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THE WORKMAN'S PROGRESS

STUDIES IN THE VILLAGE OF DEIR EL-MEDINA
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS FROM WESTERN THEBES
IN HONOUR OF ROB DEMARÉE

edited by

B.J.J. Haring, O.E. Kaper and R. van Walsem



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THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE GANG IN YEARS 1 TO 2 OF RAMESSES IV

Mark Collier*

It is a great pleasure to contribute to a volume honouring Rob Demarée.¹ Rob has made so many contributions to the study of Deir el-Medina, just one of which is his comprehensive listing of the Turnus in *The Deir el-Medina Database*.² The Turnus lists, of course, provide a rich and detailed resource for studying the workmen who served on the right side of the gang in the period from the final years of Ramesses III into the early years of Ramesses IV.

Although the Turnus lists have been extensively exploited in Egyptological research, there are still, I think, further significant strands to draw out from this material, notably by comparing other sources for this period. I will argue here that making direct use of original ancient orderings of names in name lists allows a more detailed identification of the individuals on this side of the gang. This continues to be of importance since increased precision in the identification of individuals is central to the refinement of the relative dating, sorting and processing of the vast body of documentation from Deir el-Medina (the largest body of material from any site from Pharaonic Egypt). In essence I apply here to the Ramesses III to Ramesses IV material a methodology developed for dating late Nineteenth Dynasty ostraca.³

ROSTER SEQUENCE: YEAR 2 OF RAMESSES IV

In order to begin, a complete sequence of workmen on the right side of the gang is required, preferably one following an ancient ordering. The Turnus lists themselves do provide ordered listings of workmen on day-duty, but presented cyclically. Fortunately, an instructive document is P. Turin 1891 recto,⁴ dated to regnal year 2, III *Akhet* 28 under Ramesses IV (Heqamaatre-setepenamun Ramesses-Maaty I.p.h.), which deals with the extension of the gang as a whole from 60 to 120 workmen. Sadly only the beginning of this document is preserved, but this will suffice for our purposes here. P. Turin 1891, rto 6–13 lists, in my view, the first members of the right side of the gang (from what may have been a full listing). So far as I know, it has not previously been suggested that the names appear in ordered sequence and so this ordering has not been deployed to help restore the

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¹ I am grateful to Ben Davies for discussing aspects of this paper with me. This paper was written during University of Liverpool research leave following completion of my term of office as head of department.

² *The Deir el-Medina Database* (<http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>) ‘Turnus Lists’ link.

³ See M. Collier, *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 18; Leiden, 2004).

⁴ For brevity I will not list text publications of the various sources used here. These can be readily followed up in *The Deir el-Medina Database*.

damaged names⁵ (the restorations here will be crosschecked with the ordered list from O. DeM 45 & 46 below):

The right side in the charge of the chief workman Nekhemmut of the tomb-project
 the scribe Amennakht son of Ip[uy]
 the deputy Amenkhau son of Nekhemmut
 Neferher son of Ipuy
 [Amenemo]pe son of Meryre
 [Nes]amun son of Hesy(su)nebef
 [Khaemn]un son of Amennakht
 [Hori son of Huy]nefer

In this study, I will focus on the workmen who served on day-duty (and thus not the chief workman, the scribe, or the deputy, who are all well-known individuals for this period).⁶

Despite the fragmentary nature of the P. Turin 1891 rto listing, it can be fruitfully correlated with the Turnus listings,⁷ which, fortunately, are preserved for precisely this period of time and provide a comprehensive listing of the workmen of the right side of the gang. O. DeM 45 and 46 cover the months of II and III *Akhet* in regnal year 2 of Ramesses IV⁸ (during which the workman Neferhotep served on watch on III *Akhet* 28 itself, the date of P. Turin 1891 rto; as will be seen below this is R6 Neferhotep, who can be identified as Neferhotep son of Neferhotep = Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi) of Davies, *WWD*, 230–1). If the sequence from P. Turin 1891 is applied, starting with Neferher (s. Ipuy), the following ordered listing of the right side of the gang is obtained from O. DeM 45 and 46.⁹

⁵ Just two recent examples: W. Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh* (ÄA 63; Wiesbaden, 2002), 374 lists [Amenemo]pe son of Meryre and [Khaemn]un son of Amennakhte correctly, but posits a [Neb]amun son of Hesynebef and a [Neb]nefer son of [...]; *The Deir el-Medina Database* restricts itself (quite appropriately) to listing the preserved sections of names without offering restorations.

⁶ In this paper I will use B.G. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 13; Leiden, 1999) (hereafter Davies, *WWD*) as a key reference for discussing various members of the gang. The chief workman Nekhemmut in P. Turin 1891 rto is Nekhemmut (vi) son of Khons (v) in Davies, *WWD*, see particularly 50–1. This individual will be discussed further below in his appearance as an ordinary workmen before his promotion to chief workman. The scribe Amennakht son of Ipuy is Amennakht (v) son of Ipuy (ii) in Davies, *WWD*, 105. The deputy Amenkhau son of Nekhemmut is Amenkhau (i) son of Nekhemmut (i) in Davies, *WWD*, 49.

⁷ The original documents are day journals kept by the scribes, from which the cyclical listings of workmen on day-duty can be extracted. For a discussion of the day journals O. DeM 32–47 in terms of scribal practice, see K. Donker van Heel and B.J.J. Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 16; Leiden, 2003), 72–82.

⁸ On the overlap between these two ostraca at the start of III *Akhet*, see Donker van Heel and Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village*, 76–7.

⁹ This specific ordering is close to that originally suggested in J. Černý, 'Datum des Todes Ramses' III. und der Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV.', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 115–16, although Černý begins with Anynakht with Neferher second. Černý's ordering was probably based on allocating the new members of the gang to the bottom of the roster sequence. Among other linear orderings which have been used in the literature, of particular note is W. Helck, 'Zur Geschichte der 19. und 20. Dynastie', *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 34–38, who organises his tables around Nakhtmin, followed by M. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus*

R (right side) numbers can be assigned to this order for ease of reference when comparing other sources. As such I will refer in the following to R1 Neferher and so on and to the slots in various other sources as ‘R1-equivalent’ and so on:

no.	name
R1	Neferher
R2	Amenemope
R3	Nesamun
R4	Khaemnun
R5	Hori
R6	Neferhotep
R7	Penanuqe
R8	Khaemwese
R9	Nakhtmin
R10	Reshpetref
R11	Meryre
R12	Mose
R13	Pamedunakht
R14	Userhat
R15	Minkhau
R16	Iryaa
R17	Amennakht
R18	Horisheru
R19	Iyernutef
R20	Nebnakhte
R21	Weskhetnemtet
R22	Pentaweret
R23	Nekhemmut
R24	Amennakht
R25	Kar
R26	Ta
R27	Maanakhtef
R28	Amenhotep
R29	Bakenamun
R30	Anynakht

In the following I would like to use this as something of a master-list to look at the workmen on the right side of the gang during the first expansion under Ramesses IV from its earlier size of 19 to 30 (later expanded again to 60), one of the periods with the most detailed source material for considering the workmen of Deir el-Medina.

