:1, p. 19 at (1) II; KRI III:735:7-8.

⁸⁰⁶ PM I:1, p. 19 at (3); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 75; KRI III:735:5.

⁸⁰⁷ Louvre E.16341 (PM I:2, p. 589; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 361-62, fig. 211; KRI III:781).

⁸⁰⁸ Should Nebnefer (xxii) be shown to have been the father of Kasa (i) on this monument this would provide a rare example of the recording of an extended genealogy, in which four generations of this family are represented: Nebnefer (xxii) - Kasa (i) - Nefer(em)senut (i) - Paneb (i).

⁸⁰⁹ Stela BM 267 (PM I:2, p. 727 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 42 f., pl. 37:1; KRI III:582); a wooden statuette dedicated to Queen Ahmose-Nefertari (Turin Suppl. 6128: PM I:2, p. 693; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 35, no. 3; KRI III:585).

Our ability to identify the children of Kasa (i) is not so weak. Whilst several are recorded in the reliefs from his tomb, the names of others can be easily recognised from other sources. As small children, Nefer(em)senut (i) and Sheritre (iv) appear in TT 10 attending to the mummies of their parents, Kasa (i) and Bukhanef (i), their elder brother Nebamentet (i) and Hathor (viii).⁸¹⁰ Similarly, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Ptahmose (i) is attested as a 'son' of Kasa, together with his wife Sheritre (iv).⁸¹¹ We are given no assurances that this particular Sheritre (iv) is to be correlated with the so-called 'daughter' of Kasa, particularly since a Sheritre (iii) is attested elsewhere in TT 10 with her husband, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Siwadjet (ii).⁸¹²

Sadly the name of the dedicator of a stela in the collection of the British Museum is now lost.⁸¹³ However, the names of his relatives, who appear in the lower register, make it certain that he is to be identified as Kasa (i). These relatives include the young girl Nubhirkhesbed (i), who takes pride of place and who can be none other than a daughter of Bukhanef (i), in addition to Kasa (i)'s sons, Nefer(em)senut (i) and Anuy (ii). As a boy, Nefer(em)senut (i) appears in TT 10 following two women, one of whom is his elder sister, Nubemiumu (i).⁸¹⁴ One of the Bankes stelae (no. 7) is exceptionally informative on matters concerning the relatives of the lady Bukhanef (i).⁸¹⁵ Here we encounter her daughters, Sheritre (iv) and Amentetwosret (i), her son, Nebamentet (i), her sisters Ya (i), Isis (viii), Pipia (i), Bendepetnes (i), (T)ewosret (iii) and Ipu (i), and her brothers, the 'soldier' Maia (i), the 'soldier' Ramose (vi), Tjutju (i) and Piay (vi). It is possible that Tewosret (iii) is to be identified with the Tewosret who appears, presumably as a daughter of an unnamed man and the lady [...].ti, on a stela which can be attributed to the family of Kasa (i).⁸¹⁶ It is similarly possible that the name of Tewosret's mother may be restored as Auti, mother of Kasa (i). As a consequence of this, Tewosret (iii) might have been a 'sister' of Kasa (i), and hence sister-in-law to Bukhanef (i). Therefore, it is feasible that not all of the presumed siblings of Bukhanef (i), who appear on the Bankes stela, were consanguineously related to her.

Further attestations of Kasa (i) in contemporary inscriptions is limited to appearances in several graffiti,⁸¹⁷ one alongside the draftsman Nebre (i),⁸¹⁸ and in two ostraca.⁸¹⁹ The dating of one of these

⁸¹⁰ PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 76; KRI III:736:1-4.

⁸¹¹ PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) II; KRI III:736:12-13.

⁸¹² PM I:1, p. 19 at (1) II; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 78; KRI III:734:7-8.

⁸¹³ No. 369: PM I:2, p. 723 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 43 f., pl. 37:2; KRI III:829.

⁸¹⁴ PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) II; KRI III:737:2-3.

⁸¹⁵ Černý, *Bankes Stelae*, No. 7; PM I:2, p. 717; KRI III:828-29.

⁸¹⁶ Turin N.50084 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 121-122, 299; PM I:2, p. 739; KRI III:830).

⁸¹⁷ E.g., no. 1073 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 1, pl. 2). This hieroglyphic inscription reads: 'The servant in the Place of Truth, Kasa, justified; his son, the servant in the Place of Truth, Nebamentet, justified; his son Nebamun, justified'. At first glance it would appear that Nebamun was another son of Kasa (i). However, it will be shown below that Nebamentet (i) had a son called Nebamun (iii). Furthermore, it is possible that the name of Nebamun was added to the graffiti at a later date. Evidence for this practise might be suggested in the way in which the terms for *s3* were written. In front of Nebamentet's name *s3* is written with the standard 'pintail duck' sign, whereas Nebamun's name is introduced by the 'egg' sign indicating *s3*. In fact, it actually does appear that the name of Nebamentet has been written in a hand different to that used to write Kasa's name, which may possibly be indicative of a later addition.

⁸¹⁸ No. 1050: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 89; KRI III:659:9.

texts, O.Turin N.57082, in either year 36, or less likely 26, of Ramesses II would fit the well-attested date of the construction of TT 10 in the first half of that reign.⁸²⁰ Nefer(em)senut (i), a son of Kasa (i),⁸²¹ was married to the lady Iuy (v),⁸²² and can be identified as the father of the infamous foreman Paneb (i), Apehty (ii)⁸²³ and Neferhotep (xvii).⁸²⁴ The career of Nefer(em)senut (i) can, without much doubt, be placed in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.⁸²⁵ His name is attested with that of his brother, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Anuy (ii), in TT 219 of Nebenmaat (ii)⁸²⁶ - this sepulchre was already under construction prior to year 40 of Ramesses II. The foreman Nebnefer (i) accorded Nefer(em)senut (i) and other members of his family a special honour on one of his stelae.⁸²⁷ We learn that Nefer(em)senut (i) was still active as a member of the workcrew in year 40 of the reign of Ramesses II.⁸²⁸

Using the evidence presented by various monuments, it is possible to piece together the background of the 'servant in the Place of Truth', Nebamentet (i), son of Kasa (i), who was active in year 40 of Ramesses II.⁸²⁹ As soon as we begin to determine the provenience of some of these inscriptions, the broad circle of Nebamentet (i)'s acquaintances slowly reveals itself. He appears on a stela of the foreman Nebnefer (i),⁸³⁰ with his father Kasa (i) and the draftsman Nebre (i) in graffiti no. 1050,⁸³¹ with Harmose, Mose (possibly Nebamentet (i)'s brother-in-law, see below under

⁸¹⁹ O.Turin N.57082, vso. 2, and possibly in O.Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet MM.14126, rto. I:7.

⁸²⁰ PM I:1, p. 21 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 81; KRI III:738:16-739:1. The inner chapel contains a scene depicting Ramesses II, the vizier Paser and the scribe Ra[mose] (i) offering to Ptah and Hathor (PM I:1, p. 21 at (6) I; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 81; KRI III:738-739). It should here be remembered that O.Turin 57082 might date to a reign later in the XIXth Dynasty, see above p. 257.

⁸²¹ Nefer(em)senut (i) is depicted as a boy with his sister Sheritre (iv) (PM I:1, p. 19 at (4); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 76; KRI III:736).

⁸²² Table of offerings Cairo J.43588 (PM I:2, p. 699; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 6, pl. I, fig. 74; KRI III:780).

⁸²³ Stela BM 316 (PM I:2, p. 729; BMHT 7, pl. 30; KRI III:780). This stela also names Apehty as 'his son', though in theory this term of relationship could have referred to either Nefer(em)senut (i) or Paneb (i), whose names immediately precede that of Apehty. Also attested is 'his daughter's son' Paneb (i.e., either Paneb (iii), a grandson of Nefer(em)senut (i) or Paneb (ii), son of Paneb (i); cf. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 30). The fact that this Paneb is referred to in such a manner might suggest that he was the son of the daughter of Neferemsenut (i), and not the son of Paneb (i).

⁸²⁴ Attested on a hill shrine stela which was set up on the workman's path to the Valley of the Kings (Louvre E.16341: PM I:2, p. 589; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 361-362, fig. 211; KRI III:781). Also named on this monument are Nebamentet (i), Ptahmose (i), Anuy (ii) and Nefer(em)senut (i), the sons of Kasa (i).

⁸²⁵ He is recorded with the scribes Ramose (i) and Huy (x) and the foreman Qaha (i) in O.CGC 25573, II:5, which can be dated shortly before the 40th year of Ramesses II.

⁸²⁶ PM I:1, pp. 320-21 at (3); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 11, scene 11, pl. 2 (top left); Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 78, fig. 48; KRI III:759:7-8.

⁸²⁷ Stela BM 267 (PM I:2, p. 727 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 42 f., fig. 37:1; KRI III:582). Also mentioned are Kasa (i), Nebamentet (i), Anuy (ii) and the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Neferhotep, who may be correlated with either the future foreman Neferhotep (ii), son of Nebnefer (i) or with Neferhotep (xvii), son of Nefer(em)senut (i).

⁸²⁸ O.BM 5634, vso. 8.

⁸²⁹ O.BM 5634, rto. 8.

⁸³⁰ BM 267 (PM I:2, p. 727 (a); James, *BMHT* 9, pp. 42 f., pl. 37:1; KRI III:582).

⁸³¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 89; KRI III:659.

Ptahmose (i)), Amenemope and the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i),⁸³² with Nebmeny,⁸³³ and he is represented accompanying the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Hay on the base of a statue.⁸³⁴ Another graffito⁸³⁵ records the names of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Kasa (ii) as the son of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Nebamentet (i). However, it could be argued that the suffix .f in *sz.f* has been erroneously omitted, thereby rendering Nebamentet (i) as the son of Kasa (i). Stela Voronezh Museum no. 157⁸³⁶ contains particularly interesting details concerning the study of the family of Nebamentet (i). Here we find the names of Nebamentet (i)'s wife Hunero (viii) (the daughter of Hay (ii)), his brother Ahotepef (i), his young son Nebamun (iii)⁸³⁷ and his daughters Nubemiryt (iii), Tamerut (i), Henutwa'ti (ii) and Nefer[...]. It is possible that Nebamentet (i) and his family occupied house C. VI at the village, since it was from here that his naos was recovered.⁸³⁸ But, the discovery of a cellar-jamb,⁸³⁹ bearing the names of Anuy, Nebamentet, his wife Hunero and his brother Nebsetau (i),⁸⁴⁰ in house S.E. VII could mean that this building was the family home. The discovery of a table of offerings of Nebamun (possibly the son of Nebamentet (i)) in the neighbouring house S.E. VIII⁸⁴¹ adds further support to the argument identifying S.E. VII as the home of Nebamentet (i).

On at least two occasions the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Ptahmose (i) is referred to as a son (*sz*) of Kasa (i).⁸⁴² However, Ptahmose (i)'s relationship to Kasa (i) probably stems from his marriage to Sheritre (iv), daughter of Kasa (i). Ptahmose (i) and Sheritre (iv) are attested as a couple on a lintel, found in chapel no. 1215 at Deir el-Medina, that belonged to the chief craftsman Huy (ii) and his son, the servant in the Place of Truth Hay (ii).⁸⁴³ At first sight it would appear from the inscription that Ptahmose (i) was in fact a son of Huy (ii). However, the text on a separate stela proves that he was indeed the son of Hay (ii).⁸⁴⁴ Ptahmose (i) is once again attested on a fragment of a relief from the tomb (TT 10) of Kasa (i) and Penbuy (i). In this scene, he is represented at an offering performed by

⁸³² Graffito no. 70 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 9; KRI III:756); cf. graffito no. 1884 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 23; KRI III:756).

⁸³³ Graffiti nos. 270, 272, 1051 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 24, 89; KRI III:756).

⁸³⁴ BM 8495 (PM I:2, p. 711; Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 36, pl. 82; KRI III:755). For Hay (ii), the brother of the foreman Qaha (i), as the father-in-law of Nebamentet (i) see below; cf. Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 36; idem, in *Village Voices*, p. 4.

⁸³⁵ No. 778 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 63; KRI III:833:11-12).

⁸³⁶ PM I:2, p. 726; Bogoslovsky, *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 120 (1972), no. 2, pp. 74-80, pl. 5; KRI III:754-755.

⁸³⁷ Nebamentet, Hunero and Nebamun are represented in a scene on the north wall of the chapel of TT 219 of Nebenmaat (ii) (PM I:1, p. 321 at (5) II; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1927), p. 70, fig. 49; Maystre, *Nebenmât*, pp. 9-10; KRI III:760:6-7). Three generations of this renowned family are possibly recorded in graffito no. 1073 (Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 1; KRI III:833; see above), as Kasa (i), his son Nebamentet (i) and his grandson Nebamun (iii).

⁸³⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 309:7, fig. 12; KRI III:756.

⁸³⁹ PM I:2, p. 703; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 44, 273:1, fig. 12; KRI III:756.

⁸⁴⁰ Nebsetau (i) may be synonymous with Setau, son of Hay (ii), and brother of Hunero (viii) (see below).

⁸⁴¹ PM I:2, p. 703; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 166:8 (fig. 63), 276 (fig. 147); KRI IV:338; Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 153.

⁸⁴² In TT 10 (PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) II; KRI III:736:12-13) and stela Louvre E.16341 (PM I:2, p. 589; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, pp. 361-62, fig. 211; KRI III:781).

⁸⁴³ PM I:2, p. 738; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1929), p. 64:4, fig. 28; KRI III:787.

⁸⁴⁴ Stela Avignon Musée Calvet A.16 (PM I:2, p. 719; Moret, *RT* 35 (1913), pp. 48-49, pl. VI:5; KRI III:788); cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 101.

his son Bak[...] and probably a second son Nebsetau (iii).⁸⁴⁵ Likewise, Ptahmose (i)'s father, Hay (ii), occurs alongside his wife Tamehyt (ii) in TT 10.⁸⁴⁶ Since he was a brother of the foreman Qaha (i), Hay (ii) would certainly have been active at Deir el-Medina during the reign of Ramesses II.⁸⁴⁷ In fact, both brothers may well be witnessed as two of the beneficiaries of Amek (i)'s legacy.⁸⁴⁸ Hay (ii) was the owner of the largely destroyed TT 328. The fragmentary remains of this building include door jambs naming his sons as Ptahmose (i) and Setau (>Nebsetau (iv))⁸⁴⁹ and his daughters as Hunero (>Hathor (viii)) and Baketmin (i).⁸⁵⁰ An additional son of Hay (ii) is known from an inscription on a table of offerings to have been Mose (xiv) - he is probably not to be correlated with the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose, the owner of TT 329 and husband of Henutwa'ti.⁸⁵¹ The daughter Hunero was married to the workman Nebamentet (i), son of Kasa (i),⁸⁵² thus providing another link between these two families.⁸⁵³ The children of Nebamentet (i) and Hunero included a son called Hay (xii),⁸⁵⁴ and a daughter named Nebuemirty (i).⁸⁵⁵

A stela in the British Museum (no. 369) attests to two further children of Kasa (i) as Nubhirkhesbed (i) and Anuy (ii). The inscriptions of several graffiti and other monuments indicate that the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Anuy (ii) was a son of Kasa (i).⁸⁵⁶ His own son is known from one of these graffiti to have been the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (viii).⁸⁵⁷ There is a distinct possibility that Mose (viii), son of Anuy (ii), is to be identified with the workman Khnummose (i) who occurs during the reign of Seti II. We know that Khnummose (i) was married to the lady Henutwa'ti (i), who may be a daughter of Nebamentet (i). If this were so, it could be proved that Mose (viii)/Khnummose (i) had married his own cousin. The author of a graffito may be identified as Mose (viii), whose sons are named as Telmont (iii) and Anuy (vi).⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁴⁵ PM I:1, p. 21; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 62, fig. 6:2; KRI III:740:1-3.

⁸⁴⁶ PM I:1, p. 19 at (4) II; KRI III:737:4; cf. James, *BMHT* 9, p. 46; Bierbrier, *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 188.

⁸⁴⁷ According to a line of text in TT 9, formerly seen by Sethe but since lost, Hay (ii) may have been a contemporary of the 'scorpion controller' Amenmose (i) (KRI VII:43:12).

⁸⁴⁸ O.Gardiner 89, rto. 4, vso. 3.

⁸⁴⁹ Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 36, would hope to identify Setau with Nebsetau, who is named as a brother(-in-law) of Nebamentet (i). Therefore, Nebsetau (i) is probably identical with Nebsetau (iv), son of Hay (ii).

⁸⁵⁰ PM I:1, p. 397; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), pp. 32, 34; KRI III:787.

⁸⁵¹ See p. 41 above (PM I:1, pp. 397/398; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pp. 74-76, fig. 56; KRI III:749). A Mose appears alongside Nebamentet (i), husband of Hathor (viii), in graffito no. 70 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, p. 9; KRI III:756:11). The lady Henutwa'ti (iii) is attested as a sister of Sahte (i), wife of Khabekhnet (i), in TT 2 (PM I:1, p. 7 at (10) III; Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 16; KRI III:805:6).

⁸⁵² Bierbrier, *BMHT* 10, p. 36; idem, in *Village Voices*, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁵³ Furthermore, a statue base of Nebamentet and his wife Hathor (>Hunero) celebrates the name of her father as the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Hay (BM 8495: PM I:2, p. 711; KRI III:755).

⁸⁵⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, p. 45, no. 168; KRI III:789:10.

⁸⁵⁵ See Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, pp. 4-5 and n. 17.

⁸⁵⁶ Graffiti nos. 177, 1045 (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 19, 89; KRI III:833:9, III:659:7-8); nos. 1694 and 1816 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, pp. 9, 18; KRI III:833); stela Louvre E.16341; stela BM 369; a statuette of Ahmose-Nefertari (Turin Suppl. 6128).

⁸⁵⁷ Graffiti nos. 177, 713 (b) (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 19, 57); 1827 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 19).

⁸⁵⁸ No. 1829 (Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 19; KRI V:671:6-7); cf. van Walsem, in *Gleanings*, p. 212, n. 24, who identified Anuy (vi), son of Mose (viii), with the workman Anuy who is known from the reign of Siptah.

It is unfortunately not possible from the administrative records to differentiate between Anuy (ii), son of Kasa (i) and the contemporary homonyms, Anuy (i), son of the foreman Qaha (i) and the 'sculptor' Anuy (iii), son of Ipuy (i).⁸⁵⁹ According to Bierbrier, a certain Anuy is to be identified as the son of the foreman Nebnefer (i).⁸⁶⁰ However, this individual may simply have been an in-law, or even a colleague of the foreman,⁸⁶¹ since Anuy (ii), son of Kasa (i), appears on a wooden statuette of Ahmose-Nefertari with Nebnefer (i).⁸⁶² Unfortunately, the identities of the Anuy who appears with his wife [Tut]ia(?) in the tomb of the foreman Neferhotep (ii),⁸⁶³ or the Anuy who is named in the tomb of Nebenmaat (ii), can not be determined.⁸⁶⁴ The name Anuy occurs in years 40⁸⁶⁵ and 47⁸⁶⁶ of Ramesses II. This individual is probably to be distinguished from an Anuy who appears in year 3 of Amenmesses⁸⁶⁷ as well as in the reign of Siptah.⁸⁶⁸ This latter Anuy can now be securely identified as the son of Nakhy.⁸⁶⁹ Similarly, it is possible that the Anuy who appears in year 24 of Ramesses III is an entirely different person from the two predecessors of that name.⁸⁷⁰ The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (viii), son of Anuy (ii), may have been synonymous with the workman of that name who is attested during the reign of Amenmesses.⁸⁷¹

§ 92: The later Kasas: chart 28

In the second half of the XIXth Dynasty we come across two men named Kasa:⁸⁷² namely Kasa (v) /(ix), the son of Apehty (i)/(ii)⁸⁷³ and Kasa (x), the son of Ramose.⁸⁷⁴ Bierbrier has already proposed that Kasa, son of Apehty was not the son of Apehty (i), son of the foreman Paneb (i), suggesting rather that he belonged to an earlier generation of that family.⁸⁷⁵ Such a suggestion may well be correct, since the Apehty (ii), who we discussed above (pp. 205, 270), was a probable son of the workman Nefer(em)senut (i), may have been the father of Kasa (ix). In the impeachment text of

⁸⁵⁹ PM I:1, p. 316 at (6); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 112; KRI III:662:1-2; cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 75 (1989), p. 280, where he suggests that Anuy (iii) was a brother of Ipuy.

⁸⁶⁰ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 21, n. 19.

⁸⁶¹ Demarée, *Stelae*, p. 13.

⁸⁶² Turin Suppl. 6128 (PM I:2, p. 693; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), p. 35, no. 3; KRI III:585).

⁸⁶³ PM I:1, p. 313 at (9-10); Černý, *Répertoire*, p. 103; KRI III:588:8-9.

⁸⁶⁴ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 11, scene 11, pl. 2 (top left); KRI III:759:7.

⁸⁶⁵ O.BM 5634, rto. 15.

⁸⁶⁶ O.Turin N.57062, vso. 1.

⁸⁶⁷ O.CGC 25783, vso. 11.

⁸⁶⁸ O.CGC 25521, rto. 9; O.DM 611, II:6. In O.Gardiner 57, vso. II:4, Anuy is attested as one of the workmen of the 'left side' of the workforce.

⁸⁶⁹ O.CGC 25796, rto. II:20.

⁸⁷⁰ O.DM 164, 1:4.

⁸⁷¹ O.DM 209, rto. 6; O.CGC 25783, vso. 17; O.CGC 25784, 10. For an alternative hypothesis concerning the identity of Mose (viii) see above pp. 272-3.

⁸⁷² For both see O.CGC 25517, vso. 8-9 (year 1 of Siptah); cf. O.CGC 25783, vso. 15 (year 3 of Amenmesses) where reference is made to 'the two Kasas'.

⁸⁷³ O.DM 209, rto. 10 (year 2 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25521, vso. 5 (year 2 of Siptah).

⁸⁷⁴ O.CGC 25779, rto. 12 (year 1 of Amenmesses). A Kasa, without affiliation, is also named in this text (vso. 20). He may be identified with Kasa (v)/(ix); O.CGC 25517, vso. 6-7 (year 1 of Siptah).

⁸⁷⁵ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, p. 125, n. 98; cf. pp. 37-38 above.

Paneb (i), both Kasa (x), son of Ramose, and another Kasa are said to have participated in crimes committed by the foreman.⁸⁷⁶ A workman Kasa is further attested in a number of ostraca between year 5⁸⁷⁷ and year 31⁸⁷⁸ of the reign of Ramesses III; his name occurs up to at least year 2 of Ramesses IV.⁸⁷⁹ A 'servant in the Place of Truth' Kasa is named on a seat with his sons Amennakht and [...].⁸⁸⁰ He is probably the same as Kasa (vi) who occurs with his wife Neferronpet (v), and her son, Amennakht (ix), on a door-jamb found at the temple complex of Medinet Habu.⁸⁸¹ The name of the second son can probably be restored as [User]hat (v), since Gutgesell noted the appearance of a workman Userhat, son of Ka[sa], during the XXth Dynasty.⁸⁸² The name of Amennakht (ix), son of Kasa (vi), first occurs in year 1 of Ramesses IV.⁸⁸³ It has already been noted that this Kasa (vi) was probably the son of the 'sculptor' Amennakht (viii), himself a probable son of Kasa (i).⁸⁸⁴

§ 93: The family of Kel (i) (Karo/Kenro):⁸⁸⁵ chart 27

The fact that the 'stonemason of Amun in the Southern City' Kel (i) (Karo) was a member of the necropolis workforce is supported by the discovery of his tomb (TT 330)⁸⁸⁶ at Deir el-Medina. His father Simut (i) had similarly held the title of 'stonemason of Amun in the masonry work', and it is possible that father and son had at one time been employed on building projects based on the East Bank at Karnak. The title 'chief craftsman in the Place of Truth', employed by Kel (i) (Karo) on a 'standard-bearer' statue, may have been merely honorific rather than an indication of an exalted station on the workforce.⁸⁸⁷ Although Kel (i) (Karo) can not be associated with any piece of datable evidence, we do learn that he was possibly a contemporary of the 'scorpion controller', Amenmose (i),⁸⁸⁸ which would mean that his tenure of office fell in the early years of Ramesses II.

Today the surviving inscriptions from TT 330 bear little resemblance to their former glory. Consequently, they present a limited source of information concerning Kel (i)'s family background. Fortunately, the evidence from additional extant monuments, erected by Kel (i) in West Thebes, can be used to augment the paucity of our knowledge.⁸⁸⁹ The son of Simut (i) and Pashedet (ii), Kel (i)

⁸⁷⁶ Pap. Salt 124, rto. 2:10.

⁸⁷⁷ Pap. Greg, rto. B, 11.

⁸⁷⁸ O.DM 153, rto. 7.

⁸⁷⁹ O.DM 160+O.Berlin P.12642, rto. II:1.

⁸⁸⁰ Turin 50255 (Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 207-208, 358; *KRI* IV:445).

⁸⁸¹ PM I:2, p. 777; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1945-47), p. 80, no. 4; *KRI* IV:445.

⁸⁸² Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 454-55.

⁸⁸³ O.DM 47 (+O.Vienna 5), rto. 5; cf. Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 235; cf. pp. 42, 274 (referred to here as Amennakht (xxiii), son of Kasa (viii)).

⁸⁸⁴ For a further discussion of this family see pp. 187-8.

⁸⁸⁵ It has been shown that both orthographies are, in fact, interchangeable (see above p. 237, n. 453).

⁸⁸⁶ PM I:1, p. 398; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), pp. 93-95; *KRI* III:824 ff.

⁸⁸⁷ MMA.65.114 (Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part I: Reversals*, pp. 137-140, figs. 32, 125; *KRI* VII:410-411). It is interesting to note that Kel (i)'s name is spelt both as Karo and Kenro on this object.

⁸⁸⁸ From an inscription of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Kel (Karo) seen by Sethe in TT 9 (*KRI* VII:43:12).

⁸⁸⁹ Most notable in this respect are stelae Turin N.50012, BM 818 and BM 328.

married Takhat (ii), the daughter of Huy (ii) and Tanehsy (i).⁸⁹⁰ A stela inscription suggests that he may at some time have been married to a second lady, Nubkhati (i).⁸⁹¹ Her name appears at the bottom of a list of Kel (i)'s relatives as 'his wife (*hmt.f*), the Lady of the House' Nubkhati. It is difficult to identify Nubkhati with anyone other than a wife of Kel (i). Also named on this monument are Kel (i)'s brothers, the 'chief keeper of fowl' Mahu (i), the 'stonemason of Amun' Khay (ii), the 'stonemason' Huy (xx) and the 'servitor of Amun' Simut (ii), as well as his sisters, the ladies Taweret (vi) and Irytnemeh (i). An extensive list of Kel (i)'s children follows: the sons being named as Huy (xxi), Userhat (viii), Pashedu (xvii), the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Huynefer (iii) and possibly Simut (iii), whilst the daughters are recorded as Mertseger (v), Pashedet (i), Nefertari (viii), Tentopet (i), Henutdjuu (i), Henutmerut (i) and Iyi[...].⁸⁹²

It may transpire that Kel (i), son of Simut (i), was the dedicator of a stela set up in honour of Amenophis I, Ahmose-Nefertari and Mertseger.⁸⁹³ In this context, Kel (Kenro) is named as a 'wa'b-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands', whilst his sons appear as Bay (i), Huy (viii) and Paser (i), and his father was the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Huy. Although it would seem that Huy was the father of Kel, the term of relationship *ht.f* can possibly be interpreted as standing for 'his father-in-law', i.e., the father of Takhat (ii). However, I would prefer to suggest that a more plausible argumentation might be to identify the Kel of this stela as Kel (iv), the son of the workman Huy (v), who was himself the son of the foreman Anhurkhawy (i) and Henutdjuu (i). The reasoning behind this supposition is probably corroborated by the absence of both Bay (i) and Paser (i) as sons of Kel (i), son of Simut (i), in the latter's monuments.

The lady Henutdjuu (i), the daughter of Kel (i), who married her cousin Anhurkhawy (i), son of Qaha (i), named one of her sons after her father.⁸⁹⁴ Bierbrier⁸⁹⁵ has already shown that Mertseger (v) was to marry the workman Nebenmaat (ii),⁸⁹⁶ and that Pashedet (i) was the wife of the draftsman Nebre (i). The workman, Simut, who is mentioned in year 40 of Ramesses II may have been the brother of Kel (i),⁸⁹⁷ whilst the Simut who appears in the second half of the XIXth Dynasty may be identified with Simut (iii), the son of Kel (i).⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁰ PM I:1, p. 398 at (2) II-III; *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 94; KRI III:824. The supposition that Takhat (ii) was a member of the family of Huy (ii) is supported by her appearance, with Kel (i) (Karo), on stela BM 144 of Qaha (i), son of Huy (ii) (cf. comments of James, *BMHT* 9, p. 47).

⁸⁹¹ Stela Turin N.50012 (PM I:1, p. 398; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 47-49, 266; KRI III:825:13). Tosi & Roccati, *ibid.*, p. 49, certainly believed that Kel (i) was married to both Takhat (ii) and Nubkhati (i).

⁸⁹² PM at (2) II-III; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), p. 94; KRI III:824; stelae Turin N.50012, BM 818 and BM 328.

⁸⁹³ PM I:2, p. 724; Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), p. 202:69; Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), pp. 182-85, pl. IV:4, no. 4; KRI V:670-71.

⁸⁹⁴ Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 5; James, *BMHT* 9, p. 50.

⁸⁹⁵ Bierbrier, in *Village Voices*, p. 5.

⁸⁹⁶ The children of Mertseger (v) and Nebenmaat (ii) included a daughter Takhat (iii) and a son Wepwatmose (i) (see p. 237 above).

⁸⁹⁷ O.BM 5634, vso. 9; the name Simut also appears in O.DM 189, II:6.

⁸⁹⁸ O.CGC 25524, rto. 5 (Merenptah(?)) and O.Zouche H. 2, rto. 2-3 ('year 9' of Merenptah).

§ 94: The workmen Telmont: charts 3 and 28

A workman Telmont appears on the work gang during the reigns of both Seti II⁸⁹⁹ and Siptah.⁹⁰⁰ The name then occurs on a number of occasions in the middle of the reign of Ramesses III, between years 15 and 24.⁹⁰¹ From this year 24 text we learn that Telmont was specifically a member of the 'left side' of the workforce.⁹⁰² According to Janssen's reckoning, the entire turnus records for the activities of the 'left side' of the crew during the late years of Ramesses III, with the exception of O.Gardiner 127, have been lost.⁹⁰³ This gap in our knowledge would account for the apparent disappearance from the record of the workman Telmont during this period.⁹⁰⁴ However, he does appear in year 29 of Ramesses III in the above mentioned O.Gardiner 127, 5, though serving on duty for the 'right side'.⁹⁰⁵ We could reasonably argue that his appearance in this position was the result of a temporary reorganisation in the necropolis personnel. In the following year his name again occurs on a weight.⁹⁰⁶ A workman Telmont appears in an undated ostrakon which has been assigned to the reign of Ramesses IV,⁹⁰⁷ then once more in year 3 of Ramesses V⁹⁰⁸ and finally in a turnus roll of a 'year 2', probably from the reign of either Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.⁹⁰⁹ It seems highly improbable that the same Telmont could have been active from the reign of Seti II right down to the time of Ramesses V. Therefore, we can safely propose the existence of at least two Telmonts. But, since neither the date of the death of the first Telmont, nor the recruitment date of the second is known to us, it is not possible to determine the cut-off point between the two homonyms. In fact, they may have even been employed concurrently for a period of time. This debate is further complicated by the attestation of the workman Telmont (ii), son of Amenemheb (i), in year 16 of Ramesses IX.⁹¹⁰ He is probably synonymous with the Telmont who appears somewhere between years 1 and 8 of the same reign,⁹¹¹ and whose name can possibly be identified in year 17, again of Ramesses IX.⁹¹² This later Telmont (ii) may indeed be correlated with some of the earlier references from the reigns of the mid-XXth Dynasty noted above. Furthermore, Telmont (ii) is represented in the tomb of the foreman Anhurkhawy (ii) with his parents Amenemheb (i) and Henutshenu (i).⁹¹³ Bierbrier has suggested that this Amenemheb (i), who is referred to as a 'son' (>son-in-law?) of Anhurkhawy (ii), was the son of a Telmont (i) attested in a 'year 2' text, and that Telmont (i) served at Deir el-Medina between year 5 of Seti II and year 30 of

⁸⁹⁹ O.Berlin 11241, rto. 5 (year 5); O.CGC 25512, rto. 7, *passim* (year 6).

⁹⁰⁰ O.CGC 25521, rto. 4 (year 1); O.CGC 25521, rto. 23 (year 2).

⁹⁰¹ O.DM 222, 2:13; O.Bodleian 253, rto. 2; O.Turin N.57028, rto. 2.

⁹⁰² O.Turin N.57028, rto. 2.

⁹⁰³ Janssen, in *Village Voices*, p. 85, with n. 22.

⁹⁰⁴ Cf. Janssen, *CPRP*, p. 78.

⁹⁰⁵ Pace Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 83, who suggested that Telmont was a member of the 'left side' in O.Gardiner 127.

⁹⁰⁶ No. 5199.

⁹⁰⁷ O.DM 236, vso. 2:7 (Gutgesell, *Datierung*, p. 325; *KRI* VI:178).

⁹⁰⁸ Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, I:11.

⁹⁰⁹ Gutgesell, *Datierung*, pp. 80-87.

⁹¹⁰ Pap. Turin 2057, rto. 3:3 (=KRI VI:651:16).

⁹¹¹ Pap. Turin 2084+2091, vso. 4:10.

⁹¹² Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 38, B:19.

⁹¹³ PM I:1, p. 423 at (6-7) II, 7; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), p. 46, pl. XI; *KRI* VI:188.

Ramesses III.⁹¹⁴ If this could be proven, it might be possible to propose the existence of just two Telmonts, the later as grandson of the elder.⁹¹⁵

In his study of the workman Telmont, van Walsem⁹¹⁶ misinterpreted the relationship contained in graffito no. 1829⁹¹⁷ as referring to Mose, his son Telmont and his grandson Anuy. However, the inscription actually names Telmont (iii) and Anuy (vi) as the sons of the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Mose (viii). It has been shown that the father of Mose (viii) was Anuy (ii), son of Kasa (i),⁹¹⁸ who was himself probably active in years 40 and 47 of Ramesses II. Mose (viii) may then be synonymous with the Mose known from the second half of the XIXth Dynasty,⁹¹⁹ and not with the Mose, who van Walsem dated within the reign of Ramesses III.⁹²⁰ We do not even know whether Mose (viii)'s sons, Telmont (iii) and Anuy (vi), were ever involved in the work on the royal tombs as was the suggestion made by van Walsem. They are certainly not given the title of 'servant in the Place of Truth' in graffito no. 1829 as their father had been. If, however, it could be shown that Telmont (iii) had been employed at the Tomb, he would surely have been active during the reign of Ramesses III. It is van Walsem's contention that the division of the property of Telmont, recorded in an undated ostrakon, was indicative of his recent death.⁹²¹ On the evidence of various officials named in this text, he has suggested dating this text in the interval between years 5 and 14 of Ramesses IX. In light of this thesis, there would be grounds for the existence of at least a third Telmont, whom we saw appearing later in the reign of Ramesses IX (see above). The *terminus ante quem* date of 'year 14', attributed by van Walsem to this text, is based on the last known datable appearance of the 'scribe' Amenhotep. However, we might be dealing here with the 'chief draftsman' Amenhotep (vi), son of the scribe Amennakht (v),⁹²² who could have been acting as representative of his brother, the Tomb-scribe Harshire (i). Amenhotep (vi) is attested until year 17 of Ramesses IX at least, and possibly down to year 1 of Ramesses X.⁹²³ Furthermore, the two 'foremen' who are named in O.Gardiner 23 were Harmose (ii) and Nekhemmut (vi), both of whom are attested up to year 17 of Ramesses IX. On this evidence, O.Gardiner 23 may have been written on the death of Telmont (ii), son of Amenemheb (i) - if this was indeed the catalyst for its compilation - at a later date than suggested by van Walsem, perhaps in year 17 of Ramesses IX. Such a calculation would obviate the need to create a third Telmont late in the reign of Ramesses IX.

⁹¹⁴ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 102-03.

⁹¹⁵ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 103, n. 28.

⁹¹⁶ Van Walsem, in *Gleanings*, pp. 211-12, n. 24.

