

RAMESSIDE ADMINISTRATIVE PAPYRI IN THE CIVICHE RACCOLTE  
ARCHEOLOGICHE E NUMISMATICHE DI MILANO\*

ROBERT J. DEMARÉE

Until fairly recently the existence of the documents published here was almost unknown to the scholarly world.

As proven by their contents and their close relations to the papyri in the Museo Egizio of Turin, these documents without doubt once were part of the collection of Bernardino Drovetti. It is not known how they became separated from that collection and who exactly acquired them. This, however, must have occurred shortly after the arrival of Drovetti's collection in Italy, since the connection between the documents in the two collections was noticed remarkably soon. In one of his letters to the abbé Gazzera, written in Bologna 5<sup>th</sup> March 1825, Jean-François Champollion writes about his visit to the director of the Gabinetto Numismatico di Brera, Gaetano Cattaneo: "Mon passage à Milan n'a point été perdu pour nos chères études Égyptiennes. J'ai visité M. Cattaneo, qui m'a accueilli avec son atticisme ordinaire. Je suis enchanté de lui, quand même il ne m'eût pas fait voir une belle momie (morte), plus quelques débris de papyrus, parmi lesquels j'ai trouvé un reste de *registre de comptabilité*, lequel m'a tout l'air d'être un morceau appartenant à l'un des papyrus de Turin. Il porte *deux additions* en chiffres, sans qu'aucun caractère d'écriture soit mêlé avec les chiffres."<sup>1</sup> In a letter to his brother Champollion-Figeac, written the next day, he recorded the same visit, adding that a papyrus fragment he had seen was dated to years 8 and 9 of an unknown sovereign, and that the possible connection with the Turin papyri had to be verified.<sup>2</sup> It will become clear hereafter that Champollion refers to what is now known as P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126, 0.9.40127 and 0.9.40128.

After the first references to these documents, the Milan papyri virtually seemed forgotten until some 150 years later they were once again noticed.<sup>3</sup> Almost two decades later, and after their conservation, the papyri appeared in two exhibitions.<sup>4</sup>

Originally the plan was to publish the Milan papyri together with the joining fragments in the Turin collection, but as this archive appears to be 'closed' for an indefinite period of time, it was decided not to wait any longer with the publication of these valuable additions to our knowledge of the Theban Necropolis administration.

<sup>1</sup> H. Hartleben (ed.), *Lettres de Champollion le Jeune* (Paris 1909), 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, 182-183.

<sup>3</sup> S. Curto, *La raccolta d'arte egizia a Milano*, Rassegna di Studi del Civico Museo Archeologico e del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano, Fasc. V e VI (1970), 23.

<sup>4</sup> F. Tiradritti (ed.), *L'Egitto a Milano. Nuove Acquisizione e Restauri* (Milan 1991), 10, 13-17, 44; *id.*, *Sesh. Lingue e scritture nell'antico Egitto. Inediti del Museo Archeologico* (Milan 1999), 130-135.

Thanks to the kindness of the then director Prof. Ermanno Arslan and Dr. Francesco Tiradritti I could then study these documents, obtain photographs and receive a first permission to publish them. Some draft transcriptions had been made by Dr. David Warburton, to whom I express my sincere thanks for providing me with his papers.

\* See also plates I and II at the end of this volume.

Here I would like to express my thanks to the authorities of the Milan collection, Dr. Donatella Caporusso and Dr. Sabrina Ceruti for their help and their permission to publish the papyri.

### **P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40128**

The seven joining fragments of P. Milan RAN E 09.40126 form a papyrus of max. 18.8 cm high and 72.8 cm long, representing the lower half of an original document (max. 40-41 cm high). The fragment P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40128, max. 17.3 cm high and 9 cm width, does not join directly, but on account of the preserved text certainly has to be placed above column II of the recto (and likewise column II of the verso).

The papyrus is of light brown colour on its recto and medium to dark brown on its verso. Three sheet joins (*kollesis*) can be observed, on the recto at respectively ca. 14, 42 and 70 cm from the right hand edge.

The papyrus is clearly palimpsest on the verso: traces of an earlier incompletely effaced writing can be seen e.g. in the margin before column I of the verso. The surface of the verso has suffered severe damage since part of the fibres of the uppermost vertical layer has been broken away resulting in loss of writing in the last lines of column III. Top recto = top verso.

The recto bears three columns with respectively 4, 10+12 and 7 lines of text.

The verso likewise bears three columns with respectively 12, 8+13 and 11 lines of text.

Colour photographs of the verso of P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126 and of both recto and verso of P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40128, together with brief descriptions were published by F. Tiradritti.<sup>5</sup>

### **Recto (Pls. I and Ia)**

#### *Translation*

#### Col. I

**x+1** [Regnal year] 4, IV *pr.t* day 3 of the *inw*-deliveries of/by the overseer of the treasury A[men]hotep of the treasury of Pharaoh I.p.h.

**x+2** [...] this day of the treasury of the Domain of Amun.

**x+3** [Regnal] year 4, IV *pr.t* day 8, *inw*-deliveries of/by the overseer of the treasury Amenhotep of the treasury of Pharaoh I.p.h.

**x+4** [Regnal year] 4, IV *pr.t* day ... Given to/for? ... of the *inw*-deliveries of/by the high priest of Amun.

#### Col. II

<E 0.9.40128>

**x+1** [...] this work.

**x+2** [...] of regnal year 4, III *šmw* day 14.

(blank space)

**x+3** [...] the Necropolis of the scribe of the Necropolis Kha'emhedjet in [...].

**x+4** [...] stone-blocks in the cellar of Maatre, I.p.h. [...].

**x+5** [...] beaten(?) to the Vizier against her(?).

**x+6** [...] of chief workman Qaha.

<sup>5</sup> Sesh (Milan 1999), 132 and 134. Dr. F. Tiradritti was kind enough to provide me with his preliminary notes.

x+7 [...] there(?) pure.

x+8 [...] this [work].

(blank space)

x+9 [...] rewards(?) 2 of regnal year 4, IV *šm(w)* [...].

x+10 [...] in the sacred bark of Amun [...].

<E 0.9.40126>

x+1 Charge concerning the saying that (one) did that *P3*-[...] took/stole [...].

x+2 Charge concerning the saying that (one) did that the scribe Hori (son of) Pentawere took/stole 11(?) [...] [...] the Amenhotep I.p.h. [...]

x+3 And it was workman Amenwa' son of Hori who loaded the boat. And they took (them) to Thebes (No) and they erased the name of their owners.

x+4 Charge concerning the saying that (one) did that (he) erased the name of a steward of Menra I.p.h. on the tomb and he gave (it) to the temple-scribe of Pen-Amun(??).

x+5 Charge concerning the saying that (one) did that (he) once came to the *hm-ntr*-priest of Ptah and he caused(?) to melt gold (of/in) his house.

x+6 Charge concerning the saying that (one) did that the scribe of the Necropolis Hori took out the owners of the tomb and he set fire in (it).

x+7 Charge concerning the saying that (one) did (about) the affair of the servant-woman, to wit: the daughter of the servant-woman of Nessuseramun she has borne (a baby) to him.

x+8 Charge concerning the saying that the district scribe Wennefer did that the wife of Anhotep had sex with the three children/sons of

x+9 the scribe Hori son of Pentawere and had sex with the scribe of the Necropolis Hori.

x+10 Charge concerning the saying that workman Toshi did that the deputy Khonsu had sex with a male(?) woman.

x+11 Charge concerning the saying that Userkhepesh did to the scribe of the Necropolis Kha'emhedjet that the workman Amenhotep son of Pentawere and Toshi robbed the grain of the workman Nebnefer

x+12 (and) the grain of the workman Pashedu. And the workman Tjati was found (on) II *3h.t* day 7 sitting on [the] royal tomb.

### Col. III

x+1 [...] *pr.t* day 17. *inw*-deliveries [...]

(blank space)

x+2 *msw-hd.t*-plants: *inw*-deliveries for this work.

x+3 *msw-hd.t*-plants: 2 *ksks.t*-baskets of regnal year 4 IV *pr.t* day 3 from the treasury of the Domain of Amun.

(blank space)

x+4 *ps*-loaves made in the gold house (*hw.t nbw*) of the Domain of Amun.

x+5 *ps*-loaves, *sšrt*-loaves 10 *deben*(?), makes 550 *deben*(?) of regnal year 4 II *šmw* day 19, makes 68 *deben*(?), remainder (*d3.t?*) 7½.

x+6 Weight for supplies(?): *inw*-deliveries for this work.

x+7 Weight for supplies(?): 23 of regnal year 4 IV *šmw* 3 of *inw*-deliveries of the Domain of Ptah.

*Commentary*

## Col. I

Similar entries concerning *inw/inn*-deliveries by high officials in a year 4 are recorded in P. Turin 1900+2070.<sup>6</sup> Other such deliveries are mentioned hereafter in Col. II and Col. III. Actually the Milan fragments published here and P. Turin 1900+2070 originally may well have belonged to the same papyrus-roll since they both contain similar texts on both recto and verso dating to year 4 and year 9 of Ramesses IX, although no direct join seems possible.

**x+1 and x+3** The overseer of the treasury of Pharaoh (and royal butler (*wb3 nswt*)) Amenhotep is known from a royal message dated to year 2 of Ramesses IX<sup>7</sup>; the Karnak inscription on the royal favours to the high priest Amenhotep dated to year 10 of the same king<sup>8</sup>; and P. Turin 1932+1939, verso I,1 from a year 2 or 3 of Ramesses X.<sup>9</sup>

**x+4** The orthography of the title *hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn* at the end of this line is noteworthy.

## Col. II

<E 0.9.40128>

**x+1 and x+2** These lines and also x+8 — x+10 belong to separate entries written at a later stage on this document, just like those in columns I and III.

The expression *k3t tn* also occurs here below in this column x+8 and in Col. III, x+2 and x+6, and in P. Turin 1900+2070, recto 3, 1<sup>10</sup>. 'This work/work-project' most likely refers to the memorial temple of Ramesses IX under construction, as W. Helck understands in his contribution on 'recycling' in *CdE* 114 (1984), 242-247.