For example, if this listing is compared once more with the fragmentary list from P. Turin 1891, then the restorations already suggested at the start of this paper correlate strongly with the ordered sequence of the Turnus lists for the exact same period. The only issue in terms of comparison concerns Hori since his own name is completely lost, but the

Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation, I: Die 20. Dynastie (HÄB 18; Hildesheim, 1983), see particularly p. 61.

well-attested individual Hori son of Huynefer fits the surviving ‘[.....]nefer’ which comprises the end of the entry and which should, on the model of other lines, provide the end of the father’s name:¹⁰

	P. Turin 1891	R–equiv.
rto 9	Neferher son of Ipyu	R1 Neferher
rto 10	[Amenemo]pe son of Meryre	R2 Amenemope
rto 11	[Nes]amun son of Hesy(su)nebef	R3 Nesamun
rto 12	[Khaemn]un son of Amennakht	R4 Khaemnun
rto 13	[Hori son of Huy]nefer	R5 Hori

THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE GANG AT THE START OF THE REIGN OF RAMESSES IV

The death of Ramesses III was reported to the gang on III *Shemu* 16, thus 51 days into his regnal year 32. Since Černý’s work in the 1930s it has been taken that Ramesses III died at Thebes.¹¹ Key to this is the anniversary of the accession date of Ramesses IV, which in O. DeM 44 is twice recorded as being on III *Shemu* 15.¹² Given that the new king succeeds immediately on the death of the previous king, this strongly suggests a date of III *Shemu* 15 one year previously for the death of Ramesses III. Since it takes time for communications to be brought up and down the Nile, for the announcement to be made to the gang at Thebes on the next day, III *Shemu* 16, Ramesses III would have had to have been at Thebes when he died and not in the north.

The report of his death is well known from two sources, both of which use the imagery of the falcon flying to the sky. It is reported in the Turnus list record for III *Shemu* 16 preserved on O. DeM 39, simply included within the basic entry for that day, and more fully in P. Turin 1946 + P. Turin 1949, vso 1.10–15, which also announces the accession of Ramesses IV.¹³

¹⁰ It has to be noted that P. Turin 1891 has not as yet been fully published (nor has P. Turin 2065 considered later in this paper) and so there is always some risk in using provisional treatments. In the case of P. Turin 1891, rto 13 the name ‘[.....]nefer’ is recorded in Gardiner’s *Notebook* 149.48 according to *The Deir el-Medina Database* entry (and also KRI VI, 77 n. 7a), but not on the hand facsimile copy in W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus du Turin* (Turin, 1869/76), pl. xlix. A small photographic image appears in C. Ziegler, *The Pharaohs* (London, 2002), 477 (no. 234) and this shows the surviving upper parts of the signs at the end of the entry in rto 13. The available space to the start of the line seems ideal for restoring ‘[Hori son of Huy]nefer’, but not, for example, for Helck’s ‘[Neb]nefer son of [...]’.

¹¹ Černý, ZĀS 72 (1936), 112.

¹² Rto 1 has the note *rnpt-sp 2 ʒbd 3 šmw sw 15 hrw pn irt h^c-nsw* ‘Regnal year 2, III *Shemu* 15. This day, carrying out the royal accession (anniversary)’. The main sequence starts in rto 2 with the explicit dating: ‘Regnal year 1, III *Shemu* 1’ and then provides entries for that month and into the next. Rto 9 has above the entry for ‘day 15’ the additional note: *rnpt-sp 2 h^c-nsw* ‘regnal year 2 royal accession (anniversary)’. Vso 25 records the first day of IV *Shemu*, again with the supralinear note ‘regnal year 2’.

¹³ For the attested records of the death of Pharaoh and the accession of his successor in the New Kingdom, see A. Dorn, ‘The Provenance and Context of the Accession-Ostrakon of Ramesses VI’, in M. Collier and S. Snape (eds), *Ramesseid Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen* (Bolton, 2011), 166–8.

[zbd 3 šmw sw 1]6 st tn [hrw n i]i in hry-mḏzy mntw-ms [r dd n] nzy p3
 hr bik pw [r pt n hm] nsw wsr-m3t-rḥ-mry-ḫmn s3 rḥ rḥ-mssw-ḫk3-iwnw
 ḥ.w.s. [iw nsw] wsr-m3t-rḥ-stp-n-ḫmn s3 rḥ r-mssw-mry-ḫmn ḥ.w.s. [p3 it]y
 ḫms hr t3 isbt p3-rḥ r st=f

[III *Shemu* 1]6. This place. [Day when] the chief of the Medjay Montumose came [to tell] those of the tomb-project, ‘The falcon has flown [to the sky, namely the majesty of] the king Usermaatre-meryamun son of Re Ramesses-ruler-of-On l.p.h. [and the king] Usermaatre-setepenamun son of Re Ramesses-meryamun l.p.h.,¹⁴ [the soverei]gn is sat on the throne of Pre in his place.’

Regnal year 1 of Ramesses IV is a period well covered in the surviving Turnus list material. The records for the months of III *Shemu*, IV *Shemu*, the five epagomenal days, and I *Akhet* all conform to the picture of the gang as found during the final period of the reign of Ramesses III, with every member of the gang attested in his expected place at least once. As is well known, the right side of the gang numbered 19 at this period. As an example, O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H42 provides the record for the entirety of I *Akhet* as follows:

R-eq no.	name	day service	day service	day service
R1	Neferher		Day 10	Day 29
R2	Amenemope		Day 11	Day 30
R3	Nesamun		Day 12	
--	Nekhemmut		Day 13	
R4	Khaemnun		Day 14	
R6	Neferhotep		Day 15	
R7	Penanuqe		Day 16	
R8	Khaemwese		Day 17	
R9	Nakhtmin		Day 18	
R10	Reshpetref		Day 19	
R11	Meryre	I Akhet 1	Day 20	
R12	Mose	[Day 2]	Day 21	
R5	Hori	Day 3	Day 22	
R14	Userhat	Day 4	Day 23	
R15	Minkhau	Day 5	Day 24	
R16	Iryaa	Day 6	Day 25	
R18	Horisheru	Day 7	Day 26	
R19	Iyernutef	Day 8	Day 27	
R30	Anynakht	Day 9	Day 28	

¹⁴ With the original cartouche name of Ramesses IV. This is still deployed at Deir el-Medina in the entry in O. DeM 45, rto 17 for regnal year 2 II *Akhet* 18 (when the Vizier and his party identify a site for the new royal tomb), whereas in P. Turin 1891, dated to regnal year 2 III *Akhet* 28, the revised cartouche name is used. See A.J. Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (Warminster, 1994), 15 with n. 2 for a discussion of the change of the cartouche name of Ramesses IV. There Peden also notes O. Cairo 25651: the recto text has the Heqamaatre-setepenamun cartouche in rto 4, whilst the verso text (written perpendicularly to the recto) has the date regnal year 1, I *Shemu* 12 in vso 1.