⁹¹⁷ Černý & Sadek, *GMT* IV/1, p. 19; *KRI* V:671:6-7.

⁹¹⁸ See above p. 272.

⁹¹⁹ O.Colin Campbell 15, vso. 6 (McDowell, *HO*, pp. 20-21); O.CGC 25779, rto. 19 (year 1 of Amenmesses); O.CGC 25784, 8 (year 4 of Amenmesses).

⁹²⁰ Van Walsem, in *Gleanings*, p. 212, n. 24.

⁹²¹ O.Gardiner 23; van Walsem, in *Gleanings*, p. 211, n. 24.

⁹²² Cf. Černý, *Community*, p. 197.

⁹²³ See above pp. 112-3.

§ 95: The family of Turobay (i): chart 32

The 'servant in the Place of Truth' Turobay (i), who was one of several beneficiaries of a legacy of the ʿꜣ n ʿ Amek (i),⁹²⁴ and who also appears on the naos of Kasa (i),⁹²⁵ was the owner of the badly damaged TT 327.⁹²⁶ Amongst the preserved inscriptions of this tomb, he is represented with his wife, Tuy (iii), and one of their sons, Qaha (vii). A second son, the 'servant in the Place of Truth' Paser (v) is known from one of his father's pyramidia.⁹²⁷ He can probably be identified with the workman Paser who is attested in year 40 of Ramesses II,⁹²⁸ and who may once have occupied house N. O. XXVII in the village.⁹²⁹ Several ritual objects bear testimony to the name of Henutnofret (iii) as the wife of Paser (v).⁹³⁰ This lady may have been identical with Henutnofret (ii), the daughter of the foreman Qaha (i). There is a strong possibility that the names of this couple can be restored in an inscription from the tomb (TT 219) of Nebenmaat (ii), which reads 'the servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Thebes, Pa[ser, justified, the Lady of the House, Henut]nofret'.⁹³¹

⁹²⁴ O. Gardiner 89, rto. 5.

⁹²⁵ Turin Cat. 2446 (PM I:2, p. 745; Valbelle, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 187; *KRI* III:831:9).

⁹²⁶ PM I:1, p. 397; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), pp. 31-32; *KRI* III:835.

⁹²⁷ Louvre E.14396 (PM I:1, p. 397; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 30; *KRI* III:836:5). Other monuments which can be attributed to Turobay (i) include pyramidion Hermitage Museum No. 19491 (PM I:1, p. 397; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), pp. 32-33; Bogoslovsky, *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 122 (1972/74), pp. 69-75, figs. 2-5; *KRI* III:837-838) and a fragmentary offering table, found in tomb 1131 at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933-34), p. 32 after *ibid.*, (1928), p. 7, fig. 2:7; *KRI* III:838). Paser (v) was responsible for a stela dedicated to Hathor-Mertseger, Cairo JdÉ 72018 (PM I:2, p. 731; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1935-40) II, pp. 34, 76-77, fig. 156, no. 34; *KRI* III:729).

⁹²⁸ O.BM 5634, vso. 5; Paser is also named in the undated O.CGC 25627, 'b', rto. I:2.

⁹²⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934-35) III, p. 299, pl. 17:5; *KRI* III:729.

⁹³⁰ A shabti-box panel, Berlin 820 (PM I:2, p. 747; Roeder et al., *Äg. Inschr. Mus. Berlin* II, p. 502; *KRI* III:729, VII:216); libation basin Turin N.22033 (Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, pp. 41-42, 140; *KRI* VII:216).

⁹³¹ PM I:1, p. 321 at (6); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, p. 10; *KRI* III:760:12-13.

TABLES

CHRONOLOGY OF THE FOREMEN

'Right Side'	'Left Side'
<p><i>Neferhotep (i)</i> (Horemheb – Yr. 5 R. II)</p> <p><i>Nebnefer (i)</i> (post Yr. 5 R. II – c. Yr. 30/40 R. II)</p> <p><i>Neferhotep (ii)</i> (Yr. 40 R. II – Yr. 1 S. II)</p> <p><i>Paneb (i)</i> (Yr. 5 S. II – Yr. 2 Sip.)</p> <p><i>Anakhtu (ii)</i> (early R. III)</p> <p><i>Ipuy (ii)</i> (early R. III)</p> <p><i>Khons</i> (Yr. 10 R. III?)</p> <p><i>Nekhemmut (i)</i> (Yr. 11 R. III – Yr. 15 R. III)</p> <p><i>Khons (v)</i> (Yr. 15 R. III – Yr. 31 R. III)</p> <p><i>Nekhemmut (vi)</i> (Yr. 2 R. IV – Yr. 17 R. IX)</p> <p><i>Usikhopesh (i)</i> (Yr. 16 R. LX – Yr. 18(?) R. LX)</p> <p><i>Ipuy(?)</i> (Undated, R. IX)</p> <p><i>Nebnefer (xiii)</i> (Yr. 1/2 R. X)</p>	<p><i>Baki (i)</i> (S. I)</p> <p><i>Pashedu (x)</i> (Early R. II)</p> <p><i>Qaha (i)</i> (Early R. II – Yr. 38 R. II)</p> <p><i>Anhurkhawy (i)</i> (Post Yr. 40 R. II – undated, M.)</p> <p><i>Hay (iv)</i> (Yr. 1 A. – Yr. 22 R. III)</p> <p><i>Anhurkhawy (ii)</i> (Yr. 22 R. III – Yr. 1 R. VI)¹</p> <p><i>(Amennakht)?</i> Yr. 8 R. VI</p> <p><i>Harmose (ii)</i> (Yr. 8 R. VII – Yr. 17 R. IX)</p> <p><i>Amennakht (vi)</i> (Yr. 1/2 R. X – Yr. 3 R. X)²</p> <p><i>Qenna (ii)</i> (Yr. 8 R. XI – Yr. 10 R. XI)</p> <p><i>Amenhotep (iii)</i> (Post Yr. 17 R. XI)</p> <p><i>Paisen</i> (Undated, R. XI)</p>

¹ Possibly serving in office until year 4 of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII.

² May possibly have been incumbent in year 8 of Ramesses X.

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

'Right Side'

'Left Side'

Khons (vii)

(Yr. 8 R. XI – Yr. 10 R. XI)

Penparei (i), son of Nebnefer (xiii)

(Yr. 20 R. XI)

Bakenmut (i), son of Khons (vii)

(Post Yr. 17 R. XI)

Painefer

(Undated, R. XI)

Khyrenef (i)

(Undated, R. XI)

Nebnefer (xiv)

(Undated, XXIst Dynasty)

TABLES

CHRONOLOGY OF THE DEPUTIES

'Right Side'	'Left Side'
<i>Bennakhtuf (i)?</i>	<i>Baki</i>
(Early R. II)	(Early S. I)
<i>Amenemwia</i>	<i>Anuy (i)</i>
(Mid. R. II)	(Mid. R. II)
<i>To(?)</i>	<i>Amennakht (x)?</i>
(Merenptah)	(Yr. 5 S. II / Undated, Sip.)
<i>Nebsmen (i)</i>	<i>Nakhy (ii)</i>
(Yr. 5 S. II? – Yr. 6 S. II)	(Yr. 6 S. II)
<i>Apehty (i)</i>	<i>Hesysunebef (i)</i>
(Undated, S. II – Undated, Sip.)	(Yr. 14 R. III)
<i>Khons (v)?</i>	<i>Anhurhawwy (ii)</i>
(Yr. 13 R. III)	(Yr. 17 R. III – Yr. 21 R. III)
<i>Amenkhau (i)</i>	<i>Hay (vii)</i>
(Yr. 17 R. III – Yr. 7 R. IV)	(Yr. 27 R. III – Yr. 2 R. V) ³
<i>Hegmare-‘anerhat-Amun (i)</i>	<i>Qedakhtef (ii)</i>
(Yr. 2 R. V)	(Undated, mid XXth Dynasty)
<i>To(?)</i>	<i>Qenna (i)</i>
(Undated, mid-XXth Dynasty)	(Undated, mid XXth Dynasty)
<i>Anuynakht (i)</i>	<i>Amennakht (xii)?</i>
(Post Yr. 2 R. V)	(Undated, R. IX)
<i>Khons (vi)</i>	<i>Pawonesh (i) = Amennakht (xii)</i>
(Yr. 8 R. VI/VII? – Yr. 8 R. IX)	(Yr. 11 R. IX)
<i>Seny (i)</i>	<i>Amenhotep (iv)</i>
(c. Yr. 9 R. IX – Yr. 11 R. IX)	(Yr. 15 R. IX – Yr. 17 R. IX)
<i>Paanqen (i)</i>	<i>Amennakht (xii)</i>
(Yr. 15 R. IX – Yr. 17 R. IX)	(Yr. 17 R. IX)

³ Possibly year 2 of the reign of Ramesses VI, or one of his immediate successors.

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

'Right Side'

Khaembekhnet (i)

(Yr. 2 R. X)

Huynesfer (x)

(Yr. 8 R. XI)

'Left Side'

To(?)

(Undated, R. X)

Amenhotep (iii)

(Yr. 8 R. XI – Yr. 17 R. XI)

Pamerenamun (i)?

(Post Yr. 17 R. XI)

TABLES

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SCRIBES

Senior Scribe	Senior Scribe	Assistant to senior scribe(s)	Scribe of the <i>smdt</i> 'Right side'	Scribe of the <i>smdt</i> 'Left side'	Other Scribes
<i>Amenemope (i)</i> (Early R. II)		<i>Huy (x)</i> (Early R. II Yr. 39 R. II)	<i>Ipuy (ix)</i> (Yr. 9 S. I / R. II)	<i>Pashedu (xviii)</i> (Yr. 9 S. I / R. II)	<i>Akhpet (?)</i> (Early R. II)
<i>Ramose (i)</i> (Yr. 5 R. II – Yr. 38 R. II)			<i>Meryre (iii)</i> (Yr. 35 R. II – Yr. 37 R. II)	<i>Amenemope (xvi)</i> (Yr. 35 R. II – Yr. 37 R. II)	<i>Mose / Tjay / Hat (?)</i> (Undated, R. II)
<i>Qenhirkhopshef (i)</i> (Yr. 40 R. II – Yr. 1 Sip.)		<i>Pashedu (vi)</i> (Yr. 6 S. II)	<i>Khay (iii)</i> (Yr. 42 R. II)	<i>Pentaweret (ii)</i> (Yr. 42 R. II)	<i>Mini[...]</i> (Yr. 30 R. II)
<i>Bay (ii)</i> (Early Sip – Yr. 5 Sip.)			<i>Anupemheb (i)</i> (Yr. 66 R. II – Yr. 8 M.)	<i>Neferhotep (vi)</i> (Yr. 66 R. II? – Undated, M.)	<i>Wennefer</i> (Undated, M.)
<i>Wennefer (v)</i> (Yr. 11 R. III – Yr. 24 R. III)		<i>Amennakht (v)</i> (Yr. 16 R. III – Yr. 24 R. III)	<i>Pentaweret (iii)</i> (Yr. 6 S. II – Yr. 2 R. IV)	<i>Paser (iii)</i> (Yr. 8 M.? – Yr. 6 S. II)	<i>Paser</i> (Yr. 8 M.)
<i>Bay (ii)?</i> (Yr. 16 R. III)		<i>Hori</i> (Yr. 23 R. III – Yr. 29 R. III)		<i>Huy (xxii)</i> (Undated, Sip.)	<i>Neferhotep (vii)</i> (Yr. 10 R. III – Yr. 16 R. III)
<i>Amennakht (v)</i> (Yr. 24 R. III – Yr. 6/7 R. VI)	<i>Hori</i> (Yr. 4 R. VI)	<i>Harshire (i)</i> (Yr. 6 R. IV – Yr. 4 R. VI?)		<i>Paser (iii)</i> (Yr. 5 Sip. – Yr. 17 R. III?)	<i>Akhpet (i)</i> (Yr. 17 R. III – Yr. 21 R. III)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Senior Scribe	Senior Scribe	Assistant to senior scribe(s)	Scribe of the <i>smdt</i> 'Right side'	Scribe of the <i>smdt</i> 'Left side'	Other Scribes
<i>Harshire (i)</i> (Yr. 6/7 R. VI – Yr. 17 R. IX)	<i>Paybes (ii)</i> (Yr. 16 R. IX)	<i>Paybes (ii)</i> (Yr. 10 R. IX – Yr. 13 R. IX)		<i>Amennakht (xxx)?</i> (Yr. 20 R. III – Yr. 25 R. III?)	<i>Amennakht</i> (Yr. 21 R. III)
<i>Pawer'a (i)</i> (Yr. 1/2 R. X – Yr. 10 R. XI)	<i>Khaemhedjet (i)</i> (Yr. 3 R. X – Yr. 1 R. XI)	<i>Khaemhedjet (i)</i> (Yr. 13 R. IX – Yr. 17 R. IX)		<i>Neferhotep (vii)</i> (Yr. 28 R. III?)	<i>Amenmose / Pa(y)bes (i) / Nekhemmut / Amenkhau (iv)</i> (End R. III)
<i>Nesamenope (i)</i> (Yr. 12 R. XI – Yr. 20 R. XI)	<i>Thutmose (ii)</i> (Yr. 3 R. XI – Yr. 28 R. XI)	<i>Butehamun (i)</i> (Yr. 12 R. XI – Yr. 20 R. XI)	<i>Amenemope (xi)</i> (Yr. 2 R. IV – Yr. 2 R. V)	<i>Setimose</i> (Yr. 2 R. IV)	<i>Neferhotep / Paneferem-djed (i) / Hori, s. Pentaweret / Amenhotep</i> (R. IV)
<i>Penparei (ii)</i> (Post Yr. 20 R. XI)			<i>Amenhotep (?)</i> (Post Yr. 2 R. V, pre-Yr. 7 R. IX)	<i>Hori</i> (Yr. 2 R. V? – Yr. 17 R. IX)	<i>Hori</i> (R. V)
<i>Iufenkhons (i)</i> (Post Yr. 20 R. XI)			<i>Sobeksonb (i)</i> (Yr. 7 R. IX – Yr. 16 R. IX)	<i>Iufenamun (i)</i> (Yr. 19 R. IX – Yr. 10 R. XI)	<i>Paankhau / Amenhotep / Djay (i) / Anuy (vii)</i> (R. R. IX)
			<i>Amennakht (xxxi) ?</i> (Yr. 16 R. IX)		
			<i>Wennefer (viii)</i> (Yr. 17 R. IX – 10 R. XI)		

NAMES

Abbreviations:

b. = brother of
d. = daughter of
f. = father of
g/d. = granddaughter of
g/s. = grandson of
h. = husband of
m. = mother of
sis. = sister of
s. = son of
w. = wife of

Titles:

(CM) = Chief Medjay
(D) = Deputy
(Dr) = Draftsman
(DK) = Door-keeper
(F) = Foreman
(G) = Guardian
(M) = Medjay
(S) = Scribe
(Sc) = Sculptor
(W) = Workman ('Servant in the Place of Truth')

Ahauty, f. Bakenmut (iv), 'potter', 53
Ahaitynefer (i), s.(?) Ipuv (viii), 53 (chart 7) (W)
Ahotepf (i), s. Kasa (i), 271 (chart 28)
Ai (i), s. Neferronpet (i), 159 (chart 11)
Aia (i), s. Huy (ii), 13 (chart 3)
Airetanen (i), w. Thutmose (i), 18
Akhmenu, 122
Akhpet (i), 118, 119, 209, 281 (S)
Akhpet (ii), 119 (S)
Akhpet (iii), s. Neferronpet, 209 (W)
Akhpet (iv), s.(?) Hesysunef (i), 26, 209 (chart 20)
Akhpet, 281 (S)

Amek (i), s. Pakharu (viii), 87, 205, 206, 207, 210, 272, 278 (chart 19) (W)
Amenemhat (i), h. Mutnofret (i), 156 (chart 11) (Dr)
Amenemheb (i), s.(?) Anhurkhawy (ii), 25, 255, 276, 277 (chart 3) = Amenemheb (ii)
Amenemheb (ii), h. Henutshenu, 41, 260 (chart 5)
Amenemheb (iii), s. Penniut (i), 41, 261 (chart 5)
Amenemheb (iv), s. Hay (vii), 68 (chart 8)
Amenemheb (v), h. Kakaia (i), 'retainer', 79, 81, 83, 84, 88 (chart 22)
Amenemheb (vi), h. Mutemwia (v), 183, 216 (chart 33) (W)
Amenemheb (vii), s. Khabekhnet (i), 45, 216 (chart 7) (W)
Amenemheb (viii), s. Roia (i), 216
Amenemheb (ix), s. Qenhirkhopshef (iv), 254 (chart 25)
Amenemone (i), s.(?) Seba (ii), 10 (chart 6)
Amenemone (ii), s. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 214 (chart 4), (see Amenemone (iii)) (W)
Amenemone (iii), s. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 24, 212, 213, 214, 258, 260 (chart 4), (see Amenemone (ii)) (W)
Amenemone (iv), s. Amenemwia (i), 190, 206, 207, 208 (chart 19) (W) (G)
Amenemone (v), s. Amenkhau (ii), 'fisherman', 214, 229
Amenemone (vi), 'fisherman', 229
Amenemope (i), h. Hunero (iv), 76, 77, 78, 90, 124, 125, 141, 160, 192, 281 (chart 24) (S)
Amenemope (ii), s. Minmose (i), 77, 78, 210 (chart 24)
Amenemope (iii), s. Pay (ii), 152 (chart 10) (W)
Amenemope (iv), s. Nebre (i), 153, 211 (chart 10) (W)
Amenemope (v), s. Neferronpet (i), 159, 160, 164, 192, 193, 210 (chart 11) (G)
Amenemope (vi), 'Heqmare-enope', s. Merysekhmet (iii), 165 (chart 11)
Amenemope (vii), f. Tusa (i), 191 (chart 29) (G?)
Amenemope (viii), s. Tusa (i), 191, 211 (chart 29) (G?)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Amenemope (ix), h. Isis (vi), 212, 229 (chart 20) (W)
- Amenemope (x), s. Meryre (v), 232, 233 (chart 20) (W)
- Amenemope (xi), 78, 129, 130, 232, 282 (S)
- Amenemope (xii), 233 (W)
- Amenemope (xiii), s. Khaemtir (xiii), 211, 238 (chart 21) (W)
- Amenemope (xv), s. Ipu (ii), 105 (chart 9)
- Amenemope (xvi), 8, 125, 141, 281 (S)
- Amenemope (xvii), s. Mose (vii), 211 (chart 30) (W)
- Amenemope, 'wood-carrier', 152
- Amenemwia (i), h. Wadjetronpet (ii), ʿs n ʿ, 190, 206, 207, 208 (chart 19) (W)
- Amenemwia (ii), h. Tiy (i), 208 (W)
- Amenemwia, 280 (D)
- Amenhotep (i), s.(?) Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 214 (chart 4)
- Amenhotep (ii), s. Qenna (i), 29, 204, 217 (chart 3) (W)
- Amenhotep (iii), s. Apatjau (i), 29, 71, 111, 113, 202, 203, 279-80 (charts 16, 18) (D) (F)
- Amenhotep (iv), s.(?) Pentaweret (i), 28, 55, 70, 111, 173, 203, 280 (chart 9) (D)
- Amenhotep (v), s. Qedakhtef (ii), 56 (chart 7)
- Amenhotep (vi), s. Amennakht (v), 105, 108, 112, 113, 140, 169, 277 (chart 9) (Dr)
- Amenhotep (vii), s. Pentaweret (iv), 105, 110, 111, 112, 113 (chart 9) (Dr)
- Amenhotep (viii), s. Ipu (i), 179 (chart 14)
- Amenhotep (ix), s. Khay (v), 199, 217 (W)
- Amenhotep (x), s. Maaninakhtuf (iii), 253 (chart 25)
- Amenhotep, 282 (S)
- Amenhotep-neferenwaset (i), s. Pameduneternakht (i), 73 (chart 37)
- Amenkhau (i), s. Nekhemmut (i), 33, 39, 49, 50, 51, 75, 280 (chart 7) (D)
- Amenkhau (ii), s. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 214 (chart 4)
- Amenkhau (iii), f. Amenemone (v), 214
- Amenkhau (iv), 129, 282 (S)
- Amenmose (i), s. Baki (i), 'scorpion-controller', 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 158, 178, 233, 272, 274 (charts 1, 11) (W)
- Amenmose (ii), s. Penamun (ii) 4, 8 (chart 2)
- Amenmose (iii), s. Pashedu (i), 8, 156, 180, 222, 223 (charts 14, 24) (W)
- Amenmose (iv), s.(?) Pashedu (vii), 156 (chart 11) (Dr)
- Amenmose (v), s. Penbuy (i), 8, 194, 264 (chart 29)
- Amenmose (vi), s.(?) Amenemope (x), 233 (chart 20) (W)
- Amenmose (vii), s. Nebenmaat (i), 8, 237 (chart 21) (W)
- Amenmose (viii), s. Maaninakhtuf (iii), 253 (chart 25)
- Amenmose (ix), s. Siwadjet (i), 8, 263 (chart 26)
- Amenmose (x), s. Irynefer (i), 8, 263 (chart 26)
- Amenmose (xi), s. Siwadjet (ii), 263, 264 (chart 26)
- Amenmose (xii), s. Khabekhnet (i), 8, 46 (chart 7)
- Amenmose (xiii), s. Pashedu, 7
- Amenmose, 282 (S)
- Amennakht (i), f.(?) Penamun (ii), 3, 216 (W)
- Amennakht (ii), s. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 66, 214 (chart 4)
- Amennakht (iii), s. Hay (iv), 21 (chart 3) (W)
- Amennakht (iv), s. Mose (ii), 21 (chart 3) (W)
- Amennakht (v), s. Ipu (ii), 27, 42, 52, 70, 92, 99, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 125, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 152, 166, 169, 187, 188, 196, 232, 233, 246, 249, 250, 255, 277, 281 (chart 9) (Dr) (S)
- Amennakht (vi)/Amennakht (xii), 'Pawonesh', h. Tahefnu (i), 8, 49, 58, 59, 71, 122, 279-80 (charts 7, 8) (D) (F)
- Amennakht (vii), s. Nebnefer (i), 33, 34, 36, 66, 217, 224, 235, 240, 247 (chart 6) (W)
- Amennakht (viii), s. Kasa (i), 42, 187, 188, 217, 274 (chart 28) (Sc)
- Amennakht (ix), s. Kasa (vi)/(viii), 42, 274 (chart 28), see Amennakht (xxiii) (W)

INDICES

- Amennakht (x), s. Buqentuf (i), 'chief craftsman', 36, 62, 63, 64, 66, 105, 107, 216, 280 (D)
- Amennakht (xi), s. Didi (i), 'chief craftsman', 64, 66, 216 (chart 8) (W)
- Amennakht (xii), 49, 68, 69, 70, 71, 105, 107, 169, 173, 280 (see Amennakht (vi)) (D) (F)
- Amennakht (xiii), f. Nebdjefa (i), 87, 217 (chart 22) (W)
- Amennakht (xiv), s. Tjay/To (i), 107 (chart 9)
- Amennakht (xv), f. Pentaweret (v), 109, 128 (S)
- Amennakht (xvi), s. Pentaweret (iv), 105, 110, 111, 128 (chart 9)
- Amennakht (xvii), s. Amenhotep (vi), 113 (chart 9) (Dr)
- Amennakht (xviii), s. Harshire (i), 117 (chart 9)
- Amennakht (xix), s. Amennakht (v), 117 (chart 9)
- Amennakht (xx), 'scribe of the vizier', 118
- Amennakht (xxi), s. Nebenmaat (i), 8, 9, 150, 153, 184, 217, 236, 237, 238 (chart 21) (W)
- Amennakht (xxii), s. Hori (ix), 169 (chart 12) (Dr)
- Amennakht (xxiii), s. Kasa (vi)/(viii), 188, 253, 274 (chart 28), see Amennakht (ix) (W)
- Amennakht (xxiv), s. Amennakht (xxi), 237 (chart 21)
- Amennakht (xxv), s. Reshpetref (i), 248 (chart 20) (W)
- Amennakht (xxvi), s. Khaemnun (i), 100, 251, 253, 254 (chart 25) (W)
- Amennakht (xxvii), s. Neferhotep (xvi), 252 (chart 25) (W)
- Amennakht (xxviii), s. Qenhirkhopshef (iv), 254 (chart 25)
- Amennakht (xxix), s. Khons (ii), 46, 217 (chart 7)
- Amennakht (xxx), s. Pentaweret, 128, 132, 282 (S)
- Amennakht (xxxi), 135, 282 (S)
- Amennakht, 279 (F)
- Amennakht, 282 (S)
- Amenniutnakht (i), 97 (W)
- Amenpahapi (i), s.(?) Hesysunebef (i), 26, 58, 111, 209 (chart 20) (W)
- Amenpahapi (ii), s. Anhurhawwy (ii), 27 (chart 3)
- Amenpahapi (iii), s. Anakhtu (i), 27 (W)
- Amenpahapi (iv), s. Reshpetref (i), 27, 248 (chart 20) (W)
- Amenpahapi (v), s. Qenna (i), 246 (chart 3)
- Amenpahapi (vi), s. Neferhotep, 26
- Amenpanefer (i), s.(?) Khons (vii), 55 (chart 7) (W)
- Amentetwosret (i), sis.(?) Kasa (i)/d. Kasa (i), 194, 195, 267-9 (charts 28, 29)
- Amenwa (i), s. Hay (vii), 68, 73, 75, 168, 171, 173, 174, 243 (charts 8, 12) (Dr)
- Amenwa (ii), s. Amenpahapi, 171-2 (W)
- Amenwahsu (i), s. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
- Amenwahsu (ii), s. Mose (vii), 210, 211 (chart 30)
- Amunshed (i), s. Penamun (ii), 4 (see Shedamun)
- Anakhtu (i), f. Amenpahapi (iii), 27
- Anakhtu (ii), 36, 39, 40, 41, 199, 247, 279 (F)
- Anakhtu (iii), f. Userhat (ii), 40, 42 (chart 42) (W)
- Anakhtu (iv), 40, 41, 42 (W)
- Anakhtu (v), s. Khaemnun (i), 255 (chart 25), see Minnakht (i)
- Anhotep (i), s. Neferronpet (i), 159, 160 (chart 11)
- Anhotep (ii), 'slave', 160
- Anhotep (iii), s. Khabekhnet (i), 161 (chart 7)
- Anhotep (iv), s. Baki (iv) 177 (chart 13)
- Anhotep (v), s. Sennedjem (i), 44 (chart 7)
- Anhurhawwy (called Iryu), 23 (see Anhurhawwy (v))
- Anhurhawwy (i), s. Qaha (i), 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 85, 91, 92, 151, 215, 237, 275, 279 (charts 3, 27) (F)
- Anhurhawwy (ii), s. Hay (iv), 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 33, 49, 56, 59, 60, 108, 133, 170, 186, 202, 212, 221, 244, 255, 265, 276, 279-80 (charts 3, 4, 15, 18, 23) (D) (F)
- Anhurhawwy (iii), s.(?) Qenna (i), 22, 29 (chart 3)
- Anhurhawwy (iv), 'Patjir', s. Seti (i), 24 (chart 4) (W)
- Anhurhawwy (v), 'Iryu', s. Anhurhawwy (ii), 24, 56 (chart 3) (W)
- Anhurhawwy (vi), s. Painefer (ii), 96 (chart 43)
- Anhurnakht (i), b. Mutaat (i), 263 (chart 26)
- Aniy (i), s. Ipy (i), 210 (chart 31) (W)
- Ankhau (i), s. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Ankhefenamun (i), s. Penparei (ii), 104, 120 (chart 46) (Dr)
- Ankhefenamun (ii), s. Butehamun (i), 104, 120 (S)
- Ankhefenkhons, 131 (S)
- Ankhtu, f. Wennefer, 22, 101
- Anmedet, w. Saroy, 200
- Anqen (i), s. Hay (vii), 68, 173 (chart 8)
- Anqen/Paqen (>Paanqen (i)), 172
- Anupemheb (i), 90, 91, 92, 102, 126, 141, 281 (S)
- Anuqet-khati (i), d. Nakhtsu (i), 243 (chart 35)
- Anuy (i), s. Qaha (i), 13, 15, 16, 273, 280 (chart 3) (D)
- Anuy (ii), s. Kasa (i), 15, 31, 154, 268, 269, 270, 272, 273, 277 (chart 28) (W)
- Anuy (iii), s. Ipuy (i), 15, 178, 179, 273 (chart 14) (Sc)
- Anuy (iv), s. Nebnefer (i), 32 (chart 6)
- Anuy (v), s.(?) Nakhy (iv), 16, 67 (chart 8) (W)
- Anuy (vi), s. Mose (viii), 272, 277 (chart 28) (W)
- Anuy (vii)/Djay (i), s. Nekhemmut (vi), 5, 136, 282 (chart 7) (S)
- Anuynakht (i), h. Isis (iii), 74, 75, 280 (D)
- Apatjau (i), s.(?) Siwadjet (iii), 29, 202, 203 (charts 16, 18) (W)
- Apatjau (ii), f. Amenhotep (iii), 111, 113
- Apehty (i), s. Paneb (i), 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 62, 205, 273, 280 (chart 28) (D)
- Apehty (i)/(ii), 273 (W)
- Apehty (ii), s.(?) Nefer(em)senut (i), 37, 205, 270, 273 (chart 28) (W)
- Apiy, h. Baket, 87, 190 (W)
- 'Aref (i), w. Hori (xii), 172 (chart 8)
- 'Auti (i), w. Nebnakht (iv) & Nebnefer (xxii), 239, 267 (chart 29)
- 'Awi (i), d.(?) Nebamentet (i), 268 (chart 5)
- Bakamun (i), d. Hay (vii), 68 (chart 8)
- Bakemwia (i), s. Nebenmaat (i), 237 (chart 21)
- Bakenamun (i), s. Neferhor, 219 (W)
- Bakenanuy (i), s. Didi (i), 64, 67 (chart 8)
- Bakenanuy (ii), s. Khabekhnet (i), 45 (chart 7)
- Bakenmut (i), s. Khons (vii), 53, 55, 104, 114, 138, 234, 279 (chart 7) (F)
- Bakenmut (ii), s. Amenemheb (vi), 183, 216 (chart 33) (W)
- Bakenmut (iii), 'wood-cutter', 216
- Bakenmut (iv), s.(?) Ahautynefer (i), 'potter', 53 (chart 7)
- Bakenmut, 'wood-cutter', 127
- Bakenwerel (i), s. Penbuy (i), 194, 219 (chart 29)
- Bakenwerel (ii), 'superintendent of supplies', 219
- Bakenwerel (iii), 'washerman', 220
- Bakenwerel (iv), 'water-carrier', 220
- Bakenwerel (v), 220 (CM)
- Bakenwerel (vi), 'plasterer', 220
- Bakenwerel (vii), h.(?) Isis (xiv) 220, 236 (chart 47) (W)
- Bakenwerel (viii), s. Nebnefer (x), 220 (chart 47)
- Baket (i), w. Ipy (i), 209 (chart 31)
- Baket, w. Apiy, 7, 190, 209
- Baket-Isis (i), d. Amenmose (i), 7 (chart 1)
- Baketmin (i), d. Hay (ii), 272 (chart 5)
- Baketmin (ii), d. Huy (iv), 11 (chart 6)
- Baketre (i), d. Pay (i), 149 (chart 10)
- Baketre (ii), d. Pay (i), 149 (chart 10)
- Baketwernuro (i), g/d. Huy (ii), 13 (chart 3)
- Baki (i), s. Wennefer (i), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 32, 87, 266, 279 (charts 1, 2, 3 22) (F)
- Baki (ii), s. Haremwia (i), 11, 12 (chart 1)
- Baki (iii), 12
- Baki (iv), s. Qen (ii), 176, 177 (chart 13) (Sc)
- Baki (v), s. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)
- Baki (vi), s. Khabekhnet (i), 46 (chart 7)
- Baki, 280 (D)
- Bay (i), s. Kel (iv), 20, 275 (chart 3)
- Bay (ii), 36, 62, 95, 98, 99, 125, 131, 281 (S)
- Bay (iii), s. Huynnefer, 99 (W)
- Bendepetnes (i), sis. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)
- Bennakhtuf (i), 44, 280 (D)
- Bennakhtuf (ii), 'wood-cutter', 44
- Bes (i), s. Hay (iii)/(v), 215 (chart 4)
- Bodet (i), w. Anupemheb (i), 90

INDICES

- Bukhanef (i) = Bukhanef-Ptah (i), w. Kasa (i), 267, 269 (chart 28)
- Bunakhtef (i), s. Sennedjem (i), 43 (chart 7)
- Buqentuf (i), s. Nakhy (iii), 17, 63, 66 (chart 8) (W)
- Buqentuf (ii), 66 (W)
- Buqentuf (iii), h. Tarekhanu (iii), 118, 221 (chart 9) (W)
- Burekhet-iunef (i), s.(?) Menna (ii), 167 (chart 11) (Dr)
- Burekhet-iunef (ii), 168
- Burekhet-iunef (iii), 168 (W)
- Butehamun (i), s. Thutmose (ii), 101, 104, 120, 122, 137, 138, 189, 282 (chart 9) (S)
- Diamunkhopshef (i), s. Qedakhtef (ii), 56 (chart 7)
- Didi (i), h. Taweret (ii), 63, 65, 67, 155 (chart 8)
- Djay (i)/Anuy (vii), s. Nekhemmut (vi), 57, 136, 282 (chart 7) (S)
- Djoserka (i), s.(?) Seba (ii), 11 (chart 6)
- Dua[...], w. Neferhor (x), 203 (charts 16, 18)
- Duaemmeres (i), d. Huy (iv), 10, 179 (charts 6, 14)
- Duanofret (i), w. Qenymin (i), 56 (charts 3, 15, 18)
- Duanofret (ii), d. Ipuy (viii), 52, 56 (chart 7)
- Gerg (i), d. Hay (iii)/(v), 215 (chart 4)
- Hapiwer (i), s. Merysekhmet (iii), 165 (chart 11) (W)
- Hapiwer (ii), s. Pa[...], 166 (W)
- Hapiwer (iii), s. Neferhotep, 166 (W)
- Hapiwer (iv), s. Amennakht, 166 (W)
- Haremwia (i), s. Baki (i), 2, 11 (chart 1) (W)
- Haremwia (ii), s. Baki (ii) 12 (chart 1)
- Haremwia (iii), s. Pashedu, 11 (W)
- Haremwia (iv), 'stonemason', 12 (W)
- Haremwia (vi), s.(?) Iyernutef (iii), 12, 185 (chart 38) (W)
- Harmin (i), s. Hori (ix), 23, 73, 75, 109, 144, 168, 169, 170, 171, 175, 198, 199, 244 (charts 3, 12) (Dr)
- Harmin (ii), s. Wennekhu (i), 218 (chart 26)
- Harmose (i), f. Pashedu (xv), 9, 32, 207, 226, 227 (chart 40)
- Harmose (ii), s. Anhurkhawy (ii), 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 96, 113, 131, 277, 279 (charts 3, 15, 18) (F)
- Harmose (iii), b. Hori (iii)/s. Hori (iii), (chart 23)
- Harmose (iv), 226 (W)
- Harnefer (i), s. Nebdjefa (i), 10, 87 (charts 1, 22) (W)
- Harnefer (ii), s. Harnefer (i), 30, 87 (chart 22) (W)
- Harnefer (iii), s. Qenna (i), 22, 29, 30 (chart 3) (W)
- Harshire (i), s. Amennakht (v), 27, 66, 70, 99, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121, 130, 132, 133, 135, 137, 144, 147, 169, 175, 220, 233, 249, 253, 277, 281-2 (charts 9, 20) (Dr) (S)
- Hat, 100, 106, 125, 281 (S)
- Hathor (i), d. Irynefer (i), 263 (chart 26)
- Hathor (vii), d.(?) Nakhtsu (i), 243 (chart 35)
- Hathor (viii) (=Hunero (viii)), d. Hay (ii), 267-69, 272 (charts 5, 28)
- Hathor (ix), w. Nekhemmut (vi)/d. Telmont, 52 (chart 7)
- Hathor (x), d. Ipuy (viii), 52 (chart 7)
- Hathor (xi), w. Neferhotep (xvi), 252 (chart 25)
- Hathor-emheb, w. Amenwa, 171
- Hay (i), s. Huy (i), 13 (chart 3)
- Hay (ii), s. Huy (ii), 13, 240, 271, 272 (charts 3, 5) (W)
- Hay (iii), s. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 214, 215 (chart 4) (see Hay (v))
- Hay (iv), s. Anhurkhawy (i), 6, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21, 33, 63, 64, 69, 91, 94, 95, 98, 240, 264, 279 (charts 3, 8) (F)
- Hay (v), s. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 19, 20, 202, 215, 262 (chart 4) (see Hay (iii)) (W)
- Hay (vi), s. Qenna (i), 30 (chart 3)
- Hay (vii), 'Totosheri', s. Amennakht (vii), 28, 30, 51, 58, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 88, 105, 107, 109, 118, 165, 168, 169, 171, 173, 209, 228, 280 (charts 8, 37) (D)
- Hay (viii), f. Pameduneternakht (i), 51, 73 (chart 37) (W)
- Hay (ix), 'Paidenu', s. Amenwa (i), 171 (chart 8)