**x+3 — x+7** These are the ends of some lines belonging to the main earlier text of this column, for which see below.

**x+3** The scribe of the Necropolis Kha'emhedjet also appears below in this column, frgt. E 0.9.40126, x+11.<sup>11</sup> He seems to be first recorded with this title in a document dated to year 13 of Ramesses IX.<sup>12</sup>

**x+4** The preserved signs at the beginning of this line seem to point to a plural of the word *dn.t*, "stone-block".

The royal name Maatre is most probably a defective writing for the throne-name of Seti I, Menmaatre. A similar abbreviated form of this royal name is found in ostracon DeM 825.<sup>13</sup> Another abbreviated form of this name appears below in this column in line x+4 of the main fragment E 0.9.40126.

**x+5** The preserved traces of signs at the beginning of this line are unclear and the meaning of what follows (*hw3 r t3ti r=s*) is obscure due to the missing parts of the phrase in the lacuna.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *KRI* VI 619-622 and W. Helck, *CdE* 114 (1984), 242-247. For this type of delivery, see D.A. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt* (Fribourg-Göttingen 1997), 221-233.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. W. Helck, 'Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 137 (text B, ll. 23-24), 139; as P. ESP in *KRI* VI 518, 12-13.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. W. Helck, *MIO* IV (1956), 163; *KRI* VI 455, 16.

<sup>9</sup> *KRI* VI 686, 4-5.

<sup>10</sup> Not *k3t* 40 as in J. Černý Nb. 15.3, incompletely copied in *KRI* VI 620, 5.

<sup>11</sup> For this scribe see B.G. Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina* (Leiden 1999), 117-118.

<sup>12</sup> *Op.cit.*, 117 n. 458.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. P. Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh VIII* (Cairo 2000), 75 and 210.

**x+6** The preserved signs at the beginning of this line are difficult to interpret. The determinatives seem to point to a subject of festive character, possibly referring to something like a chapel or shrine belonging to the chief workman Qaha. This chief workman functioned during the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>14</sup> He was well remembered since his tomb was still a conspicuous feature in the local cemetery (TT 360) some hundred years later. According to ostrakon BM 5625<sup>15</sup>, in year 4 of Ramesses V an oracle procedure took place near the entrance of his tomb, an event which is also recorded on the verso of one of the ‘Stato Civile’ documents.<sup>16</sup> The determinative in his name here (Gardiner Sign List D 1) differs from that in most documents of his time, and is almost certainly influenced by the orthography of the personal name Hay.

**x+7** The loss of text in the lacuna before these few words obscures their meaning.

**x+9** The preserved traces at the beginning of this line are probably to be read as *mtn*, ‘reward’.

<E 0.9.40126>

Together with the ends of lines x+3 – x+7 in the fragment above, the main text of this column contains a list of charges in many respects similar to such lines known from other documents, like P. Salt 124 listing the alleged crimes and misdeeds of chief workman Paneb and his accomplices, the Turin Strike Papyrus (P. Turin 1880) recording similar acts by several Necropolis workmen, and the Turin Indictment Papyrus (P. Turin 1887) about the Elephantine scandal.<sup>17</sup>

In the Turin Indictment Papyrus many of these charges are phrased in a pattern: *p3 sdm i.ir* + subject, i.e. a substantiated infinitive followed by a relative form.<sup>18</sup> But in the present list in some cases it is difficult to denote the subject. One wonders whether in these cases we have to assume that the subject was not written, or silently understood as continuing a previous charge: “The saying that (one *or* he/NN did)”.

Although the text as preserved does not contain any specific date, several personalities named and the alleged crimes of some of them also appear in the dossier about the trials of the tomb-robbers in years 13 and 17 of Ramesses IX (see below).

**x+1** For *sh3 n*, ‘report/charge concerning’, see K. Donker van Heel and B.J.J. Haring, *Writing in a workmen’s village* (Leiden 2003), 108-110.

**x+2** Scribe Hori son of Pentawere is also mentioned here below in line x+9 and on the verso of this papyrus in Col. II, x+9.<sup>19</sup> Although he bears the title ‘scribe’ it is possible that he, together with Amenwa son of Hori mentioned in the next line, belonged to the gang of eight Necropolis workmen who were apprehended as thieves in year 17 of Ramesses IX.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. B.G. Davies, *op.cit.*, 12-14.

<sup>15</sup> *KRI VI*, 252-253.

<sup>16</sup> SC 7, verso 4-7, cf. R.J. Demarée and D. Valbelle, *Le “Stato Civile”*, forthcoming.

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of these documents showing the deterioration of morals in the Ramesside Period, see P. Grandet, *Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès* (Paris 1993) (English translation: *Affairs and Scandals in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca and London 2003)).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. E.F. Wente, in: D.W. Young (ed.), *Studies presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (Beacon Hill 1981), 535-539 (his pattern *b*).

<sup>19</sup> See for this scribe, J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo 1970, 2001), 218.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. T.E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford 1930), 73-78.

Due to the many lacunae in this line, the content of the accusation remains unknown. The meaning of the expression *p3 'Imn-ḥtp* is not clear: a reference to a shrine of Amenophis I?? **x+3** Amenwa' son of Hori is one of the thieves well-known from the Tomb-Robberies affairs.<sup>21</sup> His name is the first of the gang of eight read out from a list by some official in the necropolis journal *Giornale* 17A, recto 5,7<sup>22</sup>; see also the incomplete list of what was found in his possession in P. BM EA 10068, recto 1, 16-20<sup>23</sup>, and his deposition in P. BM EA 10053, recto 1, 8-15<sup>24</sup>.

For the expression *ft rn=f* here and below in line **x+4**, cf. M. Marciniak, *Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III* (Warsaw 1974), 104.

The preposition *ḥr* at the end of the line is not easily explained grammatically. The scribe surely meant to say that the thieves erased the names of the owners on the stolen objects.

**x+4** The royal name Menre is most probably an abbreviated form of the throne-name of king Seti I, Menmaatre, just like Maatre in line **x+4** of the fragment E 0.9.40128 above.

The expression *Pn-'Imn* is not known from elsewhere. Possibly the scribe meant *Pr-'Imn*, 'temple' or 'domain of Amun'.

**x+5** *bs/bsi* may be the verb 'to happen' (WB I 474, 17) — here in the sense: "it happened that (he) came ...". Alternatively, understanding *Bs* as a personal name Bes<sup>25</sup> would result in a grammatically incorrect phrase; one has to admit however that the grammar in several other lines of this list of accusations seems a little deviant.

*wdb* may stand for *wbd*, 'to burn' (for *wdb* meaning 'to melt', see O. Cairo CG 25519, recto 2: "giving the chisel to the coppersmith to melt it"), or else is a misspelling for *wđh*, 'to melt'<sup>26</sup>.

**x+6** The scribe of the Necropolis Hori appears regularly in Deir el-Medina documents.<sup>27</sup>

Setting fire to plundered tombs or tomb furniture, as a criminal act, is also mentioned in the Tomb Robberies dossier, e.g. P. Leopold II-Amherst, 2, 17-18<sup>28</sup>; P. BM 10054, recto 1, 6 and 10<sup>29</sup>.

**x+7** A Nessuseramun is not known from any other source. Or should we read "the servant-woman which belongs to (*nj-sw*) Seramun"? A scribe by that name is known from P. Turin 1976, 9<sup>30</sup>, dated to year 6 of Ramesses IX.

**x+8** Probably influenced by the succeeding verbal element *i.ḥr*, the scribe by mistake wrote the protective *i.* before the substantivated *ḏd*.

The district scribe (*sš-sp3.t*) Wennefer is known, notably as one of the officials in charge of the hearings during the first trials of the tomb-robbers, from P. BM EA 10053, recto 1, 6<sup>31</sup>, P. BM EA 10068, recto 1, 6<sup>32</sup> and recto 6, 22<sup>33</sup> of year 17 of Ramesses IX, and P. BM EA

<sup>21</sup> Cf. B.G. Davies, op.cit., 172-174 and chart 8.

<sup>22</sup> *KRI* VI 569, 7.

<sup>23</sup> *KRI* VI 498, 9-12.

<sup>24</sup> *KRI* VI 506, 13 – 507, 7.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ranke, PN I 98, 13.

<sup>26</sup> For *wđh nbw*, 'melting gold', cf. P. BM 10053, verso 2, 14 (*KRI* VI 757, 12-13).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. J. Černý, op.cit., 217-219, and B.G. Davies, op.cit., 134-136.

<sup>28</sup> *KRI* VI 485, 5.

<sup>29</sup> *KRI* VI 481, 7-8 and 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> *KRI* VI 599, 5.

<sup>31</sup> *KRI* VI 506, 11.

<sup>32</sup> *KRI* VI 497, 14.

<sup>33</sup> *KRI* VI 505, 14.

10054, verso 2, 2<sup>34</sup> and verso 4, 1<sup>35</sup> of year 6 of Ramesses XI; his house is mentioned in the house list of year 12 of Ramesses XI, P. BM EA 10068, verso 3, 7<sup>36</sup>.

The orthography of the verb *nki*, ‘to have sex, to copulate’, is noteworthy. Certainly here the same verb is meant as in the next line.<sup>37</sup>

The name Anhotep is not very common in Deir el-Medina sources from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty. A possible candidate could be the frequently mentioned doorkeeper Anhotep.<sup>38</sup> A positive identification is impossible, however, since the man in the present text bears no title.

**x+9** In this line the scribe first wrote a superfluous *n* (‘dittography’) and then made a correction before the continuation of his discourse: he wrote the particle *hr* over a vertical sign which is no longer distinguishable.