As such, the new reign of Ramesses IV up the month of I *Akhet* did not lead to any alteration to the composition of the right side of the gang so far as we can see.

THE FIRST EXPANSION OF THE GANG IN YEAR 1, II *AKHET* OF RAMESSES IV

The first significant change, of course, was the expansion of the gang, which, for the right side, involved the addition of 11 new members to bring the strength up to 30, and also the promotion of R4-equivalent Nekhemmut to chief workman of the right side.

O. DeM 40, rto 12 (entry for I *Akhet* 19, the day of service of Reshpetref) records the elevation (*ts*) of young men to serve on the gang, which (given the Turnus records for the succeeding month discussed below) clearly refers to the expansion of the right side of the gang from 19 workmen to 30 workmen (though no specific numbers are given in the entry in O. DeM 40)¹⁵

This addition of new members to the right side of the gang is recorded ahead of the burial of Ramesses III (which occurred on I *Akhet* 24: O. DeM 40, rto 15), but its effect is only seen in the next cycle into the following month. If Neferher is treated as R1, then the next cycle starts on I *Akhet* 29, in good time to follow on from the promotion of Nekhemmut to chief workman (discussed below) and for the new members of the right side of the gang to be added and to appear on their first cycle of duty in II *Akhet*.

The first cycle showing this new composition of the right side is unusual in its execution, as is well known. It is recorded on O. DeM 41, which covers the month of II *Akhet*. This cycle of day-duties occupies only 29 days (instead of 30), although all 30 names of the workmen now composing the right side of the gang appear, as follows:

¹⁵ As recognised long ago by Černý, ZÄS 72 (1936), 116.

R-eq no.	O. DeM 40 year 1, I <i>Akhet</i>	R-eq no.	O. DeM 41 yr 1, II <i>Akhet</i>	day-duty	day-duty
R1	Neferher	R1	Neferher		II <i>Akhet</i> 28
R2	Amenemope	R2	Amenemope		II <i>Akhet</i> 29
R3	Nesamun	R3	Nesamun	II <i>Akhet</i> 1	[II <i>Akhet</i> 30]
--	Nekhemmut	R4	Khaemnun	II <i>Akhet</i> 2	
R4	Khaemnun	R5	Hori	II <i>Akhet</i> 3	
R6	Neferhotep	R6	Neferhotep	II <i>Akhet</i> 4	
R7	Penanuge	R7	Penanuge	II <i>Akhet</i> 5	
R8	Khaemwese	R8	Khaemwese	II <i>Akhet</i> 6	
R9	Nakhtmin	R9	Nakhtmin	II <i>Akhet</i> 7	
R10	Reshpetref	R10	Reshpetref	II <i>Akhet</i> 8	
R11	Meryre	R11	Meryre	II <i>Akhet</i> 9	
R12	Mose	R12	Mose	II <i>Akhet</i> 10	
R5	Hori	R13	Pasen	II <i>Akhet</i> 11	
R14	Userhat	R14	Userhat	II <i>Akhet</i> 12	
R15	Minkhau	R15	Minkhau	II <i>Akhet</i> 13	
R16	Iryaa	R16	Iryaa	II <i>Akhet</i> 14	
R17	Horisheru	R18	Horisheru	II <i>Akhet</i> 15	
R18	Iyernutef	R19	Iyernutef	II <i>Akhet</i> 16	
		R17	Amennakht s. Reshpetref	II <i>Akhet</i> 17	
		R20	Nebnakht	II <i>Akhet</i> 18	
		R21	Weskhetnemtet	II <i>Akhet</i> 19	
		R22	Pentaweret s. Amennakht	II <i>Akhet</i> 20	
		R23	Nekhemmut s. Amenkhau	II <i>Akhet</i> 21	
		R24	Amennakht s. Khaemnun	II <i>Akhet</i> 22	
		R25	Amennakht s. Kasa	II <i>Akhet</i> 23	
		R26	Ta	II <i>Akhet</i> 24	
		R27	Maanakhtef		
		R28	Amenhotep s. Amennakht	II <i>Akhet</i> 25	
		R29	Bakenamun	II <i>Akhet</i> 26	
R30	Anynakht	R30	Anynakht	II <i>Akhet</i> 27	

O. DeM 42 then picks up the record with III *Akhet* 1 with Khaemnun on day-duty as expected; Nesamun's name is not explicitly recorded for the last day in II *Akhet*, but fits in the sequence.

The new workmen added to bring the strength up from 19 to 30 workmen on the right side of the gang are added primarily in a single block (10 out of the 11 new names) towards the end of the list, with only Anynakht bracketing them out. A similar practice is reflected in the expansion of the gang in the early reign of Siptah in the Nineteenth Dynasty, where the majority of the newcomers are added primarily as a block towards the

end of the roster.¹⁶ The reduction to 29 days for this particular cycle of day-duty comes through Ta and Maanakhtef being recorded together for the same day (II *Akhet* 24).

Aside from adding in new members of the gang, the other issue affecting this cycle was the disappearance of Nekhemmut from the R4-equivalent position. This reflects the appointment of Nekhemmut as chief workman of the right side of the gang. During the later reign of Ramesses III, Nekhemmut is well attested as an ordinary workman on the Turnus list for the right side of the gang, explicitly listed in years 31 and 32 in the R4-equivalent slot, where he also occurs in regnal year 1 of Ramesses IV up to I *Akhet*. Although P. Turin 1891 provides the first definitive attestation of Nekhemmut as chief workman of the right, in regnal year 2 of Ramesses IV, III *Akhet* 28, he disappears from the Turnus record after regnal year 1 of Ramesses IV, I *Akhet* 13 (his last attested day of service: O. DeM 40, rto 9); as chief workman, of course, he would no longer serve on day-duty. To accommodate this disappearance, the workman Khaemnun moves up one in the cycle (to R4-equivalent) and the workman Hori is moved up to R5-equivalent (Khaemnun's old slot). O. DeM 41, rto 5 has an explicit comment after recording Hori on day-duty on II *Akhet* 3: *iw=f hr t3 st n h'-m-nnw* 'he being in the place of Khaemnun'. To complete the adjustment, Hori's original position, R13-equivalent, is filled by the first of the new members of the gang to appear, the individual here named Pasen (see under Pamedunakht in the discussion of individual workmen below).