- Hay (x), s. Siwadjet (iv), 249, 265 (charts 17, 18) (W)
- Hay (xi), s. Seba (iv), 266 (chart 39) (W)
- Hay (xii), s. Nebamentet (i), 272 (chart 5)
- Hay (xiii), g/s. Nebamentet, 268 (chart 5)
- Hay (xiv), 'Parennefer', 's. Iay, 69 (Dr)
- Hednakht (i), s. Paneb (i), 35 (chart 28)
- Hednakht, 'plasterer', 127
- Hehnekhu (i), f. Pashedu (i), 156, 180, 182, 222 (chart 24) (W)
- Hehnekhu (ii), s. Pashedu (i), 77, 222, 223 (chart 24) (W)
- Hehnekhu (iii), s. Pashedu (ii), 224 (chart 24) (W)
- Hemtneter (i), d. Huy (iv), 10 (chart 6)
- Hemtneter (ii), w. Harnefer (i), 10, 87 (chart 22)
- Hemtneter (iii), d. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)
- Henutanu (i), d.(?) Kasa (vi)/(viii), 188 (chart 28)
- Henutdjuu (i), d. Kel (i), 16, 21, 275 (charts 3, 27)
- Henutdjuu (ii), d. Nefertari (i), 21 (chart 3)
- Henutdjuu (iii), d. Nebwa'wy (i), 180 (chart 14)
- Henutdjuu (iv), d. Huynefer (x), 19 (chart 9)
- Henutemope (i), d.(?) Nebnefer (xiii), 234 (chart 20)
- Henutenkhenu (i), d. Tanodjemkhaha (i), 21 (chart 3)
- Henutenkhenu (ii), d. Anhurkhawy (ii), 26 (charts 3, 23)
- Henutenkhenu (iii), w. Amenpahapi (i), 26 (chart 20)
- Henut(en)khenu (iv), d. Neferhotep, 26
- Henuteriunu (i), w. Amennakht (xi), 64, 65, 68 (chart 8)
- Henutiamu (i), d. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)
- Henut-iunet (i), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
- Henutmefek (i), d. Paanqen (i), 173 (chart 8)
- Henutmefek (ii), w. Nebnefer, 220
- Henutmefket, w. Nebnefer (x), (chart 47)
- Henutmehyt (i), d. Nebnefer (i), 32 (chart 6)
- Henutmehyt (ii), d. Minmose (i), 77 (chart 24)
- Henutmehyt (iii), d. Paay (ii), 88, 176, 177, 179, 182 (charts 13, 14)
- Henutmehyt (iv), d. Amennakht (xxi), 237, 238 (chart 21)
- Henutmerut (i), d. Kel (i), 275 (chart 27)
- Henutmeter, d.(?) Harnefer (i), (chart 22)
- Henutmeter (i), w. Hay (vii)/d.(?) Harnefer, 68, 69, 171 (chart 8)
- Henutmire (i), d. Nekhemmut (vi), 52 (chart 7)
- Henutneteru (i), d. Nefertari (i), 21 (chart 3)
- Henutneteru (ii), d. Ipuy (viii), 52, 170 (chart 7)
- Henutneteru (iii), d. Harmin (i), 170 (chart 12)
- Henutnofret (i), d. Khaemwaset (i), 5 (chart 2)
- Henutnofret (ii), d. Qaha (i), 13, 278 (chart 3)
- Henutnofret (iii), w. Paser (v), 278 (chart 32)
- Henutshenu (i), w. Amenemheb (i), 25, 255, 276 (chart 3)
- Henutshenu (ii), d. Nakhtamun (ii), 182, 223 (chart 24)
- Henutshenu (iii), d. Khaemnun (i), 251, 255, 256 (chart 25)
- Henutshenu (iv), m. Naunakhte (i), (chart 25)
- Henutshenu, w. Amenemheb (ii), (chart 5)
- Henuttawy (i), w. Nakhtmin (vii), 243 (chart 34)
- Henuttu (i), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
- Henutwa'ti (i), w. Khnummose (i), 41, 209, 260, 272 (chart 5)
- Henutwa'ti (ii), d. Nebamentet (i), 271
- Henutwa'ti (iii), d. Piay (ii), 45, 272 (chart 14)
- Henutwedjebu (i), d. Reweben (iii), 180, 223 (charts 14, 24)
- Henutweret (i), d. Khabekhnet (i), 45, 182 (chart 7)
- Henutweret (ii), d. Sennedjem (i), 45 (chart 7)
- Heqmare-'anerhat-Amun (i), 'Paibu', s. Nekhemmut (ii), 49, 50, 75, 280 (chart 7) (D)
- Heqmare-emperkhons (i), s.(?) Nekhemmut (vi), 57 (chart 7)
- Heqmare-Neb(?)anqen, s. Hori 172
- Heqmare-sekheper-djamu, 'cup-bearer', 225
- Hesysunebef (i), 26, 27, 32, 52, 65, 75, 212, 229, 280 (charts 6, 20) (D)
- Hori (i), s. Merwaset (i), 17 (chart 3)
- Hori (ii), s. Huynefer (xi), 18 (chart 9) (W)
- Hori (iii), f. Minkhau (i), 26, 56, 188 (charts 3, 23) (W)
- Hori (iv), s. Harnefer (iii), 30, 171 (chart 3)

INDICES

- Hori (v), s. Harmin (i), 30, 144, 168, 169, 170 (chart 12) (Dr)
- Hori (vi), s.(?) Amenkhau (i)/s. Hori (ix), 49 (charts 7, 12)
- Hori (vii), s. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
- Hori (viii), 'Payuheret', s. Pentaweret (iv), 110 (chart 9)
- Hori (ix), f. Nubiyi (i), 23, 144, 146, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174 (charts 8, 12) (Dr)
- Hori (x), s.(?) Amennakht (v), 144, 145, 168, 169 (chart 9) (Dr)
- Hori (xi), s. Nebnefer (ix), 144, 169 (chart 12) (Dr)
- Hori (xii), s.(?) Amenwa (i), 172-73 (chart 8) (W)
- Hori (xiii), s.(?) Seti (i), 212 (chart 4) (W)
- Hori (xiv), s. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 212 (chart 4)
- Hori (xv), s. Amenemope, 233 (W)
- Hori (xvi), s. Ruta, 246 (W)
- Hori (xvii), s.(?) Paisen (i), 96 (chart 43)
- Hori, son of Huynefer, 18, 48, 92
- Hori, s. Pentaweret, 283 (S)
- Hotepty (i), w. Nebenmaat (i), 237 (chart 21)
- Hoteptu (i), d.(?) Sennedjem (i), 43
- Hotepty (i), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
- Hotepty (ii), d. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
- Huneria, 23 (W)
- Hunero (i), w. Mahuhy (i), 7, 9 (chart 1)
- Hunero (ii), w.(?) Hesysunebef (i), 26 (chart 20)
- Hunero (iii), w.(?) Hesysunebef (i), 26, 27, 32, 65, 212, 229 (chart 20)
- Hunero (iv), w. Amenemope (i), 76 (chart 24)
- Hunero (v), w. Nebdjefa (i), 87 (chart 22)
- Hunero (vi), d. Nebenmaat (ii), 237 (chart 21)
- Hunero (viii), d. Hay (ii), 267, 271 (chart 5)
- Hunero (ix), see Hathor (ix)
- Hunero (x), see Hathor (x)
- Hunero (xii), w.(?) Pendua, 65
- Hunero (xiii), w. Pentaweret (viii), 243 (chart 34)
- Hutiyi (i), w. Nebnefer (vii), 30, 228 (chart 8)
- Hutiyi (ii), d. Hay & w. Harnefer (iii), 30 (chart 3)
- Huy (i), h. Mehyt-khati (i), 13, 166, 214 (chart 3)
- Huy (i), w. Menna (iii), 166
- Huy (ii), f. Hay (ii), 9, 13, 16, 17, 265, 271, 275 (charts 5, 27) (W)
- Huy (ii), w. Wepwatmose (i), 237 (chart 21)
- Huy (iii), s. Huynefer (ii)/(iv), 66, 212, 214, 239, 240 (charts 3, 4) (W)
- Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), s. Huynefer (ii)/(iv), 214 (charts 3, 4) (W)
- Huy (iv), s. Seba (ii), 10, 11, 217 (chart 6) (W)
- Huy (v), s. Anhurhawwy (i), 16, 20, 215, 275 (chart 3) (W)
- Huy (vi), s. Huynefer (ii)/(iv), 18, 214 (charts 3, 4)
- Huy (vii), s. Huynefer (ii)/(iv), 17, 19, 20 (charts 3, 4) (W)
- Huy (vii)/(ix), s. Huynefer (ii)/(iv), 17, 19 (charts 3, 4) (W)
- Huy (viii), s. Kel (iv), 20, 275 (chart 3)
- Huy (ix), s. Huynefer (ii)/(iv), 215 (charts 3, 4) (W)
- Huy (x), s. Thuthirmaktef (i), 10, 14, 33, 77, 78, 81, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 125, 154, 179, 181, 183, 210, 226, 270, 281 (charts 14, 22) (S)
- Huy (xi), g/s. Pay (i), 149
- Huy (xii), s. Neferronpet (i), 183 (chart 11)
- 159, 183 (W)
- Huy (xiii), s. Qen (ii), 100, 176, 178, 225 (chart 13) (Sc)
- Huy (xiv), s. Pendua (i), 177 (chart 13)
- Huy (xv), s. Ipuy (i), 179 (chart 14)
- Huy (xvi), s. Reweben (iii), 179, 180 (chart 14)
- Huy (xvii), s. Ramose (iii), 181 (chart 14)
- Huy (xviii), s. Khawy (ii), 193
- Huy (xix), b. Kasa (i), 267 (chart 28)
- Huy (xx), s. Simut (i), 275 (chart 27)
- Huy (xxi), s. Kel (i), 275 (chart 27)
- Huy (xxii), 127, 281 (S)
- Huy (xxiii), s. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 214 (chart 4)
- Huy (xxiv), s. Neferronpet (ii), 183 (chart 14)
- Huyemtjebutyfy (i), s. Qen (ii), 176, 177 (chart 13) (Sc)
- Huynefer (i), s. Qaha (i), 11, 13, 17 (chart 3)
- Huynefer (ii), s. Huy (ii), 13, 17, 214, 265 (charts 3, 4) (see also Huynefer (iv))
- Huynefer (iii), s. Kel (i), 17, 275 (chart 27) (W)
- Huynefer (iv), s. Huy (ii), 17, 19, 20 (charts 3, 4) (see also Huynefer (ii))
- Huynefer (v), s. Thutmose (i), 18 (W)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Huynefter (vi), 18 (S)
Huynefter (vii), 18 (Sc)
Huynefter (viii), 18 (W)
Huynefter (ix), s. Tj'i'a (i), 18 (W)
Huynefter (x), s. Hori (ii), 18, 280 (chart 9) (D)
Huynefter (xi), f. Hori (ii), 18 (chart 9) (W)
Huynefter (xii), s.(?) Tanehsy (iii), 265 (charts 17, 18)
Huynofret (i), 13
Huynofret (ii), w. Neferronpet (ii), 183 (chart 14)
- Iahati (i), w. Iry (i), 191, 194, 195 (chart 29)
Iahati (ii), d.(?) Penbuy (i), 194 (chart 29)
Iahati, w. Nakhtmin (iii), (chart 4)
Iahnefer (i), f. Mose (vii), 211 (chart 30)
Iamemheb (i), s. Ipuy (i), 179 (chart 14)
Iay, m. Hay (xiv), 69
Ibhirnehtuf, w. Qen, 207
Ioteniotef, 'standard-bearer', h. Nefersen-taiunu, 190
Ipu (i), sis. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)
Ipuy (i), s. Piay (ii), 10, 15, 58, 88, 178, 179, 184, 239, 264, 273 (charts 6, 14) (Sc)
Ipuy (ii), f. Amennakht (v), 27, 42, 52, 53, 92, 99, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 113, 114, 152, 169, 179, 188, 249, 250, 279 (chart 9) (F)
Ipuy (iii), f. Qedakhtef (ii), 52, 56, 152 (chart 7) (W)
Ipuy (iv), s. Qedakhtef (ii), 'first prophet', 56, 153 (chart 7) (W)
Ipu(y) (v), h. Wadjetronpet (iii), 149, 150 (chart 10)
Ipu(y) (vi), s. Prehotep (i), 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 158, 219 (chart 10) (Dr)
Ipuy (vii), 180 (W)
Ipuy (viii), s. Neferhor (i), 52, 53, 56, 234 (chart 7) (Dr)
Ipu(y) (ix), 124, 281 (S)
Ipuy, 279 (F)
Ipy (i), h. Baket (i), 209, 210 (chart 31) (W)
Irtnofret (i), d. Sennedjem (i), 44, 194, 195, 267, 268 (charts 7, 29)
Irunefter (i), s. Pashedu (vii), 156 (chart 11) (W)
- Iry (i), h. Iahati (i), 194 (chart 29)
Iry[...], s. Nekhemmut (vi), 58
Irynefer (i), s. Siwadjet (i), 8, 28, 218, 263 (chart 26) (W)
Irynemeh (i), d. Simut (i), 275 (chart 27)
Iryu, 23, 24 (see Anhurkhawy (v))
Ir[...], d. Kasa (i), (chart 28)
Isis (i), d. Amenmose (i), 7, 158, 160
Isis (ii), m. Iyi (i), 31 (chart 6)
Isis (iii), w. Anuynakht (i), 74-75
Isis (iv), d. Pashedu (i), 223 (chart 24)
Isis (v), see Isis (iv)
Isis (vi), w. Amenemope (ix), 212, 229 (chart 20)
Isis (vii), w. Panakht (iii), 244, 250 (chart 35)
Isis (viii), sis. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)
Isis (ix), d. Harmin (i), 170 (chart 12)
Isis (x), d. Khons (ii), 46 (chart 7)
Isis (xi), w.(?) Paanqen (i), 173 (chart 8)
Isis (xii), d. Ipuy (viii), 52 (chart 7)
Isis (xiii), w.(?) Hori (ix), 170 (chart 12)
Isis (xiv), w.(?) Bakenwerel (vii), 220 (chart 47)
Isis (xv), w. Weskhet-nemtet (i), 260 (chart 5), (see Iuy (iii))
Isis (xvi), d. Khabekhnet (i), 45 (chart 7)
Isisemheb (i), w. Nekhemmut (ii), 50 (chart 7)
Istnofret (i), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
Istnofret (ii), d. Neferronpet (i), 159 (chart 11)
Iuenamun (i), s. Maaninakhtuf (i), 157 (chart 11)
Iues[...], w. Amennakht (xviii), 117 (chart 9)
Iufenamun (i), s. Hori, 101, 136, 137, 282 (S)
Iufenkhons (i), 138, 139, 282 (S)
Iuy (i), s. Merysekhmet (i), 162 (chart 11)
Iuy (ii), s. Maaninakhtuf (i), 162 (chart 11)
Iuy (iii), w. Weskhet-nemtet (i), 258, 259, 260 (chart 5), (see Isis (xv))
Iuy (iv), s. Weskhet-nemtet (i), 259 (chart 5)
Iuy (v), w. Nefer(em)senut (i), 270 (chart 28)
Iyemwaw (i), w. Neferhotep (i), 31, 83 (chart 6)
Iyemwaw (ii), d. Nebnefer (i), 32, 217 (chart 6)
Iyemwaw (iii), w. Amennakht (xxi), 237, 238 (chart 21)
Iyernutef (i), f. Haremwia (vi), 12
Iyernutef (ii), s. Ipuy (i), 179, 184 (chart 14) (Sc)

INDICES

- Iyernutef (iii), f. Khons (iv), 54, 55, 185, 186, 221 (charts 38, 47) (Se)
- Iyernutef (iv), s. Khons (iv), 185 (chart 38) (W)
- Iyernutef (v), s. Qaha (v), 185, 221 (charts 15, 18, 47) (W)
- Iyi (i), w. Nebnefer (i), 10, 32, 268 (chart 6)
- Iyi (ii), w. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 65, 214, 240 (chart 4)
- Iyi (iii), w. Buqentuf (i), 17, 64 (chart 8)
- Iyi (iv), d. Paneb (i), 34, 35 (chart 28)
- Iyi (v), w. Nebre, 153
- Iyi (vi), w.(?) Penpakhtenty (i), 218 (chart 26)
- Iyi (vii), w. Kasa (iii), (chart 29)
- Iyi[...], d. Kel (i), 275 (chart 27)
- Iyinfret, 10
- Iyinfreti (i), d. Penbuy (i), 195 (chart 29)
- Iyinfreti (ii), d.(?) Seba (ii), 11 (chart 6)
- Iyinfreti (iii), w. Sennedjem (i), 43, 44, 45, 268 (chart 7)
- Iyti (i), w. Mose (vii), 211 (chart 30)
- Kaempehtyefmontu (i), s. Seti (i), 24 (chart 4)
- Kaempehtyefmontu (ii), s. Anhurhawy (ii), 24 (chart 3)
- Kaempehtyefmontu, 23, 24
- Kakaia (i), w. Amenemheb (v), 79, 83, 88 (chart 22)
- Kanakht (i), s. Seti (i), 24 (chart 4) (W)
- Kar (i), f.(?) Seba (ii), 11 (chart 6)
- Kasa (i), f. Nebamentet (i), 14, 15, 31, 34, 44, 62, 81, 154, 179, 181, 188, 192, 194, 195, 239, 240, 264, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 277, 278 (charts 5, 28, 29) (W)
- Kasa (ii), s. Nebamentet (i), 271 (chart 5) (W)
- Kasa (iii), s. Penbuy (i), 195 (chart 29)
- Kasa (iv), s. Nefer(em)senut (i), 35 (chart 28) (W)
- Kasa (v), s.(?) Apehty (i), 37, 39, 205, 273 (chart 28) (W)
- Kasa (v)/(ix), 273 (W)
- Kasa (vi), s. Amennakht (viii), 42, 188, 274 (chart 28), see Kasa (viii)
- Kasa (vii), s. Kasa (i), 188 (chart 28)
- Kasa (viii), s. Amennakht (viii), 188, 253, 274 (chart 28), see Kasa (vi)
- Kasa (ix), s.(?) Apehty (ii), 273 (chart 28) (W)
- Kasa (x), s. Ramose, 273-4 (W)
- Katet (i), see Taket (i)
- Katjawen (i), s. Pentaweret (iv), 111 (chart 9)
- Kauemperptah (i), s. Qenhirkhopshef (iv), 254 (chart 25)
- Kay (i), d. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8) (W)
- Kel (i), h. Takhat (ii), 16, 17, 65, 155, 184, 237, 274, 275 (charts 3, 10, 27) (W)
- Kel (ii), s. Anhurhawy (i), 16, 19, 24, 151, 237 (charts 3, 12) (W)
- Kel (iii), 19 (W)
- Kel (iv), s. Huy (v), 20, 275 (chart 3)
- Kel (v), s. Userhat (ii), 42 (chart 42)
- Kel (vi), s. Pendua (iii), 65, 237 (chart 36)
- Kewer (i), s. Qen (ii), 176 (chart 13)
- Kha (i), s. Khabekhnet (i), 45 (chart 7)
- Khabekhnet (i), h. Sahte (i), 8, 14, 43, 44, 45, 46, 58, 153, 154, 161, 178, 179, 182, 184, 190, 195, 216, 272, (charts 7, 14) (W)
- Khabekhnet (ii), s. Nebnakht (v), 46, 239
- Khabekhnet (iii), h. Tahaynu (iii), 43, 247 (chart 7) (W)
- Khaembekhnet (i), s. Khons (vii), 54, 280 (chart 7) (D)
- Khaemdua, 191
- Khaemhedjet (i), s. Harshire (i), 30, 54, 70, 116, 117, 121, 133, 137, 221, 282 (chart 9) (S)
- Khaemhedjet (ii), s. Amennakht (v), 70, 113, 117 (chart 9)
- Khaemnun (i), s. Neferhotep (xv), 23, 30, 74, 100, 121, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254 (chart 25) (W)
- Khaemnun (ii), f.(?) Neferhotep (xv), 250, 251 (chart 25)
- Khaemnun (iii), s. Amennakht (xxvi), 251 (chart 25) (W)
- Khaemnun (iv), s. Neferhotep (xvi), 252 (chart 25) (W)
- Khaemope (i), s. Qaha (i), 13, 17, 66, 249 (chart 3) (W)
- Khaemope (ii), s. Buqentuf (i), 17, 64, 66, 249 (W)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Khaemope (iii), s. Pashedu, 249 (W)
 Khaemope (iv), s. Nakhtmin, 249
 Khaemope (v), h. Maani (i), 249 (W)
 Khaemope (vi), *ḥw* officer, 250
 Khaemope (vii), 250 (W)
 Khaemope (viii), 'wood-cutter', 250
 Khaemseba (i), s. Qenhirkhopshef (ii), 190 (chart 19) (W)
 Khaemtir (i), s. Amennakht (xxi), 77, 223, 236, 237, 238 (charts 21, 24) (W)
 Khaemtir, 'fisherman', 127
 Khaemwaset (i), s. Wennefer (ii)/s.(?) Qen (ii), 4, 5, 6, 124, 177, 249, 250 (charts 2, 13)
 Khaemwaset (iii), s. Penamun (iv), 5 (chart 2) (W)
 Khamy, 227, 256, 257 (W)
 Khamy (i), 227, 257 (W)
 Khamy (ii), 257 (W)
 Khanub, 256 (see Khatanub (i))
 Khapa, 13 (see Khaemope (i))
 Kharu (i), s. Qaha (i), 9, 13 (chart 3)
 Khatanub (i), d. Khaemnun (i), 256 (chart 25)
 Khati (i), w. Neferhotep (xviii), 221 (chart 9)
 Khawy (i), 77, 78 (W)
 Khawy (ii), 77, 78, 83, 154, 159, 192, 193 (W) (G)
 Khay (i), s. Nebre (i), 153, 154, 155 (chart 10) (Dr)
 Khay (ii), s. Simut (i), 'stonemason of Amun', 155, 275 (chart 27)
 Khay (iii), 125, 155, 281 (S)
 Khay (iv), f.(?) Amenhotep (ix), 52, 145, 198 (G)
 Khay (v), f. Amenhotep (ix), 217
 Khay, 'vizier', 110, 125, 126
 Khnummose (i), h. Henutwati (i), 29, 41, 258, 260, 261, 262, 265, 272 (chart 5) (W)
 Khnummose (ii), s. Pashedu (i), 223, 261 (chart 24)
 Khnummose (iii), 261 (W)
 Khnummose (iv), s. Weskheth-nemtet (i), 261, 262 (chart 5) (W)
 Khons (i), s. Piay (ii), 46, 182, 184 (charts 14, 27) (Sc)
 Khons (ii), s. Sennedjem (i), 43, 44, 45, 46, 67, 184, 217 (chart 7) (W)
 Khons (iii), s. Nebenmaat (i), 184, 237 (chart 21)
 Khons (iv), s. Iyernutef (iii), 55, 185 (chart 38)
 Khons (v), s. Nekhemmut (i), 40, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 132, 170, 185, 202, 232, 255, 279-80 (chart 7) (D) (F)
 Khons (vi), s. Nekhemmut (vi), 48, 53, 57, 185, 280 (chart 7) (D)
 Khons (vii), 'Painefer', s. Ipuy (viii), 52, 53, 54, 55, 234, 279 (chart 7) (F)
 Khons (viii), s. Bakenmut (i), 55 (chart 7)
 Khons, 279 (F)
 Khonsmose, 201 (DK)
 Khyrenef (i), s. Pakharu (i), 170, 199, 279 (F)
 Kiy (i), sis. Kasa (i), 267 (chart 28)
 Maani, w. Khaemope (i), 17, 66, 157, 211 (see Maani (i))
 Maani (i), 249
 Maaninakhtuf (i), s. Pashedu (vii), 155, 156, 157, 159, 161, 210, 216 (chart 11) (Dr)
 Maaninakhtuf (ii), s. Merysekhmet (i), 162 (chart 11)
 Maaninakhtuf (iii), s. Khaemnun (i), 23, 100, 252, 253 (chart 25) (W)
 Maatnofret (i), w. Tjanefer (i), 177 (chart 13)
 Mahi (i), w. Neferonpet (i), 158, 160 (charts 10, 11)
 Mahi (ii), s. Neferabu (i), 158, 160 (chart 1)
 Mahi (iii), w. Anhotep (i), (chart 11)
 Mahu (i), s. Simut (i), 'chief keeper of fowl', 275 (chart 27)
 Mahuy (i), s. Amenmose (i), 7, 9, 226 (chart 1)
 Maia (i), b. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 'soldier', 269 (chart 28)
 Maya (i), w. Wennefer (i), 2 (chart 1)
 Mehy (i), s. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
 Mehyt-khati (i), w. Huy (i), 13, 214 (chart 3)
 Mehyt-khati (ii), w. Irynefer (i), 28, 218, 263 (chart 26)
 Mekhay[...], d.. Hay (vii), 68 (chart 8)
 Mekhay-ib (i), w. Pashedu (i), 182 (chart 24)
 Mekhay-ib (ii), d. Pashedu (i), 223 (chart 24)
 Mekhay-ib (iii), d.(?) Hehnekhu (ii), (chart 24)
 Mekhay-ib, 8, 222, 223, 238

INDICES

- Menatnakht (i), d. Khaemnun (i), 255, 256 (chart 25)
- Meni (i), d. Penbuy (i), 195 (chart 29)
- Menna (i), s (?) Neferhotep (ix), 162, 163, 164, 166 (chart 11) (Dr)
- Menna (ii), s. Merysekhmet (iii), 165, 166, 168 (chart 11) (Dr)
- Menna (iii), h. Huy (i), 166
- Menna (iv), s. Pashedu (x), 166 (W)
- Menna, 'potter', 124
- Menunefer, 1 (F)
- Menu-niuy, 1 (CM)
- Meramundua (i), d. Kel (ii), 23, 170 (charts 3, 12)
- Mereramundua (i), d. Nefertari (i), 21, 23 (chart 3)
- Meriunu (i), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
- Mertseger (i), w. Qenna (i), 22 (chart 3)
- Mertseger (ii), w.(?) Ipuy (iii), 52, 152 (chart 7)
- Mertseger (iii), w. Amenemone (iv), 190, 206, 207, 208 (chart 19)
- Mertseger (iv), d. Yipuy (i), 196 (chart 44)
- Mertseger (v), w. Nebenmaat (ii), 237, 275 (charts 21, 27)
- Mertseger (vi), d. Apatjau (i), 203 (charts 16, 18)
- Mertseger, w. Kel (ii) (charts 3, 12)
- Merut (i), w.(?) Nakhtmin (vi), 241 (chart 34)
- Merut (ii), 261
- Merutanqet (i), w. Nebnefer (xxiii), 53 (chart 7)
- Merutanqet (ii), d. Harshire (i), 19 (chart 9)
- Merutmut (i), d. Neferhor (iii), 56, 186 (charts 15, 18)
- Merutmut (ii), w. Neferhor (i)/(vi), 52, 56 (chart 7)
- Merwaset (i), s. Qaha (i), 13, 16, 157 (chart 3) (W)
- Merymaat (i), s. Neferronpet (i), 159 (chart 11)
- Merymaat, 'wood-cutter', 158
- Merymery (i), s. Qen (ii), 176 (chart 13) (Sc)
- Merymose (i), s. Ipuy (i), 179 (chart 14)
- Merymose (ii), s. Hori (iii), 189 (chart 23) (W)
- Meryre (i), s. Amenmose (i), 7, 8, 178 (chart 1)
- Meryre (ii), s. Mahuhy (i), 9
- Meryre (iii), 78, 125, 281 (S)
- Meryre (iv), s. Hori (iii), 189 (chart 23) (W)
- Meryre (v), s. Amenemope (ix), 229, 230, 232, 233 (chart 20) (W)
- Meryre (vi), s. Neferhotep (xi), 230, 231, 232 (chart 20) (W)
- Meryre (vii), s. Neferhotep (xii), 231 (chart 20) (W)
- Meryre (viii), b. Hori (iii), (chart 23)
- Merysekhmet (i), s. Maaninakhtuf (i), 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 265 (chart 1) (Dr)
- Merysekhmet (ii), 162, 163 (W)
- Merysekhmet (iii), 'Paity', s.(?) Menna (i), 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 222 (chart 11) (W) (Dr)
- Merytamun (i), d. Penamun (ii), 3, 4 (charts 1, 2)
- Merytamun (ii), d. Wennefer (i), 3 (chart 1)
- Merytre (i), d. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
- Merytre (ii), w. Pay (i), 149 (chart 10)
- Minhotep (i), s. Siwadjet (i), 263 (chart 26)
- Mini[...], 125, 281 (S)
- Mininwy, 125 (CM)
- Minkhau (i), s. Hori (iii), 26 (charts 3, 23) (W)
- Minkhau (ii), b. Hori (iii), (chart 23)
- Minmose (i), s. Amenemope (i), 76, 77, 78, 124, 223 (chart 24)
- Minmose (ii), s.(?) Seti (i), 25 (chart 4)
- Minnakht (i), s. Khaemnun (i), 255 (chart 25), see Anakhtu (v)
- Montemtawy (i), 'royal scribe and overseer of the two treasuries', 254
- Montuhatef (i), s.(?) Khons (iv), 54, 55 (chart 38) (Sc)
- Montuhatef (ii), s.(?) Khons (vii), 54-55 (chart 7)
- Montumin (i), 239
- Montumose, 164 (M)
- Montupahapi (i), s. Hay (iii)/(v), 202, 215 (chart 4) (W)
- Montusankh (i), 114 (D)
- Mose (i), s. Baki (i) 2 (chart 1) (W)
- Mose (ii), s. Hay (iv), 21 (chart 3) (W)
- Mose (iii), s. Neferhotep (i), 'chief transport officer of His Majesty', 31 (chart 6)
- Mose (iv), s. Anakhtu, 41, 209 (W)
- Mose (v), s. Penniut (i), 41, 261 (chart 5)
- Mose (vi), s. Pentaweret (iv), 105, 110, 111 (chart 9)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Mose (vii), s. Iahnefer (i), 209-11 (chart 30) (W)
Mose (viii), s. Anuy (ii), 272, 273, 277 (charts 5, 28) (W)
Mose (ix), s.(?) Khabekhnet (iii), 45 (chart 7)
Mose (x), s. Sennedjem (i), 45 (chart 7)
Mose (xi), s. Khabekhnet (i), 45 (chart 7)
Mose (xii), s.(?) Pentaweret (i), 111 (chart 9)
Mose (xiii), s.(?) Khnummose (i), (chart 5)
Mose (xiv), s. Hay (ii), 272 (chart 5)
Mose, 281 (S)
Mutaat (i), w. Wennekhu (i), 218 (chart 26)
Mutemheb (i), w. Ipuy (vi), 150 (chart 10)
Mutemmerset (i), w.(?) Nebamun (iv), 259 (chart 5)
Mutemone (i), w.(?) Yipuy (i), 196 (chart 44)
Mutemopet (i), w. Wennefer (ii), 5, 249 (chart 2)
Mutemopet (ii), d. Khaemwaset (i) (chart 2)
Mutemopet (iii), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
Mutemopet (iv), d. Khabekhnet (i), 45 (chart 7)
Mutemopet (v), d. Nekhemmut (ii), 50 (chart 7)
Mutemwia (i), w. Ramose (i), 82, 83, 88, 89, 153, 183 (chart 22)
Mutemwia (ii), d. Maaninakhtuf (i), 156, 159, 161 (chart 11)
Mutemwia (iii), d. Pashedu (vii), 156 (chart 11)
Mutemwia (iv), d. Qen (ii), 177 (chart 13)
Mutemwia (v), w. Amenemheb (vi), 183, 216 (chart 33)
Mutemwia (vi), d. Huy (ii), 13 (chart 3)
Mutnofret (i), w. Amenemhat (i), 156 (chart 11)
Mutnofret (ii), w.(?) Pashedu (viii), 156
Mutnofret (iii), d. Maaninakhtuf (i), 157 (chart 11)
Mutnofret (iv), d. Iry (i), 195 (chart 29)
Mutwy (i), w. Bakenanuy (i), 67 (chart 8)
Na'ay (i), d. Qaha (i), 13 (chart 3)
Nakht (i), h. Nofretyti (iii), 'chief of secrets and priest of Amun', 76 (chart 24)
Nakhtamun (i), h. Taiuneset (i), 68, 73 (chart 8) (W)
Nakhtamun (ii), s. Piay (ii), 45, 46, 77, 88, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184, 187, 223, 225 (charts 14, 24) (Sc)
Nakhtamun (iii), s. Nebre (i), 105, 153, 154, 182 (chart 10) (Dr)
Nakhtamun (iv), b. Kasa (i), 267 (chart 28)
Nakhtmin (i), s. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 212, 214, 239, 240 (chart 4) (W)
Nakhtmin (ii), s. Siwadjet (i), 28, 239, 240, 241, 263 (chart 26) (W)
Nakhtmin (iii), h. Iahati, 212, 213 (chart 4)
Nakhtmin (iv), f. Nebnakht (vi), 239, 240, 241 (chart 34) (W)
Nakhtmin (v), s.(?) Huy, 240 (W)
Nakhtmin (vi), s. Nebnakht (vi), 112, 241, 242, 252 (chart 34) (W)
Nakhtmin (vii), s.(?) Pentaweret (viii), 242 (chart 34) (W)
Nakhtmin (viii), 264 (CM)
Nakhtmin (ix), 242 (G) (see Nakhtmin (vii))
Nakhtmin (x), s.(?) Pentaweret (i), 111 (chart 9)
Nakhtmut (i), m.(?) Yipuy (i), 196 (chart 44)
Nakhtset (i), s. Pashedu (i), 223 (chart 24)
Nakhtsobek, 204 (S)
Nakhtsu (i), h. Taweretemheb (i), 243, 244 (chart 35) (W)
Nakhtthuty (i), s. Thuthirmaktef (i), 87 (chart 22)
Nakhy (i), s. Neferhotep (i), 'army-scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands and chariot warrior of His Majesty', 31, 67 (chart 6) (W)
Nakhy (ii), 62-63, 66, 280 (D)
Nakhy (iii), s. Didi (i), 64, 66, 67 (chart 8) (W)
Nakhy (iv), s. Buqentuf (i), 64, 66, 67 (W)
Nakhy (v), s. Nebnefer (i), 67, 234 (chart 6)
Nakhy (vi), s. Khons (ii), 46, 67 (chart 7)
Nakhy (vii), s. Wepwatmose (i), 67, 237 (chart 21)
Naunakhte (i), w. Khaemnun (i) & Qenhirkhopshef (i), 23, 74, 121, 251, 252, 255, 256 (chart 25)
Naunakhte (ii), d. Qenhirkhopshef (iv), 254 (chart 25)
Neb(et)-Iunu(t), 9
Nebamenet (i), s.(?) Anhurkhawy (ii), 25 (chart 3)
Nebamentet (i), s. Kasa (i), 15, 41, 188, 258, 260, 263, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272 (charts 5, 28) (W)