**x+10** The deputy (*idn.w*) Khonsu is recorded in P. Turin 1881, recto II, 5<sup>39</sup>; P. Turin 1906+1939+2047, recto III, 5<sup>40</sup> and P. Turin 2084+2091, verso VI, 7<sup>41</sup> all dated to year 7 of Ramesses IX; and P. Turin 2002, verso II, 19<sup>42</sup> dated to year 8 of the same ruler. He also appears in Col. III, x+8 on the verso of this papyrus (see below), dated to year 9 of Ramesses IX.<sup>43</sup>

What exactly is meant by *w' hmt 'h3wty*, ‘a male woman’, is not clear. The same expression is found in P. Turin 1887, recto 1, 6<sup>44</sup> where an abused woman is also described as *iw=s m hmt 'h3wty*; this passage is usually translated as “she was the wife of Ahauty”, but in view of the missing masc. determinative this seems hardly correct. Do we have to understand that this is a woman already ‘promised’ to a man (before she is called a *hmt t3y*, ‘married woman’)? The workman Toshi is known as a son of Amennakht.<sup>45</sup>

**x+11** The workman Userkhepesh deputized as chief workman on behalf of his father Nekhemmut in year 17 of Ramesses IX and around this time also succeeded him in office for a brief period.<sup>46</sup>

The scribe of the Necropolis Kha'emhedjet also appears above in this column, frgt. E 0.9.40128, x+3.

Amenhotep son of Pentawere<sup>47</sup> is recorded as a workman in years 9 and 10 of Ramesses IX in P. Turin 2072, verso 1,4 and 2, 14<sup>48</sup>; as a deputy chief workman in the undated ostrakon

<sup>34</sup> KRI VI 743, 6.

<sup>35</sup> KRI VI 746, 4.

<sup>36</sup> KRI VI 750, 5.

<sup>37</sup> On translating *nki*, see C.J. Eyre, ‘Crime and adultery in Ancient Egypt’, *JEA* 70 (1984), 93 n. 12; Jac. J. Janssen, in: *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Festschrift M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss) (Kampen 1988), 52-55; S. Schreiber, ‘“Keusch wie kaum ein anderes Volk”? Einige Anmerkungen zum Sexual-Vokabular der alten Ägypter’, in: D. Mendel and U. Claudi (eds), *Ägypten im Afro-Orientalischen Kontext. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* (Cologne 1991), 317-319 and 322-326; and J. Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (Leiden 2001), 153-157.

<sup>38</sup> For whom see M. Goecke-Bauer, in: *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers* (Leiden 2003), 149.

<sup>39</sup> KRI VI 611, 7.

<sup>40</sup> KRI VI 626, 3.

<sup>41</sup> KRI VI 607, 12.

<sup>42</sup> W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* (Leiden 1869-1876), pl. CXI.

<sup>43</sup> See for this deputy B.G. Davies, *op.cit.*, 53-54 (Khons (vi)).

<sup>44</sup> WB III 77, 17; Sir Alan Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London 1948), 74, 13-14.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. B.G. Davies, *op.cit.*, 108.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. B.G. Davies, *op.cit.*, 57.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. B.G. Davies, *op.cit.*, 111.

<sup>48</sup> KRI VI 632, 8 and 633, 14.

Cairo CG 25250, recto 2 and verso 3, and likewise in year 17 of Ramesses IX in P. Turin 1888+2085, recto 2, 9<sup>49</sup> and in *Giornale* 17A, recto 3, 4 and 5, 10<sup>50</sup>. In year 17 of Ramesses IX he was apprehended as one of a group of eight thieves: see his declaration about what he had stolen in *Giornale* 17B, recto 3, 10<sup>51</sup>, his declaration naming those to whom he sold or gave objects in P. BM 10053, recto 3, 16-4, 8<sup>52</sup> and the list of what was found in his possession in P. BM 10068, recto 2, 8-14<sup>53</sup>.

**x+12** The workman Tjati (*T3ty*) is possibly known from P. Turin 1881, verso 2a<sup>54</sup> of year 7 of Ramesses IX.

For "sitting on top of the royal tomb" as an offense, see also P. Salt 124, recto 1, 11-12<sup>55</sup>.

### Col. III

**x+2** The compound *ms-ḥd.t*, 'young *ḥd.t*-plants', seems unknown from other sources. For *ḥd.t* cf. WB III, 211, 17.

For the expression *k3t tn*, see above commentary at Col. II, x+1.

**x+3** A *ksks.t* was a rather large and fairly expensive basket.<sup>56</sup>

**x+4** The gold house (*ḥw.t nbw*) of the Domain of Amun so far is only known as a (goldsmith) workplace in a temple, cf. WB II, 238, 17-18, and not as an institution producing loaves of bread.

**x+4 – x+5** Both *ps*-loaves and *sšrt*-loaves are well-known, but the combination is not attested.<sup>57</sup> The figures in this line probably refer to baking ratios, but the calculation seems obscure.<sup>58</sup>

**x+6 – x+7** The compound *f3(y)-spd*, 'weight for supplies', seems unknown from other sources. For *f3(y)*, 'weight', see D. Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Deir el-Médineh* (Cairo 1977), 3-6. The sign after the ideogram for *f3* is not clear, but could eventually be read as *dbn*. If so, the whole expression would read 'deben-weight for supplies'.

*spd* could be the rare word meaning 'food-supplies', found in CT VI, 403*k* and *o*.<sup>59</sup>

### Verso (Pls. II and IIa)

#### Translation

#### Col. I

**x+1** with the grain brought from the south.

**x+2** I *3ḥ.t* day 3: Going to Thebes (No) by the captains.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Sir Alan Gardiner, *op.cit.*, 67, 5.

<sup>50</sup> *KRI* VI 568, 3 and 569, 8.

<sup>51</sup> *KRI* VI 575, 12.

<sup>52</sup> *KRI* VI 509, 13 – 510, 8.

<sup>53</sup> *KRI* VI 499, 2-5.

<sup>54</sup> *KRI* VI 616, 15.

<sup>55</sup> *KRI* IV 409, 11.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden 1975), 151.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Jac. J. Janssen, 'The Daily Bread', *BES* 13 (1997), 22-23.

<sup>58</sup> See for similar baking accounts, A. Spalinger, 'Baking during the Reign of Seti I', *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 307-352.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* 2(1978) (Paris 1981), 321.



- x+3 The high priest of Amun gave to them one *mdn(?)*-jar  
 x+4 of oil. I *3h.t* day 4: Inactivity of the gang (because of) the rations.  
 x+5 I *3h.t* 5: Working. 31 men.  
 x+6 I *3h.t* 6: Working.  
 x+7 I *3h.t* 7: Working. Sending the three men to the south  
 x+8 to search for them oil from (litt. though his(sic) hand of) the *sm*-priest Nesamun.  
 x+9 I *3h.t* 8: Working. I *3h.t* 9: Inactivity of the gang.  
 x+10 I *3h.t* 10: Inactivity of the gang. I *3h.t* 11: Working.  
 x+11 I *3h.t* 12: Working. I *3h.t* 13: Working.  
 x+12 I *3h.t* 14: Working. I *3h.t* 15: Working.

## Col. II

&lt;E 0.9.40128&gt;

- x+1 [...] via Khnonsumose: (fire)wood 280 (units).  
 x+2 [...] Entered via the scribe Hori: right side of the gang – (fire)wood 200 (units); Pa-[]  
 x+3 [...] *trace only*.  
 x+4 [...Baken]mut. Right side of the gang: via the scribe Hori: (fire)wood 400 (units).  
 Pa-[]  
 x+5 [...] 16 (or 26?).  
 x+6 [...] the gang.  
 x+7 [...] of the Necropolis.  
 x+8 [...] Pakharu.

&lt;E 0.9.40126&gt;

- x+1 [...] 450 stoneblocks. [The w]atch...? [...].  
 x+2 II *3h.t* 10: Inactivity of the gang. Entered via the scribe Hori: 430 (units of) (fire)wood.  
 The watch Hori son of Pentawere – the right side of the gang.  
 x+3 Regnal year 9, II *3h.t* 11: Working in His place, the (royal) tomb.  
 x+4 Going to Thebes (No) by the scribe of the Necropolis Hori (and) the watch(man)  
 x+5 <to> the place where the scribe of the mat of Thebes (No) Hori is to search for them  
 rations.  
 x+6 Regnal year 9, II *3h.t* 12: Inactivity of the gang to search for them. The watch(man)  
 Am[en]nakhte.  
 x+7 Entered via the scribe Hori son of Amenemope (at) the back end of the Temple  
 x+8 to work. The woodcutters of the right side of the gang: 250 (units of) firewood. This day:  
 500 (units of) (fire)wood.  
 x+9 Entered via the scribe Hori son of Pentawere of the left side of the gang: 250 (units of)  
 firewood.  
 x+10 Regnal year 9, II *3h.t* day 13: Working in His place. Right side of the gang: 300 (units  
 of) (fire)wood. The watch(man) Pentawere.  
 x+11 II *3h.t* day 14: Working in His place. Right side of the gang: 300 (units of) (fire)wood.  
 The watch of Pa[...]hotep.  
 x+12 II *3h.t* day 15: Working in His place. Arriving by the officials of the northern region  
 Bak???Amun.  
 x+13 250 (units of) (fire)wood. The watch(man) [...] right side of the gang [this day?...]  
 in/via? [...].

## Col. III

- x+1** Entered via the fisherman Hatnefer, right side of the gang, 215 (or 235?) (*deben*).
- x+2** Entered via the scribe of the Necropolis Hori, right side of the gang 40 faggots, [lef]t side of the gang 40 faggots.
- x+3** Seizing(?) the men of the Temple of User[maat]re-setepenre, l.p.h., the great god.
- x+4** II *3h.t* day 22: Inactivity of the gang.
- x+5** II *3h.t* day 23: Inactivity of the gang.
- x+6** II *3h.t* day 24: Inactivity of the gang. Going to Thebes (No) by the captains of the Necropolis. Complaints of the great officials [...].
- x+7** Entered via the scribe of the Necropolis Hori: right side of the gang 200 (units of) (fire)wood. The watch of [...]hotep son of Amennakht.
- x+8** II *3h.t* day 25: Inactivity of the gang of the Necropolis. There are no rations. The deputy Khonsu found the fisherman [Shed]-
- x+9** emduat and Hapi'ο (while they were) loaden with [...] fish 200 (*deben*). And he took ...(?).
- x+10** Regnal year 9, II *3h.t* day 26: Inactivity of the gang. They were searching for rations.
- x+11** II *3h.t* day 27: Inactivity of the gang. Likewise. Entered via the fisherman [Shed]emduat fish [...].