It would seem, then, that Nekhemmut was appointed chief workman of the right side of the gang in regnal year 1 of Ramesses IV, between I *Akhet* 13 (his last attested day of service) and II *Akhet* 2 (when he no longer appears in the Turnus listings). Thus this seems to happen about the time the gang was expanded from 19 workmen on the right to 30 and might just suggest a deliberate coordinated act of rearrangement. Unfortunately, we don't know exactly what had happened to the post of chief workman immediately prior to this, since Nekhemmut's father and (immediate?) predecessor as chief workman of the right, Khons, is last attested with a secure dating in regnal year 31 of Ramesses III (O. Ashm 68 notes him as chief workman in regnal year 31, II *Peret* 15). So whether Khons retired, was retired, had already vacated the position, or had died is unclear.

For the next cycle the order of the workmen is adjusted slightly to conform to the ordering found at least until regnal year 2 III *Akhet* of Ramesses IV (when the gang was expanded further to 120). As the R-equivalent numbers in the table above indicate, Amennakht son of Reshpetref was moved up in the cycle to the R17 position ahead of Horisheru and Iyernutef.

Of course, this was not the end of the adjustments to the gang. Just as our hieratic Turnus list evidence begins to dwindle (though they continue on for a few months), we return to P. Turin 1891 recto, dated to year 2 III *Akhet* 28 under Ramesses IV, which documents the extension of the gang from 60 to 120. The precise constitution of the gang during this next period of expansion is as yet poorly understood in detail (including the period immediately following the reduction of the gang back again to 60 and then through into the reign of Ramesses IX) and stands in stark contrast to the light which the Turnus records shine on the right side of the gang in the period immediately before. The Turnus lists do, though, have one final hint to offer us. For IV *Akhet* onwards, the right side of the

¹⁶ See the discussion of O. Ashm 57 in Collier, *Dating*, 19.

gang stood at 60. One might imagine that the full 60 members of the gang did their shift on day-duty, in which case each workman would serve once every two months. Interestingly, the only identified Turnus listings for this period document the original 30 members of the gang in I *Peret* and (partially) in III *Peret* (after which the records cease), with no record for IV *Akhet* or II *Peret*. Tantalising.¹⁷

THE WORKMEN OF THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE GANG IN YEARS 1–2 OF RAMESSES IV

Exploiting the original ordering sequence of our ancient sources (‘roster sequence’) allows us to narrow down more explicitly the identification of the workmen of the right on the gang at this time. In the following, I will utilise a few key sources, two of which I think have not been sufficiently recognised in terms of their sequential ordering of names, and then link the discussion to the extensive prosopographical discussion by family of the community of workmen throughout the Ramesside Period in Davies, *WWD*. In so doing I hope to consolidate and refine the discussion in that work relevant to the right side of the gang in the first two years of the reign of Ramesses IV. The discussion here centres on father–son relationships, the manner of filiation standardly deployed in the ancient sources, and is restricted to relatively brief remarks.

POSITIONS R1–R5

The first key source has already been discussed. P. Turin 1891 recto, dated to year 2 III *Akhet* 28 under Ramesses IV. P. Turin 1891, rto 6–13 presents the first members of the right side of the gang. When compared to the ordered Turnus starting with Neferher, the following names can be restored (repeated from above):

P. Turin 1891	Name	R–equiv no.
rto 9	Neferher son of Ipuy	R1
rto 10	[Amenemo]pe son of Meryre	R2
rto 11	[Nes]amun son of Hes(su)nebef	R3
rto 12	[Khaemn]un son of Amennakht	R4
rto 13	[Hori son of Huy]nefer	R5

R1: Neferher son of Ipuy

A relatively distinctive name of the period, Neferher (vi) son of Ipuy (iii) in Davies, *WWD*, 52–3. Perhaps another indicator of his seniority at this time is that Neferher also appears as the prophet (*ḥm-ntr*) of Amenhotep I (probably succeeding his father Ipuy).

¹⁷ This picture is likely to change with work by Ben Haring and his research group which is now elucidating the Turnus material from the marks ostraca, a number of which date to the period after the gang was expanded to 120. See now B. Haring and D. Soliman, ‘Reading Twentieth Dynasty Ostraca with Workmen’s Marks’, this volume. I am grateful to Ben Haring for sending me a copy of this paper ahead of publication.

R2: Amenemope son of Meryre

Straightforwardly identifiable as the Amenemope (x) son of Meryre (v) of Davies, *WWD*, 232–3.

R3: Nesamun son of Hesysunebef

A workman not discussed separately in Davies, *WWD*, but some of his attestations are conflated within the discussion of the Nesamun (i) son of Amenkhau in Davies, *WWD* 244–5. P. Turin 1891, treated as an ordered list, allows us to restore the name [Nes]amun with some certainty and thus to identify him as a son of Hesysunebef, the distinctive name of a workman from the late Nineteenth Dynasty into the mid-reign of Ramesses III. Nesamun can, then, probably be identified as the brother of R10 Reshpetref (see below). Adapting the numbering system of Davies, *WWD*, this workman could be designated Nesamun (iii) son of Hesysunebef (i).

R4: Khaemnun son of Amennakht

In my view, Davies, *WWD*, 251–2 misidentifies the [Khaem]nun son of Amennakht of P. Turin 1891 as his Khaemnun (iii) son of Amennakht (xxvi), where Amennakht (xxvi) (son of Khaemnun (i)) is the new member of the right side of the gang added in regnal year 1 of Ramesses IV (R24 below). This seems to mix up the generations. Based on treating P. Turin 1891 as an ordered list, the restoration Khaemnun seems secure, so, assuming the accuracy of the reading Amennakht, it would seem that Khaemnun son of Amennakht has to be identified as the workman of the right who appears consistently in this slot on the Turnus listing from year 25 of Ramesses III onwards (O. DeM 32, entry for IV *Shemu* 16). I leave aside here the question as to the identification of the Khaemnun who was the husband of the famous Naunakht and father of her children.

R5: Hori son of Huynefer

Straightforwardly identifiable with Hori (ii) son of Huynefer (xi) of Davies, *WWD*, 18–19. Hori's name appears quite often with filiation (see Davies, *WWD*, 18 nn. 219 and 220).

POSITIONS R6–R16

The second source is the unfortunately unpublished P. Turin 2065. The entry in *The Deir el-Medina Database* records the verso of this text as preserving a list of workmen's names. Ordered according to the original ancient sequence (*The Deir el-Medina Database* orders names, of course, in the alphabetical order of the transliteration system), the following names appear, here linked with R-equivalent numbers:

P. Turin 2065	R–equiv no.	
vso II.1	Neferhotep son of Neferhotep	R6
vso II.2	Penanuqe son of Kasa	R7
vso II.3	Khaemwese son of Penamun	R8
vso II.4	Nakhtmin son of Nebnakht	R9
vso II.5	Reshpetref son of Hesysunebef	R10
vso II.6	Meryre son of Neferhotep	R11
vso II.7	Mose son of Aanakht	R12
vso II.8	Pamedunakht son of Hay	R13
vso II.9	Userhat [son of Aa?]nakht	R14
vso II.10	Min[khau son of ?]	R15
vso II.11	Iry[aa ...] Khaemnun	R16
vso II.12	Pen[....]	