INDICES

- Nebamun (i), s. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 214, 258, 260 (chart 4) (W)
- Nebamun (ii), 258 (W)
- Nebamun (iii), s. Nebamentet (i), 258, 269, 271 (chart 5) (W)
- Nebamun (iv), s. Wesket-nemtet (i), 258, 259, 260, 262 (chart 5) (W)
- Nebamun (v), f. Isis (xv)/Iuy (iii), 260 (chart 5)
- Neb'ansu (i), s. Wennefer (i), 2, 3 (chart 1)
- Nebansu (ii), s. Penamun (ii), 3 (chart 2)
- Nebdjefa (i), f. Harnefer (i), ⲉⲛ ⲛ ⲉ, 87, 149, 205 (charts 1, 22) (W)
- Nebenmaat (i), h. Hotepty (i), 8, 9, 153, 184, 236, 237, 238 (chart 21) (W)
- Nebenmaat (ii), s. Amennakht (xxi), 65, 67, 90, 124, 150, 153, 181, 183, 191, 236, 237, 238, 270, 271, 273, 275, 278 (charts 21, 27) (W)
- Nebmarenakht, 'vizier', 253
- Nebmehyt (i), s.(?) Paneb (i), 35 (chart 28)
- Nebmehyt (ii), s. Apehty (i), 37 (chart 28)
- Nebmehyt (iii), s. Amenmose (vii), 8, 237, 238 (chart 21)
- Nebmehyt (iv), g/s. Nebenmaat (ii), 237 (chart 21)
- Nebnakht (i), s. Ipu (i), 179, 239, 240 (chart 14)
- Nebnakht (ii), b.(?) Wennekhu (i), 218, 239 (chart 26)
- Nebnakht (iii), s. Pennub (i), 226, 239, 240 (chart 40) (W)
- Nebnakht (iv), h. Auti (i), 239, 240, 267 (chart 29)
- Nebnakht (v), f. Khabekhnet (ii), 239, 240
- Nebnakht (vi), s. Nakhtmin (iv), 239, 240, 241 (chart 34) (W)
- Nebnakht (vii), 'porter', 240
- Nebnakht (viii), s. Nakhtmin (vi), 241, 252 (chart 34) (W)
- Nebnakht (ix), h. Wasetnakht (i), 252 (chart 25) (W)
- Nebnefer (i), s. Neferhotep (i), 5, 10, 14, 31, 32, 33, 66, 67, 83, 84, 85, 157, 217, 235, 267, 268, 270, 273, 279 (chart 6) (F)
- Nebnefer (ii), s. Nebnefer (i), 32 (chart 6)
- Nebnefer (iii), s. Wadjmose (i), 217, 228, 234, 235 (chart 6) (W)
- Nebnefer (iv), s. Baki (ii), 11 (chart 1)
- Nebnefer (v), s.(?) Amennakht (vii), 34, 228, 235 (chart 6) (W)
- Nebnefer (vi), s. Nakhy (v), 67, 228, 234 (chart 6) (W)
- Nebnefer (vii), 'Paseniry', h. Hutiyi (i), 30, 68, 70, 169, 228 (chart 8) (W)
- Nebnefer (viii), s.(?) Amennakht (vi)/(xii), 70 (chart 8)
- Nebnefer (ix), s. Hori (ix), 144, 168, 169 (chart 12) (Dr)
- Nebnefer (x), s. Bakenwerel (vii), 220, 236 (chart 47) (Sc)
- Nebnefer (xi), s. Pennub (i), 226, 228, 234 (chart 40) (W)
- Nebnefer (xii), s.(?) Pentaweret (vii), 228 (chart 8) (W)
- Nebnefer (xiii), h. Nefertari (ix), 55, 57, 110, 233, 234, 279 (chart 20) (F)
- Nebnefer (xiv), s. Penparei (i), 234, 279 (chart 20) (F)
- Nebnefer (xv), s. Khons (v), 51, 53, 57 (chart 7) (W)
- Nebnefer (xvi), s. Roma (i), 236, 247 (W)
- Nebnefer (xvii), s. Amennakht, 236 (W)
- Nebnefer (xviii), s. Mose, 236 (W)
- Nebnefer (xix), s.(?) Neferhor (i)/(vi), 52, 236 (chart 7) (W)
- Nebnefer (xx), 236 (G)
- Nebnefer (xxi), s. Siwadjet (i), 263 (chart 26)
- Nebnefer (xxii), h. Auti (i), 268 (chart 29)
- Nebnefer (xxiii), h. Merutanqet (i), 53 (chart 7)
- Nebneteru (i), s.(?) Prehotep (i), 159 (chart 10)
- Nebre (i), s. Pay (i), 9, 83, 105, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 193, 211, 237, 269, 270, 275 (charts 10, 27) (Dr)
- Nebsetau (i), s. Kasa (i), 15, 271, 272 (chart 28)
- Nebsetau (ii), s. Qenhirkhopshef (iv), 252, 254 (chart 25)
- Nebsetau (iii), s.(?) Ptahmose (i), 272 (chart 5)
- Nebsetau (iv), s. Hay (ii), 272 (chart 5)
- Nebsmen (i), 36, 62, 64, 280 (D)
- Nebsmen (ii), 62

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Nebsmen (iii), s. Pakharu (iv), 200 (CM)
 Nebsmen (iv), s. Raia (iii), 261 (CM)
 Nebtawy-hir-sankh (i), s. Userhat (ii), 42 (chart 42)
 Nebtiunu (i), w. Reweben (iii), 180 (chart 14)
 Nebtnuhet (i), w. Penamun (ii)/w. Wennefer (i), 2, 3 (charts 1, 2)
 Nebtnuhet (ii), d. Baki (i), 3, 7 (charts 1, 2)
 Nebuemirty (i), d. Nebamentet (i), 272 (chart 5)
 Nebwa', 'water-carrier', 180
 Nebwa'wy (i), f. Henutdjui (iii), 180 (chart 14)
 Nebwa'(wy) (ii), s. Ramose (iii), 181 (chart 14)
 Nefer(em)senut (i), s. Kasa (i), 15, 34-35, 37, 205, 224, 268, 269, 270, 273 (chart 28) (W)
 Neferabu (i), s. Neferronpet (i), 7, 10, 11, 18, 149, 150, 151, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 177, 180, 184, 219, 264 (charts 1, 11) (W)
 Neferhor (i), 52, 56, 96, 153 (see Neferhor (i)/(vi))
 Neferhor (i)/(vi), s. Ipuy (iii), 52 (chart 7)
 Neferhor (ii), s. Qedakhtef (ii), 52, 56, 153 (chart 7)
 Neferhor (iii), f. Merutmut (i), 56 (charts 15, 18)
 Neferhor (iv), f. Pahemneter (i), 95 (chart 43)
 Neferhor (v), s. Nekhemmut (vi), 51 (chart 7) (W)
 Neferhor (vi), 51, 52, 55, 56, 96 (see Neferhor (i))
 Neferhor (vii), s. Ipuy (viii), 52, 53 (chart 7) (W)
 Neferhor (viii), s.(?) Amenhotep (vi), 113 (chart 9)
 Neferhor (ix), s. Amennakht, 113
 Neferhor (x), h. Dua[...], 203 (charts 16, 18)
 Neferhotep (i), s. Neferhotep (iv), 1, 31, 32, 67, 83, 85, 279 (chart 6) (F)
 Neferhotep (ii), s. Nebnefer (i), 9, 14, 15, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 62, 75, 85, 90, 91, 126, 204, 212, 226, 227, 229, 270, 273, 279 (charts 6, 20) (F)
 Neferhotep (iii), h. Tuy (ii), 26 (chart 3)
 Neferhotep (iv), f. Neferhotep (i), 31 (chart 6)
 Neferhotep (v), s. Hesysunebef (i), 27, 32 (chart 20)
 Neferhotep (vi), 92, 93, 126, 134, 163, 281 (S)
 Neferhotep (vii), 92, 133, 134, 281-2 (S)
 Neferhotep (viii), s.(?) Paneferemdjed (i)/(ii), 109 (charts 9, 11)
 Neferhotep (ix), s. Merysekhmet (i), 36, 133, 134, 162, 163, 164 (chart 11) (Dr)
 Neferhotep (x), s. Buqentuf (iii), 221 (chart 9) (W)
 Neferhotep (xi), s. Meryre (v), 230, 231, 232 (chart 20) (W)
 Neferhotep (xii), s. Neferhotep (xi), 230, 231 (chart 20) (S)
 Neferhotep (xiii), s. Neferhotep (xii), (chart 20)
 Neferhotep (xiv), s.(?) Amenemope (xiii), 238 (chart 21)
 Neferhotep (xv), f. Khaemnun (i), 250, 251 (chart 25) (W)
 Neferhotep (xvi), s. Khaemnun (i), 251, 252, 253, 256 (chart 25) (W)
 Neferhotep (xvii), s. Nefer(em)senut (i), 270 (chart 28) (W)
 Neferhotep (xviii), h. Khati (i), 221 (chart 9)
 Nefermenu (i), s. Neferronpet (ii), 183 (chart 14)
 Neferronpet (i), f. Neferabu (i)/h. Mahi (i), 11, 150, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 184 (charts 1, 10, 11) (W)
 Neferronpet (ii), s. Piay (ii), 81, 88, 89, 178, 179, 181, 183, 185 (chart 14) (Sc)
 Neferronpet (iii), s. Neferabu (i), 158, 184 (chart 1) (W)
 Neferronpet (iv), s. Amenemheb (vi), 183, 216 (chart 33) (W)
 Neferronpet (v), w. Kasa (vi)/(viii), 274 (chart 28)
 Neferronpet (vi), s. Nekhemmut (vi), 57, 58 (chart 7) (Dr)
 Neferronpet, 'vizier', 33, 72, 128, 224
 Nefersekheru (i), s. Ipuy (i), 179 (chart 14)
 Nefersen-taiunu, w. Iotenioteuf, 190
 Nefertari (i), d. Anhurkhawy (i), 21, 23 (chart 3)
 Nefertari (ii), d. Kel (i), 65, 237 (charts 27, 36), see Nefertari (viii)
 Nefertari (iii), w. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
 Nefertari (iv), w. Harnefer (ii), 87 (chart 22)
 Nefertari (v), w. Pashedu (vii), 155, 265 (chart 11)
 Nefertari (vi), d. Qen (i), 176, 177, 178 (chart 13)
 Nefertari (vii), w. Prehotep (iv), 38 (chart 41)
 Nefertari (viii), d. Kel (i), 65, 275 (chart 27), see Nefertari (ii)

INDICES

- Nefertari (ix), d. Harshire (i), 233 (chart 20)
 Nefertariemheb (i), d. Anhurkhawy (ii), 22, 25 (chart 3)
 Nefertariemheb (ii), d.(?) Qenna (i), 26 (chart 3)
 Nefertariemheb (iii), d. Amenpahapi (i), 26 (chart 20)
 Nefertum-si-Ptah (i), s. Amenhotep (vi), 113 (chart 9)
 Nehihay (i), d. Thuthirmaktef (i), 87 (chart 22)
 Nekhemmut (i), s. Khons (ii), 40, 46, 47, 48, 50, 75, 279 (chart 7) (F)
 Nekhemmut (ii), s. Amenkhau (i), 49, 50, 72, 129, 244 (chart 7) (Dr)
 Nekhemmut (iii), s. Amennakht (vi)/(xii), 72 (charts 7, 8)
 Nekhemmut (iv), s.(?) Amenwa (i), 50, 172 (chart 8) (W)
 Nekhemmut (vi), s. Khons (v), 39, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 72, 73, 136, 170, 172, 173, 202, 277, 279 (chart 7) (F)
 Nekhemmut, 282 (S)
 Nenefer/Rennefer, 81
 Nesamenope (i), 137, 138, 282 (S)
 Nesamun (i), 244 (W)
 Nesamun (ii), 245 (W)
 Nodjemet-shu (i), d. Paneb (i), 35 (chart 28)
 Nodjemger (i), s. Neferabu (i), 158, 161 (chart 1)
 Nodjemger (ii), s. Pennestytawy (i), 161
 Nodjemger (iii), s. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)
 Nodjemhemsiset (i), w. Pashedu (ii) 182, 225 (chart 24), see Tanodjemethemsi (ii)
 Nodjemka (i), d. Amenemwia (i), 206 (chart 19)
 Nodjemmut (i), d. Khabekhnet (i), 46 (chart 7)
 Nodjemtjau (i), d. Minmose (i), 77 (chart 24)
 Nodjemtjau (ii), d. Amennakht (xxi), 237 (chart 21)
 Noferu (i), w.(?) Merysekhmet (i), 162, 265 (chart 11)
 Nofret(em)satet (i), w. Khaemtir (i), 223, 238 (charts 21, 24)
 Nofretemiunu (i), w.(?) Huy (xxiv), 183 (chart 14)
 Nofretiyti (i), d.(?) Tenro (i), 10 (chart 6)
 Nofretiyti (ii), d. Huy (iv), 10 (chart 6)
 Nofretiyti (iii), w. Nakht (i), 76 (chart 24)
 Nofretiyti (iv), d. Thuthirmaktef (i), 87 (chart 22)
 Nofretiyti, 87
 Nofretkhau (i), w. Huy (x), 81, 83, 88, 154, 179, 183 (charts 14, 22)
 Nofretkhau (ii), w.(?)/sis.(?) Khay, 154 (chart 10?)
 Nofretkhau (iii), w. Piay (ii), 154, 178, 184 (chart 14)
 Nofretkhau (iv), d. Khabekhnet (i), 45, 154 (chart 7)
 Nofretkhau, w.(?) Khay (i), 154 (chart 10)
 Nofretmah (i), w. Amenemope (xvii), 211 (chart 30)
 Nofret[...], d. Kasa (i), (chart 28)
 Nuheb (i), f. Pendua (iv), 65
 Nub(em)iyti, 243
 Nubemheb (i), d. Qenymin (i), 25, 96 (charts 3, 15, 18)
 Nubemiryt (i), d. Hesysunebef (i), 32, 52 (chart 20)
 Nubemiryt (ii), d. Amenemone (iv), 208 (chart 19)
 Nubemiryt (iii), d. Nebamentet (i), 271
 Nubemiryt (iv), w.(?) Ipuy (iii), 52 (charts 7, 20)
 Nubemiunu (i), d. Kasa (i), 269 (chart 28)
 Nubemnofru(?), m. Saemkauset (i), 196 (chart 44)
 Nubemshaes (i), w. Nakhtamun (ii), 182, 223, 225 (charts 14, 24)
 Nubemshaes (ii), d. Ankhau (i), 182 (chart 24)
 Nubemwia (i), w. Hori (ii), (chart 9)
 Nubhirkhesbed (i), d. Kasa (i), 269, 272 (chart 28)
 Nubhirmahat (i), sis. Kasa (i), 267 (chart 28)
 Nubhirtoret (i), d. Pashedu (i), 223 (chart 24)
 Nubirsen (i), d. Kasa (i), 268 (chart 28)
 Nubiyi (i), d. Hori (ix), 171, 243 (charts 8, 12)
 Nubiyti (i), m. Henuttawy (i), (chart 34)
 Nubkhati (i), w.(?) Kel (i), 275 (chart 27)
 Nubnofret (i), w. Hehnekhu (ii), 223 (chart 24)
 Nubnofret (ii), d. Nakhtsu (i), 243 (chart 35)
 Pa'abekh(n)et (i), s. Neferhotep (xvi), 252 (chart 25) (W)
 Pa'anemsetmaat (i), s. Nebnefer (ix), 169 (chart 12)
 Paankhau (i), s.(?) Painefer (i)/Painefer (ii), 96 (chart 43)
 Paankhau (ii), s. Harmose (ii), 26, 96 (chart 3)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Paankhau, s. Panefer (i)/Panefer (ii), (chart 20)
Paankhau, 282 (S)
Pa'ankheryiautef (i), s. Qedhirakhtef (iii), 56
(charts 15, 18)
Paanqen (i), s.(?) Amenwa (i), 70-71, 172, 173,
280 (chart 8) (D)
Pabaki (i), s. Maaninakhtuf (i), 157, 159 (chart 11)
(Dr)
Pabaki (ii), 'water-carrier', 157
Pabaki (iii), 157
Pabaki/Baki (i), 156
Pagafy, s.(?) Hori (iii), 23, 252 (chart 23)
Pagefed, 23
Pahatia (i), b. Ipuy (ii), 53 (chart 9)
Pahemneter (i), s. Neferhor (iv), 95 (chart 43)
Pahemneter (ii), s. Painefer (i), 96 (chart 43)
Pahemneter (iii), s. Neferhotep (xii), 98, 232 (chart
20) (W)
Paherentahatnakht (i), f. Penparei (ii), 104 (chart
46)
Paherypedjet (i), s. Baki (i), 2, 9 (chart 1) (W)
Paherypedjet (ii), s. Huy (ii), 9, 13 (chart 3)
Paherypedjet (iii), s. Nebre (i), 153 (chart 10) (Dr)
Paherypedjet, 2, 9, 13, 154
Pa-ihaywedja (i), 234 (chart 20) (W?)
Painefer (i), s. Pahemneter (i), 96 (chart 43)
Painefer (ii), s. Pahemneter (ii), 96, 232 (chart 43)
Painefer, 279 (F)
Pairsekheru (i), s. Nebnefer (ix), 169 (chart 12)
(Dr)
Pairy, 162, 164, 165, 168
Pairy, 165 (S)
Paisen (i), s. Pahemneter (ii), 96, 174 (chart 43)
(W)
Paisen (ii), s.(?) Amenwa (i), 172, 174 (chart 8)
(W)
Paisen (iii), s. Hori (ix), 174 (chart 12) (W)
Paisen (iv), 174 (F)
Paisen, 54, 96, 172, 174, 279 (F)
Pakanafy, 23, 121, 252 (W)
Pakharu (i), f. Khyrenef (i), 199 (G)
Pakharu (ii), 199 (W)
Pakharu (iii), s. Pentaweret, 199 (W)
Pakharu (iv), f. Nebsmen (iii), 200
Pakharu (v), s. Saroy, 200 (M)
Pakharu (vi), 'Penpaihay', s. Qeny, 200 (M)
Pakharu (vii), h. Shepsetkur, 200
Pakharu (viii), f. Amek (i), 206 (chart 19)
Pakharu (ix), s. Amek (i), 'ḥ n ḥ', 205 (chart 19)
(W)
Pakharu (x), s. Nakhtsu (i), 243 (chart 35)
Pakharu (xi), b. Kasa (i), 267 (chart 28)
Pakharu (xii), s. Sennedjem (i), 44 (chart 7)
Pakharu, 'foreigner', 200
Pakharu, 'plasterer', 200
Pakharu, 'water-carrier', 200
Pakharu, 'wood-cutter', 200
Pakhayamun (i), s.(?) Amennakht (v), (chart 9)
Pakhayamun (ii), s.(?) Menna (i), 109 (chart 11)
Pakhayenwaset (i), s. Pentaweret (iv), 110 (chart 9)
Pamedunakht (i), 51, 73 (W)
Pameduneternakht (i), s. Hay (viii), 73 (chart 37)
(W)
Pamerenamun (i), s. Apatjau (i), 122, 203, 204,
280 (charts 16, 18) (D)
Pamerihu (i), s. Iyernutef (ii), 185, 187 (chart 14)
(W)
Panakht (i), s. Nekhemmut (ii), 244 (see
Panakhtemneb (i))
Panakht (ii), h. Sent-nefer (i), 84, 244 (chart 25)
Panakht (iii), s. Nakhtsu (i), 243, 244 (chart 35)
(W)
Panakhtemheb (i), s. Seti (i), 213 (chart 4)
Panakhtemneb (i), s. Nekhemmut (ii), 50, 244
(chart 7)
Panakhtemope (i), s. Penniut (i), 41, 261 (chart 5)
Panakhtemope (ii), 'attendant', 253
Panakhtemope (iii), 'fisherman', 253
Panakhtemope (iv), 'foreigner', 253
Panakhtenope (i), s. Panebaku (i), 253 (chart 25)
(W)
Paneb (i), s. Nefer(em)senut (i), 6, 10, 12, 33, 34,
35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 62, 65, 88, 94, 98, 163, 205,
222, 224, 226, 235, 240, 241, 247, 264, 268,
270, 273, 279 (chart 28) (F)
Paneb (ii), s.(?) Paneb (i), 35, 270 (chart 28)

INDICES

- Paneb (iii), g/s.(?) Nefer(em)senu (i), 270 (chart 28)
 Panebaku (i), s. Neferhotep (xvi), 252 (chart 25) (W)
 Panefer (i), s. Meryre (vi), 96, 232 (chart 20) (W)
 Panefer (ii), s.(?) Pahemnefer (iii), 232 (chart 20) (W)
 Paneferemdjed (i), s. Amennakht (v), 108, 130, 166, 282 (chart 9) (S)
 Paneferemdjed (ii), s.(?) Menna (i)/(ii), 166 (chart 11) (S?)
 Panefernu (i), s.(?) Nebnefer (xiv), 234 (chart 20)
 Panehsy, 6, 107, 151, 261
 Panehsy, 'vizier', 162
 Paseniry, 68 (see Nebnefer (vii))
 Pasennodjem (i), s. Meryre (vi), 231 (chart 20) (W)
 Paser (i), s. Kel (iv), 20, 275 (chart 3)
 Paser (ii), s. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
 Paser (iii), 102, 103, 126, 128, 281 (S)
 Paser (iv), 102, 103 (S)
 Paser (v), s. Turobay (i), 278 (chart 32) (W)
 Paser, 'vizier', 14, 79, 80, 81, 83, 149, 177, 270
 Paser, 281 (S)
 Pashedet (i), d. Kel (i), 153, 155, 237, 275 (charts 10, 27)
 Pashedet (ii), w. Simut (i), 155, 274 (chart 27)
 Pashedu (i), f. Amenmose (iii)/h. Mekhay-ib (i), 8, 77, 156, 180, 182, 222, 223, 224, 238, 261 (charts 14, 24) (W)
 Pashedu (ii), s. Hehnekhu (ii), 222, 224 (chart 24) (W)
 Pashedu (iii), s. Hori (iii), 26, 188 (chart 23) (Sc)
 Pashedu (iv), s. Nebnefer (i), 32 (chart 6)
 Pashedu (v), s. Pendua (iii), 65, 237 (chart 36)
 Pashedu (vi), 93, 94, 95, 102, 105, 126, 127, 281 (S)
 Pashedu (vii), h. Nefertari (v), 155, 156, 265 (chart 11) (Dr)
 Pashedu (viii), s. Maaninakhtuf (i), 156, 157, 159, 162 (chart 11) (Dr)
 Pashedu (ix), s. Merysekhmet (i), 162 (chart 11) (Dr)
 Pashedu (x), s. Menna (iii), 2, 166, 279 (F)
 Pashedu (xi), s. Ramose (iii), 181 (chart 14)
 Pashedu (xii), s. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)
 Pashedu (xiii), s. Neferronpet (ii), 183 (chart 14)
 Pashedu (xiv), s. Pennub (i), 226, 227 (chart 40) (W)
 Pashedu (xv), s. Harmose (i), 227 (chart 40) (W)
 Pashedu (xvi), s. Nakhtmin (vi), 241 (chart 34)
 Pashedu (xvii), s. Kel (i), 275 (chart 27)
 Pashedu (xviii), 124, 281 (S)
 Pashedu (xix), b. Hori (iii), (chart 23)
 Pashuemopet, 40, 42 (see Shuemopet (i))
 Pashunodjem, 231 (see Pasennodjem (i)) (W)
 Patjauemdiamun (i), 225 (W)
 Patjauemdiamun (ii), 225 (W)
 Patjir (i), s. Anhurkhawy (ii), 24 (chart 3)
 Patjir, 23, 24 (see Anhurkhawy (iv))
 Pawaamun (i), s. Harmose (ii), 28 (chart 3) (W)
 Pawaamun (ii), s. Weskhet-nemtet (i), 28, 259 (chart 5) (W)
 Pawaamun (iii), 'scribe of the estate of Amun', 29
 Pawebkhetnu (i), s. Nebnefer (xiii), 234 (chart 20)
 Pauer (i), 174 (Dr)
 Pauer'a (i), s. Thutemheb (i), 101, 137, 147, 175, 282 (S)
 Pauerakhetef (i), s. Harmin (i), 171, 175 (chart 12) (W)
 Pawonesh (i), 70, 280 (see Amennakht (xii)) (D)
 Pawonesh ('The Wolf'), 68
 Pay (i), h. Merytre (ii), 77, 89, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155, 159, 178, 193 (chart 10) (Dr)
 Pay (ii), s. Prehotep (i), 150, 151, 152, 158 (chart 10) (Dr)
 Pay (iii), 'water-carrier', 150
 Pa(y)bes (i), 119, 282 (S)
 Pa(y)bes (ii), 119, 120, 135, 146-47, 282 (S)
 Payom (i), 222 (W)
 Penamun (i), s. Wennefer (i), 2 (chart 1)
 Penamun (ii), s. Baki (i)/Amennakht (i) 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 216 (charts 1, 2) (W)
 Penamun (iii), 4 (W)
 Penamun (iv), s. Khaemwaset (i), 5, 6 (chart 2) (W)
 Penanuqet (i), s.(?) Amenkhau (i), 39, 50 (chart 7)
 Penanuqet (ii), s. Prehotep (iv), 38 (chart 41) (W)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Penanuqet (iii), s.(?) Kasa (v), 39 (chart 28) (W)
 Penanuqet (iv), s.(?) Paneb (i), (chart 28) (W)
 Penanuqet (v), 39 (Sc)
 Penanuqet (vi), f. vizier Preemheb, 39
 Penanuqet (vii), s.(?) Khons (v), 39 (chart 7)
 Penanuqet (viii), b. Neferhotep, 39 (W)
 Penbuy (i), s. Iry (i), 8, 14, 44, 62, 81, 179, 181, 192, 194, 195, 219, 264, 267, 268, 271 (charts 7, 28, 29) (W) (G)
 Penbuy (ii), 194 (W)
 Pendua (i), s. Qen (ii), 10, 11, 65, 176, 177 (charts 6, 13), (see Pendua (vi))
 Pendua (ii), s. Didi (i), 64, 65 (chart 8) (W)
 Pendua (iii), h. Nefertari (ii)/(viii), 65, 237 (charts 27, 36) (W)
 Pendua (iv), s. Nubemheb (i), 65 (W)
 Pendua (v), 65 (W)
 Pendua (vi), s. Qen (ii), 11 (charts 6, 13) (see Pendua (i))
 Penkhnun (i), s. Nakhtamun (ii), 182-83 (chart 24) (Sc)
 Penmennefer (i), 99, 196, 197, 198 (G) (DK?)
 Pennestyaw (i), f. Nodjemger (ii), 161, 189
 Pennestyaw (ii), s. Pashedu, 189 (W)
 Pennestyaw (iii), s. Nessuamenope, 189 (W)
 Pennestyaw (iv), 189
 Penniut (i), s. Khnummose (i), 41, 258, 260, 262 (chart 5) (W)
 Penniut (ii), s. Hay (iii)/(v), 215, 262 (chart 4)
 Penniut (iii), water-carrier, 262
 Pennub (i), f. Pashedu (xiv), 226, 227, 234, 239, 240, 256, 257 (chart 40) (W)
 Pennub (ii), s. Pashedu (xiv), 226, 227, 257 (chart 40) (W)
 Pennub (iii), s.(?) Harmose (i), 227 (chart 40) (W)
 Pennubet (i), w. Patjauemdiamun, 225
 Penpakhty (i), s. Wennekhu (i), 218, 219 (chart 26) (W)
 Penpamer (i), f. Qaydjoret (i), 200, 201 (chart 45) (DK)
 Penparei (i), s. Nebnefer (xiii), 55, 104, 110, 138, 174, 233-34, 279 (chart 20) (F)
 Penparei (ii), s. Paherentahatnakht (i), 55, 104, 138, 174, 282 (chart 46) (S)
 Penparei (iii), s.(?) Penparei (ii), (chart 46)
 Penrennut (i), s. Nakhtmin (iii), 212, 213, 215 (chart 4) (W)
 Penrennut (ii), 'wood-cutter', 213
 Penrennut (iii), 213 (W)
 Penrennut (iv), 'cup-bearer', 213
 Penrennut, 'wood-cutter', 127
 Penshenabu (i), s. Ramose (iii), 181 (chart 14) (W?)
 Penshenabu (ii), h. Tentnub (ii), 181, 195 (chart 29) (W)
 Pentahutnakht (i), 58 (S)
 Pentahutnakht, 58, 121, 122 (S)
 Pentaweret (i), f. Amenhotep (iv), 70, 111 (chart 9)
 Pentaweret (ii), 92, 125, 126, 281 (S)
 Pentaweret (iii), 103, 127, 128, 129, 133, 143, 281 (S)
 Pentaweret (iv), s. Amennakht (v), 26, 66, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 128, 249 (chart 9) (Dr)
 Pentaweret (v), s. Amennakht (xv), 109, 128 (S)
 Pentaweret (vi), s. Hori (ix), 169 (chart 12) (Dr)
 Pentaweret (vii), s. Nebnefer (vii), 228 (chart 8) (W)
 Pentaweret (viii), s. Nakhtmin (vi), 112, 241, 243 (chart 34) (W)
 Pentaweret (ix), s. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 214 (chart 4)
 Pentaweret (x), s. Khons (vii), 54 (chart 7)
 Pentaweret (xi), s.(?) Amenhotep (vii), 111 (chart 9)
 Pentawomet (i), s. Pawer'a (i), 175 (W)
 Pen[.....], s. Khaemnun (i), (chart 25)
 Petpet (i), see Pipi (i)
 Piay (i), s. Amenmose (i), 7, 8, 178, 226 (chart 1)
 Piay (ii), h. Nofretkhou (iii), 10, 46, 88, 149, 154, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184 (charts 7, 13, 14, 22, 24) (Sc)
 Piay (iii), s. Piay (ii), (chart 14)
 Piay (iv), s. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)
 Piay (v), s. Neferronpet (ii), 183 (chart 14)
 Piay (vi), b. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)

INDICES

- Piay (vii), s. Khabekhnet (i), 45 (chart 7)
 Pinudjem (i), s. Amennakht (v), 113, 117 (chart 9) (W)
 Pinudjem (ii), s. Bakenmut (i), 55, 114 (chart 7)
 Pipi (i), d. Amenemope (x), 233 (chart 20)
 Pipia (i), sis. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)
 Preemheb (i), s. Pay (i), 149, 151, 154, 155 (chart 10) (Dr)
 Prehirwonmef, 'royal butler', 58
 Prehotep (i), s. Pay (i), 77, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 158, 159, 160, 193, 212, 219 (charts 10, 11) (Dr)
 Prehotep (ii), s.(?) Menna (ii), 166, 168 (chart 11) (W)
 Prehotep (iii), s.(?) Men, 167 (W)
 Prehotep (iv), h. Nefertari (vii), 38 (chart 41)
 Ptahkhau (i), s. Nebnefer (ix), 169 (chart 12)
 Ptahmose (i), s. Hay (ii), 15, 264, 267, 269, 270, 271 (charts 5, 28) (W)
 Ptahpahapi (i), s. Qenhirkhopshef (iv), 254 (chart 25)
 Ptahsankh (i), 'servitor of Amun', 82
 Ptahshedu (i), 'scorpion-controller', 228-9 (W)
 Ptahshedu (ii), 229 (W)
 Ptahshedu, 228 (S)

 Qaha (i), s. Huy (ii), 2, 9, 11-17, 21, 33, 66, 85, 90-92, 157, 190, 226, 240, 237, 265, 270-73, 275, 278-9 (charts 1, 3, 19, 27) (F)
 Qaha (ii), s. Anhurkhawuy (ii), 16, 20 (chart 3) (W)
 Qaha (iii), s. Hay (iii)/(v), 20, 215 (chart 4) (W)
 Qaha (iv), 20 (Sc)
 Qaha (v), s. Qenymin (i), 185, 186, 221 (charts 15, 18) (Sc)
 Qaha (vi), s. Pashedu (x), 166 (W)
 Qaha (vii), s. Turobay (i), 278 (chart 32)
 Qashuti, 200 (G)
 Qaydjoret (i), s. Penpamer (i), 72, 113, 197, 200, 201 (chart 45) (G) (DK)
 Qaytmehty (i), d. Buqentuf (iii), 221 (chart 9)
 Qedakhtef (i), s. Hori (iii), 26, 56 (chart 23) (W)
 Qedakhtef (ii), s. Ipuy (iii), 55, 56, 152, 230, 280 (chart 7) (D)
 Qedakhtef (iii), s. Qenymin (i), 76 (W)
 Qedakhtef (iv), s. Amenkhau, 56 (W)
 Qedhirakhtef (iii), s. Qenymin (i), 186 (charts 15, 18)
 Qen (i), h. Wadjetronpet (v), 178 (chart 13)
 Qen (ii), s. Tjanefer (i), 10, 65, 81, 88, 100, 149, 150, 153, 176, 177, 181, 183, 192, 205, 207, 225, 240 (charts 13, 14) (Sc)
 Qen (iii), s. Buqentuf (i), 64
 Qenamun (i), s. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 214 (chart 4)
 Qenhirkhopshef (i), s. Panakht (ii), 7, 12, 14, 15, 77, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 91, 94, 95, 98, 99, 107, 110, 125, 126, 127, 151, 154, 178, 207, 210, 244, 251, 263, 271, 281 (charts 22, 25) (S)
 Qenhirkhopshef (ii), s.(?) Amenemone (iv), 83, 190, 191, 207, 208 (chart 19) (G)
 Qenhirkhopshef (iii), s. Ipy (i), 210 (chart 31)
 Qenhirkhopshef (iv), s. Khaemnun (i), 51, 252, 254, 256 (chart 25) (W)
 Qenkhopshesf, 84, 117, 141
 Qenna (i), s. Anhurkhawuy (ii), 21, 22, 27, 29, 30, 204, 217, 266, 280 (chart 3) (D)
 Qenna (ii), s. Harnefer (iii), 29, 30, 203, 266, 279 (chart 3) (F)
 Qenna (iii), s. Amennakht (xxi), 237 (chart 21)
 Qenna (iv), s. Ruta (i), 246 (W)
 Qenna (v), h. Takhyheruy (i), 246 (W)
 Qenna (vi), s. Siwadjet (iv), 246, 265 (charts 17, 18) (W)
 Qenna (vii), s. Seba (iv), 246, 266 (chart 39) (W)
 Qenna (viii), s. Prehotep, 246, 267 (W)
 Qenna (ix), s. Siwadjet, called Pennestytawy (iv), 189
 Qenymin (i), h. Duanofret (i), 56, 186, 265 (charts 3, 15, 18) (see Qenymin (iii)) (Sc)
 Qenymin (ii), 186 (W)
 Qenymin (iii), s.(?) Siwadjet (iv), 186, 265 (charts 17, 18) (see Qenymin (i))

 Rahotep (v), s. Sennedjem (i), 44 (chart 7) (W)
 Raia (i), d. Amenemheb (ii), 41, 260, 261 (chart 5)
 Raia (ii), d. Reweben (iii), 180 (chart 14)
 Raia (iii), m. Nebsmen (iv), 261