*Commentary*

## Col. I

- x+1** For the expression *iny.t hr rsy*, 'brought from the south', see also P. Turin 2002, verso 2,8.<sup>60</sup>
- x+3** For the relations between the high priest of Amun and the workmen of the Necropolis, see S. Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (Uppsala 2002), 185-191.
- The donation by the high priest of Amun on this day of a jar of oil may well be a kind of New Year's gift. The word for this jar seems clearly written as *mdn*, but since no such word is known from any other source possibly the scribe made an error intending to write *mdq* or *mdq.t*.<sup>61</sup>
- x+6 – x+9** According to these entries the gang was working on the days 6, 7 and 8 of I *3h.t*. Now from P. Turin 2072/142(+1970), recto 1, 2-4 we know that on these specific days in year 9 the gang was *wsf*, 'inactive'.<sup>62</sup> Taking into consideration that the regnal year of Ramesses IX changed on I *3h.t* 21, this can only mean that the entries in our present papyrus refer to dates at the end of regnal year 8 of Ramesses IX, while those in the Turin papyrus must refer to dates at the end of regnal year 9. Some support for this conclusion can be found in the fact

<sup>60</sup> W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* (Leiden 1869-1876), pl. CX.

<sup>61</sup> For this type of jar and its volume, see T. Pommerening, *Die altägyptischen Hohlmasze*, SAK Beihefte 10 (Hamburg 2005), 218 and D.A. Aston, in: Th. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds.), *Egyptian Stories* (Festschrift Alan B. Lloyd) (Münster 2005), 13-31. Both authors mention circa 50 *hin* as the traditionally assigned volume of this type of jar, but this is based on a faulty reading of O. Berlin 12405 (see the publication online in <http://www.Deir-el-Medine-online.de>). A calculation in an administrative note on the verso of one of the Stato Civile documents (SC 5, verso I, 4) provides the first unequivocal record of this measure: "1100 *hin* makes 25 *mdq.t*-jars" – i.e. 1 *mdq.t*-jar contains 44 *hin* (ca. 22 litre), cf. R.J. Demarée and D. Valbelle, *Le "Stato Civile"*, forthcoming.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. KRI VI 631, 15-16 and S. Allam, *Hieratische Papyri und Ostraka* (Tübingen 1973), pl. 130.

that the Turin papyrus also contains dates in regnal year 10. It may also be significant that the first entry dated specifically to year 9 in the Milan papyrus is found in column II before the date of II *ḥ.t* 11.

**x+7** The ‘south’ here possibly refers to the centre of the Necropolis administration in the memorial temple of Ramesses III (Medinet Habu) which is located to the south of the workplace in the Valley of Kings.

**x+8** *Ns-Imm* is known from P. Abbott 7, 3<sup>63</sup> and P. Amherst-Leopold II, recto 1, 17; 2, 1; 3, 9 and 10; 4, 5 and 12<sup>64</sup> as the *sm*-priest of the memorial temple of Ramesses III, and also from P. Abbott 7, 3 as the *sm*-priest of the memorial temple of Ramesses IX.<sup>65</sup>

#### Col. II

<E 0.9.40128>

**x+1** For the woodcutter Khonsumose see below the note on P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40127, recto II, x+12.

<E 0.9.40126>

**x+2** The orthography of both names Hori in this line is remarkably different from that of the same name in the lines further below in this column.

A similar note about the delivery of firewood on this very same day is recorded in P. Turin 1900+2102, verso II, 1<sup>66</sup>, but there the number of units is lost in a lacuna.

**x+3** The fact that the journal entry here starts with a regnal year indication is of some importance in the discussion about the accession date of Ramesses IX. Seemingly the scribe realized that only recently the regnal year had changed from 8 into 9, namely on I *ḥ.t* 21.<sup>67</sup>

**x+4** For the alternation between ‘watch’ and ‘watchman’, see also Jac. J. Janssen, *SAK* 33 (2005), 149-150.

**x+5** The scribe of the mat of Thebes Hori frequently occurs in documents dating from the mid-Twentieth Dynasty until year 17 of Ramesses IX.<sup>68</sup>

**x+6** The first element of the name Amennakhte is partly lost in the lacuna.

**x+7** *p3 nfrw n t3 ḥw.t*, “the back end of the Temple”, must be the same part<sup>69</sup> of the memorial temple of Ramesses III (Medinet Habu) mentioned in the Turin Strike Papyrus, verso 3, 1<sup>70</sup> as the first stop during their walkout.

**x+9** Scribe Hori son of Pentawere is also mentioned in the list of accusations in Col. II of the recto of this papyrus, lines. x+2 and x+9 (see above).

<sup>63</sup> *KRI* VI 480, 2.

<sup>64</sup> *KRI* VI 483, 2 and 5-6; 4856, 10-11; 488, 10; 489, 9-10.

<sup>65</sup> For the administrative function of the *sm*-priest, see B.J.J. Haring, *Divine Households* (Leiden 1997), 214-220.

<sup>66</sup> *KRI* VI 624, 1.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Jac. J. Janssen in *GM* 191 (2002), 59-65.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. B.J.J. Haring, in: R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts, *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD* (Leiden 2001), 147 and 156 (in tavle, no. 23).

<sup>69</sup> For *nfrw*, ‘inner part’ or ‘back end’ of a temple, palace or tomb, cf. Paul J. Frandsen, in: *Studies in Egyptology* (Festschrift Miriam Lichtheim) (Jerusalem 1990), 173 n. 15; and Paule Posener, in: *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. II (Boston 1996), 663 n. w.

<sup>70</sup> Sir Alan Gardiner, *op.cit.*, 49, 16.

**x+12** The northern region (‘*mḥ.ty*’) called Bak-Amun seems unknown from elsewhere. For the ‘*mḥ.ty*’ see also P. Turin 1960+2071, recto 2, 2<sup>71</sup>; P. Turin 1887, verso 1, 10<sup>72</sup>; and P. Geneva D 191 (= LRL 37), verso 13<sup>73</sup>.

**x+13** The severe damage at the bottom edge of the papyrus has caused the loss of most of the writing of this line.

### Col. III

**x+1** The fisherman Hatnefer was already active since the end of the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>74</sup> Fish-deliveries by him are also mentioned in P. Turin 1881, verso 7, 3;5;9 and 11<sup>75</sup> dating to year 7 of Ramesses IX.

**x+2** For *ḏnr/ḏndr*, ‘faggot’, see Jac.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices* (Leiden 1975), 483.

**x+3** The meaning of this entry is obscure. In spite of a missing determinative, the verb *mḥ* is most probably best translated here as ‘to take/seize’, but the preserved records for this period do not provide any information on this kind of serious problems in the memorial temple of Ramesses II, the Ramesseum. A journal entry dated to year 14 of Ramesses IX seems to record the fact that some workmen who did not go to work were seized at the entrance of the memorial temple of this king.<sup>76</sup> From a much later declaration of a thief recorded in Papyrus Mayer A, 6,4<sup>77</sup> – dated to year 2 of the Renaissance – we learn that “the foreigners came and took possession (*mḥ m*) of the temple”, but usually in the Late Ramesside documents ‘the Temple’ refers to the memorial temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu.

*p3 ntr 3* at the end of this line is a very common epithet after names of deceased earlier kings see also below P. RAN E 0.9.40127, recto I, x+3.

**x+4** The inactivity of the gang on this day and the following day may be related to the events recorded in the previous line. It is to be noted that the entries in this column make no mention at all of the Opet Festival which according to the official calendar was celebrated in Thebes between II 3*ḥ.t* 19 and III 3*ḥ.t* 12.<sup>78</sup>

**x+6** Mainly due to its incomplete state, the meaning of the last part of this line is obscure; it ends with *tm pn*[...].

**x+8** The orthography of the negative element in *iw mn*, “there is no”, is unusual, but the sense is clear.

For the deputy Khonsu see above, the note on recto col. II, x+10 of this papyrus.

The fisherman Shedemduat (also mentioned here below in x+11) is known from P. Turin 1881, verso 7, 4<sup>79</sup> dating to year 7 of Ramesses IX. A fisherman Hapi’o seems unknown from

<sup>71</sup> S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri* (Tübingen 1973), Tf. 123 (a journal text dated to year 14 of Ramesses IX).

<sup>72</sup> Sir Alan Gardiner, *op.cit.*, 79, 7.

<sup>73</sup> J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels 1939), 59, 11). See also H. Kees, in: *Nachrichten Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, Fachgruppe I, 1936/38, N.F. II 1, 8.*

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Jac. J. Janssen, *Village Varia* (Leiden 1997), 40.

<sup>75</sup> *KRI VI* 618, 10 – 619, 2.

<sup>76</sup> P. Turin 1960+2071, recto 2, 12 (*KRI VI* 642, 5-6).

<sup>77</sup> *KRI VI* 815, 5-6.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. W. Murnane, *Opetfest, LÄ IV* (1982), 574-579, and H. Jauhainen, “Do not celebrate your feast without your neighbours” (Helsinki 2009), 92-103.

<sup>79</sup> *KRI VI* 618, 11.

other sources, unless he would be identical with the water-carrier by that name mentioned in P. Turin 2084+2091, recto 2, 3<sup>80</sup>, dated to years 1-8 of Ramesses IX.

**x+9** Due to the loss of writing, the final words of the line are obscure: *p3 h3n ... (??)*. I have no suggestion as to their meaning.

**x+11** *mit.t*, ‘likewise’, refers to the mention of ‘searching for rations’ in the preceding line.

### **P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40127**

Two joining fragments form a sheet of good quality papyrus measuring 17 x 30.6 cm. It is inscribed on both sides in black and red ink, with the remains of two columns of respectively 3 and 9 lines on the recto and the remains of three columns of respectively 14, 6+2 and 10 lines on the verso. A sheet join can be observed on the recto at ca. 5-7 cm from the right hand edge. Top recto = top verso.

A fragment in the collection of the Turin Museum<sup>81</sup> joins directly on the recto at the top left of the Milan fragments: the upper parts of the signs in line x+8 are preserved on the Turin fragment and the lower parts on the Milan fragment. The total height measures ca. 29 cm (the original height of the complete papyrus was ca. 40-41 cm). Together on the recto they bear the greater part of a text column to the left of P. Turin 2074.<sup>82</sup>

The papyrus is palimpsest since there are clear traces of incompletely effaced earlier writing present on both recto and verso.