The correlation is extremely close and suggests that P. Turin 2065 is another document with a series of names not previously recognised as ordered. The match is exact for the first 11 names of the list. Even more fortunately the list essentially picks up, in terms of the roster sequence, from where P. Turin 1891 leaves off. The final entry noted in *The Deir el-Medina Database* is clearly from a damaged context and may represent a name not found at this point in regnal year 1 and early regnal year 2 of Ramesses IV (and thus might point to a slightly later date, but a date where this part of the roster sequence is still essentially as it was in regnal year 2 of Ramesses IV), but until a definitive publication we cannot be sure how secure the reading is. In terms of dating, *The Deir el-Medina Database* currently has the entry ‘possibly Ramesses III or later, in view of workmen’s names on verso’. I think this needs refining somewhat. The presence of Pamedunakht suggests a dating not before year 1 of Ramesses IV, with, as noted, a possibility of a slightly later dating depending on how secure the reading of the name ‘Pen[....]’ is in vso II.12.

R6: Neferhotep son of Neferhotep

The common name Neferhotep can be a particular source of problems for identification.

The welcome appearance in P. Turin 2065 in the R6-equivalent slot of ‘Neferhotep son of Neferhotep’ helps to secure the identification of R6 Neferhotep of the Turnus lists.

This individual is the Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi), of Davies, *WWD*, 230–1. His brother is R11 Meryre.

R7: Penanuqe son of Kasa

R7 Penanuqe son of Kasa presents an interesting case. O. DeM 145, rto 7 provides the first attestation of Penanuqe in the R7-equivalent slot on the Turnus list for IV *Shemu* 21 of regnal year 30 of Ramesses III, after which he regularly appears. There are no surviving attestations for this slot in the sparse Turnus material for regnal years 28 and regnal year 29. However, in the period from regnal year 24 (when the material begins) to regnal year 27 the name Kasa is attested numerous times in the R7-equivalent slot. Treating P. Turin 2065 as an ordered list suggests the equation of the Penanuqe son of Kasa of P. Turin 2065

with R7-equivalent Penanuqe of the Turnus lists. On this basis Penanuqe son of Kasa may very well be the son of R7-equivalent Kasa and thus may provide us with an example of a son taking over his father's position on the gang.¹⁸

Penanuqe's appearance on the gang can be narrowed down slightly. He is the famous Penanuqe of the Turin Strike Papyrus, who made a statement in regnal year 29, I *Shemu* 16 referring to how the vizier Horu had dealt with Penanuqe's ancestor (termed *pꜣy-i it* 'my (fore)father'), the infamous chief workman Paneb. Following Rob Demarée, who includes this datum in his Turnus listing in *The Deir el-Medina Database*,¹⁹ regnal year 29, I *Shemu* 16 is indeed the day Penanuqe would be expected to serve on day-duty in the R7-equivalent position.

So, somewhere between regnal year 27, IV *Peret* 12 and regnal year 29, IV *Shemu* 21 Penanuqe son of Kasa replaced (his father?) Kasa on the roster for the right side of the gang (R7) and then appears in that slot from then on. Such a suggestion offers a solution to an oddity of the Turnus record. Although Penanuqe is attested regularly in the R7-equivalent slot, in the entry for that slot in regnal year 31, I *Shemu* 8, O. DeM 153, rto 7 lists Kasa rather than Penanuqe. It is possible that some form of slip has occurred, but another possibility may be that the father, Kasa, stepped in for his son, Penanuqe, to serve on that day in his stead.

I will further suggest below the possibility that Amennakht son of Kasa, who appears on the gang in year 1 of Ramesses IV in the expansion of the gang on the right side from 19 to 30, may be another son of Kasa and thus the brother of Penanuqe. It should be noted, however, that this suggestion differs from the more extensive discussion of the genealogical relations in Davies, *WWD*, 38–9 and 187–8, who links both Penanuqe son of Kasa and Amennakht son of Kasa to the family of Paneb but, tentatively, to different branches of the family. Penanuqe remains the Penanuqet (iii) of Davies, *WWD*, 38–9, however here suggested to be the son of Kasa (vi). So, Penanuqe (iii) son of Kasa (vi).

R8: Khaemwese son of Penamun

Straightforwardly identifiable as the Khaemwaset (iii) son of Penamun (iv) in Davies, *WWD*, 5.

R9: Nakhtmin son of Nebnakht

Davies, *WWD*, 239–43 discusses the various Nakhtmins. On p. 242 he links the Nakhtmin son of Nebnakht of P. Turin 2065 with the homonymous workman attested in years 22 and year 25 of Ramesses III. This is his Nakhtmin (vi). He doesn't, however, directly discuss the Nakhtmin of the Turnus lists. Treating P. Turin 2065 as an ordered list allows us to identify this Nakhtmin with the Nakhtmin of the Turnus listing, R9-equivalent, and to be the Nakhtmin (vi) son of Nebnakht (v) of Davies, *WWD*, 242.

¹⁸ As already suggested by Ben Haring, based on Kasa's mark in the marks ostraca, **U**, being deployed for Penanuqe. See B. Haring, 'Towards Decoding the Workmen's Funny Signs', *GM* 178 (2000), 51. The treatment of the hieratic sources here reinforces this view.

¹⁹ See also Gutgesell, *Datierung*, 29 and Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 31.

R10: Reshpetref son of Hesysunebef

Discussed in Davies, *WWD*, 248. Davies, quite reasonably, offers a conservative stance on the Reshpetref son of Hesysunebef of P. Turin 2065 that ‘there is no definite proof that this individual should be identified with Reshpetref (i)’ (where Reshpetref (i) is his numbering of the Reshpetref of the Turnus list). However, if considered from the perspective of ordered lists, I would suggest that the identification can be treated as reasonably secure, since Reshpetref son of Hesysunebef in P. Turin 2065 appears in the R10-equivalent slot, precisely where the name Reshpetref appears in the Turnus lists. His brother would then be R3 Nesamun son of Hesysunebef.

R11: Meryre son of Neferhotep

Davies, *WWD*, 231 suggests that his Meryre (vi) son of Neferhotep ([xi]) may well have been the workman Meryre of the Turnus lists. Again P. Turin 2065, treated as an ordered list, seems to secure this identification more strongly. As such this Meryre is the brother of R6 Neferhotep. Their father, Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v) was the brother of R2 Amenemope son of Meryre.

R12: Mose son of Aanakht

Davies, *WWD*, 41 discusses his Mose (iv) son of Aanakht. Implicit in his discussion is that this Mose is the Mose of the Turnus lists. Treating P. Turin 2065 as an ordered list seems to confirm this. The full name ‘Mose son of Aanakhte’ also appears in the Turin Strike Papyrus (rto 2.8) of regnal year 29 of Ramesses III.