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Raia (iv), w. Telmont (iv), 252 (chart 25)
- Ramesses-Montu<r>hatef, 'vizier', 72
- Ramessesnakht (i), s. Tjay/To (i), 108 (chart 9)
- Ramessesnakht, 58, 60, 108, 122, 260
- Ramesses-Usikhopesh (i), s. Nekhemmut (vi), 57 (chart 7)
- Ramose (i), s. Amenemheb (v), 4, 5, 14, 31, 33, 67, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 124, 125, 149, 150, 153, 177, 180, 181, 183, 191, 192, 194, 206, 210, 223, 224, 226, 236, 258, 264, 270, 281 (chart 22) (S)
- Ramose (ii), s. Neferabu (i), 158, 161, 180 (chart 1) (W)
- Ramose (iii), h. Wernuro (iii) & Henutdjuu (iii), 180, 181 (chart 14) (W)
- Ramose (iv), s. Sennedjem (i), 180 (chart 7) (W)
- Ramose (v), s. Qenymin (i), 186, 187 (charts 15, 18)
- Ramose (vi), b. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 'soldier', 269 (chart 28)
- Rehotep (i), 158 (see Prehotep (i))
- Renakht, 167 (S)
- Renefer (i), s. Amennakht (xxi), 237 (chart 21)
- Renekhu (i), s. Sennedjem (i), 43 (chart 7)
- Reshpetref (i), s.(?) Hesysunebef (i), 27, 248 (chart 20) (W)
- Reshuy-irenef (i), s. Siwadjet (i), 263 (chart 26)
- Rewebe (i), f. Haremwia (v), 12, 179 (W)
- Rewebe (ii), s. Pay (i), 149, 180 (chart 10)
- Rewebe (iii), s. Piay (ii), 179, 223 (charts 14, 24) (W)
- Rewebe (iv), s. Ramose (iii), 181 (chart 14) (W)
- Rewebe (v), s. Sennedjem (i), 45 (chart 7)
- Roia (i), f. Amenemheb (viii), 216
- Roma (i), f. Nebnefer (xvi), 236, 247 (W)
- Roma (ii), 'chief craftsman', 247
- Roma (iii), s. Khabekhnet (iii), 43, 247 (chart 7)
- Roma (iv), s. Tjaro (i), 43, 247 (chart 7)
- Roruti (i), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
- Roy (i), d. Khabekhnet (i), 46 (chart 7)
- Rusu, 43
- Ruta (i), 245, 246 (W)
- Ruta (ii), 245 (W)
- Saemkauset (i), w. Yipuy (i), 196 (chart 44)
- Sahte (i), d. Piay (ii), 45, 46, 161, 178, 179, 182, 216, 272 (charts 7, 14)
- Saremen (i), d. Weskhet-nemtet (i), 259 (chart 5)
- Saroy, h. Anmedet, 200
- Seba (i), s. Baki (i), 2, 10, 11, 266 (chart 1) (W)
- Seba (ii), s.(?) Kar (i), 10, 11, 266 (chart 6)
- Seba (iii), s. Huy (iv), 10, 11 (chart 6) (W)
- Seba (iv), f. Qenna (vii), 246, 266 (chart 39) (W)
- Sennedjem (i), s. Khabekhnet (iii), 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 153, 180, 184, 194, 195, 247, 267, 268 (charts 7, 29) (W)
- Sennedjem (ii), s. Khabekhnet (i), 45 (chart 7)
- Sennedjem (iii), g/s. Khons (ii), 46 (chart 7)
- Sennefer, 149
- Sent-nefer (i), w. Panakht (ii), 84, 244 (chart 25)
- Seny (i), s.(?) Khaemhedjet (i), 70, 72, 200, 280 (chart 9) (D)
- Seramun (i), s.(?) Amenwa (i), 172 (chart 8) (Dr?)
- Setau, 271, 272
- Setem (i), s. Qedakhtef (ii), 56 (chart 7)
- Seti (i), s. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 24, 212 (chart 4) (W)
- Seti (ii), s. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
- Setimose, 129, 282 (S)
- Shedamun (i), s. Penamun (ii), 4 (chart 2)
- Shedsu[.], s. Penparei (ii), 104 (chart 46)
- Shedytemduat (i), 261
- Shemsu, see Wadjshemsu (i) (Sc)
- Shepsetkur, w. Pakharu (vii), 200
- Sheritre (i), d. Anhurkhawy (ii), 25 (chart 3)
- Sheritre (ii), d. Paneb (i), 35 (chart 28)
- Sheritre (iii), w. Siwadjet (ii), 263, 264, 269 (chart 26)
- Sheritre (iv), d. Kasa (i), 264, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271 (charts 5, 28)
- Sheritre (v), d. Qenymin (i), (charts 15, 18)
- Shuemopet (i), s. Userhat (ii), 40, 42 (chart 42)
- Shuenopet (i), 40 (see Shuemopet (i))
- Si'a (i), w.(?) Qenhirkhopshef (ii), 191 (chart 19)
- Simut (i), h. Pashedet (ii), 155, 237, 274, 275 (chart 27)

INDICES

- Simut (ii), s. Simut (i), 275 (chart 27)
- Simut (iii), s. Kel (i), 'servitor of Amun', 275 (chart 27) (W)
- Sipair (i), s. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
- Sitmehyt (i), d. Qaha (i), 13 (chart 3)
- Siwadjet (i), h. Tewosret (i), 8, 239, 240, 241, 263 (chart 26) (W)
- Siwadjet (ii), s. Irynefer (i), 263, 264, 265, 269 (chart 26) (W)
- Siwadjet (iii), h.(?) Mertseger, 203 (charts 16, 18) (W)
- Siwadjet (iv), s. Tanehsy (iii), 186, 203, 246, 249, 264, 265 (charts 17, 18) (W)
- Siwadjet (v), f. Qenymmin, 264
- Siwadjet (vi), s. Huy, 264
- Si[.....], d.(?) Irynefer (i), (chart 26)
- Smentawy (i), s. Amenemone (iv), 190, 207 (chart 19) (G)
- Sobekmose, 213 (CM)
- Sobekmose (i), s. Nakhtmin (iii), 213 (chart 4) (W)
- Sobekmose, 'water-carrier', 213
- Sobeknakht (i), s.(?) Pamerenamun (i), 122, 204 (charts 16, 18)
- Sobeknakht, s. Suti, 25, 204
- Sobeksonb (i), 121, 135, 282 (S)
- Suiti (i), w. Payom, 222
- Ta'ashsen (i), d. Tjaro (i), 43 (chart 7)
- Ta'ashsen (ii), d. Sennedjem (i), 45 (chart 7)
- Tabaket (i), w. Iyernutef (ii), 185
- Tabaki (i), d. Neferronpet (ii), 183 (chart 14)
- Tabedetinet (i), d. Anhurkhawy (ii), 25 (chart 3)
- Tadehnetemheb (i), w. Penrennut (i), 212
- Tadehnetemheb, d. Amenemone (ii)/(iii), 171 (chart 4)
- Taemwadjeset (i), d. Amennakht (xxi), 237 (chart 21)
- Tagemyt (i), w. Huynnefer (ii)/(iv), (chart 4)
- Tahaynu (i), d. Reweben (iii), 180 (chart 14)
- Tahaynu (ii), d. Ramose (iii), 181 (chart 14)
- Tahaynu (iii), w. Khabeckhnet (iii), 43 (chart 7)
- Tahaynu (iv), d. Sennedjem (i), 45 (chart 7)
- Tahefnu (i), d. Nekhemmut (vi), 49, 71 (charts 7, 8)
- Tahenut (i), d. Prehotep (iv), 38 (chart 41)
- Taia (i), w. Tjaro (i), 43 (chart 7)
- Taia (ii), d. Mose (ix), 45 (chart 7)
- Ta-inenu (i), d. Nebenmaat (ii), 237 (chart 21)
- Taisenet (i), w. Paisen (ii), 172
- Ta-Isis (i), w. Neferabu (i), 7 (charts 1, 11)
- Taiu(n)es, d. Hay, 73
- Taiuneset (i), d. Hay (vii), 73 (chart 8)
- Ta-Iunu (i), d. Baki (i), 2 (chart 1)
- Taket (i), w. Mose (vii), 209, 211 (chart 30)
- Takharu (i), w. Huy (iv), 10 (chart 6)
- Takhat (i), w. Hay (i), 13 (chart 3)
- Takhat (ii), w. Kel (i)/d. Huy (ii), 13, 16, 237, 275 (charts 3, 10, 27)
- Takhat (iii), d. Nebenmaat (ii), 237, 275 (chart 21)
- Takhenty (i), d. Huy (iii)/(vi)/(vii)/(ix), 214 (chart 4)
- Takhuru (i), w. Huy (iv), 10
- Takhyheruy, w. Qenna (v), 22, 246
- Tal (i), d. Huy (iv), 10, 65, 177 (charts 6, 13)
- Tamehyt (i), d. Qaha (i), 13, 240 (chart 3)
- Tamehyt (ii), w. Hay (ii), 13, 240, 272 (chart 5)
- Tameket (i), w. Khons (ii), 46, 67, 184 (chart 7)
- Tameket (ii), d. Nekhemmut (i), 46 (chart 7)
- Tamerut (i), d. Nebamentet (i), 271 (chart 5)
- Tamerut (ii), d. Prehotep (iv), 38 (chart 41)
- Taneferhor (i), w.(?) Harshire (i), 19, 117 (chart 9)
- Tanehsy (i), w. Huy (ii), 13, 16, 190, 265, 275 (charts 3, 27)
- Tanehsy (ii), d. Qaha (i), 190, 191 (charts 3, 19)
- Tanehsy (iii), m. Siwadjet (iv), 265 (charts 17, 18)
- Tanodjemthemsi (i), d. Huy (xiii), 176, 178, 225 (chart 13)
- Tanodjemthemsi (ii), w. Pashedu (ii), 224 (chart 24), see Nodjemthemsiset (i)
- Tanodjemkhaba (i), d. Anhurkhawy (i), 21 (chart 3)
- Tanodjemkhaba (ii), d. Anhurkhawy (ii), 22, 25 (chart 3)
- Tanodjemkhaba (iii), d. Qenna (i), 22
- Tanodjemtjau (i), d.(?) Hesysunebef (i), 26 (chart 20)
- Tanofret (i), w. Qenhirkhopshef (iv), 254 (chart 25)
- Tanofret (ii), d. Neferronpet (i), (chart 11)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- Taqari (i), d. Qen (ii), 176 (chart 13)
- Tarekhanu (i), w. Amennakht (x), 65, 68
- Tarekhanu (ii), w. Meryre (v), 229-30 (chart 20)
- Tarekhanu (iii), d. Neferhotep (xviii), 221 (chart 9)
- Tarekhanu (iv), d.(?) Amennakht (xi), (chart 8)
- Tarennu (i), d. Baki (i), 2, 7
- Tasaket (i), d. Nekhemmut (i), 46 (chart 7)
- Taseger (i), d. Siwadjet (i), 263 (chart 26)
- Tasenet (i), w. Paisen (ii), (chart 8)
- Tawenethor (i), d. Qedhirakhtef (iii), 56 (charts 15, 18)
- Taweret (i), d. Nefertari (i), 21 (chart 3)
- Taweret (ii), w. Didi (i), 64 (chart 8)
- Taweret (iii), d. Neferronpet (i), 159 (chart 11)
- Taweret (iv), w. Khawy (ii), 193
- Taweret (v), d. Amennakht (xxi), 237 (chart 21)
- Taweret (vi), d. Simut (i), 275 (chart 27)
- Taweretemheb (i), w. Nakhtsu (i), 243 (chart 35)
- Taweretemheb (ii), d. Nebnefer (xxiii), 53 (chart 7)
- Taweretemheb (iii), w. Amennakht (v), 105 (chart 9)
- Taweretemmeh (i), d. Nebnefer (vii), 228 (chart 8)
- Taweretherti (i), w. Khaemwaset (i), 4, 5, 249 (charts 2, 13)
- Taweretherti (ii), w. Pentaweret (iv), 26, 66, 111, 249 (chart 9)
- Taweretherti (iii), d. Amenpahapi (i), 26, 111 (chart 20) (see also Taweretherti (ii))
- Taynodjem (i), d. Amenwa (i), 171 (chart 8)
- Taysen (i), w. Baki (i), 3, 7 (charts 1, 3)
- Taysen (ii), d. Amenmose (i), 7
- Taysennofret (i), d. Amenmose (i), 7 (chart 1)
- Taysennofret (ii), d. Neferronpet (i), 150, 158 (charts 10, 11)
- Telmont (i), f. Amenemheb (i), 25, 255, 276 (chart 3) (W)
- Telmont (ii), s. Amenemheb (i), 25, 276, 277 (chart 3) (W)
- Telmont (iii), s. Mose (viii), 272, 277 (chart 28)
- Telmont (iv), h. Raia (iv), 252 (chart 25)
- Tenro (i), m.(?) Nofretiyti (i), (chart 6)
- Tenro, 11 (see Tenro (i))
- Tentamentet (i), d. Qaha (i), 13 (chart 3)
- Tentamentet (ii), d. Neferronpet (i), 155, 156, 159, 161 (chart 11)
- Tenthaynu (i), w. Amenmose (i), 2, 7, 158 (chart 1)
- Tenthaynu (ii), d. Neferabu (i), 158 (chart 1)
- Tentkhenuemheb (i), w. Khaemhedjet (i), 118, 221 (chart 9)
- Tentnub (i), d. Pendua (i), 177 (chart 13)
- Tentnub (ii), d. Iry (i), 181, 191, 192, 195 (chart 29)
- Tentopet (i), w. Khons (i), 184, 275 (charts 14, 27)
- Tentpa[...], w.(?) Amenpahapi, 27
- Tentpakhenty (i), g/d. Huy (ii), 13
- Tentpaope (i), d. Khaemhedjet (i), 118, 221 (chart 9)
- Tewosret (i), w. Siwadjet (i), 28, 263 (chart 26)
- Tewosret (ii), d. Irynefer (i), 263 (chart 26)
- Tewosret (iii), sis. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)
- Thutemheb (i), f. Pawer'a (i), 137, 147
- Thuthirmaktef (i), f. Huy (x), 46, 86, 87, 88, 89, 150, 210, 226 (charts 14, 22) (W)
- Thutmose (i), h. Airetanen (i), 18 (W)
- Thutmose (ii), s. Khaemhedjet (i), 30, 54, 101, 104, 118, 122, 136, 137, 138, 147, 168, 170, 282 (chart 9) (S)
- Thutmose (iii), s. Nakhy (iii), 67 (chart 8)
- Thutmose (iv), s. Qaydjoret (i), 201 (chart 45) (DK)
- Thutmose (v), s. Ra[...], 201 (DK)
- Tiy (i), w. Amenemwia (ii), 208
- Tjanefer (i), h. Maatnofret (i), 177 (chart 13) (Sc)
- Tjaro (i), h. Taia (i), 247 (chart 7) (W)
- Tjauenanuy (i), s. Qen (ii), 176, 177 (chart 13)
- Tjauenhuy (i), d. Qen (ii), 176 (chart 13)
- Tjaunodjem (i), s. Amennakht (xxi), 237 (chart 21)
- Tjay (i), s. Amennakht (v), 7, 106, 107, 108 (chart 9) (W) (S)
- Tjay (ii), s. Amennakht, 106 (S)
- Tjay (iii), 107
- Tjay (iv), 'royal secretary', 107
- Tjay/To (i), (see Tjay (i))
- Tjay, 281 (S)
- Tjesmenmen (i), s. Amennakht (v), 113 (chart 9)

INDICES

- Tjesmenmen (ii), s.(?) Harshire (i), 117 (chart 9)
Tji'a, 164
Tji'a, 'water-carrier', 164
Tji'a (i), f. Huynefer (ix), 18
Tjutju (i), b. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)
To (i), see Tjay/To (i)
To (ii), s. Hori, 108
To (iii), s. Amenhotep (vi), 108 (chart 9)
To, 7, 9, 23, 26, 35, 38, 58, 72, 99, 107, 108, 111, 117, 119, 120, 133, 141, 162, 169, 229
To, 280 (D)
Tosheri, 108 (see To) (W)
Tuia (i), d. Neferhotep (i), 31 (chart 6)
Turo (i), s. Neferhotep (i), 31 (chart 6)
Turo (ii), 'physician', 218 (S)
Turobay (i), h. Tuy (iii), 278 (chart 32) (W)
Tusa (i), s. Amenemope (vii), 83, 160, 191, 192, 195 (chart 29) (G)
Tutia, w. Anuy, 273
Tutuia (i), d.(?) Khabekhnet (iii), 45 (chart 7)
Tuy (i), w. Qaha (i) 2, 13, 26, 240 (charts 1, 3)
Tuy (ii), d. Anhurhawwy (ii), 25 (chart 3)
Tuy (iii), w. Turobay (i), 278 (chart 32)
- Userhat (i), s. Wennefer (i), 2 (chart 1)
Userhat (ii), s. Anakhtu (iii), 40, 42 (chart 42) (W)
Userhat (iii), s. Amennakht (v), 42, 188 (chart 9)
Userhat (iv), s. Amennakht (viii), 42, 188 (chart 28)
Userhat (v), s. Kasa (vi)/(viii), 274 (chart 28) (W)
Userhat (vi), b. Bakenwerel (vii), 220 (chart 47)
Userhat (vii), s. Prehotep (iv), 38 (chart 41)
Userhat (viii), s. Kel (i), 275 (chart 27)
Userhat (ix), h. Menatnakht (i), 255 (chart 25) (W)
Userhatmer (i), s. Maaninakhtuf (iii), 253 (chart 25) (W)
User-setet (i), s. Pashedu (i), 182, 223 (chart 24)
User[.....], s. Bakenmut (i), (chart 7)
Usikhopesh (i), s. Nekhemmut (vi), 57, 111, 135, 279 (see Ramesses-Usikhopesh (ii)) (F)
- Wabet (i), w. Anhurhawwy (ii), 21-22, 26, 27, 56 (charts 3, 15, 18)
Wabet (ii), w. Paneb (i), 34, 37 (chart 28)
Wabet (iii), w. Nakhtmin (vi), 241, 242 (chart 34)
Wabet (iv), d. Khabekhnet (i), 46 (chart 7)
Wabet (v), d. Neferhor (x), 203 (charts 16, 18)
Wadjetemheb (i), d. Wennekhu (i), 218 (chart 26)
Wadjetronpet (i), w. Amek (i), 205, 206 (chart 19)
Wadjetronpet (ii), d. Amek (i), 190, 206, 207, 208 (chart 19)
Wadjetronpet (iii), w. Ipuy (v), 149 (chart 10)
Wadjetronpet (iv), g/d. Pay (i), 149
Wadjetronpet (v), w. Qen (i), 178 (chart 13)
Wadjetronpet (vi), d. Ramose (iii), 181 (chart 14)
Wadjetronpet (vii), w.(?) Iahnefer (i), 211 (chart 30)
Wadjmose (i), s. Huy (iv), 10, 11, 217, 234, 235 (chart 6) (W)
Wadjshemsu (i), s. Piay (ii), 45 (chart 14) (Sc)
Wasetemheb (i), d. Huynefer (x), 19 (chart 9)
Wasetnakht (i), d. Khaemnun (i), 252 (chart 25)
Webkhet (i), d. Baki (i) 2, 87 (see also Webkhet (iv)) (charts 1, 22)
Webkhet (ii), w. Neferhotep (ii), 32, 75 (chart 6)
Webkhet (iii), d. Hesysunebef (i), 32, 75 (chart 20)
Webkhet (iv), d. Baki (i) 87 (see also Webkhet (i)) (charts 1, 22)
Webkhet (v), d. Nakhtamun (ii), 182 (chart 24)
Webkhet (vi), d. Khabekhnet (i), 46, 49, 75 (chart 7), (see Webkhet (viii))
Webkhet (vii), 256
Webkhet (viii), d. Khabekhnet (i), 45, 46 (chart 7), (see Webkhet (vi))
Wennakht (i), f. Nofretkhou (iii), 154, 178 (chart 14)
Wennefer (i), h. Maya (i), 2, 3 (chart 1) (W)
Wennefer (ii), s. Wennefer (i)/Penamun (ii), 5, 6, 249 (charts 1, 2) (W)
Wennefer (iii), s. Penamun (iv), 5, 6 (chart 2) (W)
Wennefer (iv), g/s.(?) Khaemwaset (i), 6 (W)
Wennefer (v), 6, 93, 99, 102, 107, 132, 141, 281 (S)
Wennefer (vi), s. Hay (vii), 68, 102 (chart 8) (Dr)
Wennefer (vii), 99, 102, 107, 178 (S)
Wennefer (viii), 22, 48, 101, 116, 136, 282 (S)

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Wennefer, 281 (S)	O.AG 50, 100
Wennekhu (i), h. Mutaat (i), 218, 219 (chart 26) (W)	O.AG 59, 228 O.AG 63, 255
Wepetnefer (i), s. Maaninakhtuf (iii), 253 (chart 25)	O.Ashmolean Mus. 1933.810, 164 O.Ashmolean Mus. 1949.335, 213
Wepwatmose (i), s. Nebenmaat (ii), 237, 275 (chart 21) (W)	O.Berlin P.1121, 220, 262 O.Berlin P.9412, 98
Werakhetamun (see Pawerakhtef (i)) (W)	O.Berlin P.10627, 81, 50
Werel (Wernuro) (ii), d. Ipuy (i), 179	O.Berlin P.10628, 93
Wermaau (i), s. Amenhotep (vi), 113 (chart 9)	O.Berlin P.10630, 93
Wernuro (i), w. Thuthirmakhtef (i), 46, 86 (chart 22)	O.Berlin P.10632, 144
Wernuro (ii), d. Ipuy (i), 179 (chart 14)	O.Berlin P.10643, 233
Wernuro (iii), d. Reweben (iii), 46, 180 (chart 14)	O.Berlin P.10645+10646, 220, 232
Wernuro (iv), d. Neferronpet (ii), 183 (chart 14)	O.Berlin P.10663, 100, 128, 185, 186, 233
Wernuro (v), m. Tameket (i), 46 (chart 7)	O.Berlin P.10665, 267
Wernuro-hotep (i), d. Baki (i), 2, 7 (chart 1)	O.Berlin P.10840, 94, 124
Weskhet-nemtet (i), s. Khnummose (i), 258, 259, 260, 261, 262 (chart 5) (W)	O.Berlin P.11239, 190 O.Berlin P.11241, 17, 34, 235, 276
Wia (i), 'wood-cutter', 81	O.Berlin P.11247, 155 O.Berlin P.12343, 220, 236
Ya (i), sis. Bukhanef-Ptah (i), 269 (chart 28)	O.Berlin P.12398, 44
Yipuy (i), h. Saemkauset (i), 195, 196 (chart 44)	O.Berlin P.12406, 260
Yipuy/Yipu (i), 196 (G)	O.Berlin P.12627, 266 O.Berlin P.12635, 26 O.Berlin P.12636, 52, 152 O.Berlin P.12641+O.Berlin P.12628, 78, 129 O.Berlin P.12651+O. Vienna H.4, 19, 38, 73, 78, 129, 232 O.Berlin P.12652, 172 O.Berlin P.12654, 5, 38, 52, 56, 69, 74, 78, 103, 115, 130, 146, 169, 170, 220, 232, 248 O.Berlin P.1268, 42, 103, 127, 168 O.Berlin P.14222, 171, 266 O.Berlin P.14255, 127, 144 O.Berlin P.14328, 228 O.Bodleian 253, 276 O.BM 5624, 1, 19, 220, 250 O.BM 5625, 165, 199, 265 O.BM 5634, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 35, 37, 46, 65, 66, 67, 77, 84, 88, 95, 151, 154, 157, 158, 180, 181, 182, 184, 192, 205, 206, 207, 216, 218, 219, 224, 226, 238, 241, 263, 264, 270, 273, 275, 278
DOCUMENTS	
<i>A. LATE RAMESSIDE LETTERS</i>	
<i>B. OSTRACA</i>	

INDICES

- | | |
|---|---|
| O.BM 5635, 226, 235 | O.CGC 25267, 254 |
| O.BM 5672+O.CGC 25649, 110, 121, 175 | O.CGC 25279, 186, 219 |
| O.BM 8494, 63, 64, 65 | O.CGC 25280, 78, 140, 232 |
| O.BM 8510, 258 | O.CGC 25284, 203 |
| O.BM 29549, 64 | O.CGC 25286, 198 |
| O.BM 50723, 253 | O.CGC 25291, 198 |
| O.BM 50728, 219 | O.CGC 25300, 72 |
| O.BM 50729, 197 | O.CGC 25305, 120, 147 |
| O.BM 50730, 47, 51, 53, 172, 189, 212, 221, 231 | O.CGC 25314, 262 |
| O.BM 50737, 256 | O.CGC 25340, 252 |
| O.BM 50744, 219, 228, 231, 244, 262 | O.CGC 25342, 4 |
| O.Brunner H.110, 162 | O.CGC 25361, 57, 136 |
| O.Brunner H.162, 167, 224 | O.CGC 25364, 58 |
| O.Brunner, 167, 224 | O.CGC 25504, 91, 102, 126, 213, 247, 264 |
| O.Brussels E.182, 259 | O.CGC 25505, 18, 226, 245 |
| O.Brussels E.301, 24, 168, 189, 199, 217, 231, 236, 248, 259, 262 | O.CGC 25507, 19, 66, 167, 185 |
| O.Brussels E.303, 186 | O.CGC 25510, 18, 19, 37, 222, 230, 261 |
| O.Brussels E.3211, 133, 163, 213 | O.CGC 25511, 88 |
| O.Brussels E.6311, 214 | O.CGC 25512, 12, 15, 17, 20, 151, 214, 264, 276 |
| O.Brussels E.6781, 155 | O.CGC 25515, 94, 127 |
| | O.CGC 25516, 12, 18, 151, 152, 187, 212, 235, 243, 257, 264 |
| O.Cairo 209, 20, 246 | O.CGC 25517, 20, 37, 47, 66, 88, 95, 180, 181, 214, 243, 247, 257, 261, 264, 273 |
| O.Cairo J.37649, 187, 228, 233 | O.CGC 25519, 17, 39, 151, 152, 187, 222, 235, 247 |
| O.Cairo J.49561, 30 | O.CGC 25520, 20, 224 |
| O.Cairo J.49865, 21 | O.CGC 25521, 4, 16, 18, 20, 36, 37, 88, 151, 163, 168, 187, 214, 226, 235, 243, 250, 257, 264, 273, 276 |
| O.Cairo J.72465, 94, 196 | O.CGC 25522, 19, 20, 164, 240, 241, 244 |
| O.Cairo J.72466, 171, 213 | O.CGC 25523, 185, 187 |
| O.Cairo JdÉ. 50744, 231, 244 | O.CGC 25524, 20, 243, 275 |
| O.Carnarvon 300 PP, 14, 86, 90, 91, 92 | O.CGC 25525, 245 |
| O.Carnarvon 301, 86 | O.CGC 25526, 88, 185, 243 |
| O.CGC 25005, 241 | O.CGC 25531, 230 |
| O.CGC 25029, 110, 113 | O.CGC 25532, 266 |
| O.CGC 25033, 128 | O.CGC 25533, 97, 254 |
| O.CGC 25041, 169 | O.CGC 25534, 21, 131 |
| O.CGC 25052, 260 | O.CGC 25542, 196 |
| O.CGC 25065, 169 | O.CGC 25553, 21, 103, 127, 141, 214, 250, 261 |
| O.CGC 25092, 169 | O.CGC 25555, 19, 48, 51, 74, 132, 152, 168, 185, 215, 228 |
| O.CGC 25232, 104 | |
| O.CGC 25236, 72 | |
| O.CGC 25237, 4, 12, 33, 35, 90, 92, 126, 264 | |
| O.CGC 25242, 246 | |
| O.CGC 25247, 116, 130 | |

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

O.CGC 25556, 4, 6, 20, 33, 62, 63, 151, 226, 229, 230, 235	O.CGC 25760, 86
O.CGC 25561, 151, 243, 256	O.CGC 25779, 12, 16, 20, 21, 33, 39, 47, 62, 65, 66, 67, 91, 96, 151, 163, 168, 177, 180, 181, 190, 224, 225, 226, 230, 235, 239, 240, 243, 256, 258, 264, 273, 277
O.CGC 25562, 104, 140	O.CGC 25780, 20, 33, 65, 151, 152, 212
O.CGC 25563, 115	O.CGC 25781, 167
O.CGC 25568, 141	O.CGC 25782, 4, 15, 17, 21, 62, 65, 66, 67, 88, 151, 152, 177, 194, 212, 224, 235, 239, 240, 256, 264
O.CGC 25572, 235, 243	O.CGC 25783, 12, 15, 20, 39, 65, 66, 67, 84, 151, 152, 212, 230, 239, 273
O.CGC 25573, 11, 14, 15, 33, 65, 66, 90, 125, 153, 176, 180, 181, 194, 207, 210, 219, 226, 263, 270	O.CGC 25784, 12, 33, 65, 96, 152, 162, 194, 225, 240, 273, 277
O.CGC 25575, 96, 212	O.CGC 25787, 187
O.CGC 25582, 91	O.CGC 25788, 247
O.CGC 25584, 21	O.CGC 25796, 16, 67, 243, 273
O.CGC 25588, 213, 229, 233	O.CGC 25797, 230
O.CGC 25589, 243	O.CGC 25798, 192
O.CGC 25593, 187, 216, 245	O.CGC 25801, 94
O.CGC 25597, 245	O.CGC 25802, 14
O.CGC 25598, 19, 233	O.CGC 25803, 160, 192
O.CGC 25599, 25, 73, 203, 266	O.CGC 25804, 213
O.CGC 25603, 216	O.CGC 25809, 79, 125
O.CGC 25605, 88	O.CGC 25820, 199, 231
O.CGC 25607, 20, 186, 252	O.CGC 25824, 217
O.CGC 25609, 73, 98, 172, 189, 197, 219	O.CGC 25832, 110, 126
O.CGC 25612, 188	O.Colin Campbell 1, 194
O.CGC 25613, 98	O.Colin Campbell 3, 103
O.CGC 25615, 14	O.Colin Campbell 15, 207, 277
O.CGC 25616, 14	O.Colin Campbell 17, 160
O.CGC 25627, 8, 14, 156, 216, 227, 278	O.Colin Campbell 23, 74
O.CGC 25634, 246, 266	O.Colin Campbell 3, 30, 189, 209, 213, 262
O.CGC 25642, 25	O.DM 18, 8
O.CGC 25646, 86	O.DM 32, 41, 74, 132, 232, 248
O.CGC 25650, 73	O.DM 33+O.Berlin P.12639, 74, 248
O.CGC 25660, 171, 188, 221, 254	O.DM 34, 18
O.CGC 25661, 106, 124, 125	O.DM 36, 5, 50, 74, 251
O.CGC 25671, 77, 79	O.DM 37, 185
O.CGC 25677, 53	O.DM 38, 19, 38, 41, 43, 129, 185, 231, 248
O.CGC 25703, 40	O.DM 39, 251
O.CGC 25704, 106	O.DM 40, 41, 43, 74, 185, 231, 232, 252
O.CGC 25713, 63, 113, 129	
O.CGC 25716, 23	
O.CGC 25726+O.BM 50722, 59	
O.CGC 25737, 258, 260	
O.CGC 25742, 73, 200	

INDICES

O.DM 41, 49, 96, 108, 110, 112, 174, 188, 219, 248, 253, 254	O.DM 161+O.Berlin P.12640, 78
O.DM 42, 96, 248	O.DM 162, 18
O.DM 44, 19, 26, 38, 41, 43, 55, 74, 96, 112, 129, 174, 185, 214, 219, 229, 231, 232, 244, 252, 253	O.DM 163, 231
O.DM 45, 38, 73, 78, 110, 129, 232	O.DM 164, 74, 250, 273
O.DM 46, 19, 112, 130, 229	O.DM 167, 231
O.DM 47, 73, 108, 188, 214, 219, 248, 274	O.DM 175, 197, 231
O.DM 50, 15	O.DM 176, 245, 266
O.DM 55, 19	O.DM 179, 91, 126, 139, 144
O.DM 57, 69	O.DM 180, 146
O.DM 61, 9	O.DM 189, 16, 17, 106, 140, 206, 207, 275
O.DM 62, 164	O.DM 198, 162
O.DM 73, 74	O.DM 200, 43
O.DM 74, 19, 69	O.DM 204, 41, 170, 203, 228, 241, 260, 262
O.DM 86, 154, 182	O.DM 207, 28, 49
O.DM 94, 213	O.DM 209, 205, 273
O.DM 99, 214	O.DM 215, 167
O.DM 105, 103	O.DM 217, 119
O.DM 108, 223	O.DM 220, 43, 106
O.DM 112, 65, 184, 210	O.DM 222, 6, 19, 27, 47, 186, 215, 219, 222, 248, 265, 276
O.DM 114, 33	O.DM 225, 10, 141, 214
O.DM 115, 51	O.DM 228, 167
O.DM 116, 9, 226	O.DM 233, 89, 150
O.DM 119, 159	O.DM 235, 244, 250
O.DM 120, 65	O.DM 236, 28, 98, 215, 266, 276
O.DM 121, 93	O.DM 240, 8, 65, 150, 155
O.DM 124, 69, 93	O.DM 241, 189
O.DM 126, 8, 9, 32, 91, 178, 226, 227	O.DM 243, 239, 263
O.DM 133, 27, 59, 141, 201	O.DM 253, 5, 186
O.DM 134, 255	O.DM 254, 29, 41, 163, 260, 262
O.DM 138, 170, 244	O.DM 255, 189
O.DM 143, 250	O.DM 258, 65, 184, 210
O.DM 145, 38, 74, 248, 251	O.DM 260, 167
O.DM 148, 38, 50	O.DM 266, 66, 157, 177, 194, 216
O.DM 149, 129	O.DM 269, 103, 127, 187, 256
O.DM 153, 19, 140, 143, 274	O.DM 274, 89
O.DM 154, 26	O.DM 276, 43
O.DM 155, 38, 232, 246	O.DM 285, 224
O.DM 156, 232, 248	O.DM 295, 185
O.DM 160+O.Berlin P.12642, 18, 274	O.DM 304, 207
O.DM 161, 78, 129, 130, 232	O.DM 314, 141, 216
	O.DM 317, 159
	O.DM 321, 207

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

O.DM 323, 91, 92, 126, 163	O.DM 580, 53
O.DM 324, 182	O.DM 581, 9, 154
O.DM 327, 233	O.DM 593, 19, 74
O.DM 328, 157	O.DM 594, 36, 163
O.DM 330, 19	O.DM 602, 220
O.DM 333, 12	O.DM 606, 127
O.DM 334, 44	O.DM 611, 229, 247, 250, 273
O.DM 336, 100, 233	O.DM 612, 190
O.DM 338, 5, 12	O.DM 613, 95
O.DM 339, 165	O.DM 621, 4, 18, 33, 67, 139, 162, 181, 217, 224, 236, 241, 264
O.DM 346, 106	O.DM 626, 157
O.DM 352, 6, 17, 226	O.DM 629, 73, 232, 255
O.DM 353, 207	O.DM 634, 6, 52, 152, 186, 198, 236
O.DM 354, 8, 192	O.DM 641, 5, 124, 151
O.DM 369, 100	O.DM 643, 41, 69, 117, 260
O.DM 370, 17, 88, 150, 211, 219	O.DM 647, 41, 230
O.DM 373, 224	O.DM 670, 177
O.DM 373+188, 235	O.DM 671, 261
O.DM 376, 140	O.DM 672, 164
O.DM 380, 140, 143	O.DM 673, 119
O.DM 381, 144, 233	O.DM 675, 65
O.DM 395, 233	O.DM 681, 154
O.DM 398, 19, 114, 116, 131, 169, 186, 189, 203, 213, 215, 219, 231, 248	O.DM 697, 33, 36
O.DM 406, 4, 18, 41, 230, 232, 248, 261	O.DM 698, 44, 124, 140, 180
O.DM 413, 27, 248	O.DM 702, 41
O.DM 414, 249, 265	O.DM 1045, 8, 78
O.DM 415, 267	O.DM 1172, 159
O.DM 418, 98, 253	O.DM 2650, 198
O.DM 422, 49	O.Florence 2619, 21, 47, 132
O.DM 424, 222	O.Florence 2620, 27, 33, 49, 51, 197, 232
O.DM 427, 201	O.Florence 2621, 19, 118, 185, 250
O.DM 429, 100	O.Gardiner (Gayer-Anderson), 125, 155
O.DM 431, 159, 193, 194	O.Gardiner 4, 20, 185, 186, 198, 203, 233
O.DM 433, 232	O.Gardiner 11, 244
O.DM 434, 169	O.Gardiner 14, 109, 116, 164, 189, 213
O.DM 438, 100	O.Gardiner 20, 24, 70, 73, 189, 231
O.DM 442, 159	O.Gardiner 23, 41, 42, 58, 97, 112, 131, 277
O.DM 445, 6, 9	O.Gardiner 24, 8, 78, 125
O.DM 447, 180	O.Gardiner 33, 261
O.DM 448, 214, 233	O.Gardiner 36, 24
O.DM 560, 18, 154	O.Gardiner 37, 98, 245
O.DM 564, 220, 229	O.Gardiner 53, 251, 262