For a sketch plan of the position of the different fragments, see Fig. 1.

A colour photograph of the verso of P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40127 and a brief description was published by F. Tiradritti.<sup>83</sup>

### **Recto (Pls. III and IIIa)**

Col. I contains the ends of three lines of the preceding column (= col. II on P. Turin 2074).

Col. II in its present incomplete state has 17 lines, and probably will have counted 22 or 23 lines originally like the preceding column on P. Turin 2074.

Month and day numbers are written in red (in the translation below: underlined).

The handwriting is the same as that of the journal texts of years 13 and 17 of Ramesses IX known as the *Giornale*<sup>84</sup>, most probably written by the then acting senior scribe of the Necropolis, Horsheri.

### *Translation*

#### Col. I

**x+1** [...] the Necropolis.

**x+2** [...] the Necropolis.

**x+3** [...] the great god.

<sup>80</sup> KRI VI 603, 16.

<sup>81</sup> A transcription of this fragment is found in Černý's Notebook 152.3 as fragment  $\gamma$ .

<sup>82</sup> Transcription of part of its recto in KRI VI 608-609.

<sup>83</sup> Sesh (Milan 1999), 133. This papyrus was briefly referred to by R.J. Demarée, in: *Atti Sest Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia II* (Turin 1992), 105; id., in: *L'Impero Ramesside* (Rome 1997), 58; and B.J.J. Haring, in: R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts, *Village Voices* (Leiden 1992), 73.

<sup>84</sup> G. Botti and T.E. Peet, *Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe* (Turin 1928).

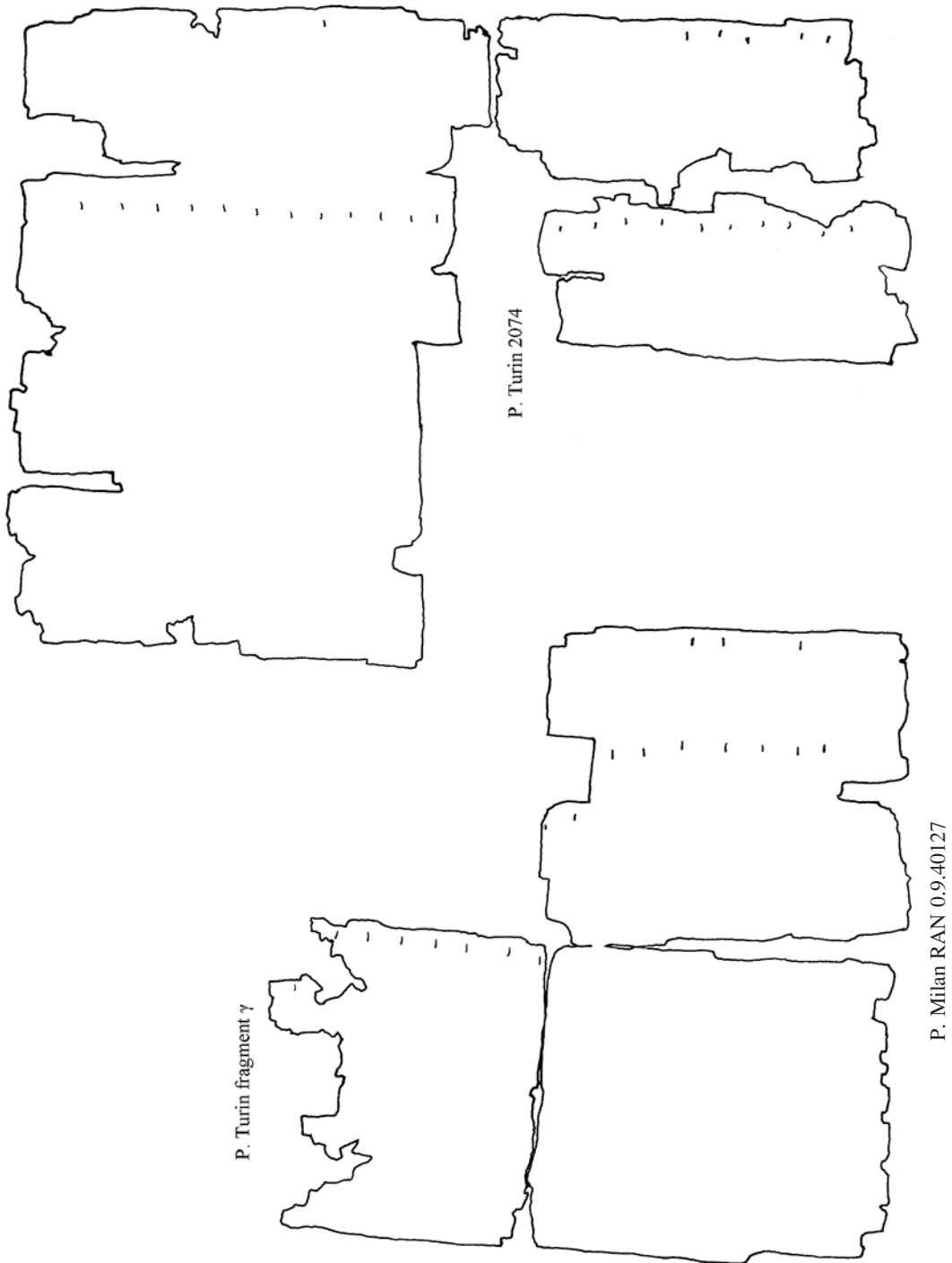


Fig. 1 Sketch plan of the position of the fragments P. Turin 2074, P. Turin frgt.  $\gamma$  and P. Milan RAN E 09.40127 (recto).

## Col. II

<Turin fragment >

- x+1** [...work]men of the Necropolis.  
**x+2** [... work]men [of the Necro]polis.  
**x+3** [...] upper[?? ...] of the Temple of Pharaoh l.p.h.  
**x+4** [...] the Inner Necropolis.  
**x+5** [...ou]t? the assistance personnel.  
**x+6** [...] the Necropolis by the scribe of the Necropolis Horsheri.  
**x+7** [... fisherman X?] fish: 340 *deben*.  
**x+8** [... fisherman Y?] fish: 340 *deben*.

<Milan fragments>

- x+9** R[egnal year 8, II *3h.t* day 14. Inactivity of the gang. It is said that the Meshwesh have come.  
**x+10** This day: via the scribe Hori: 300 (units) of firewood.  
**x+11** Judgement (*wpw*t) (between) scribe Hori and Amenwa'. Convicting him for 8 *deben* copper, 9 *khar* grain  
**x+12** woodcutter Khonsumose gave to Amenwa' to reimburse/pay for what he had bought from the Libyans.  
**x+13** Regnal year 8, II *3h.t* day 15. Inactivity of the gang because of the *diw*-rations. The two chief workmen went up (to?) give [...].  
**x+14** Regnal year 8, II *3h.t* day 16. Working in the tomb of Pharaoh l.p.h. Received via the scribe of the Necropolis Hori: [...] (units) of firewood.  
**x+15** Regnal year 8, II *3h.t* day 17. Working in the tomb of Pharaoh l.p.h. on the façade of the lintel of the corridor, and the guardrooms.  
**x+17** Regnal year 8, II *3h.t* day 18. Working in the tomb of Pharaoh l.p.h. Via Payefbaki: 68 (units) of wood; Amennakht: [...] (units) of firewood.

*Commentary*

## Col. I

**x+3** *p3 ntr 3*: in this period a common epithet after the names of deceased earlier kings.

## Col. II

Since the last day recorded in Col. II of P. Turin 2074 recto (of which the end of the lines are seen in Col. I of the Milan papyrus) is II *3h.t* 8, the journal notes recorded here in Col. II before line **x+9** will have covered II *3h.t* 9-13.

**x+1 and x+2** The few signs of the text as preserved in both lines are probably best to be interpreted as the remains of *rmt-is.t p3 Hr*.

**x+3** The *hw.t Pr-3* must be the memorial temple of Ramesses IX which is mentioned in P. Abbott recto 7,4<sup>85</sup> and probably also in P. Turin 2071/224+1960, recto 2, 12<sup>86</sup>. The location of this monument is unknown.

<sup>85</sup> KRI VI 480, 2-3.

<sup>86</sup> KRI VI 642, 6.

**x+4** For the expression *p3 hr n hnw*, see the not fully convincing discussion in R. Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead* (Freiburg-Göttingen 1986), 64-79.

**x+6** The scribe of the necropolis Horsheri, son of Amennakhte, is a key figure in the Necropolis administration during this period.<sup>87</sup>

**x+7 and x+8** In the fishermen's accounts recorded in P. Turin 2075+ the production quota (*b3kw*) of the fishermen is counted per month: *rmw dbn 50 m mnt ir n 3bd rmw dbn 1500*: "fish 50 deben per day makes a month fish 1500 *deben*".<sup>88</sup> Similar lists of totals and arrears of deliveries by fishermen are found in *Giornale* 17B, verso 1-7.<sup>89</sup>

**x+8** A few illegible traces of the lower halves of some signs at the beginning of this line are preserved on the Milan fragment.

**x+9** This record about the arrival of the Meshwesh has been discussed by B.J.J. Haring, 'Libyans in the late twentieth dynasty', in: R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts, *Village Voices* (Leiden 1992), 71-80.

**x+11** For *wpi NN hn' NN*, "judging A together with B", see A.G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* (Leiden 1990), 22.

Amenwa' is probably the workman<sup>90</sup> who some years later became involved in the tomb robberies; see for him also above, the note on P. Milan RAN 0.9.40126, recto Col. II, x+3. The orthography of the ligature of the theophoric element 'Imn in the personal name 'Imn-w' is remarkable, especially if compared with the full writing of this element in the same name right below in the next line.

**x+12** The woodcutter Khonsumose is also mentioned in P. RAN 0.9.40128, verso x+1 (see above), and probably in *Giornale* 17B, verso V, 47.<sup>91</sup> He is to be distinguished from several namesakes in the Deir el-Medina records who are either scribe, workman, fisherman or doorkeeper.