R13: Pamedunakht son of Hay

The distinctive name Pamedunakht allows this workman to be straightforwardly identified with the Pamedu(neter)nakht (i) son of Hay (viii, prob. = vii) of Davies, *WWD*, 73. Until the alterations to the order of names in the Turnus list in regnal year 1, II *Akhet* of Ramesses IV, Hori (son of Huynefer) had regularly appeared in this slot. He then moves up the list to the R5 slot as part of the accommodation of the promotion of Nekhemmut to chief workman. In the R13 slot, a new member of the right side of the gang now appears. However, two names occur, displaying a degree of alternation: Pasen and Pamedunakht, as follows:

		R13-equiv
Year 1	I Akhet	Hori
	II Akhet	Pasen
	III Akhet	Pasen
	IV Akhet	Pasen
	I Peret	Pasen
	II Peret	Pamedunakht
	III Peret	[not preserved]
	IV Peret	[not preserved]
	I Shemu	[not preserved]
	II Shemu	Pamedunakht
Year 2	III Shemu	Pasen
	IV Shemu	Pasen
	I Akhet	Pasen

	II Akhet	Pamedunakht
	III Akhet	Pamedunakht
	IV Akhet	[not preserved]
	I Peret	Pamedunakht
	II Peret	[not preserved]
	III Peret	Pamedunakht

This is one of a number of occasions where two names for a new workmen seem to appear at different times in the same slot (see below for the two Amennakhts of R24 and particularly R25). Of these two names, Pamedunakht is reasonably well attested, not just here but on monumental material and from ostraca material dating from the period after the expansion of the whole gang to 120 (cf. Davies, *WWD*, 73 for references). One possibility may just be that Pasen is a nickname for Pamedunakht and that they are one and the same individual, but this is nothing more than a suggestion and the underlying reality may be more complex.

R14: Userhat son of [Aa?]nakht

Although damaged here, the filiation seems likely given P. Turin 1966, which has a Userhat son of Aanakht giving a deposition with regard to Menatnakht, the daughter of the famous Naunakht. The names appearing on this papyrus are commensurate with the mid Twentieth dynasty (see *The Deir el-Medina Database* entry) and although probably datable after the expansion of the gang to 120, the reasonably uncommon name Userhat suggests a link to the ‘Userhat [..]nakht’ of P. Turin 2065. If so, this would be the Userhat (ii) son of Anakhtu (iii) of Davies, *WWD*, 42.

R15: Minkhau (son of Hori)

A search of *The Deir el-Medina Database* indicates that there is currently no ostrakon or papyrus material known from this period which provides a filiation for Minkhau. From evidence from the monumental material, Davies, *WWD*, 26 identifies him as Minkhau (i) son of Hori (iii). This seems plausible and is probably the best suggestion that can be made at present. It is unfortunate that P. Turin 2065 is damaged at this point.

R16: Iryaa (son of Khaemnun?)

A little researched workman not discussed in Davies, *WWD*. It is extremely unfortunate that P. Turin 2065 is damaged at this point, since it seems to link Iryaa with a Khaemnun. Given the other entries it is sorely tempting to restore ‘Iry[aa son of] Khaemnun’. Indeed there may be other evidence linking Iryaa to R4 Khaemnun son of Amennakht. One of the more interesting features of the Turnus material during this period is the occasional alternation of the names Khaemnun and Iryaa. Khaemnun is explicitly attested on day-duty numerous times during the period from regnal year 25 of Ramesses III to regnal year 2 of Ramesses IV in the same slot (first in the R5-equivalent slot, then the R4 slot). However, in regnal year 24, IV *Akhet* 9 Iryaa appears in the only attested record in that year for the R5-equivalent slot (O. DeM 180, rto 2). The same thing happens again in regnal year 28, IV *Shemu* 27 (O. DeM 138, rto 5, with explicit regnal year date). Iryaa only explicitly appears in a slot of his own, R16-equivalent, from regnal year 31, IV *Akhet* and remains there until our material ends in year 2 of Ramesses IV. Although the possibility of a

different Iryaa exists, I would suggest that the material gathered here offers the possibility that Iryaa was the son of R4 Khaemnun son of Amennakht and that, before Iryaa was appointed onto the gang in his own right, there were occasions when he took his father's day-duty for him. If this turns out to be the case, it is a rather interesting contribution to the father-son relationship and the office and duties of a workman within the gang. In this light, compare the discussion of the anomalous appearance of Kasa in the slot of Penanuqe discussed above, which might offer the reverse scenario of a father (no longer serving as a workman) but taking the day-duty for his workman son.

POSITIONS R17–R30

For identifying the new members of the gang added to expand the right side from 19 to 30 (in positions R17, R20–29; the other new member of the gang was R13 Pasen/Pamedunakht), the single most useful source is O. DeM 41. This ostrakon, which includes the new workmen for the first time in the Turnus listing, also provides filiation for a number of them and helps considerably in their identification, although names without filiation, such as Nebnakht and Bakenamun, will need a little more discussion:

R-equiv	name	
R18	Horisheru	Day 15
R19	Iyernutef	Day 16
R17	Amennakht son of Reshpetref	II <i>Akhet</i> 17
R20	Nebnakht	Day 18
R21	Weskhetnemtet	Day 19
R22	Pentawert son of Amennakht	Day 20
R23	Nekhemmut son of Amenkhau	Day 21
R24	Amennakht son of Khaemnun	Day 22
R25	Amennakht son of Kasa	Day 23
R26 & R27	Ta & Maanakhtef	Day 24
R28	Amenhotep son of Amennakht	Day 25
R29	Bakenamun	Day 26
R30	Anynakht	Day 27

As discussed above, this particular month reflects a transitional stage in which the gang and its roster sequence is clearly being adjusted following the promotion of Nekhemmut to the position of chief workman of the right and the addition of new members of the gang. By the next cycle of the Turnus, the ordering has settled on the ordering seen in the remainder of the surviving Turnus lists. It is not difficult to transpose this material onto the standard ordering and so I will follow that ordering in the discussion below.

R17: Amennakht son of Reshpetref

Given his father's name, which is not that common at Deir el-Medina, this individual can be identified reasonably securely as the son of R10 Reshpetref son of Hesysunebef and as the Amennakht (xxv) son of Reshpetref (i) of Davies, *WWD*, 248. His father was thus a workman already serving on the right when the son was added to the gang.

R18: Horisheri son of Amennakht

Horisheri is too well known an individual to be discussed here in detail. He is the Harshire (i) son of Amennakht (v) of Davies, *WWD*, particularly 114–17. His father was the serving scribe Amennakht son of Ipyu and a number of his brothers joined the gang when the gang was expanded to 30 (see R22 Pentaweret, R26 Ta, and R28 Amenhotep below). He was to become the senior scribe following his father and is attested in that role down into the reign of Ramesses IX.