INDICES

- O.Gardiner 54, 12, 128, 185
- O.Gardiner 56, 6, 120, 197
- O.Gardiner 57, 12, 17, 18, 20, 27, 36, 47, 62, 64, 88, 98, 151, 152, 164, 185, 190, 229, 235, 240, 241, 243, 247, 249, 250, 273
- O.Gardiner 67, 226
- O.Gardiner 68, 49, 220
- O.Gardiner 87, 65, 180, 194
- O.Gardiner 89, 210, 272, 278
- O.Gardiner 91, 43, 157
- O.Gardiner 92, 11, 14, 167, 258
- O.Gardiner 104, 92, 110, 128, 141, 169
- O.Gardiner 106, 69, 169
- O.Gardiner 107, 143
- O.Gardiner 111, 217, 229, 235, 247, 250
- O.Gardiner 112, 261
- O.Gardiner 113, 19, 130, 229
- O.Gardiner 114, 219
- O.Gardiner 115, 191
- O.Gardiner 116, 8, 11, 46, 89, 194
- O.Gardiner 118, 98
- O.Gardiner 123, 15
- O.Gardiner 127, 40, 276
- O.Gardiner 130, 53
- O.Gardiner 133, 7, 151, 158, 160, 192
- O.Gardiner 134, 199, 215
- O.Gardiner 135, 73
- O.Gardiner 136, 228
- O.Gardiner 137, 170
- O.Gardiner 140, 201
- O.Gardiner 143, 166, 231
- O.Gardiner 144, 177
- O.Gardiner 152, 74, 152
- O.Gardiner 157, 241
- O.Gardiner 160, 18, 221, 262
- O.Gardiner 162, 261
- O.Gardiner 166, 243, 264
- O.Gardiner 167, 85
- O.Gardiner 173, 74
- O.Gardiner 178, 73
- O.Gardiner 181, 74, 131, 141, 170
- O.Gardiner 182, 145, 170, 198, 244
- O.Gardiner 185, 220, 239
- O.Gardiner 194, 261
- O.Gardiner 195, 10, 35, 65, 66, 182, 183, 184, 210, 211, 216
- O.Gardiner 196, 40, 141, 143, 214
- O.Gardiner 197, 77, 84, 207
- O.Gardiner 199, 5, 8, 46, 65, 181, 205, 210, 216, 219
- O.Gardiner 200, 125
- O.Gardiner 204, 261
- O.Gardiner 215, 182
- O.Gardiner 225, 109
- O.Gardiner 228, 236
- O.Gardiner 239, 4, 67, 210, 258
- O.Gardiner 246, 215
- O.Gardiner 247, 213
- O.Gardiner 249, 201
- O.Gardiner 272, 33, 49
- O.Gardiner 273, 253
- O.Gardiner 276, 161
- O.Gardiner 302+342, 221
- O.Gardiner 370, 246
- O.Geneva MAH 12550, 16, 19, 20, 47, 92, 99, 127, 132, 140, 141, 144, 152, 186, 230, 232
- O.IFAO 361, 95, 156
- O.IFAO 420, 39, 199, 247
- O.IFAO 574, 186
- O.IFAO 1068, 219
- O.IFAO 1086, 150
- O.IFAO 1218, 100, 198
- O.IFAO 1236, 198
- O.IFAO 1242, 73
- O.IFAO 1253, 255
- O.IFAO 1258, 186, 233, 236, 246
- O.IFAO 1285, 245
- O.IFAO 1293, 241
- O.IFAO 1322+O.CGC 25705+O.Varille 38, 24, 56, 251, 255, 256, 260
- O.IFAO 1323, 109, 213, 236
- O.IFAO 1329, 187
- O.IFAO 1347, 125, 213
- O.IFAO 1354, 28, 109, 168, 209, 213
- O.IFAO 1357, 90
- O.IFAO 1425, 59, 168

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

- O.J.G. Milne [2], 5, 8, 15, 17, 219
O.Leipzig 1, 91, 235
O.Leipzig 2, 103, 119, 127
O.Leipzig 34, 177
O.Leipzig 1664, 68, 228
O.Leningrad [Ermitage] 2973, 113, 130, 200
O.Louvre N.696, 132, 255
O.Louvre N.697, 15, 264
O.Louvre E.13156, 211
O.Louvre E.13160, 185
O.Louvre E.3262 b, 233
O.Madrid 16243, 160, 164-65, 192
O.Mich. 1, 19, 48, 92, 105, 133
O.Mich. 2, 19, 48, 92, 133, 213
O.Mich. 3, 41
O.Mich. 6, 19
O.Mich. 7, 20, 114
O.Mich. 13, 12, 15, 163, 224, 238
O.Mich. 14, 15, 19, 41, 48, 90, 91, 92, 105, 114,
128, 133, 163, 168, 213, 218, 224, 238, 243,
253
O.Mich. 23, 264
O.Mich. 33, 247
O.Mich. 42, 128
O.Mich. 47, 14, 17, 90-91
O.Mich. 66, 123
O.MMA. 09.184.183, 78, 192
O.MMA. 09.184.702, 96, 220
O.MMA. 09.184.708, 187
O.MMA. 09.184.702, 174, 186, 203
O.MMA. 09.184.708, 215
O.MMA. 09.184.702, 221
O.MMA. 14.6.217, 20, 33, 96, 102, 167, 240, 257
O.Mond 173, 233
O.Mond 209, 24, 41, 186, 219
O.Nash 1, 91, 94, 103, 127, 141, 196, 225, 235
O.Nash 2, 20, 91, 103, 127, 196, 257
O.Nash 3, 207
O.Nash 5, 132, 168, 232, 250, 251
O.Nash 6, 257
O.Nelson 11, 8, 78, 208, 238
O.Nims, 177
O.OIC 12073, 48, 114, 164, 198, 245
O.OIC 12074, 164, 165
O.OIC 12296, 220
O.OIC 16873, 38
O.OIC 16989, 106, 124
O.OIC 16991, 93, 133
O.OIC 17007, 8, 10, 12, 125, 208, 220, 238
O.Parker 13, 70
O.Petrie 4, 128, 143
O.Petrie 6, 23, 252
O.Petrie 14, 164
O.Petrie 16, 265
O.Petrie 17, 189
O.Petrie 18, 27, 112, 172
O.Petrie 21, 5
O.Petrie 23, 214, 245, 266
O.Petrie 26, 116
O.Petrie 31, 52, 152, 222
O.Petrie 50, 132
O.Petrie 61, 11
O.Petrie 82, 194
O.Prague H.10, 38, 42, 48, 168, 205
O.Prague H.14, 26, 144, 164
O.Spencer, 1, 91, 125
O.Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet MM.14126, 4,
210-11, 219, 227, 270
O.Strassburg H.110, 16, 91, 139, 140, 144
O.Strassburg H.42, 231
O.Strassburg H.84, 170, 172, 233
O.Strassburg H.108, 94
O.Sydney Nicholson Mus. R.97, 115
O.Toronto A.11, 1, 125, 133
O.Turin 6540, 27
O.Turin 9611, 48, 164
O.Turin 9611 (=N.57381), 48, 141, 146
O.Turin N.57006, 30, 108, 114, 189, 236, 266
O.Turin N.57007, 133
O.Turin N.57026, 19, 40, 41, 43, 56, 99, 132, 164,
185, 214, 215, 228, 236, 245, 250, 265, 266
O.Turin N.57027, 92, 127
O.Turin N.57028, 50, 99, 132, 197, 215, 248, 266,
276
O.Turin N.57029, 41, 222, 246, 266
O.Turin N.57031, 75

INDICES

O.Turin N.57039, 19, 40, 43, 261, 266
 O.Turin N.57040, 231
 O.Turin N.57042, 119
 O.Turin N.57046, 228, 236, 245, 250, 265
 O.Turin N.57047, 242
 O.Turin N.57056, 132, 266
 O.Turin N.57062, 15, 150, 210, 273
 O.Turin N.57080, 124
 O.Turin N.57082, 11, 17, 208, 227, 257, 264, 270
 O.Turin N.57121, 52
 O.Turin N.57173, 12
 O.Turin N.57364, 213
 O.Turin N.57381, 48, 141, 146 (see O.Turin 9611)
 O.Turin N.57420, 181
 O.Turin N.57441, 170
 O.Turin N.57451, 5
 O.Turin N. 57454, 28
 O.Turin N.57458, 214
 O.Turin N.57556, 50, 75
 O.Turin N.57831, 118
 O.UCL no. 3, 8
 O.UCL 19614, 249, 265
 O.Varille 20, 11, 65, 194
 O.Varille 27, 256
 O.Varille 36, 18
 O.Vienna Aeg. 1+O.IFAO 628, 18, 250, 251
 O.Vienna Aeg. 18, 119, 186
 O.Vienna Aeg. 3, 253
 O.W.M. Staring (Brussels), 151, 155
 O.Zouche H.2, 67, 163, 180, 275
 O.Zouche H.6, 140

C. POPYRI

Pap. Abbott, 57, 120, 135, 146, 147
 Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.95, 27, 43, 51, 108, 110, 112, 114, 236, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 276
 Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.96, 74
 Pap. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.97, 30, 53, 56, 57, 252, 254
 Pap. Berlin P.10460, 96, 200
 Pap. Berlin P.10494, 122, 253

Pap. Berlin P.10496, 6, 19, 27, 33, 99, 118, 132, 197, 220, 232, 251
 Pap. Berlin P.10497, 53
 Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, III, 101, 136
 Pap. Bibl. Nat. 237, 117, 254
 Pap. BM 10052, 137, 171
 Pap. BM 10053, 57, 70, 96, 111, 172, 173, 201, 232, 242, 254
 Pap. BM 10068, 101, 111, 122, 136, 172, 200
 Pap. BM 10403, 122, 137
 Pap. BM 9997, 101, 122, 172
 Pap. Bulaq 10, 17, 19, 20, 40, 41, 215, 225, 262, 264-65
 Pap. Chester Beatty III (BM 10683), 86
 Pap. DeM 2, 30, 51
 Pap. DeM 8, 100, 253
 Pap. DeM 9, 101, 253
 Pap. DeM 10, 100, 253
 Pap. DeM 11, 253
 Pap. DeM 14, 74, 254
 Pap. DeM 15, 184
 Pap. DeM 24, 97, 141, 254
 Pap. DeM 26, 40, 48, 99, 103, 127, 168, 214, 222, 245, 250, 265
 Pap. DeM 27, 164, 165, 222
 Pap. DeM 36, 75
 Pap. Gardiner 8 (=Pap. Ashmolean Mus.), 91, 110, 126, 152, 158, 182, 187, 212
 Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, 40, 96, 109, 130, 204, 215
 Pap. Greg. 4, 6, 12, 17, 18, 38, 40, 103, 127, 213, 216, 220, 230, 243, 247, 264, 274
 Pap. IFAO [no number], 142
 Pap. Rifaud D, 122
 Pap. Salt 124, 6, 12, 33-36, 39, 62, 65, 66, 84, 217, 222, 224, 235, 240, 247, 274
 Pap. Turin 167+2087, 117
 Pap. Turin 1879, 117, 144, 146, 253
 Pap. Turin 1881, 28, 53, 54, 56, 57, 71, 110, 116, 117, 121, 131, 135, 145
 Pap. Turin 1883+2095, 27, 28, 54, 56, 59, 61, 231
 Pap. Turin 1884, 121, 135, 139, 145, 147
 Pap. Turin 1885, 106, 108, 115, 146

WHO'S WHO AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

Pap. Turin 1888, 25, 55, 114
 Pap. Turin 1891, 49, 50, 52, 70, 139, 144, 153,
 170, 232, 242, 251, 254, 262
 Pap. Turin 1898, 60, 113, 118
 Pap. Turin 1898+, 60, 113
 Pap. Turin 1900, 116, 117, 145, 199
 Pap. Turin 1905, 53, 170
 Pap. Turin 1906+2047/132+1939, 29, 96, 135, 136
 Pap. Turin 1907/08, 42
 Pap. Turin 1907/1908, 120
 Pap. Turin 1930/2050, 110, 134, 139, 145, 232
 Pap. Turin 1930+2050, 96
 Pap. Turin 1932+1939, 25, 30, 54, 58, 71, 113,
 137, 139, 140, 147, 166, 170, 175, 204, 221,
 233
 Pap. Turin 1966, 19, 43, 49, 115, 116, 145, 146,
 197, 198, 219, 220, 221, 228, 255, 266
 Pap. Turin 2003, 96, 137, 189, 200
 Pap. Turin 2004+2007+2057/58+2106/396, 117,
 200, 201
 Pap. Turin 2005+2078+2001, 28, 29, 166, 254
 Pap. Turin 2007, 57
 Pap. Turin 2013, 6, 19, 28, 189
 Pap. Turin 2018, 18, 22, 25, 29, 30, 53, 54, 55,
 101, 113, 136, 137, 140, 141, 145, 147, 171,
 175, 200, 201, 203, 204, 217, 231, 234, 253
 Pap. Turin 2021+Geneva D 409, 55
 Pap. Turin 2021+Geneva D.409, 138
 Pap. Turin 2034, 101
 Pap. Turin 2049/141, 108, 117, 174, 175, 245
 Pap. Turin 2053/50+2028+1914+2053/49, 166
 Pap. Turin 2053+2018+1914, 29, 30, 254
 Pap. Turin 2057, 25, 29, 217, 221, 254, 276
 Pap. Turin 2065, 5, 39, 188, 242, 248
 Pap. Turin 2070/154, 232, 233, 241, 242
 Pap. Turin 2071/224, 119, 135, 139, 146, 147
 Pap. Turin 2072, 25, 30, 53, 111, 113, 166, 170,
 171, 174, 185, 188, 203, 220, 236, 248, 254
 Pap. Turin 2072/142, 25, 30, 53, 113, 166, 171,
 174, 185, 188, 203, 220, 236, 248, 254
 Pap. Turin 2073, 29, 254
 Pap. Turin 2075 (+2056+2096), 101
 Pap. Turin 2075+2056+2096 (268), 136

Pap. Turin 2077/197+2024/178+2052/297, 173
 Pap. Turin 2081/2095, 69
 Pap. Turin 2084+2091, 25, 27, 30, 50, 53, 54, 56,
 72, 111, 113, 166, 185, 231, 262, 276
 Pap. Turin 2094, 200, 234
 Pap. Turin 2106, 96, 172, 232
 Pap. Vienna, 26, 70, 73, 100, 129, 171, 188, 233,
 249
 Turin Necropolis Journal, 24, 29, 58, 70, 120, 136,
 200

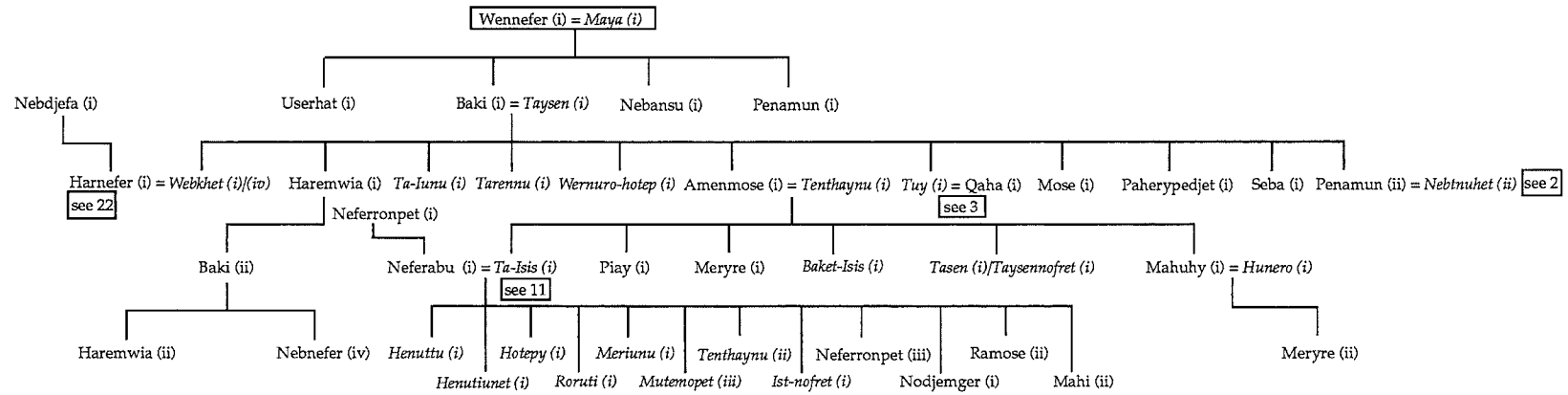
TOMBS

KV 9, 112, 169, 241
 KV 35, 58
 TT 1, 43, 44, 46, 67, 247
 TT 2, 14, 26, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 153, 173, 178,
 179, 180, 182, 190, 195, 202, 216, 272
 TT 2B, 51, 73, 172
 TT 3, 2, 166
 TT 4, 3, 88, 149, 150, 176, 177, 181, 183, 192,
 239, 240
 TT 5, 151, 157, 158
 TT 6, 31
 TT 7, 76, 79, 83, 88
 TT 9, 7, 272, 274
 TT 10, 14, 31, 44, 62, 81, 179, 181, 192, 194, 195,
 264, 267, 269, 270, 271
 TT 206, 90, 141
 TT 210, 179, 180, 239
 TT 211, 34
 TT 212, 82, 83
 TT 213, 3, 4, 5, 6
 TT 214, 192, 193
 TT 215, 76, 77, 141, 160
 TT 216, 15, 31, 32, 85, 204, 227
 TT 217, 58, 179, 239
 TT 218, 150, 153, 183, 184, 236, 237, 238
 TT 219, 66, 81, 90, 150, 153, 166, 181, 211, 236,
 238, 270, 271, 278
 TT 220, 236

INDICES

TT 250, 28, 31, 78, 79, 83, 88, 153, 161, 180, 191, 192, 193, 194, 206, 223	TT 335, 18, 45, 46, 65, 77, 78, 88, 150, 154, 179, 181, 183, 216, 223
TT 265, 76, 160, 192	TT 336, 81, 88, 179, 181, 183
TT 266, 66	TT 337, 178
TT 267, 63, 65, 66, 68, 102, 105, 118	TT 339, 10, 227
TT 290, 28, 218, 263	TT 355, 26, 58, 209
TT 298, 2, 7, 9, 64	TT 356, 160, 192, 206, 207
TT 299, 13, 16, 85	TT 359, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 75, 155, 170, 202, 221, 255, 265
TT 321, 17, 66, 249, 250	TT 360, 12, 13, 14
TT 322, 181, 195	TT 361, 13
TT 323, 155, 156	TT 1164, 206
TT 326, 2	TT 1338, 109, 112, 246
TT 327, 278	
TT 328, 272	
TT 329, 41, 209, 211, 272	
TT 330, 237, 274	

CHART 1: The family of Baki (i)



Alternative hypothesis

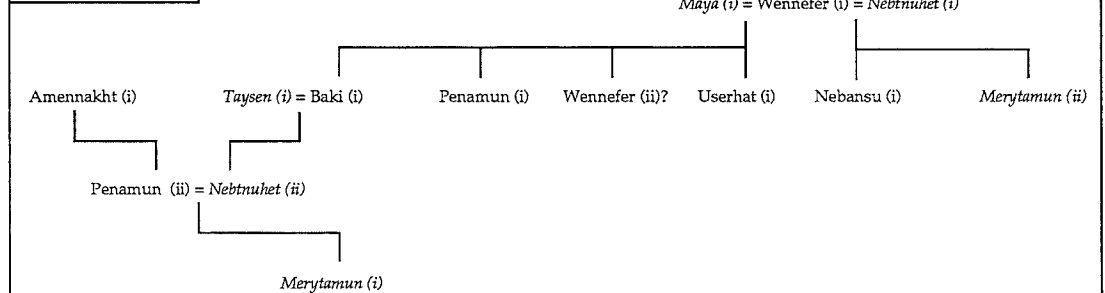


CHART 2: The family of Penamun (ii)

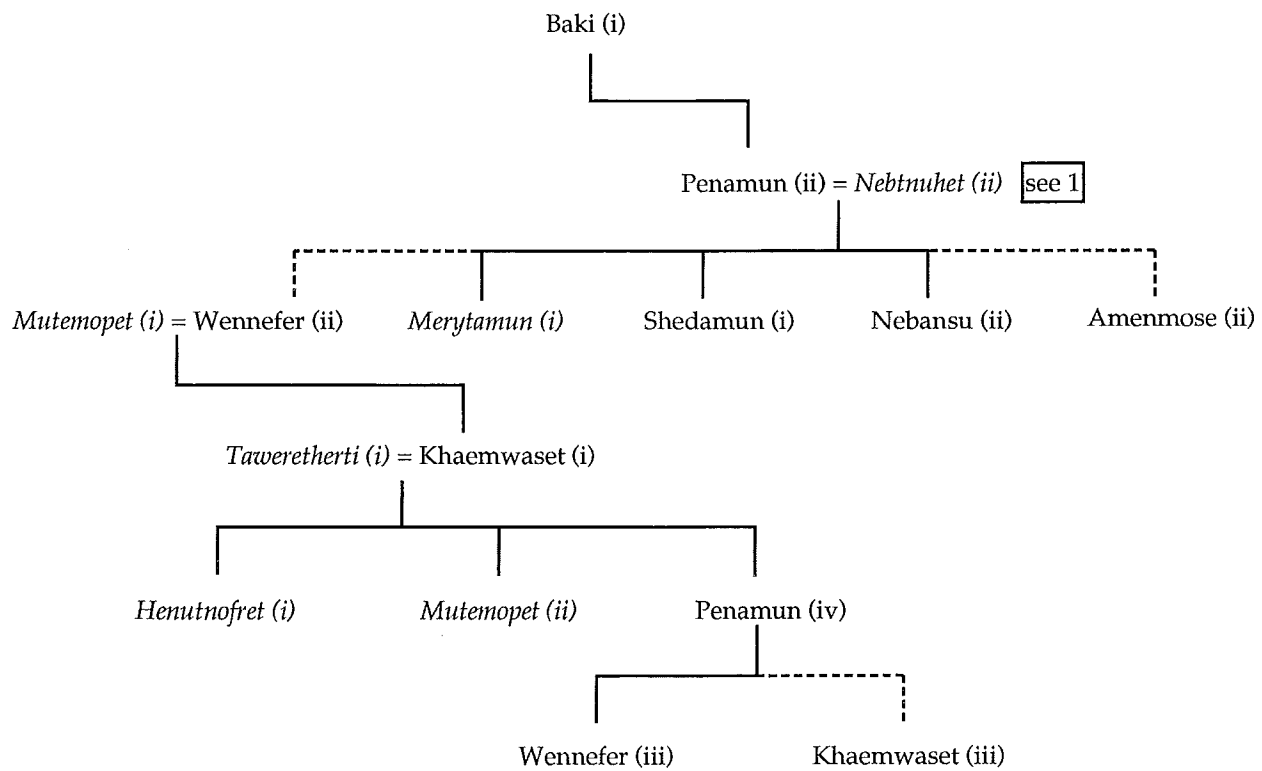


CHART 3: The family of Oaha (i)

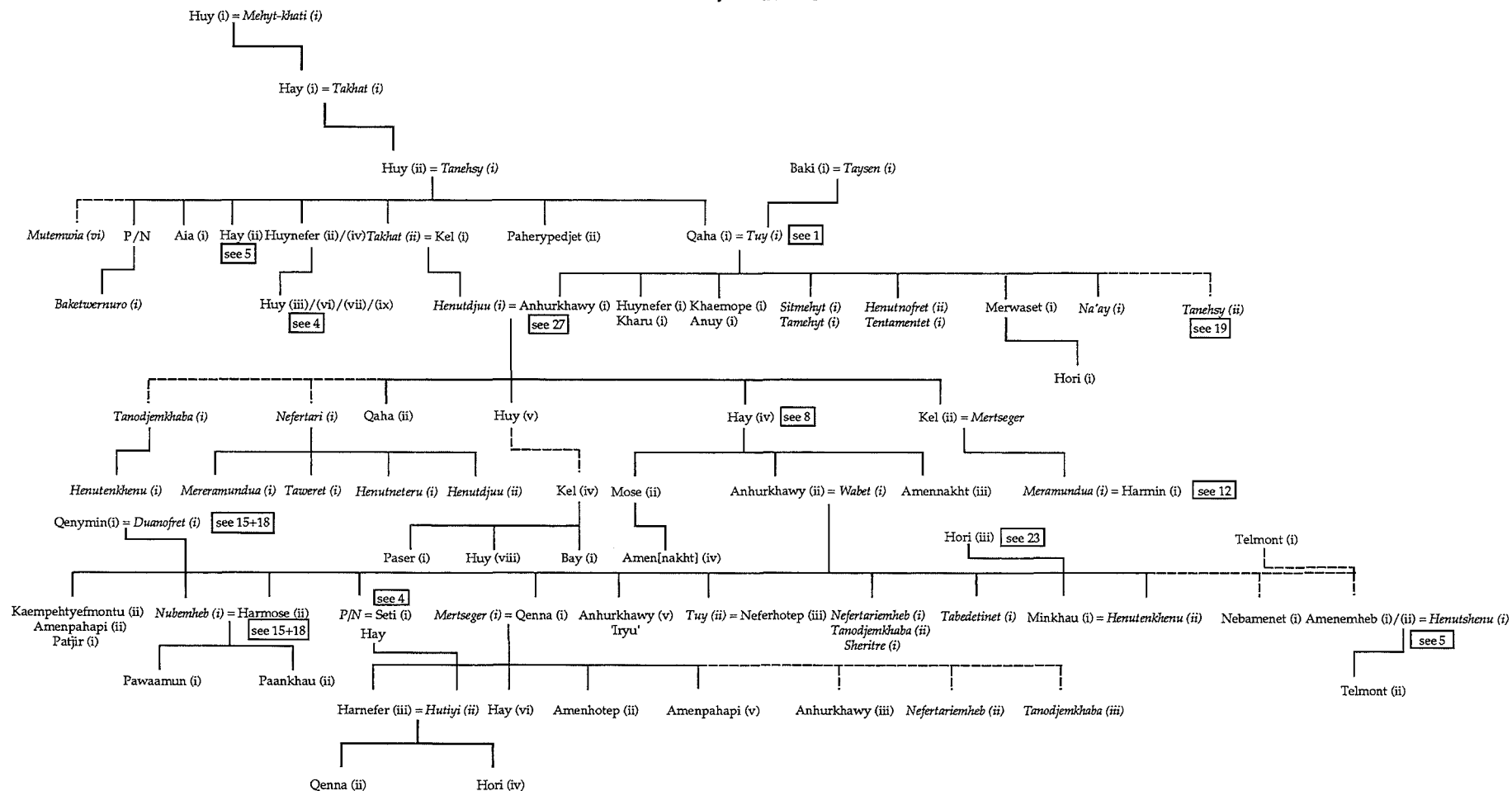


CHART 4: The family of Huynefer (ii)

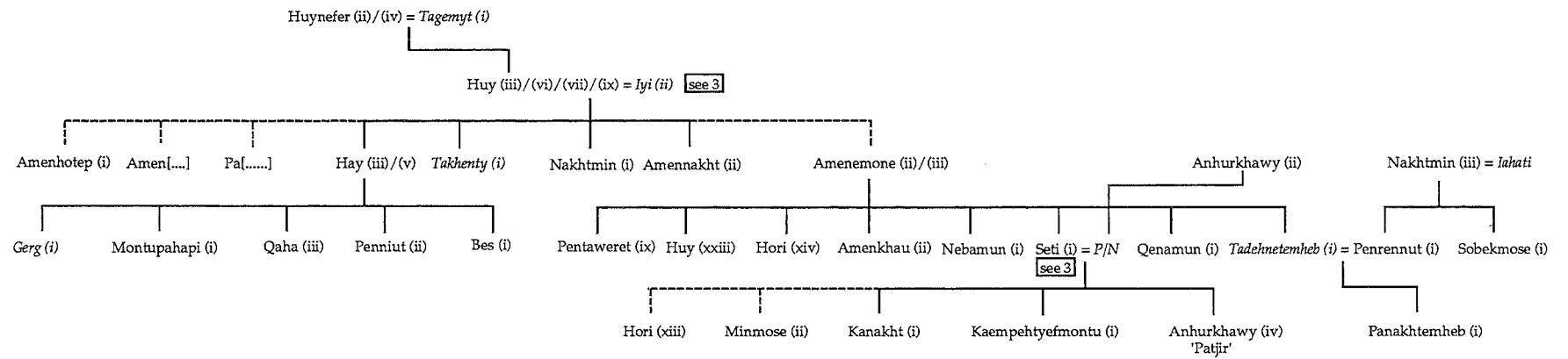
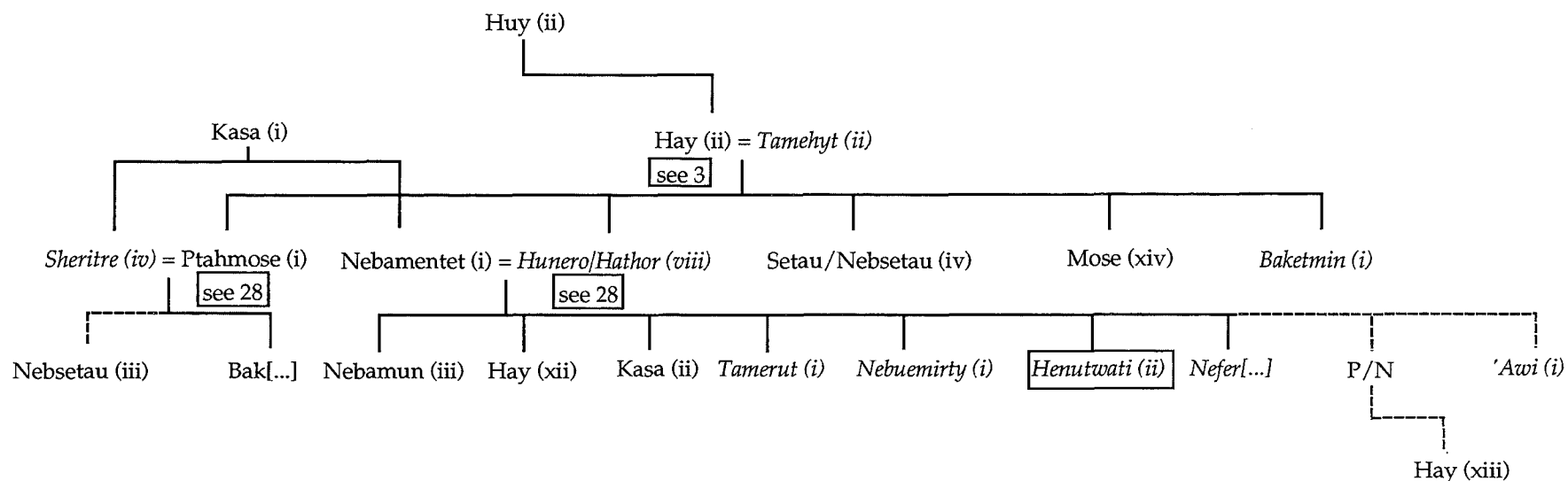


CHART 5: The family of Hay (ii)



It is possible that Henutwati (ii) is to be identified with Henutwati (i), the wife of Khnummose (i).
 Khnummose (i) might himself be synonymous with Mose (iv), son of Anakhtu (ii), or Mose (viii) (see chart 28).

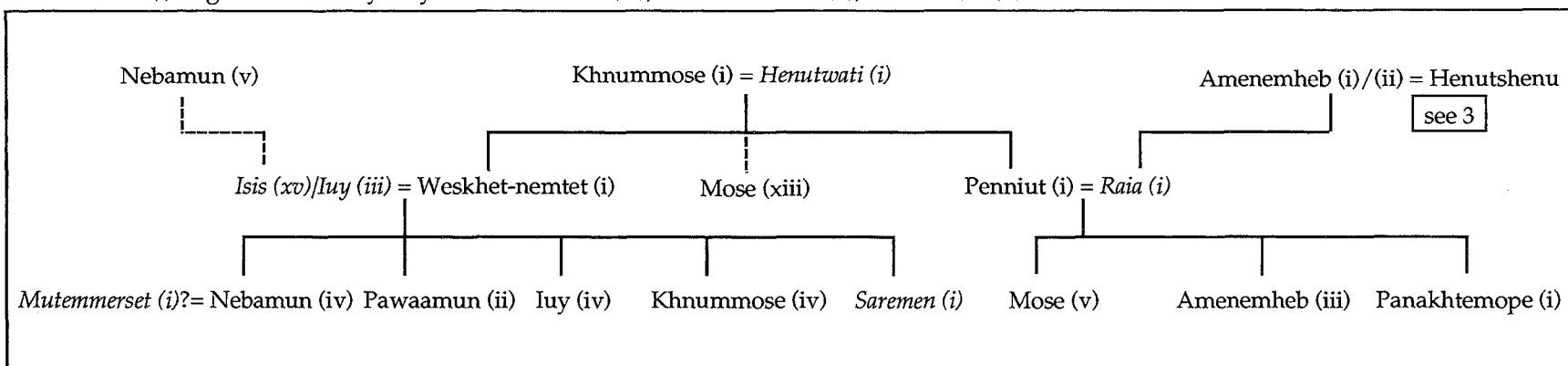
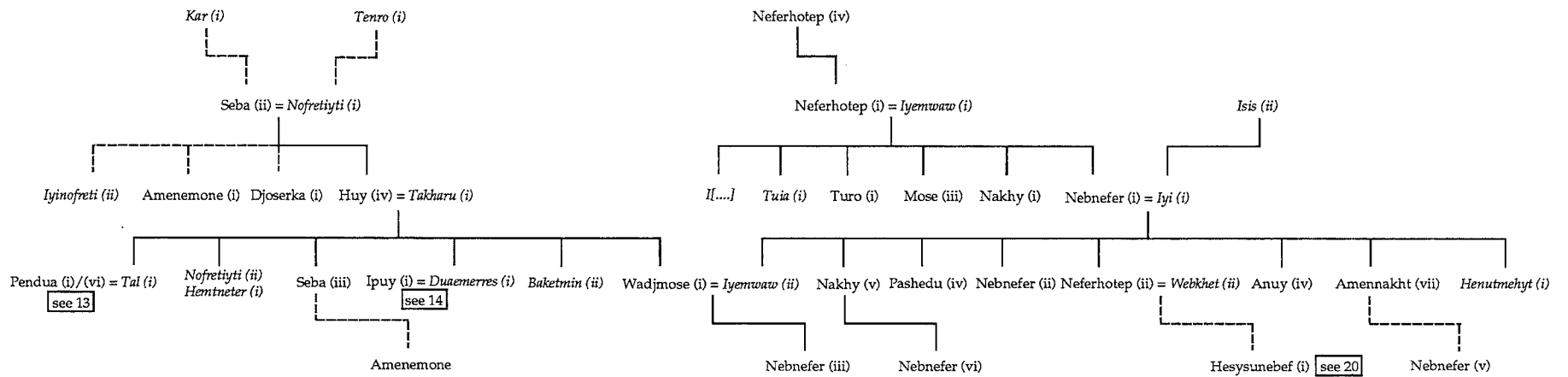
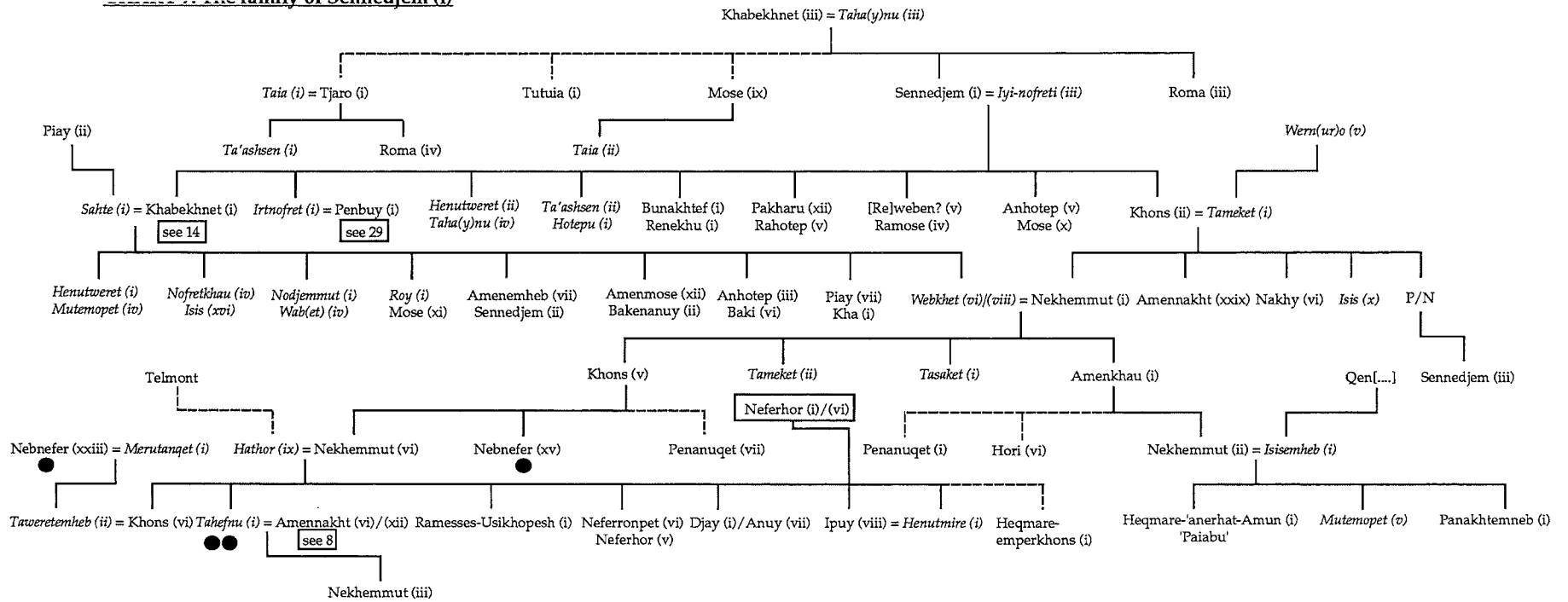


CHART 6: The family of Neferhotep (i)





● It is possible that Nebnefer (xv) is to be identified with Nebnefer (xciii) ●● The father of Tahefnu (i) may be identified with the 'foreman' Nekhemmut (vi), or with the 'draftsman' Nekhemmut (ii).