**x+15** According to this journal note, in regnal year 8 of Ramesses IX the workmen responsible for the construction of the king's tomb were still working in the first corridor and its side chambers. Other records prove that the work on this tomb continued until at least regnal year 14 of the king, cf. e.g. P. Turin 2071/224+1960, recto II, 9.<sup>92</sup>

**x+17** A woodcutter Payefbak (*P3y=f-b3k*) is also recorded in the late 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty P. Turin Cat. 2013, II, 14<sup>93</sup> and most probably the same man occurs in a list of names in *Giornale* 17B, verso V, 48 (next to a man Khonsumose who is possibly the woodcutter here mentioned above in line x+12).

A woodcutter Amennakht seems unknown from other documents. He is clearly not the same woodcutter who was active at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, cf. e.g. O. Cairo CG 25591 recto 3 and O. Cairo CG 25610, 2.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. B.G. Davies, op.cit., 114-117.

<sup>88</sup> P. Turin 2075+, recto 2, 2 = *KRI* VI 653, 6-7.

<sup>89</sup> *KRI* VI 581-590. See in general Jac. J. Janssen, 'Fish and fishermen', in *Village Varia* (Leiden 1997), 37-54; J.-C. Antoine, 'Fluctuations of fish deliveries at Deir el-Medina in the Twentieth Dynasty', *SAK* 35 (2006), 25-41. For the often very confusing amounts of fish delivered, see Janssen, op.cit., 46.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. B. G. Davies, op.cit., 171-173.

<sup>91</sup> *KRI* VI 588, 6.

<sup>92</sup> *KRI* VI 641, 16.

<sup>93</sup> J. Černý Nb. 17.13-14.



**Verso** (Pls. IV and IVa)

Except for some separate lines at the top of the Turin fragment, Col. I is almost entirely written in red, while the other two columns are written in black with a few signs in red. Actually Col. II is subdivided into two sections, while at the bottom of it there is a brief note written upside down. Of Col. III only the first signs of each line have been preserved.

*Translation*

Col. I

&lt;Turin fragment&gt;

**x+1** 10(?)**x+2** 12**x+3** 19**x+4** 10**x+5** Total: 257 (*in black*): Remainder: 206½(?)**x+6** Steward Pennestyawy**x+7** 12**x+8** Steward Usermaatrenakht**x+9** 100(?) 50 35 17 40(?)**x+10** 20**x+11** [...] 30(?) Total: 282½ (*in black*): Total: 292½.

&lt;Milan fragments&gt;

**x+12** Chief taxing master Bakenkhonsu(?)**x+13** 30 10 15 Total: 55**x+14** Great chief (*wr ʿ3*) Rudj-???**x+15** 13 15 4 5 Total: 37**x+16** Steward Pa(?)khaemwaset**x+17** 20**x+18** Mayor Paysebtyemwaset**x+19** 11**x+20** The *hm-ntr*-priest of Onuris 10**x+21** The mayor of This 20**x+22** Keeper of the cattle Khaemhenu 10**x+23** Keeper of the district Amenmose 16**x+24** The mayor of Nefrusy 10**x+25** Steward Pendjehuty 9

&lt;Turin fragment&gt; Separate text (or earlier text incompletely effaced)

**x+1** [...] fish [...]**x+2** [...] fish [...]**x+3** Regnal year 6(?) II *3h.t* day 19: fisherman Pentawere: fish(?) [...]**x+4** traces**x+5** traces**x+6** Remainder: 206½

## Col. II

## A

- x+1 Amount of fish [...]
- x+2 Daily requirements: 152.
- x+3 First decade: 1520.
- x+4 Second decade: 1520.
- x+5 Third decade: 1520.
- x+6 Makes: the month: [fish] 4560.

## B

- x+1 Amount of [fire]wood
- x+2 [First] decade: [2]280.
- x+3 Second decade: 2280.
- x+4 Third decade: 2280.
- x+5 Makes: the month: firewood
- x+6 6440.

## Col. III

- x+1 Pꜣ-[...]
- x+2 The [...]
- x+3 Amen-[...]
- x+4 Brought(?) [...]
- x+5 The [...]
- x+6 Pꜣ-[...]
- x+7 The [female] slaves [...]
- x+8 Female slave [...]
- x+9 Female slave [...]
- x+10 Female slave [...]

*Commentary*

## Col. I

The black dots in front of the lines in this list containing numbers are clearly control marks made by the scribe to witness that he checked the information and the calculations of the totals of the numbers. Unfortunately the text does not provide any information as to what these numbers stand for and neither as to the reason why this list was drawn up. None of the named officials seems to be known from other sources. Yet, some of them hold fairly high positions.

x+8 Both the title and the name of this official are too common to positively identify him, however tempting, with his namesake who appears in the Papyrus Wilbour.<sup>94</sup>

x+14 The title *wr ꜣ*, 'great chief' seems in New Kingdom sources only reserved for foreign princes, cf. WB I 329, 20. The name of this person is unclear.

x+16 The first sign of the name is not clear.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. A.H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus II* (London 1948), 20 and 131.

**x+20 – x+21** Onuris was the local deity of This/Thinis. For this town, probably located near Girga in Middle-Egypt, see *LÄ* VI, 475-486 (for the clergy of Onuris, esp. n. 103, with earlier literature).

**x+22** The name Kha‘emhenu (*H<sup>c</sup>-m-ḥnw*) is not recorded in H. Ranke *PN*, or M. Thirion *Notes d’onomastique*.

**x+24** For the town of Nefrusy, located near El-Ashmunein in Middle-Egypt, see A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* II (London 1947), 83\*-84\*, and D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Salamut* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas, Reihe B, no. 30; Wiesbaden 1981), 120 ff. (esp. 148).

<Turin fragment> Separate text

**x+3** The fisherman Pentawere is also mentioned in *Giornale* 17B, recto 1,29; 2, 15 and 3, 9c.<sup>95</sup>

## Col. II

A and B: Similar calculations of totals of fish and firewood are known from other documents of the Necropolis administration. Usually these records concern the deliveries of such commodities, whilst in this case the amounts of fish are specifically labelled as requirements.<sup>96</sup>

### A

**x+2** For the expression *hr.t-hrw*, ‘daily requirements’, cf. WB III, 391, 11. More common in the Necropolis administration records is *hr.t-rnp.t*, ‘yearly requirements’, cf. for example O. Cairo JE 72457, verso 5 (unpub.); O. Fitzwilliam Museum EGA 103.1949, verso 3 and 5 (unpub.); and P. Turin 1906<sup>++</sup>, recto 4, 9<sup>97</sup>.

**x+6** At the beginning of this line *ir n* is a correction by the scribe over an earlier *dmd* (‘total’). The total of 4560 (*deben*) for the month is correct.

### B

**x+5** The scribe seems to have made a mistake in his calculation; the sum of three times 2280 should be 6840, but although the sign for the ‘hundreds’ is slightly damaged, it certainly reads ‘400’ and not ‘800’.<sup>98</sup>

Below this line there are several lines of an incompletely effaced earlier writing also representing (very high) numbers. Further at the bottom of Col. II there are two lines, written upside down, of an administrative note which is incomprehensible due to the lacunae.

## Col. III

Only the first signs of each line in this column have been preserved. The text clearly belongs to a long list of servant temple-personnel of which substantial parts are found on the verso of P. Turin 2074<sup>99</sup>.

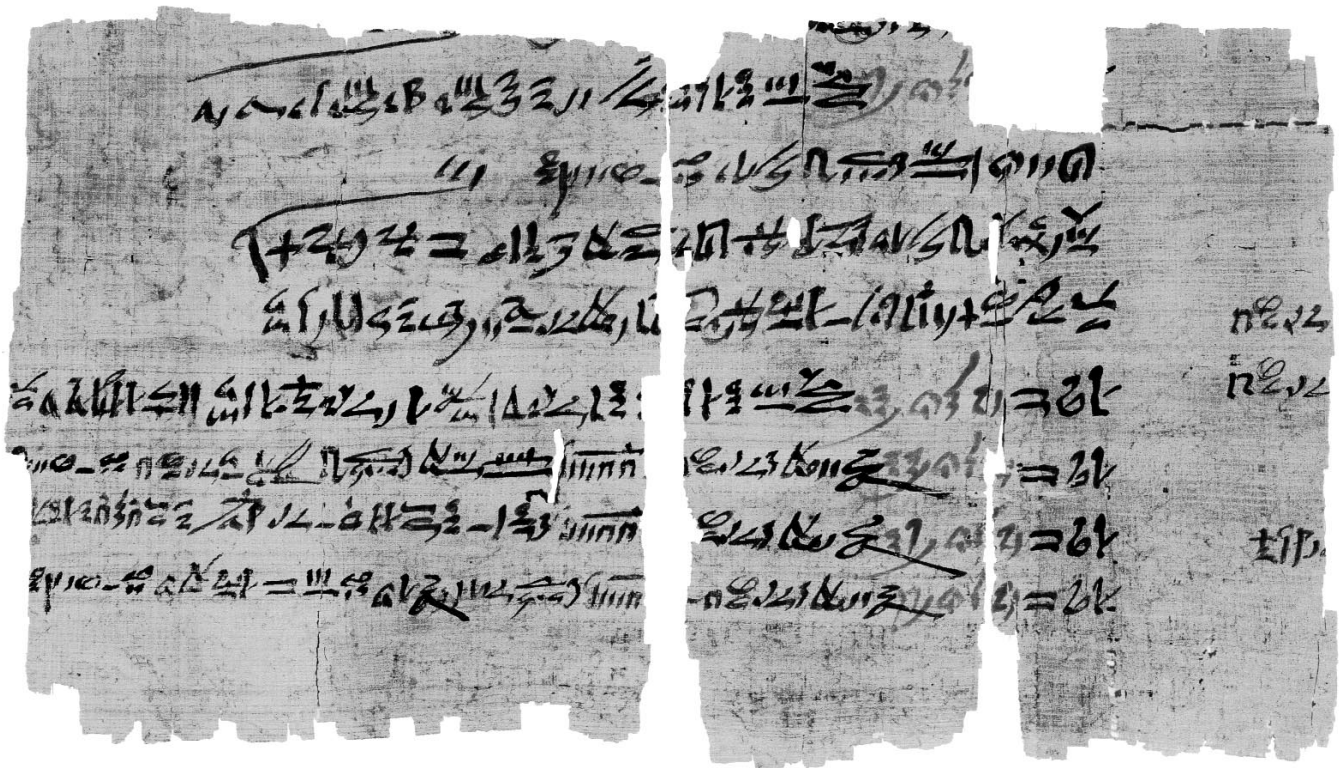
<sup>95</sup> *KRI* VI 573, 9; 574, 3; 575, 11.