R19: Iyernutef

Iyernutef is a difficult workman to identify more precisely, as indicated in his designation (without suggested filiation) as Iyernutef (iii) in Davies, *WWD*, 185. From his name, and from the fact that he is sometimes explicitly termed a sculptor himself, it is possible that he belongs to the family of the sculptor Iyernutef (ii).

R20: Nebnakht (son of Nakhtmin)

In the Turnus lists Nebnakht is not identified by filiation, even when he was newly added to the gang. The lack of filiation might just be taken to indicate that there were no other workmen with this common name at this particular time, or at least this is so on the right side of the gang. As such, other material from this period suggests that this workman may be the Nebnakht (viii) son of Nakhtmin (iv) of Davies, *WWD*, 241. His father would then be the R9 Nakhtmin son of Nebnakht of the right side. This identification is perhaps supported by the appearance on the gang of his brother, Pentaweret (viii) son of Nakhtmin (iv), during the next expansion of the gang to 120.

R21: Weskhetnemtet (son of Khnummose)

His family attachments are known from monumental sources. He is the Weskhetnemtet (i) son of Khnummose (i) of Davies, *WWD*, 258–62 with references to earlier work.

R22: Pentaweret son of Amennakht

Although both father and son bear common names, it seems likely that this workman is the Pentaweret (iv) son of Amennakht (v) of Davies, *WWD*, 110, and thus another son of the scribe Amennakht son of Ipyu.

R23: Nekhemmut son of Amenkhau

Courtesy of his father's relatively uncommon name amongst the workmen, this Nekhemmut is straightforwardly identifiable as the son of the deputy of the right side of the gang Amenkhau (i) son of Nekhemmut (i). He is the Nekhemmut (ii) son of Amenkhau (i) of Davies, *WWD*, 49–50. His father Amenkhau was the paternal uncle of the new chief workman Nekhemmut (vi) son of Khons (v), being the brother of Khons (v), the preceding chief workman of the right.

R24: Amennakht son of Khaemnun

The most likely identification is that R24 Amennakht son of Khaemnun is the Amennakht (xxvi) son of Khaemnun (i) of Davies, *WWD*, 254–5 and thus a son of Khaemnun the husband of Naunakht. R27 Maanakhtef is definitely the Maanakhtef son of this

Khaemnun and Naunakht and so the appointment of the two brothers would seem to go well together.

In the surviving Turnus record, the name Amennakht is once replaced in this slot by the name Sedet, in the record for I *Peret* day 16 in O. Ashm 113, rto 15 (similarly the name of R25 Amennakht son of Kasa is replaced by Kar). Although this may be a different individual, I wonder whether, on occasion, some of the various Amennakhts are referred to by their nicknames to keep them apart. If so, perhaps Sedet is an alternative name for this Amennakht son of Khaemnun.

R25: Amennakht son of Kasa

Davies, *WWD*, 274 identifies this workman as Amennakht (ix) son of Kasa (vi) and further suggests that Kasa (vi) is probably the workman of the reign of Ramesses III. In my discussion of R7 Penanuqe son of Kasa, I noted that Penanuqe seems to replace Kasa in that slot and thus may very well have been his son. This might suggest that Penanuqe son of Kasa and Amennakht son of Kasa were brothers.

A further twist is that during regnal years 1 to 2 of Ramesses IV, the name Amennakht is sometimes replaced in this slot in the Turnus listings by the name Kar:

		R24-equiv
Year 1	II Akhet	Amennakht son of Kasa
	III Akhet	[not preserved]
	IV Akhet	[not preserved]
	I Peret	Amennakht son of Kasa
	II Peret	Amennakht son of Kasa
	III Peret	Amennakht son of Kasa
	IV Peret	[not preserved]
	I Shemu	Kar ²⁰
	II Shemu	Amennakht
Year 2	III Shemu	Kar
	IV Shemu	Kar
	I Akhet	[not preserved]
	II Akhet	Kar
	III Akhet	Kar
	IV Akhet	[not preserved]
	I Peret	Kary
	II Peret	[not preserved]
	III Peret	Amennakht son of Kasa ²¹

Amennakht son of Kasa is a name which occurs in the Deir el-Medina material down into the reign of Ramesses IX. Although Kar and Amennakhte son of Kasa may be different

²⁰ To be read Kar or Kasa. See *Deir el Medineh Online* (<http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php>), record for O. Berlin 12642 + O. DeM 160, for discussion of the reading of the damaged name, with references.

²¹ O. Berlin P. 12384, vso 6 (not currently recorded in *The Deir el Medina Database Turnus Listing*).

individuals, I would suggest that Kar may simply be a nickname used to differentiate this Amennakht from the other Amennakhts serving on the gang at this time.

R26: Ta (son of Amennakht)

The workmen Ta, alternatively Tasher, is most likely the Ta (i) son of Amennakht (v) of Davies, *WWD*, 108 and thus another son of the scribe Amennakht son of Ipyu.

R27: Maanakhtef (son of Khaemnun)

With his distinctive name, this workman is straightforwardly identifiable with Maaninakhtuf (iii) son of Khaemnun (i) of Davies, *WWD*, 253–4 and thus the well-known son of Khaemnun and Naunakht.

R28: Amenhotep son of Amennakht

This workman, new to the gang, is the well-known draughtsman (later chief draughtsman) Amenhotep (vi) son of Amennakht (v) of Davies, *WWD*, 112–13, yet another son of the scribe Amennakht son of Ipyu.

R29: Bakenamun (son of Neferher?)

R29 Bakenamun appears in the Turnus listings without filiation. P. Turin 1966 provides a series of names, probably from slightly later (when the gang was expanded further). Amongst these appears a Bakenamun son of Neferher and it is plausible that R29 Bakenamun is this individual. Davies, *WWD*, 219 gives this workman as Bakenamun (i) son of Neferhor without identifying the father. Given the number of the other new workmen whose fathers can be identified as serving members of the gang, the possibility that Bakenamun is the son of R1 Neferher does at least suggest itself and thus the identification as Bakenamun (i) son of Neferher (vi).

R30: Anynakht

Anynakht had been a long-serving member of the gang by this point. He is the Anynakht (i) of Davies, *WWD*, 74–5. Disappointingly, his antecedents remain unknown, although Davies makes some suggestions on p. 75.

NEFERHOTEPS AND MERYRES

To conclude this paper, I would like to look briefly at the issue of the various Neferhoteps and Meryres who are to be found on the Turnus for the right in the hieratic sources between year 24 of Ramesses III and year 2 of Ramesses IV. Whilst in years 1 and 2 of Ramesses IV there is only one Neferhotep (identified here as R6 Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi)) and one Meryre (identified here as R11 Meryre (vi) son of Neferhotep (xi)) on the right side of the gang, the earlier part of the period covered by the existing hieratic Turnus records is not so straightforward. The approach taken here allows for a satisfactory individuation of the relevant individuals and also for a satisfying link-up to the innovative work on the marks ostraca being undertaken by Ben Haring and his group.