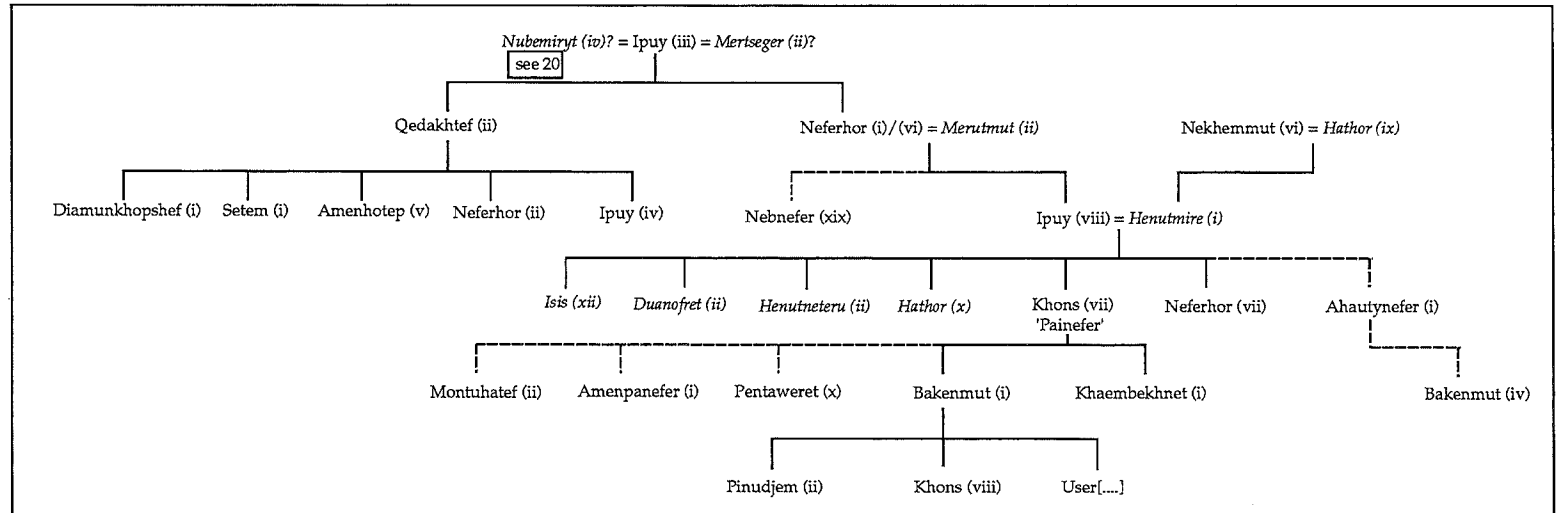
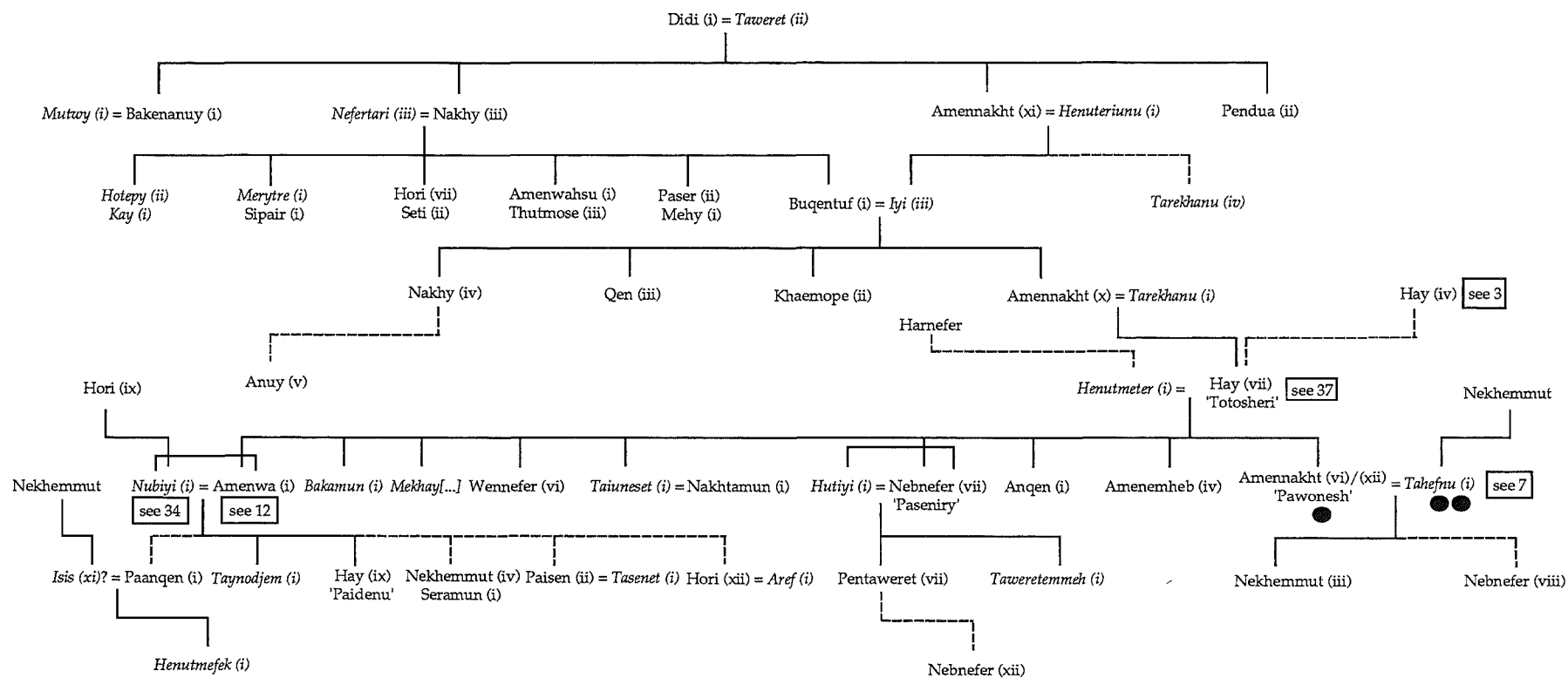


CHART 8: The family of Didi (i)



- If Amennakht (vi)/(xii) had married twice, he may possibly be identified with Amennakht (xxii), son of Hori (ix) (see chart 12).
- The father of Tahefnu (i) may be identified with the 'foreman' Nekhemmut (vi), or with the 'draftsman' Nekhemmut (ii).

CHART 9: The family of Amennakht (v)

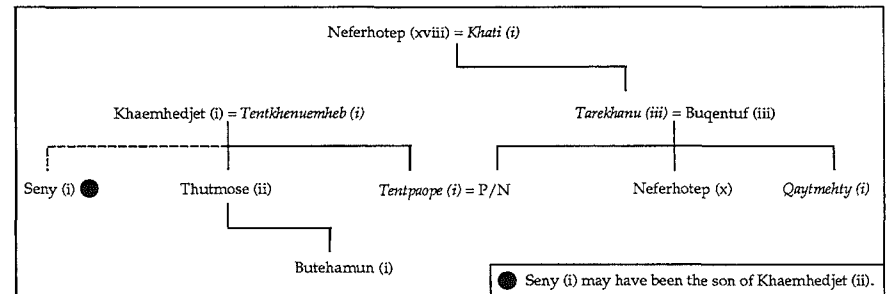
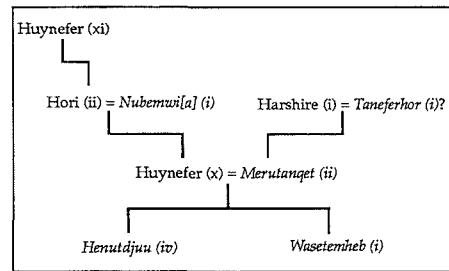
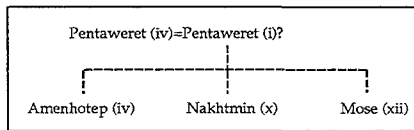
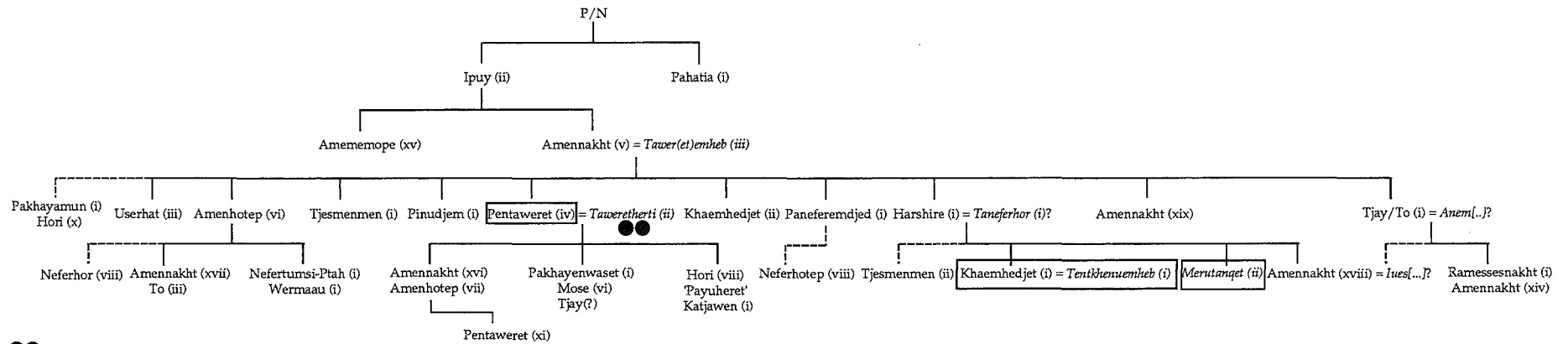


CHART 10: The family of Ipuy (v)

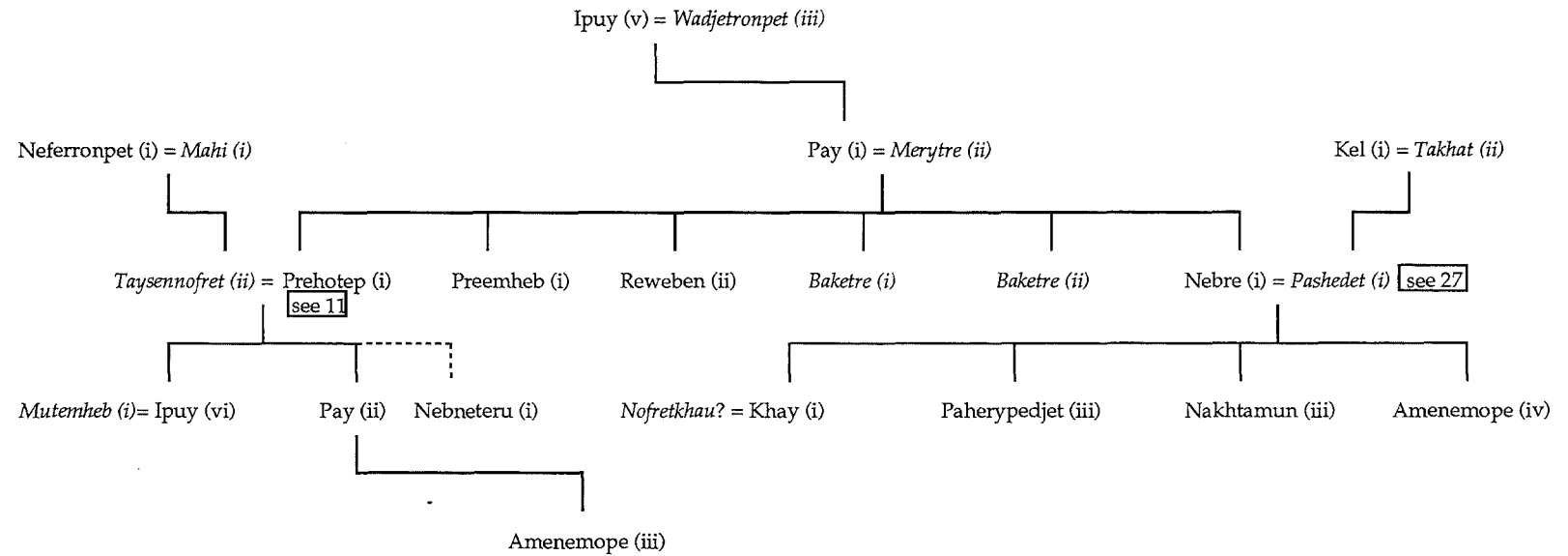


CHART 11: The family of Neferronpet (i)

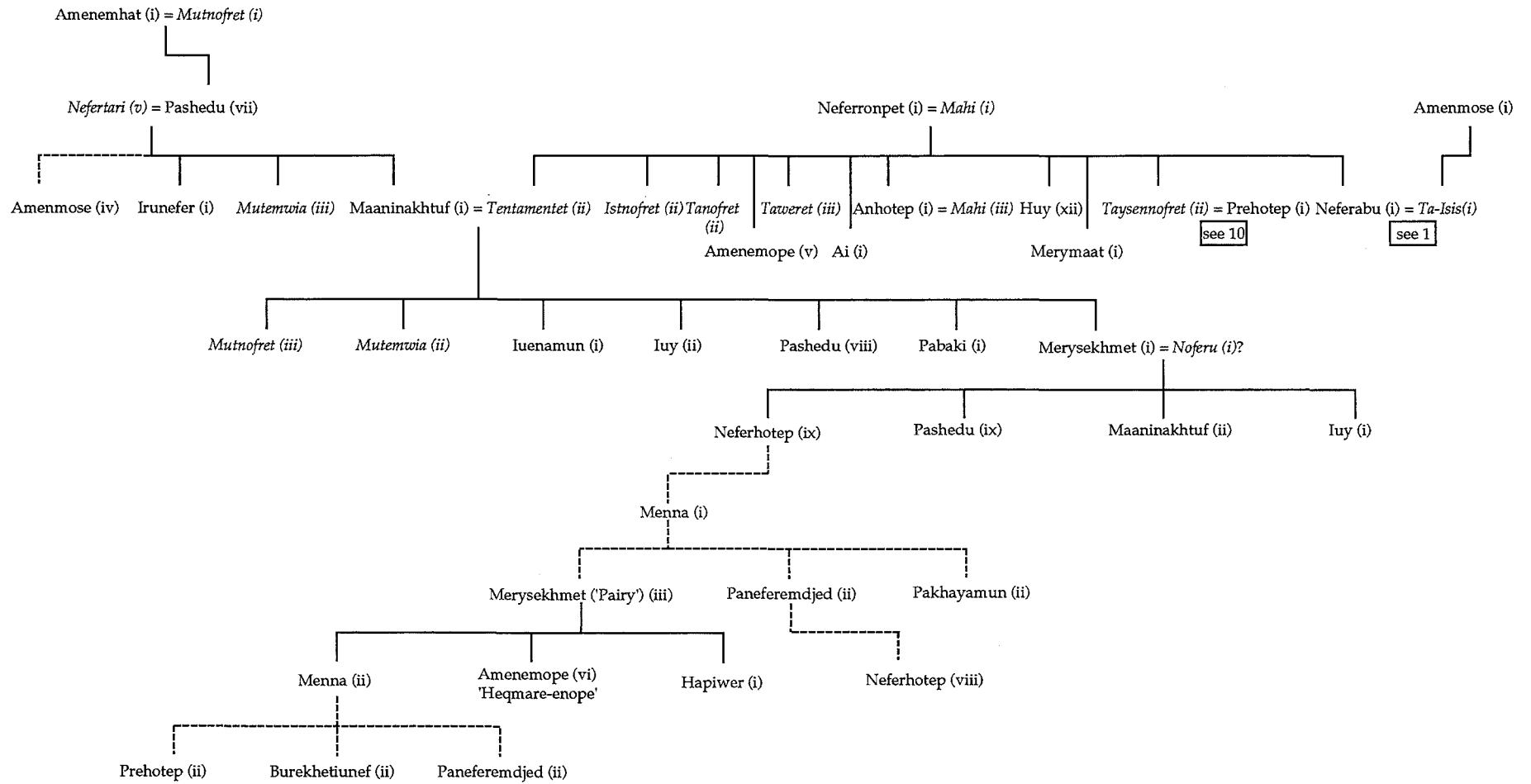
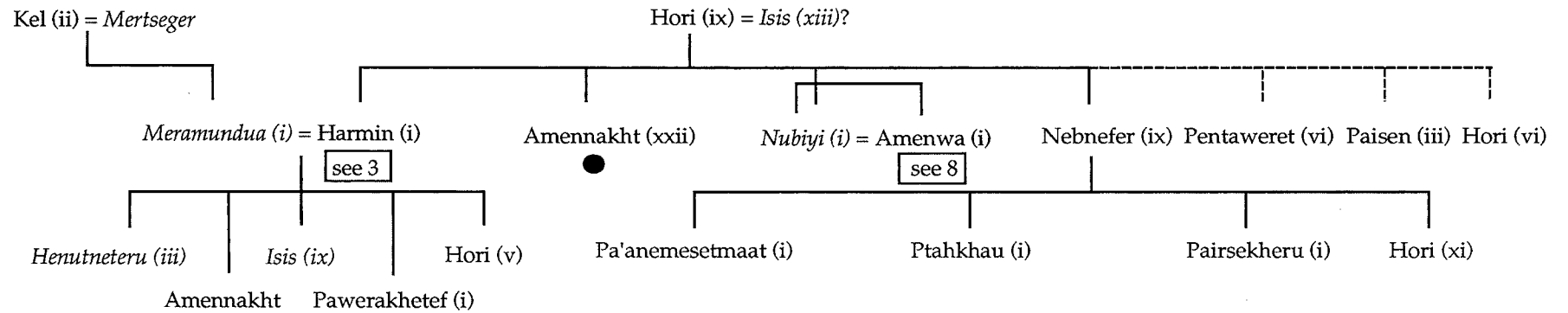


CHART 12: The family of Hori (ix)



- Amennakht (xxii) is possibly to be identified with Amennakht (vi)/(xii), son of Hay (vii) (see chart 8).

CHART 13: The family of Qen (ii)

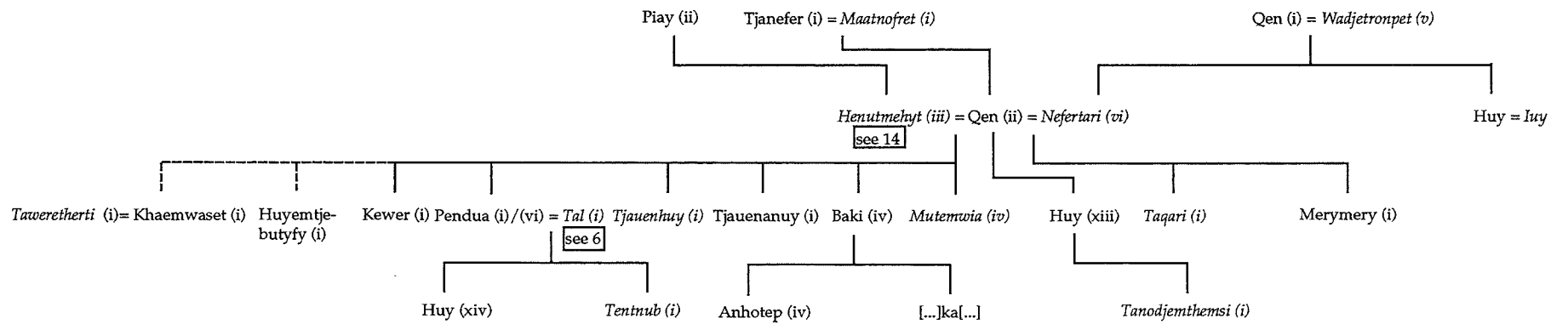


CHART 14: The family of Piay (ii)

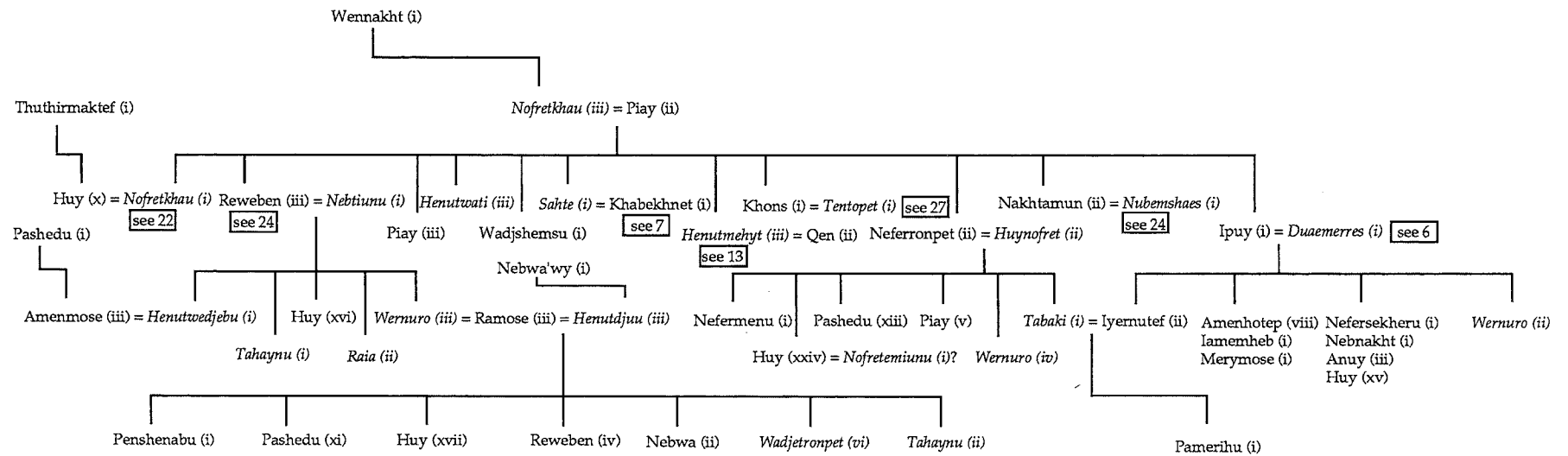


CHART 15: The family of Qenymín (i)

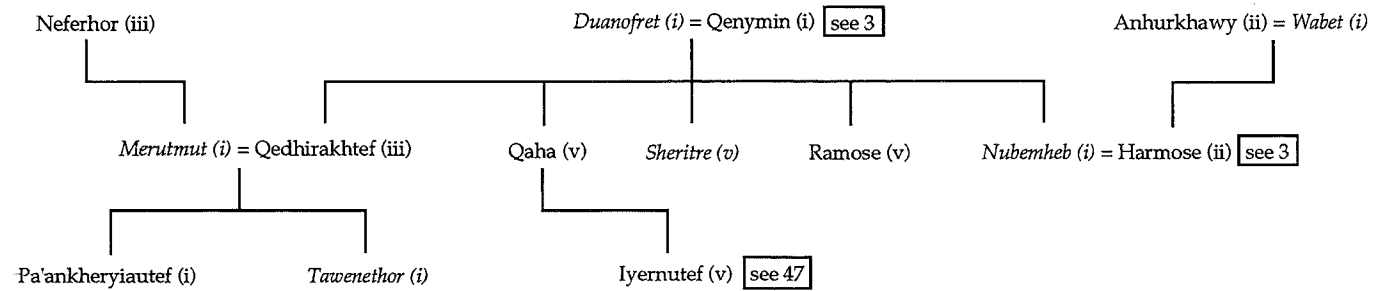


CHART 16: The family of Apatjau (i)

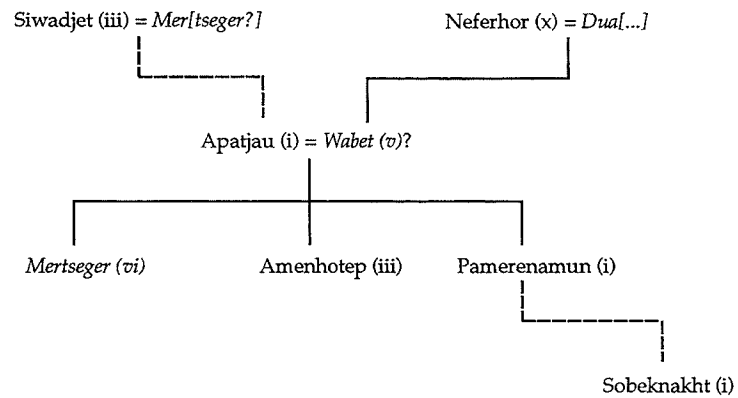


CHART 17: The family of Siwadjet (iv)

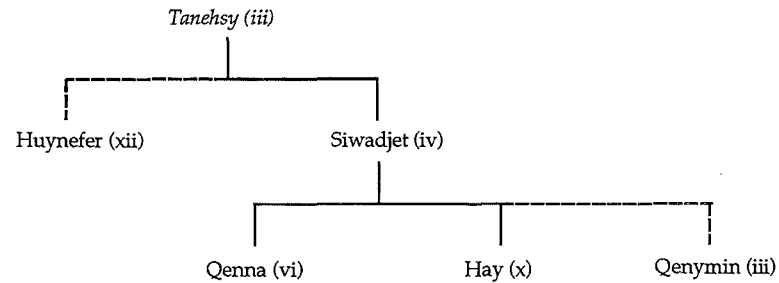


CHART 18

The following composite genealogy has been composed from the tentative assumption that Qenymin (i) (chart 16) is to be identified with Qenymin (iii) (chart 17), and that Siwadjet (iii) (chart 16) may be synonymous with Siwadjet (iv) (chart 17):

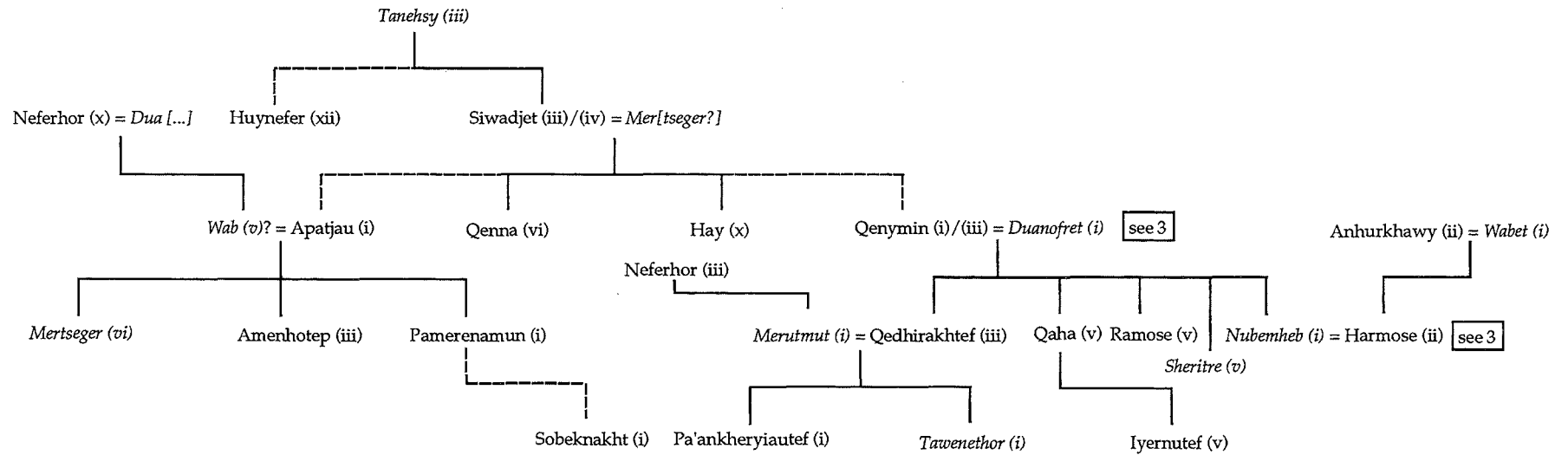


CHART 19: The family of Amek (i)

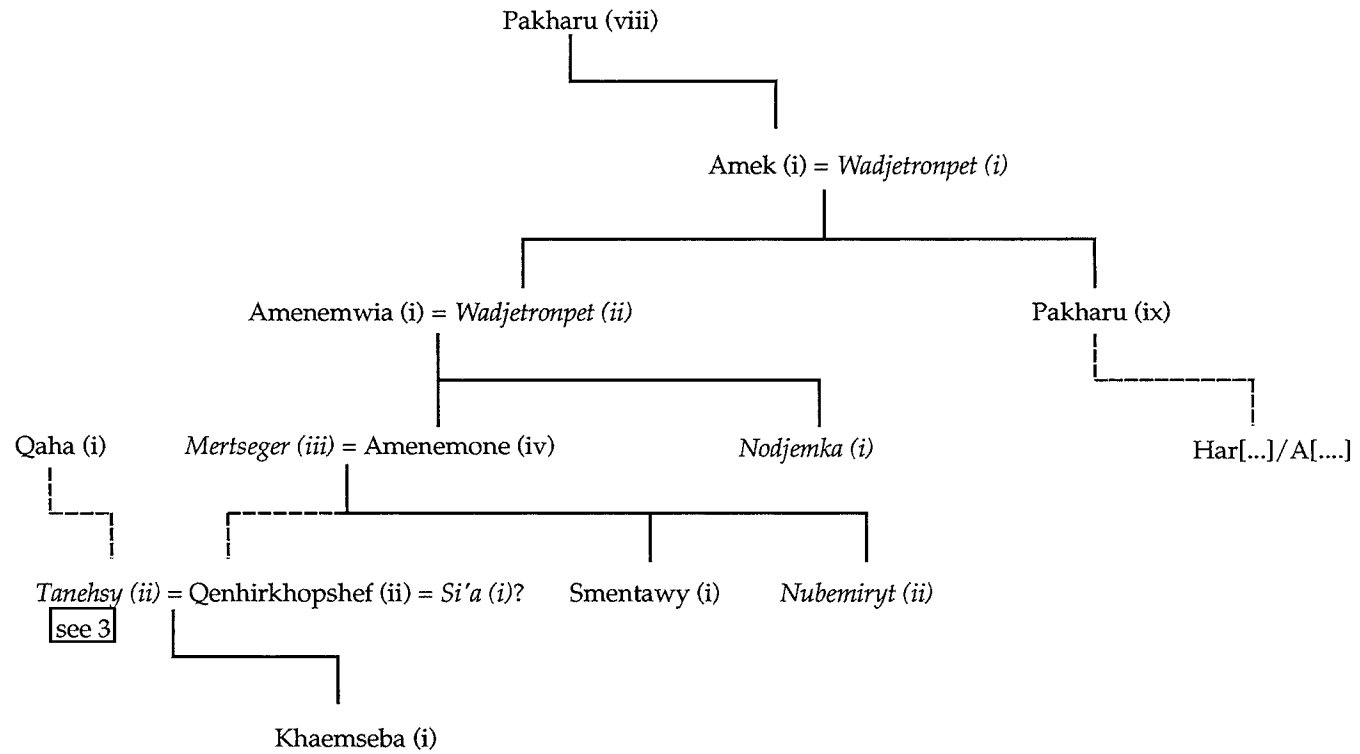
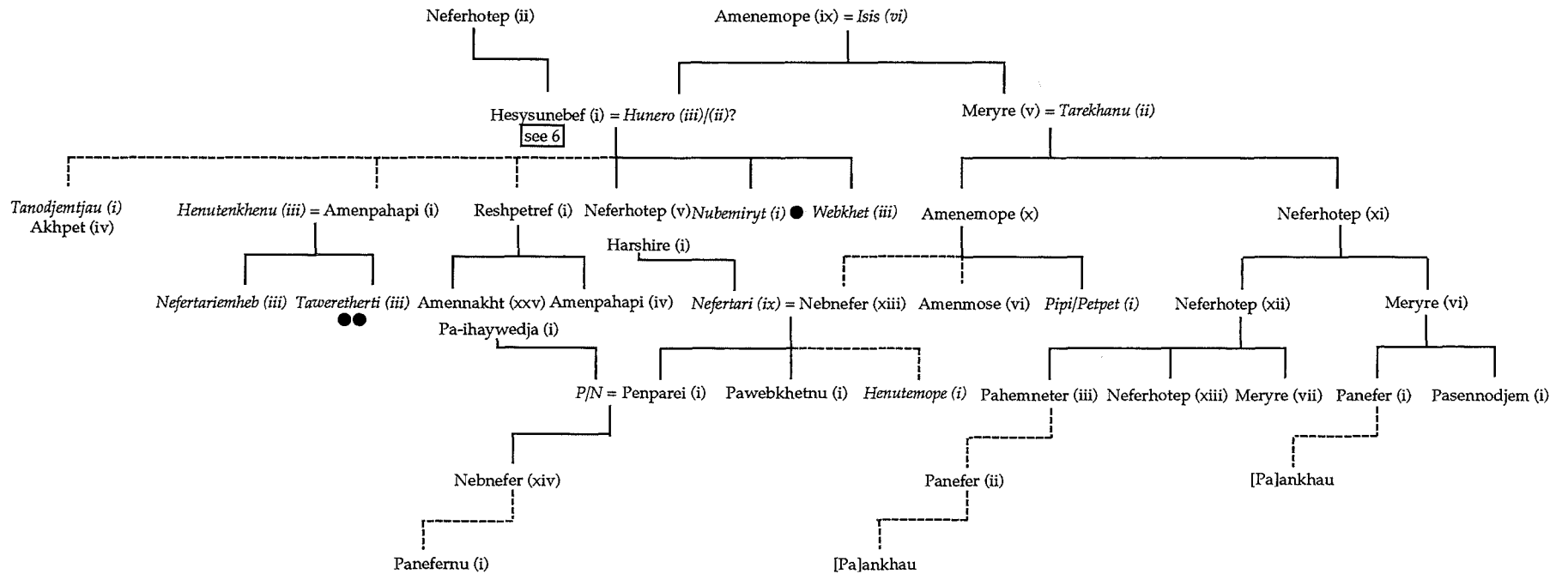


CHART 20: The family of Amenemope (ix)



- It is possible that Nubemiryrt (i) is to be identified with Nubemiryrt (ii), a possible wife of Ipuy (iii) (see chart 7)
- It is possible that Taweretherti (iii) is to be identified with Taweretherti (ii) (see chart 9)

CHART 21: The family of Nebenmaat (i)