<sup>96</sup> For the amounts of fish, usually counted in *deben*, see Jac. J. Janssen, *Village Varia* (Leiden 1997), 43-47. See also J.-C. Antoine, ‘Fluctuations of fish deliveries at Deir el-Medina in the Twentieth Dynasty. A statistical analysis’, *SAK* 35 (2006), 25-41.

<sup>97</sup> *KRI* VI 627, 11.

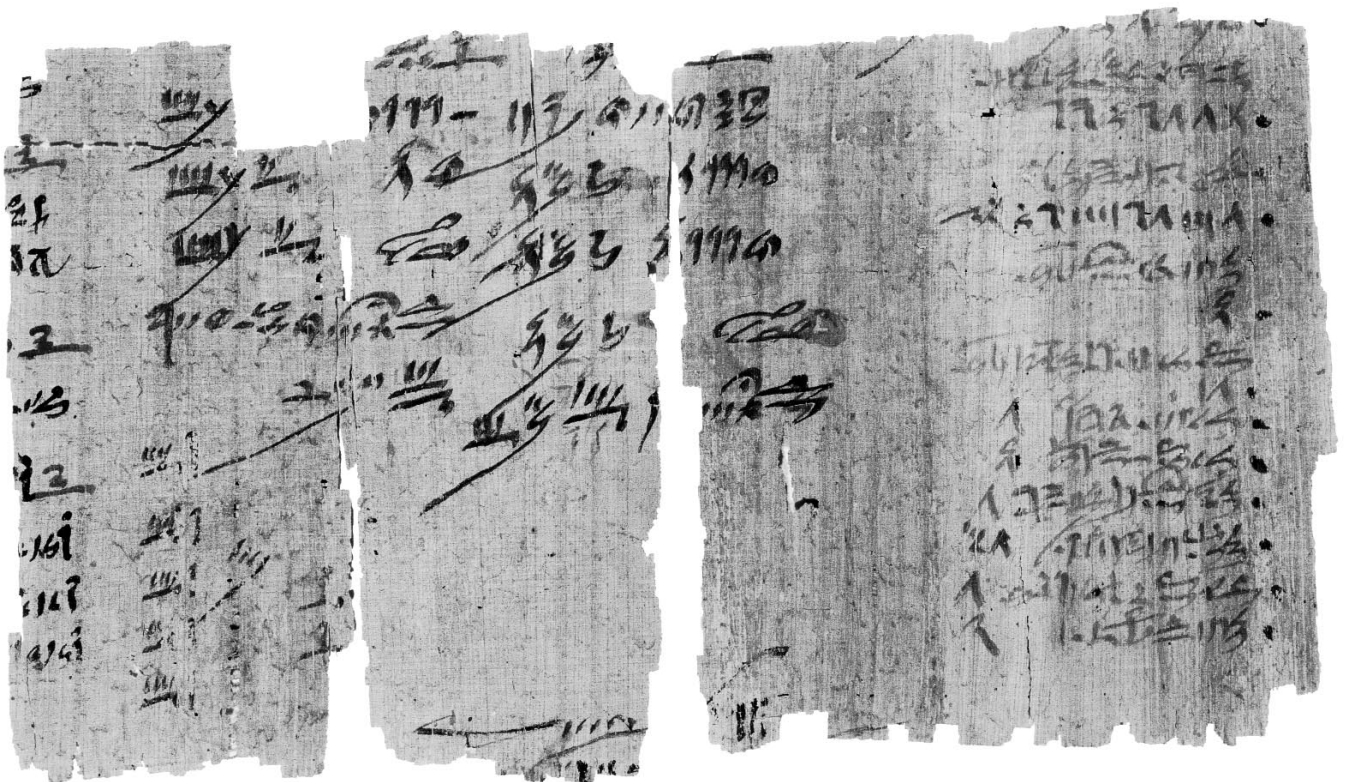
<sup>98</sup> For a discussion of such errors, see Jac. J. Janssen, *SAK* 33 (2005), 147-157 (esp. 152-153).

<sup>99</sup> Unpublished, but known from a transcription in J. Černý *Nb.* 17.22-24; see also J. Černý, in: *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini* II (Pisa 1955), 29-31.



Pl. III P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40127 recto.





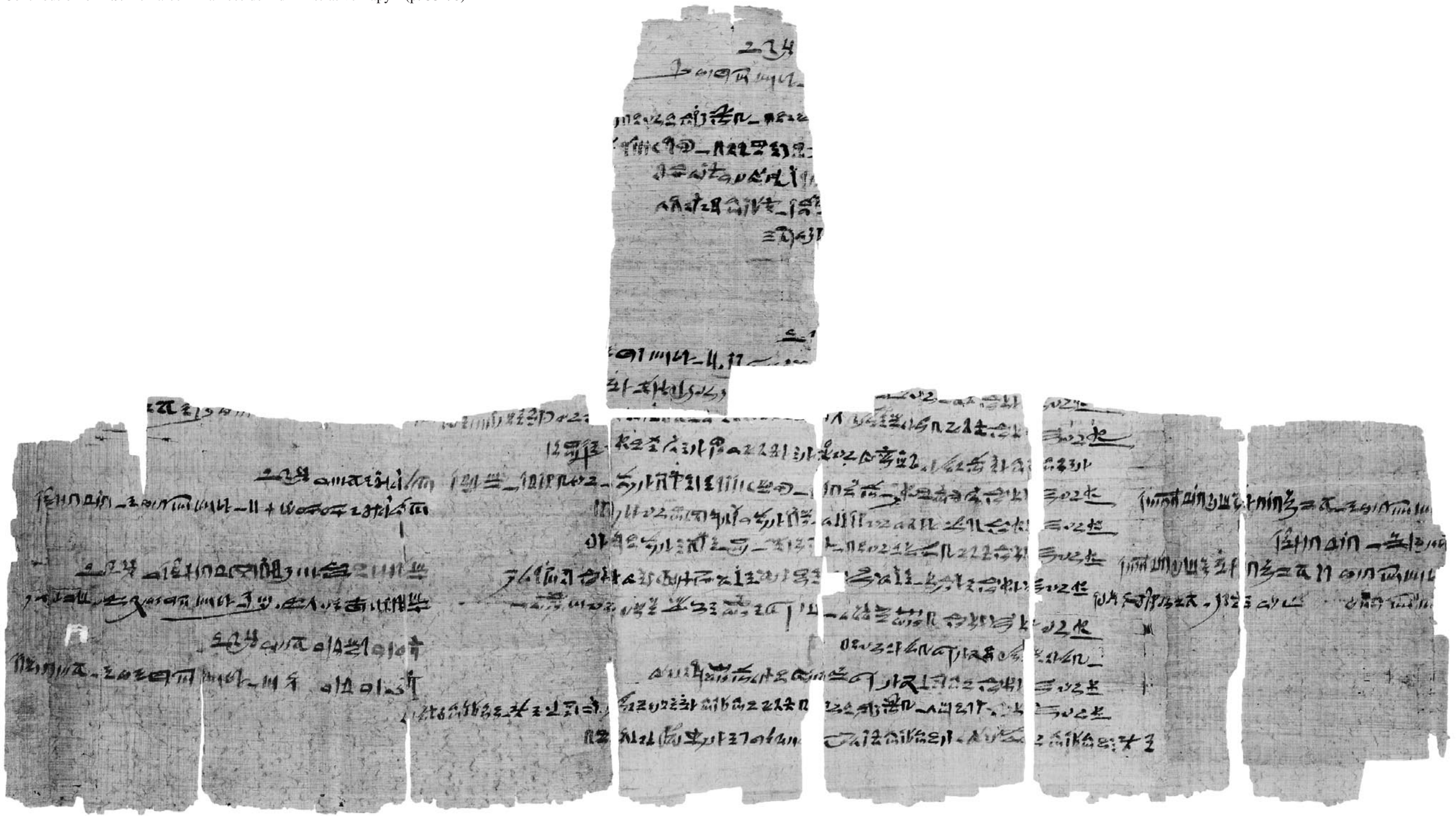
Pl. IV P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40127 verso.