In year 25 there are two Neferhoteps on the Turnus for the right side of the gang.²² If the workmen are numbered from Neferher as above, then we have:

R no.	name
R1	Neferher
R2	Neferhotep
R3	Irysu
R4	Huynifer
R5	Khaemnun
R6	Neferhotep

The Turnus record consistently shows a Neferhotep in this R6 slot from year 25 through to year 2 of Ramesses IV. It seems highly likely therefore that this is the same individual throughout, identified here as Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi).

The Neferhotep in the year 25 R2 slot is found in this slot from the start of the hieratic Turnus record in year 24 of Ramesses III through to the early part of Ramesses III's year 27 in I *Akhet* 8 (O. DeM 653, vso 8), after which he is replaced by a Meryre (see below), at least by II *Akhet* 16 (O. DeM 167, rto 6). A Neferhotep son of Meryre is named on O. DeM 647 (not a Turnus record), dated to regnal year 24, I *Shemu* last day. I suggest that the R2 Neferhotep from years 24–26 of Ramesses III is Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v),²³ the father of R6 Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi).

The Meryre who replaces Neferhotep (son of Meryre) in the R2 slot can be readily tracked through the Turnus record. He remains in the R2 slot with explicit attestations from what is, after all, a partial record, in years 27 and 28 (with year 29 being poorly attested in the surviving record), to which can now be added the year 30 attestation from the marks ostrakon O. Strasbourg H10, which by Haring and Soliman's dating, is for III *Shemu* 8.²⁴ By regnal year 31, IV *Akhet* 10 he has moved to the R11 slot (O. DeM 157, rto 5), swapping places with Amenemope. This is Amenemope (x) son of Meryre (v), his uncle. Amenemope is last recorded in the R11 slot in the marks ostrakon O. Ashm HO 1084, dated to year 30, IV *Shemu* by Haring and Soliman (Amenemope's entry is for day 6), and is explicitly recorded in the R2 slot in regnal year 31, II *Akhet* 23 (O. DeM 155, vso 4) and possibly even earlier in the damaged entry for I *Akhet* 15 (O. DeM 170, vso 3), allowing for an earlier *terminus ante quem* for Meryre's move.²⁵ Meryre then remains in the R11 slot into the reign of Ramesses IV and so is the R11 Meryre in P. Turin 2065, where he is explicitly given the filiation Meryre son of Neferhotep, identified above as Meryre (vi) son of Neferhotep (xi) and thus the brother of R6 Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi).

²² O. DeM 32 provides a full attestation of the cycle during IV *Shemu* of year 25, with explicit regnal year date. R2 Neferhotep appears on IV *Shemu* 13 and R6 Neferhotep on IV *Shemu* 17.

²³ Incidentally, in his listing of the Turnus for *The Deir el-Medina Database* Rob Demarée, following Gutgesell, *Datierung*, 16, linked the witnessing of an oath by a Neferhotep, recorded in vso 1 of O. DeM 56, dated to year 25, III *Akhet* 13, to the service of Neferhotep on Turnus duty on that day (and so R2 Neferhotep here). This would then be Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v) on the account here.

²⁴ See the discussion of this ostrakon, and also O. Ashm. HO 1084, by Haring and Soliman, this volume.

²⁵ And indeed this is the month Rob Demarée gives as the date for the change in *The Deir el-Medina Database*.

Finally, to return to the R6 slot, occupied by Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi) from regnal year 25. In year 24 the slot is occupied by a Meryre. It might be the case that this is an early attestation of Meryre (vi) son of Neferhotep (xi); however I think it is more likely and more in accord with the evidence as we have it that this is Meryre (v) son of Amenemope (ix), the father of Neferhotep (xi) and Amenemope (x), here attested at the end of his career. Perhaps the best indicator for this comes from the marks ostraca now being analysed so successfully by Ben Haring and his group, which allows us to trace R6 Meryre before regnal year 24.²⁶

In O. Ashm HO 1086, dated by Haring and Soliman to regnal year 26, if we take Neferher as R1, then the mark \mathfrak{F} appears in the R2 slot, surely at this time R2 Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v). Yet this same mark is found in the R2 slot in year 30 (O. Stras H10), and then in later material appears in the R11 slot (e.g. O. Berlin P. 12625). This is exactly what we would expect if this mark passed on to Meryre (vi) son of Neferhotep (xi) and would be an example of a mark passing from father to son, as suggested for other examples by Haring in earlier work on marks ostraca.²⁷

The mark \mathfrak{J} was one of the first marks treated by Ben Haring.²⁸ In the later material, as attested in O. Berlin P. 12625 and Ramesses IV material, this mark appears in the R6 position and so, as identified by Haring, should indicate the Neferhotep serving on the gang in this slot at that time, here individuated as R6 Neferhotep (xii) son of Neferhotep (xi). Haring noted the oddity that the hoe-sign should be used for Neferhotep and suggested, correctly I think, that the mark was taken over from the Meryre who occupied this R6 slot previously. My suggestion is that this Meryre is Meryre (v) son of Amenemope (ix) and so this wouldn't be an example of a father-son transfer of a mark (as Haring postulated), but actually a grandfather-grandson transfer of a mark.

Haring and Soliman's treatment of O. Fitzw. EGA 6120.1943 and O. Ashm. HO 1247 allows us to track the history of the marks attached to these individuals here back to an earlier period of a 18 position Turnus in year 20/20+ (but certainly before year 24).²⁹ If Neferher is again taken as R1 and the day entries are consolidated, then \mathfrak{F} , Neferhotep (xi) son of Meryre (v), appears in the R5 position, immediately followed by \mathfrak{J} , his father Meryre (v) son of Amenemope (ix), in R6. Meryre stays in this position into the year 24 19-position roster sequence, whereas Neferhotep moves from the R5 to the R2 position.

CONCLUSION

Much remains to be done in isolating the specific identities and personal histories of workmen from the abundant Deir el-Medina material. I have attempted here to illustrate how the use of anciently ordered listings of workmen can be used to identify more precisely even the comparatively well-known workmen of the Turnus listings of the late reign of Ramesses III into the early reign of Ramesses IV. Even more encouragingly, this work is in close accord with the work on marks ostraca, now increasingly elucidating this previously untapped resource, as reported in this volume by Haring and Soliman.

²⁶ See Haring and Soliman, this volume, for primary discussion of the ostraca noted in the following.

²⁷ Haring, *GM* 178, 51.

²⁸ Haring, *GM* 178, 51.

²⁹ Primary discussion in Haring and Soliman, this volume.