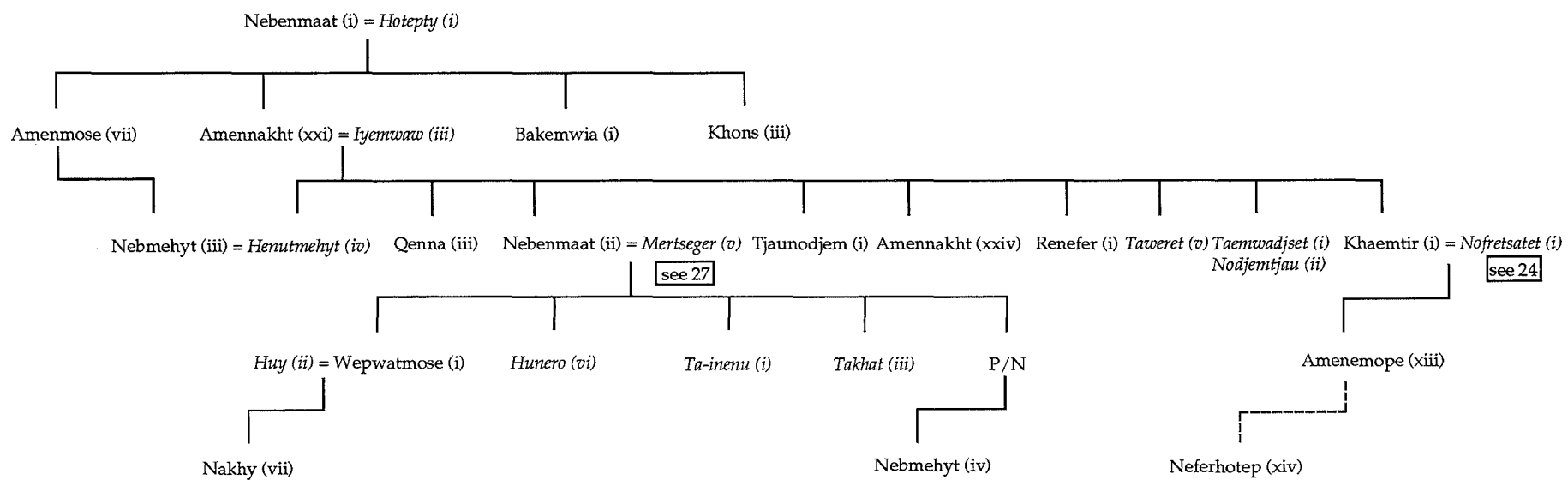


CHART 22: The family of Nebdjefa (i)

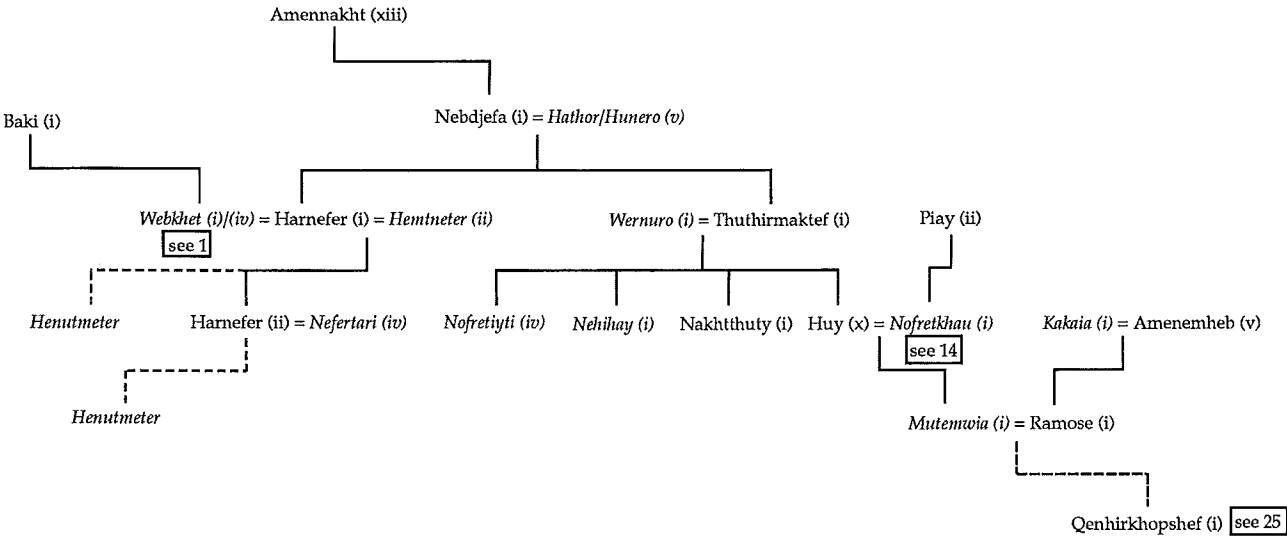
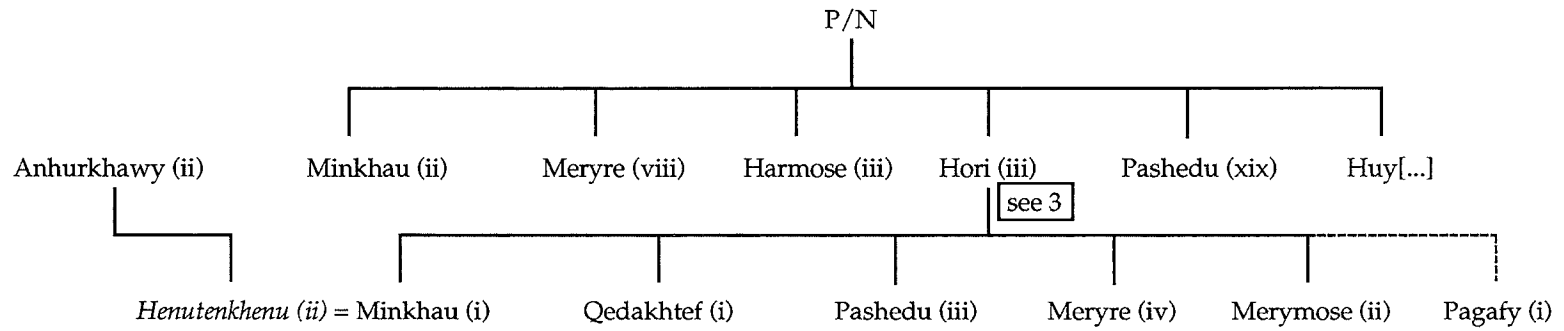


CHART 23: The family of Hori (iii)



Alternatively:

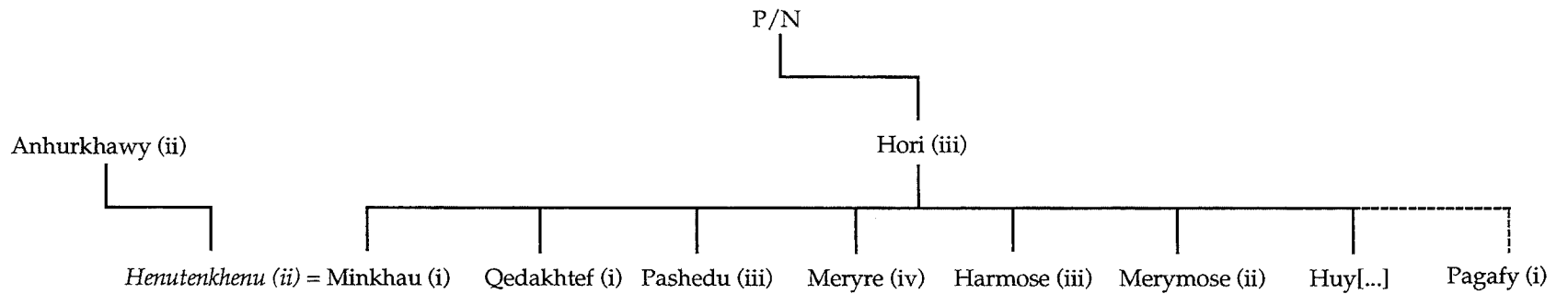


CHART 24: The family of Hehnekhu (i)

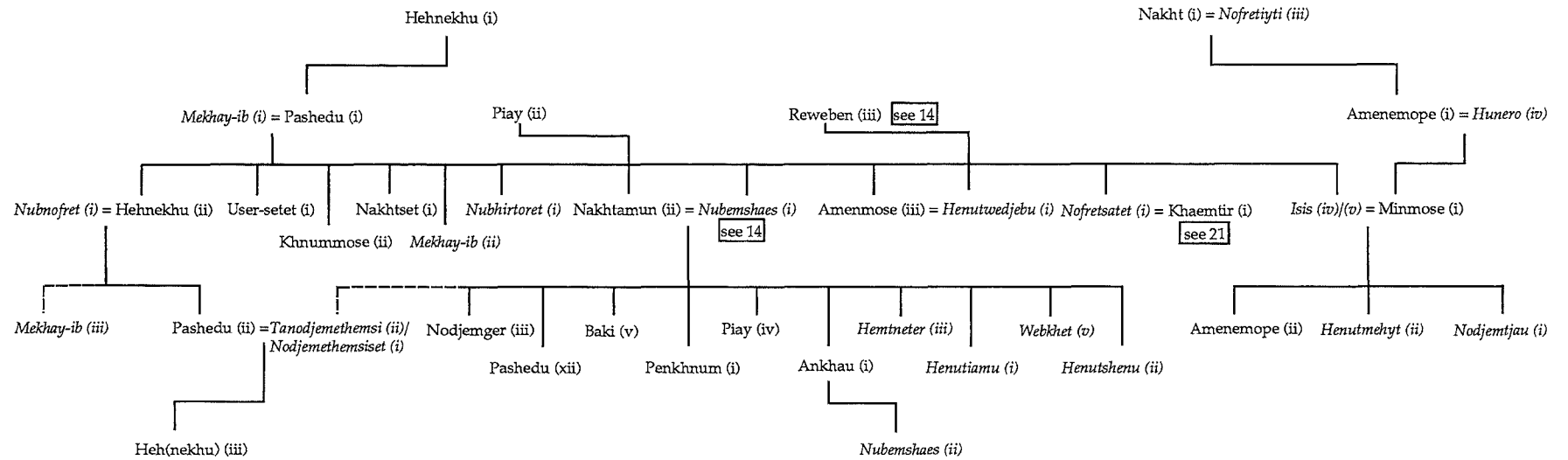


CHART 25: The family of Khaemnun (i)

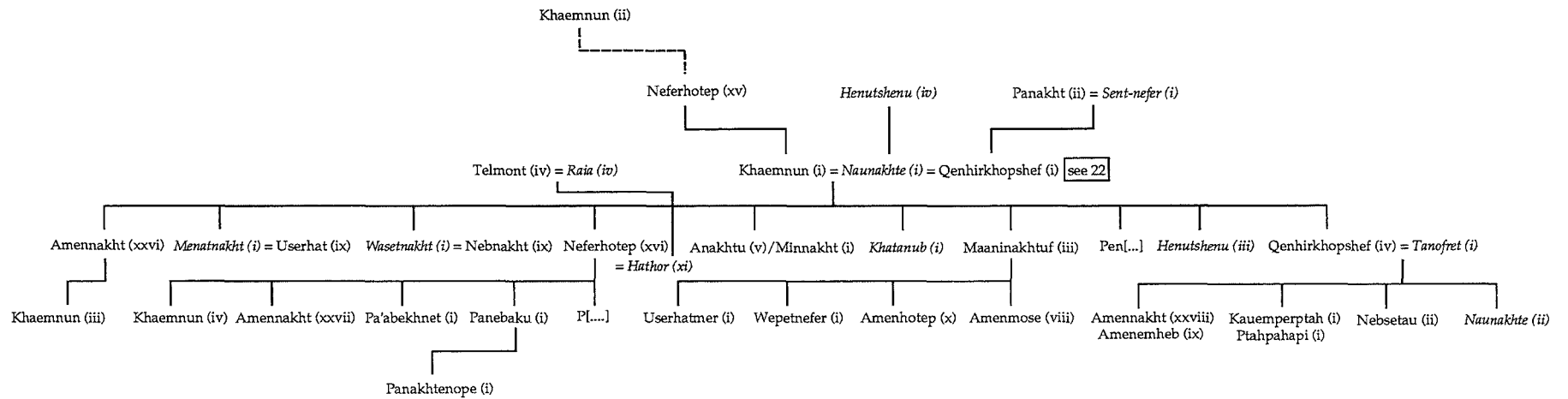


CHART 26: The family of Siwadjet (i)

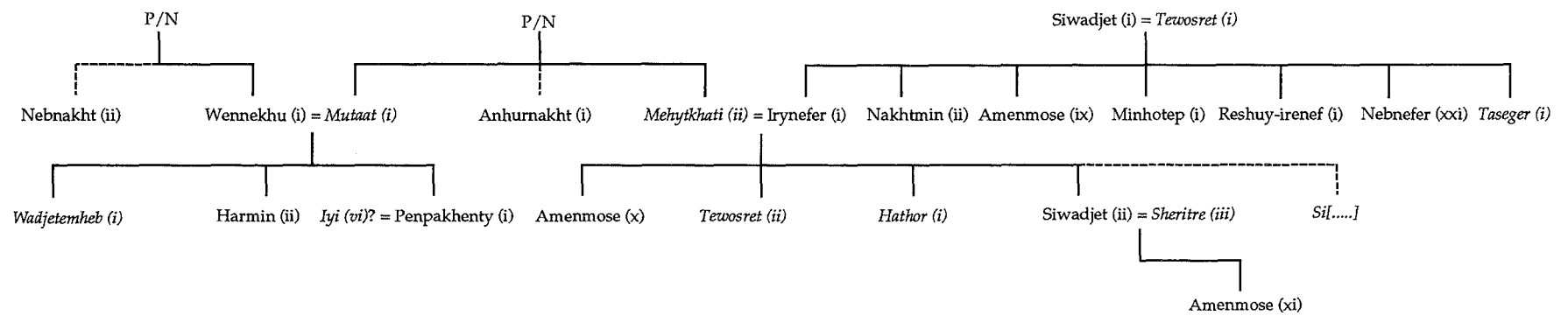


CHART 27: The family of Simut (i)

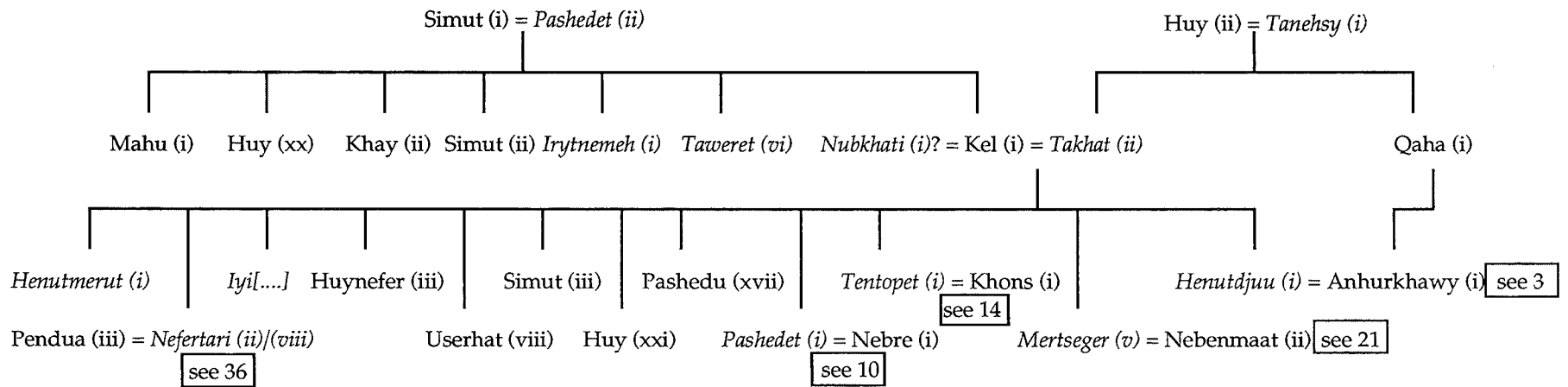


CHART 28: The family of Kasa (i)

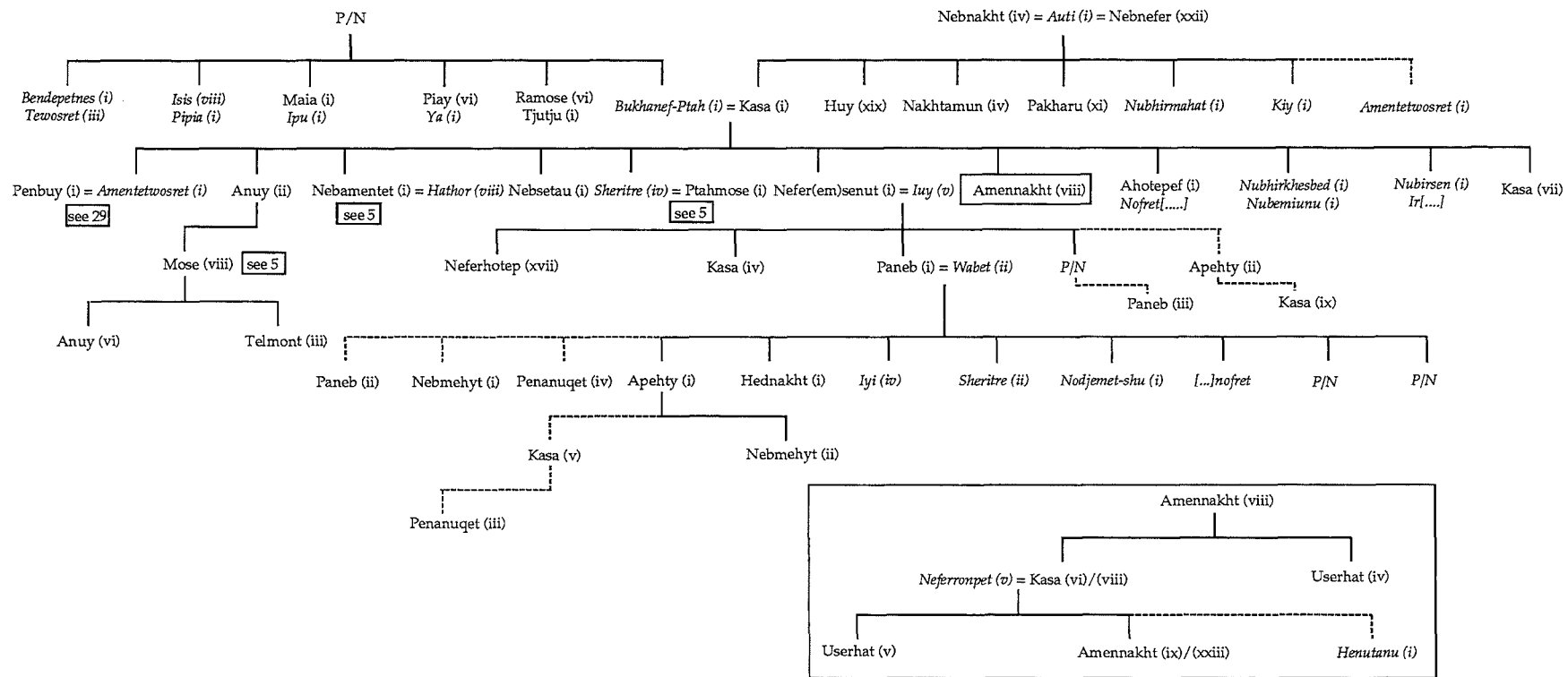
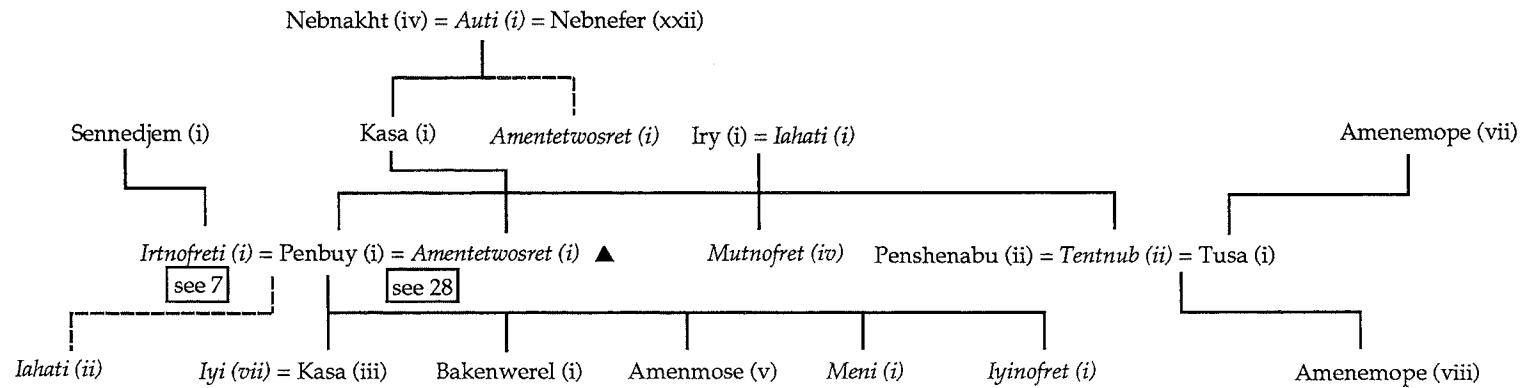


CHART 29: The family of Penbuy (i)



▲ Amentetwosret (i), the wife of Penbuy (i), may in fact have been a sister of Kasa (i).

CHART 30: The family of Mose (vii)

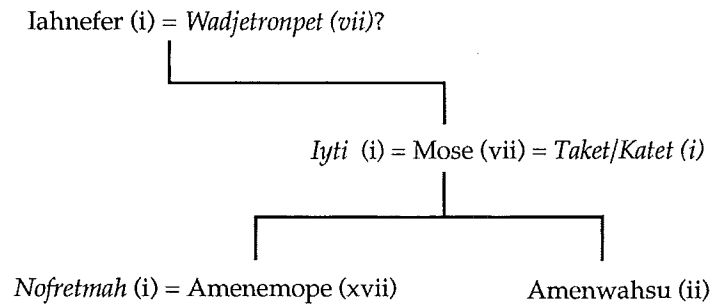


CHART 31: The family of Ipy (i)

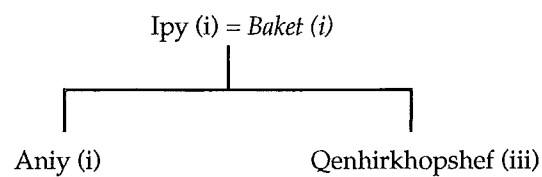


CHART 32: The family of Turobay (i)

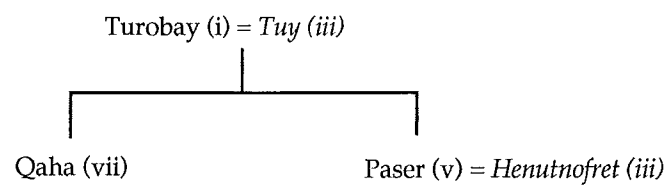


CHART 33: The family of Amenemheb (vi)

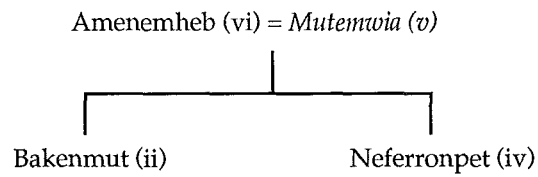
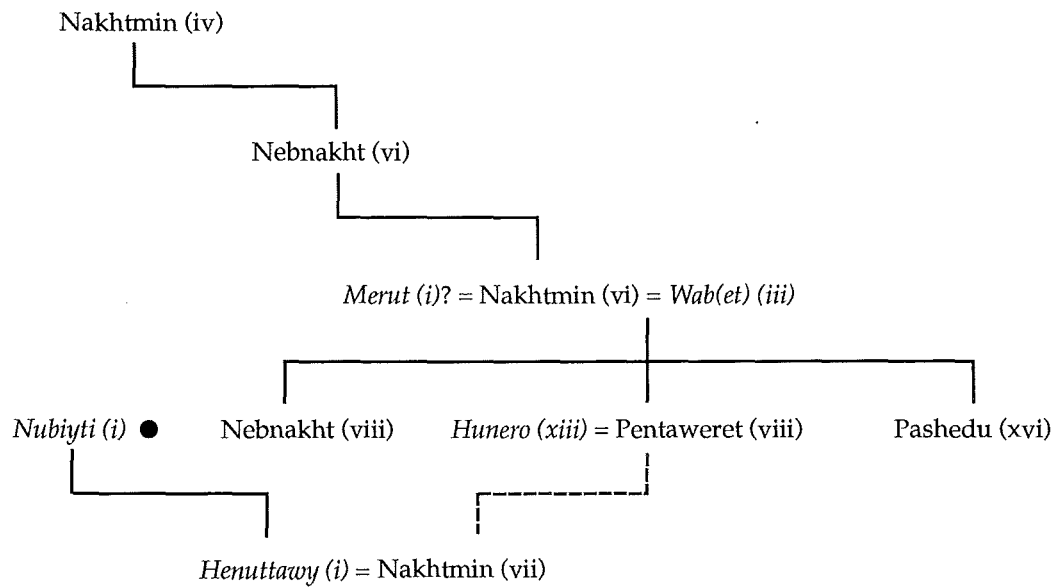


CHART 34: The family of Nakhtmin (iv)



- Nubiyti (i) may well be identified with Nubiyi (i), the wife of Amenwa (i) (see chart 8).

CHART 35: The family of Nakhtsu (i)

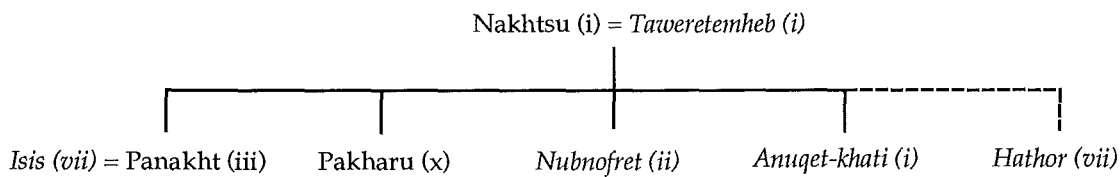


CHART 36: The family of Pendua (iii)

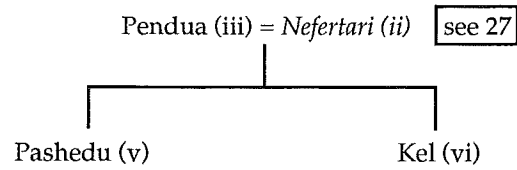
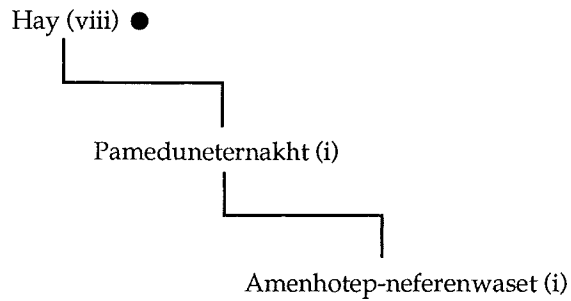


CHART 37: The family of Pameduneternakht (i)



- Hay (viii) may have been identical with Hay (vii) (see chart 8).

CHART 38: The family of Iyernutef (iii)

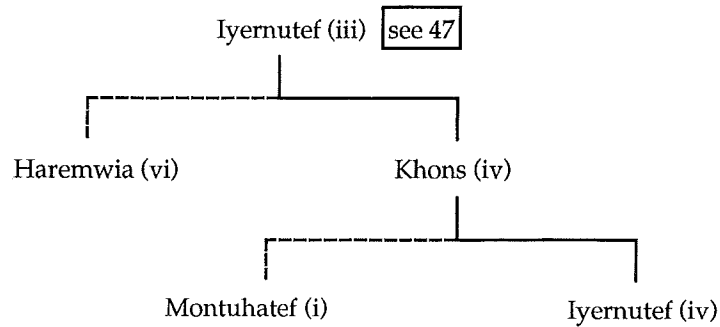


CHART 39: The family of Seba (iv)

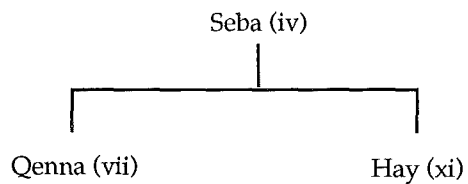


CHART 40: The families of Pennub (i) and Harmose (i)

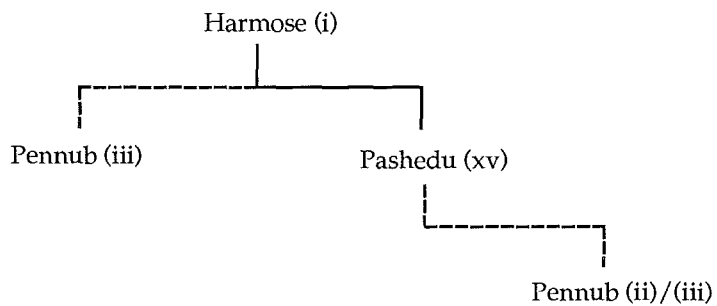
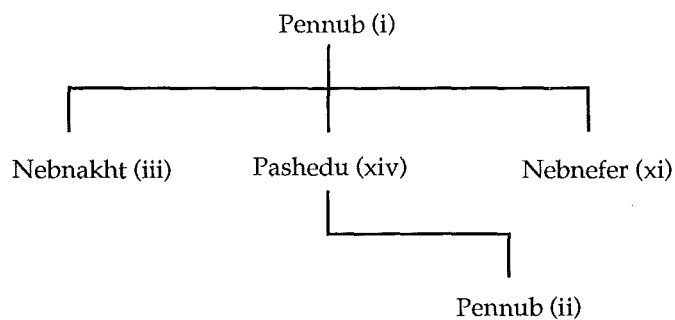


CHART 41: The family of Prehotep (iv)

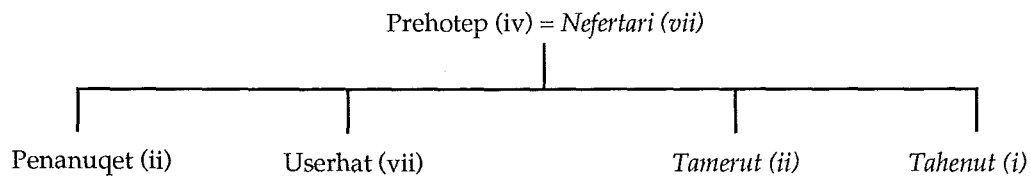


CHART 42: The family of Anakhtu (iii)

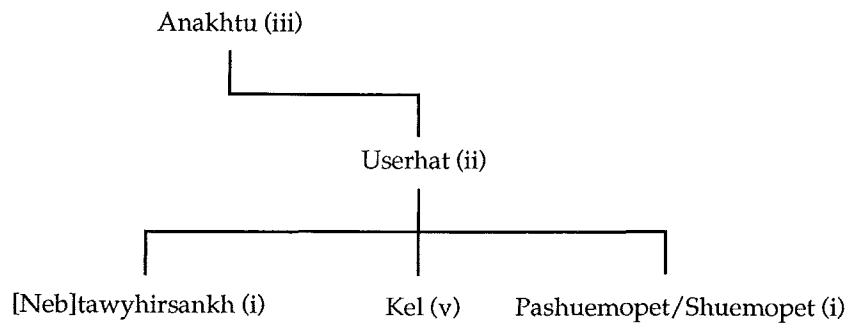


CHART 43: The family of Pahemneter (i)

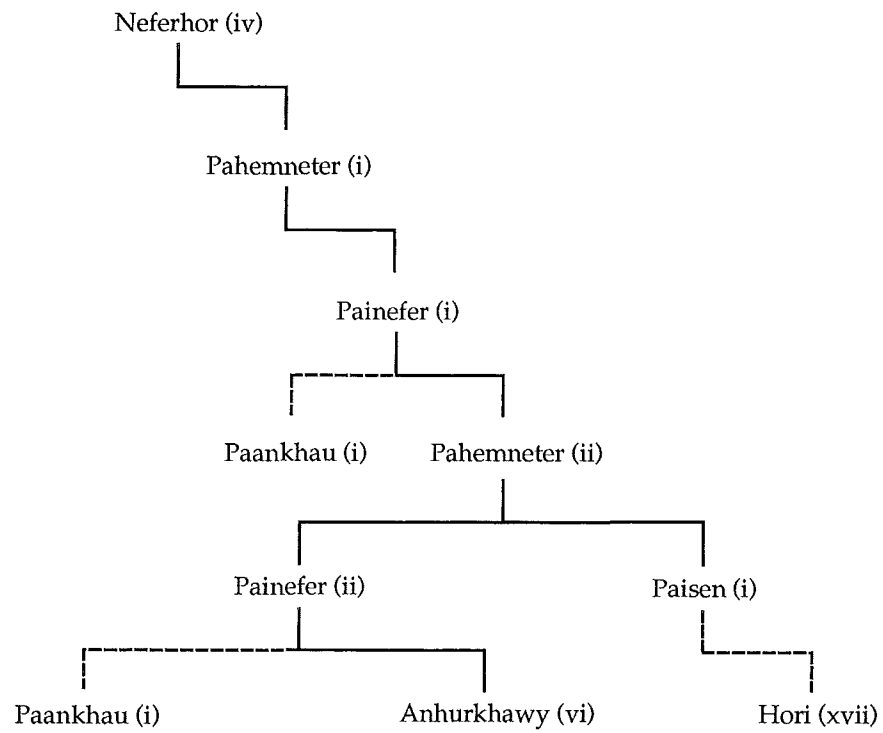


CHART 44: The family of Yipuy (i)

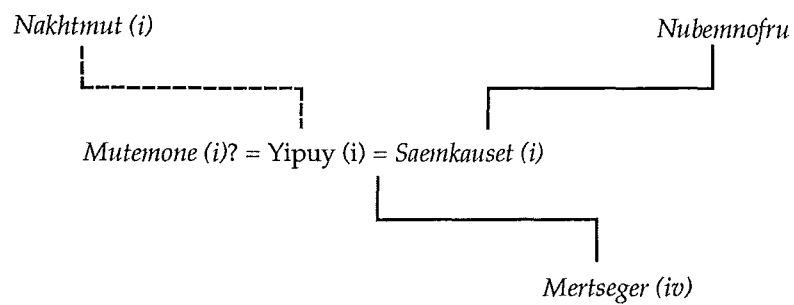


CHART 45: The family of Qaydjoret (i)

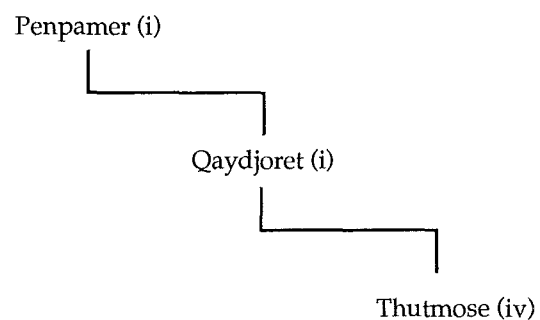


CHART 46: The family of Penparei (ii)

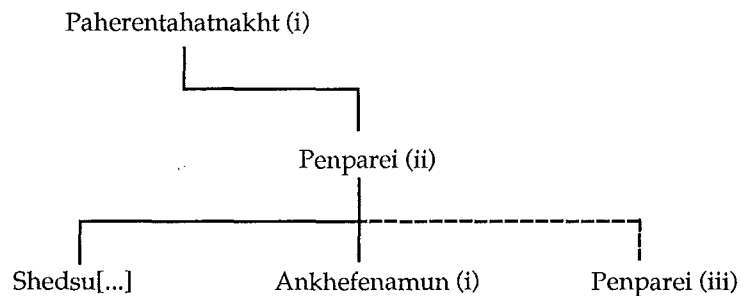
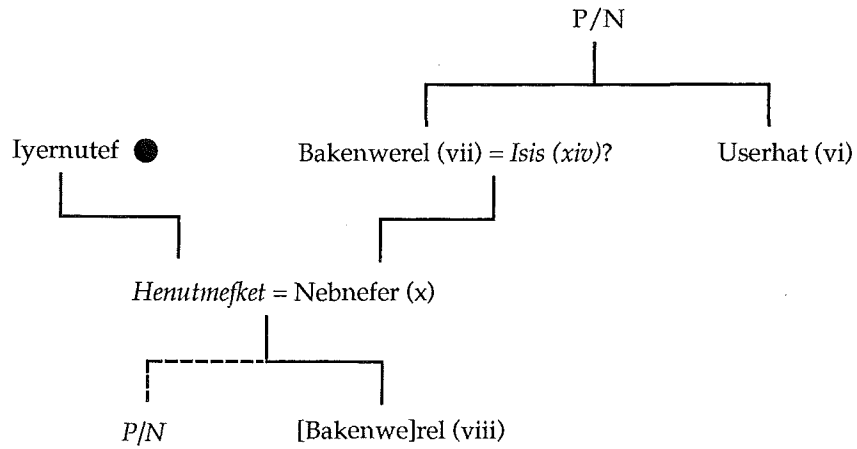


CHART 47: The family of Bakenwerel (vii)



- Iyernutef is probably to be identified with the 'sculptor' Iyernutef (iii) (see chart 38), or less likely with Iyernutef (v), son of Qaha (v) (see charts 15 and 18).