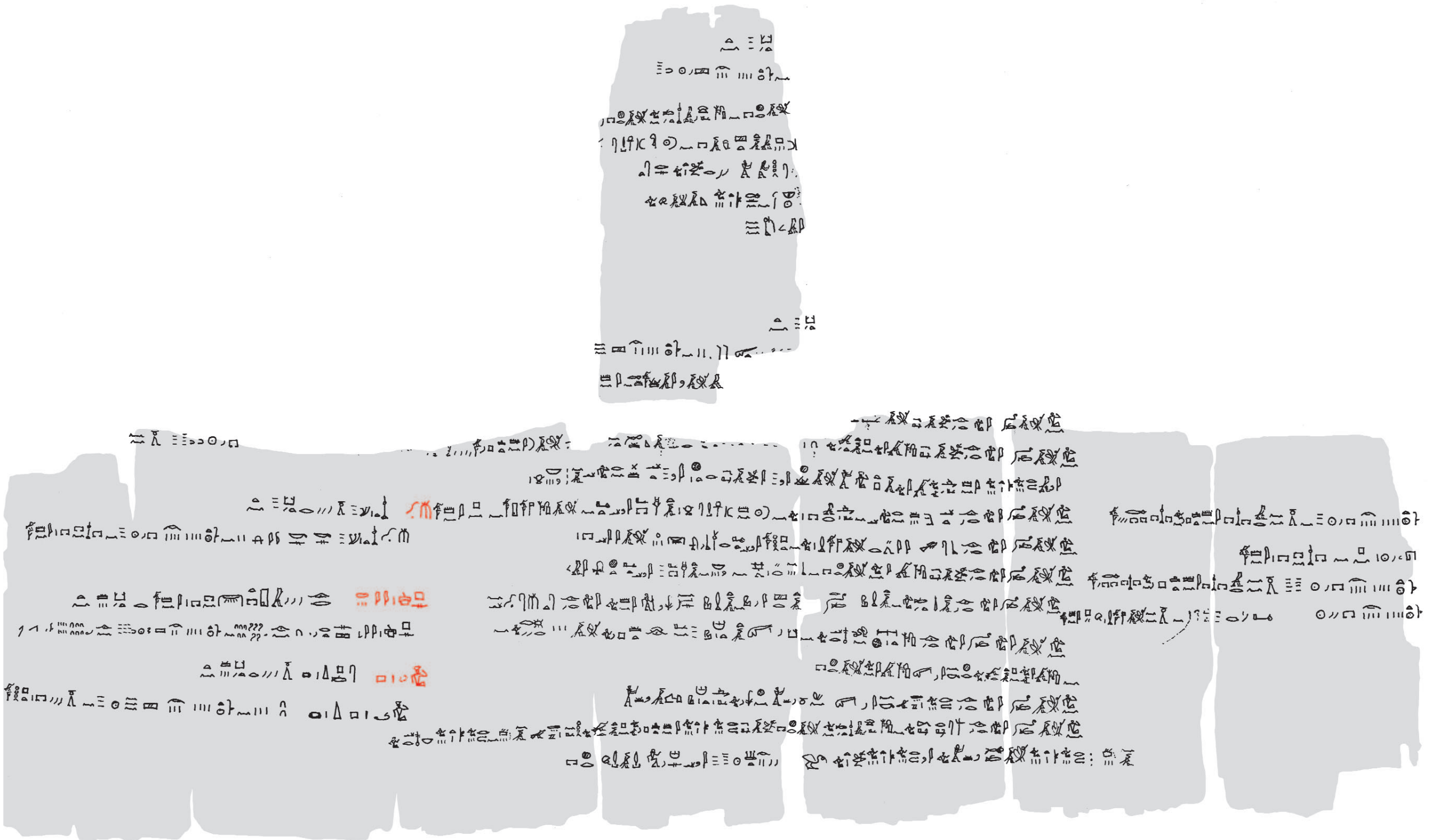
Pl. IVa Transcription of P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40127 verso.



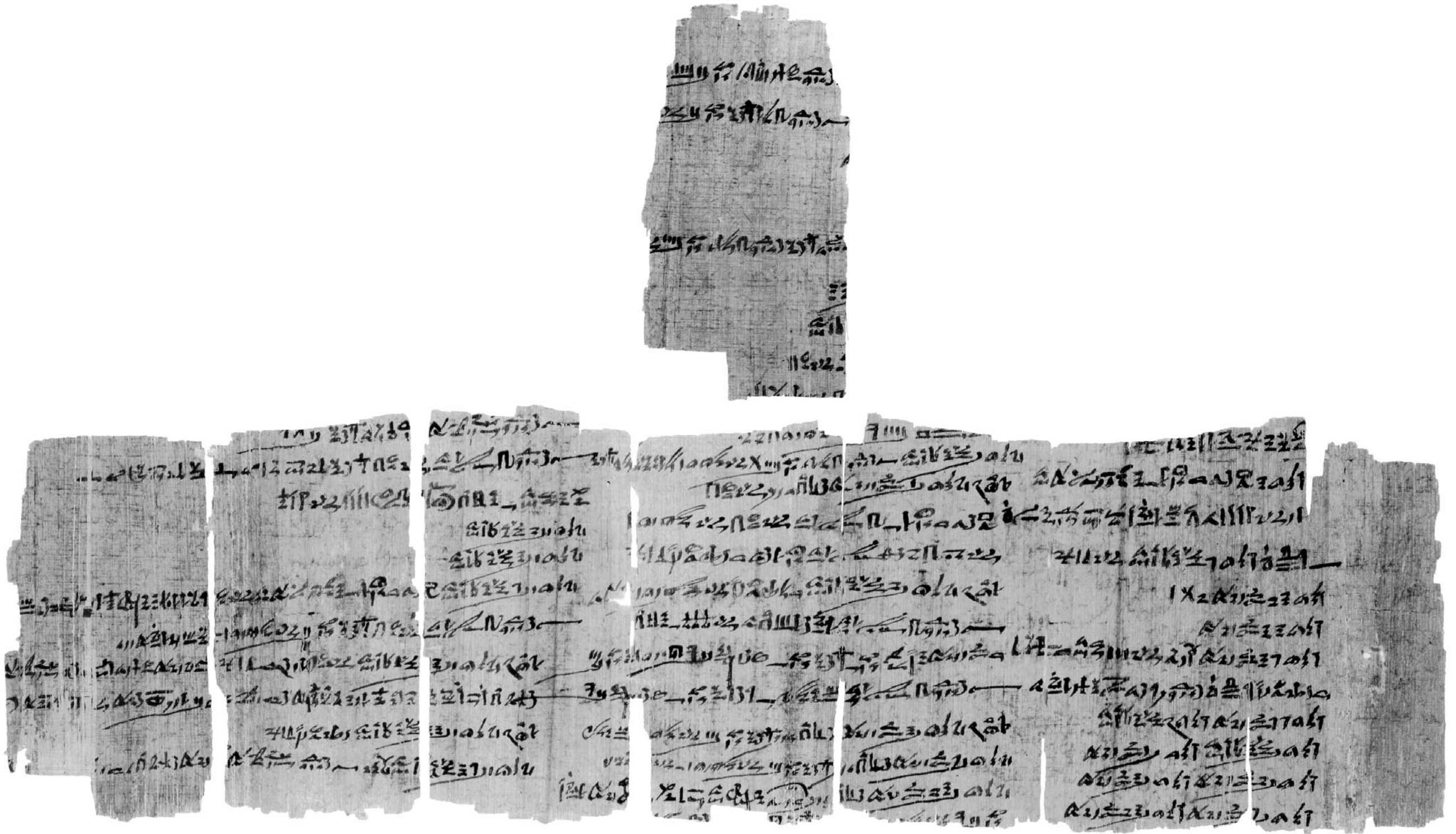




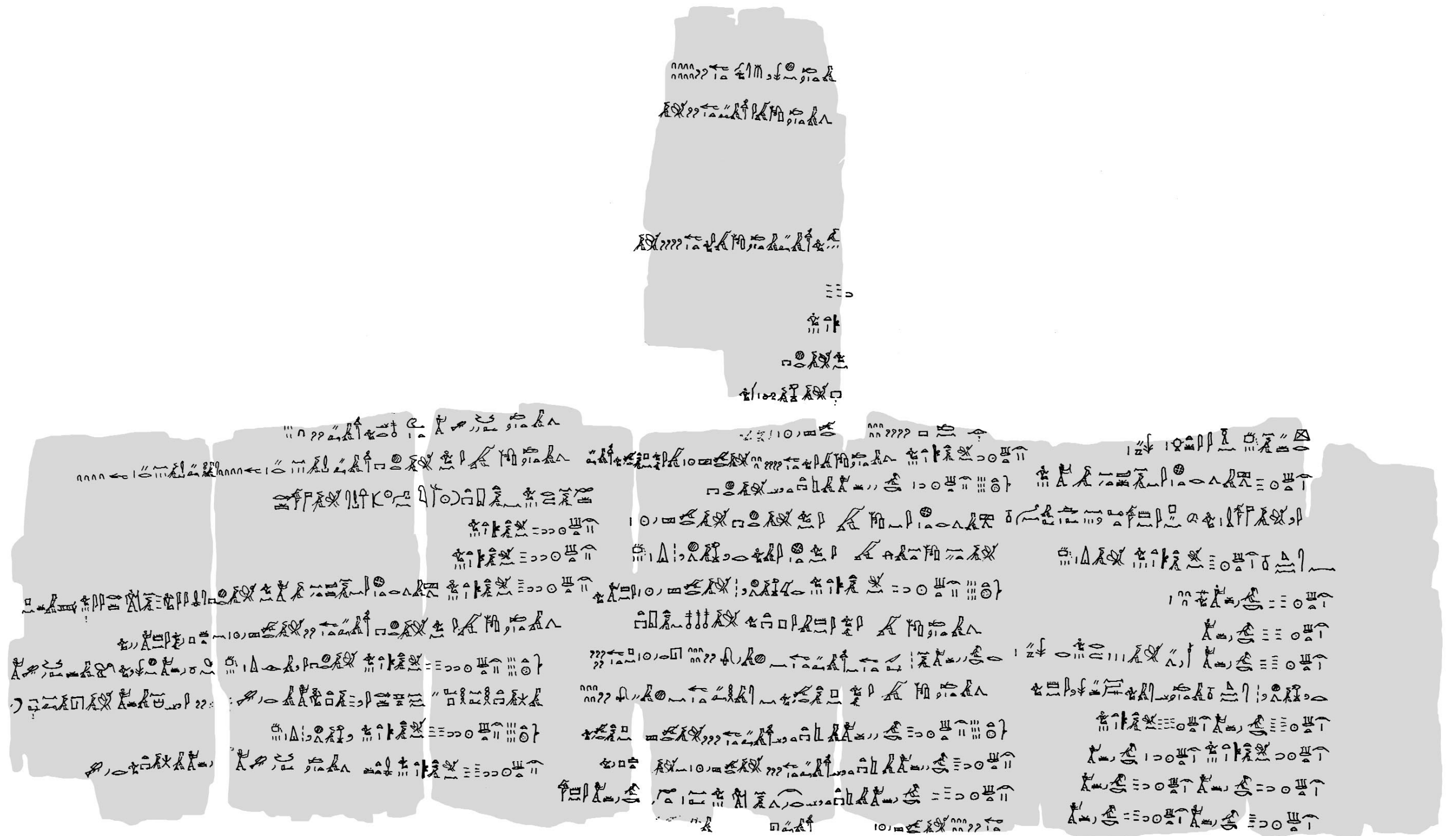
Pl. I P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40128 recto.



Pl. Ia Transcription of P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40128 recto.



Pl. II P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40128 verso.



Pl. IIa Transcription of P. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso.