

The Official Titles *wb3* *nswt* 'royal *wb3*' and *wdpw* *nswt* 'royal *wdpw*' and the Function of their Holders in the New Kingdom A Prosopographical Study

Fruzsina Bartos

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OF THEIR HOLDERS IN THE NEW KINGDOM

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FRUZZSINA BARTOS

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A Prosopographical Study

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[98.1] Block statue, Cairo, CG 906	.607
[99] Isiu	.608
[99.1] Canopic jars	.608
[100] Meriremetjef	.609
[100.1] Funerary cone DM 452	.609
[101] Nebseni	.609
[101.1] Funerary cone DM 373	.609
[102] Rau	.610
[102.1] Funerary cone DM 277	.610
[102.2] Funerary cone DM 510	.610
[103] Senemnetjer	.610
[103.1] Funerary cone DM 278	.610
[103.2] Funerary cone DM 279	.610
[104] Satre	.611
[104.1] Funerary cone DM 567	.611

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I ntroduction

The titles *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ are already known from the Middle Kingdom, however, they became widespread as titles of high officials during the New Kingdom. The individuals who bore these titles were members of the royal household, as well as prominent persons in the entourage of the ruler. They played an important role in the royal administration as well as occasionally in the state administration during the whole New Kingdom, as one of the highest ranking officials in the royal court and in society, the importance of whom primarily derived from their intimate relationship with the ruler through their acting in his personal service.

The official titles themselves and the scope of duties belonging to them, as well as the individuals who performed these functions, have not yet formed the subject of any previous detailed research. Several studies have been written on certain titleholders or their monuments focussing on the topic to some extent, however, all of them have been quite general and were mainly based on the works of Helck and Schulman and references to them, which dealt with these officials and their situation in the administration during the 18th dynasty and the Ramesside period, respectively, in a little more detail. Helck devoted a complete chapter to the representatives of this office during the 18th dynasty in his comprehensive work about the administration of the Middle and New Kingdom.¹ Although he dealt with only a portion of the individuals represented in the present corpus, he made some relevant conclusions and produced some thought-provoking theories regarding the duties and the starting point of these officials’ careers. Schulman devoted more studies to the holders of these titles, to their personal background and origin, as well as to providing an explanation for the increasing importance of the office itself during the Ramesside period.² He saw a strong connection between the elevation of the officials within the court hierarchy, especially during this period, and the foreign origin of several

¹ Helck, 1958, 269-276.

² Schulman, 1976, 1986, 1990.

of them, which might imply the ruler's loss of trust in the native members of the upper echelons. However, he also drew conclusions based on only a certain number of officials who were known to him without taking into consideration many of the representatives of the office whose presence might have influenced his statements. Nevertheless, in spite of the corpus being lacking that formed the basis of their examinations, as well as the generality of their conclusions, both the studies by Helck and Schulman were pioneer works in this subject and provided a firm basis for further research.

Furthermore, other researchers are worthy of note whose work also supported the present study. Gessler-Löhr approached the subject of the officials from an art historical perspective as she focused on dating certain individuals based on the stylistic criteria of their monuments during the 18th dynasty,³ such work having been remarkably useful in cases when there is no other primary reference to when a person lived. Málek, similarly to Schulman, also chose particular officials from the Ramesside period as the topic of two of his studies,⁴ in the course of which he briefly analysed the organization of the burials of these officials within the Saqqara necropolis. Gregersen intended to clarify the distinction of the words *wb3* and *wdpw* regarding their writing as well as their usage,⁵ however, apart from some correct statements, the fundamental methodological mistake of her work is that she drew her conclusions purely based on the orthographical appearances of both words without taking the textual context into consideration in which they were represented and the corpus of her examination was only a limited number of occurrences, the choice of which is unknown. Due to these facts, her conclusions are unfortunately not convincing and supported enough, and some of them are even erroneous.

The main aim of the present work is to determine the place and duties of the *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' and *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*' officials in the personal service of the ruler as well as in the administrative system of the New Kingdom, to provide a more detailed picture of their function and significance based on the conceptions that previous studies have implied, and also to examine the background of their dependency on the ruler and the role they fulfilled in the executive power. A similarly important aim of the research is to clarify the distinction between the two titles – *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* – in regard to their reading as well as their usage, since the literature so far – studies as well as vocabularies – mainly used the two titles quasi randomly or merged one into the other lack a firm basis for their correct interpretation.

³ Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 1990.

⁴ Málek, 1985, 1988.

⁵ Gregersen, 2007.

Due to the scarceness of contemporary literature on the topic, primary sources served as the main basis of the present study. The collection of all available textual references to each individual, as well as the transliteration and translation of their inscriptional monuments form the appendix of this work. It must be noted that the appendix intentionally does not contain philological commentary for the texts – only in some places when it was essential to include it – since the purpose of these texts is to serve as a chrestomathy providing information regarding its content and not its linguistic or philological features. In every case when an adequate translation already existed it was applied and noted, otherwise all the translations are the work of the present author. Based on the data gained from the inscriptions, a prosopographical entry was made for each official currently known from the period in question, examining their official activity, family background and remaining monuments. By analysing and examining the parallels and differences regarding these subjects according to previously determined main topics, more specific conclusions were drawn concerning the issues outlined above.

The words *wb3* and *wdpw*

I.1. *wb3* VS. *wdpw* – THE READING OF THE TWO WORDS

Although the usage of the two words, *wb3* and *wdpw* was very similar, their readings are clear and definitely not interchangeable. Observing the presence and forms of the appearance of the two words may help to clarify this in regard to their usage.

In one of his articles, Málek deals with the tomb of Hori in Saqqara,⁶ who bore – among others – the official title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’. In one of his notes, Málek mentions the interchangeability of the reading of its hieroglyphic sign group as *wb3* or *wdpw*, furthermore, he consistently uses the transcription *wdpw/wb3* for the title. The note in question says the following: ‘*wdpw/wb3 nswt*. The former reading is currently preferred, but a convincing demonstration of its merits is still lacking.’⁷ He does not make it clear whether his statement concerns the reading of the particular hieroglyphic sign group appearing in the tomb of Hori or the sign group itself generally, but the latter seems likely. Looking at the occurrences of the title in the tomb and their description in the article, it can be observed that in all four cases it is written in the same way as the sign group ,⁸ the reading of which is certainly *wb3 nswt*.⁹ Although some variations of the sign group of *wb3* might actually be similar to that of *wdpw*,¹⁰ there were, nevertheless always some differences between the two sign groups. Based on these differences, which could be a single characteristic sign, a phonetic complement or a determinative, it is possible to tell which reading is proper in a particular case. The reading of the two sign groups is obvious and definitely not interchangeable; neither of them is preferable to the other since they are

⁶ Málek, 1988, 125-136.

⁷ Málek, 1988, 134, n. 33.

⁸ Málek, 1988, 128, figs. 2a, b, d; 130, fig. 3.

⁹ Gardiner, 1947, 43*-44*; Erman – Grapow, 1971, Bd. I, 292; Schulman, 1976, 217, n. 11.

¹⁰ Cf. Erman – Grapow, 1971, Bd. I, 292, 388; as well as Tables 1-4. of the present work on pp. 26-29.

not two different readings of the same sign group, but two different sign groups with their own readings. Observing the presence and forms of appearance of the two words as well as the context in which they appear may help to clarify their usage.

The lexical meanings of the two words, *wb3* and *wdpw*, stand for the same in general: ‘man-servant, waiting man, cupbearer, butler, sewer’.¹¹ In regard to their usage, *wdpw* appeared earlier,¹² its presence has been detected as early as the Old Kingdom with the meanings ‘(domestic) servant, cellarman, cook, sewer, cupbearer’¹³, whereas at this time *wb3* only existed as a verb with the meaning ‘open’ or in the form of the feminine *wb3.t* (*wb3.yt*) as a noun which means ‘maidservant’.¹⁴ During the Middle Kingdom, *wb3* also appeared with the meaning ‘butler, cupbearer, manservant, sewer’,¹⁵ while *wdpw* lived on with its former Old Kingdom meanings, and its usage was more general and frequent than that of *wb3*.¹⁶ Ward mentions some stelae from this period that provide good examples of the discrepancies in the usage of the two words, proving that their lexical meanings were not yet clearly divided at that time.¹⁷ On these stelae, he states, the two words stand instead of each other, where one would expect the presence of *wdpw*, *wb3* appears and *vice versa*, but both of them rarely appear on the same stele. Ward does not provide any further explanation for the background of this fact or what his statement is based on. He only mentions that the duties of the two positions probably covered similar areas, and they were not clearly distinct according to their functions, which could explain the interchangeability of the two words in the early period of their common usage.¹⁸ It must be pointed out, however, that in the cases of the examples shown by Ward one could speak of the interchangeability of the words themselves and not only of their readings.

In the New Kingdom, the word *wb3* lived on with similar meanings as in the Middle Kingdom, such as ‘butler, cupbearer, chancellor’, and *wdpw* was still used with the mean-

¹¹ Erman – Grapow, 1971, , Bd. I, 292, 388; Hannig, 2003, 391-392; Hannig, 2006b, 200-201, 242-243; Hannig, 2006a, 647-648, 750-754; Lesko, 1982, 110, 136.

¹² Erman – Grapow 1971, 292, 388; Gardiner, 1947, 43*.

¹³ Hannig, 2003, 391-392.

¹⁴ Hannig, 2003, 330.

¹⁵ Erman – Grapow, 1971, 292; Hannig, 2006a, 647-648.

¹⁶ Hannig, 2006a, 750-754.

¹⁷ Ward, 1978, 92, §178.

¹⁸ At first sight one may think that the noun *wb3* originates from, or at least has some connection with the verbal root *b3* which means ‘to pour out’, since these persons, being servants and cupbearers, served drinks and liquids as well. Nevertheless, based on its use in the Middle Kingdom, Ward derives the noun from the Semitic verbal root *wbl* which means ‘to carry, to bring’. Ward, 1978, 94, §178-181.

ing of ‘cupbearer, servant’.¹⁹ It can be observed, however, that the writing of the two words changed slightly during the time, in some cases becoming very similar, and so it might be possible to interchange them because of this resemblance. Erman provides examples of this kind of orthographical error as well, noting that instead of an uncommon, lesser known word another frequent, familiar one is used, or the two words are merged into one another.²⁰ These orthographical analogies would lead to such misinterpretations like the one in the article of Ventura in which he incorrectly identifies the form  as *wdpw* in the inscription on a rock stele in Timna.²¹ Later, Schulman corrects the reading of Ventura to *wb3* and notes that the form is not plural, as Ventura thought, but the ending *-w* is an orthographical error which comes from the word *wdpw* and it should not be read.²²

Besides Málek, Gregersen also states in her study on the appearances and functions of *wb3/wb3 nswt* and *wdpw/wdpw nswt* that the reading of the two words is sometimes random.²³ Although her examination led to some correct conclusions, her analysis was based only on observations of the written form of the words and did not take into consideration the textual context in which they were presented, which caused a degree of misunderstanding regarding the feature of their usage, as well as the differentiation of their formal appearances. As for the differentiation between the reading of the words *wb3* and *wdpw*, the tendency of generally merging the examples of the two words attested during New Kingdom under the reading of *wb3* can be observed. Gregersen was not the only one who decided to refer to both writing forms as *wb3 nswt* because of the limited number of examples of *wdpw nswt* identified in her corpus,²⁴ but the same categorization can be seen by Lesko²⁵ as well as by Erman and Grapow.²⁶

It is not entirely convincing, however, that a word with its own spelling, reading, and meaning, in this case *wdpw*, would merge in meaning and reading into another word, in this case *wb3*, while still preserving its own spelling in use. It would make more sense if the rarely used word disappeared gradually and then completely, and

¹⁹ Erman – Grapow, 1971, 388; Lesko, 1982, 136.

²⁰ Erman, 1933, 10–11, §17.

²¹ Ventura, 1974, 60–63, 62 (b).

²² Schulman, 1976, 118 b, 127, n. 10–12.

²³ Gregersen, 2007, 839.

²⁴ Gregersen, 2007, 845. Gregersen does not provide any details on the objects of the corpus of her examination, thus it is not possible to concur with or contradict her statements concerning the sources.

²⁵ Lesko, 1982, 110, 136.

²⁶ Erman – Grapow, 1971, 292, 388.

the more generally used word remained in the lexicon. However, this is not the case with our words, they are both used at the same time side by side, even in the documents of the same person – albeit never in the same source. On the stelae of Ramessesashahebused, both words appear in the forms of   ,    ²⁷ for *wb3*, and    , ^{28 29} for *wdpw*, as well as on the stelae of Hori they appear as   ³⁰,   ³¹ for *wb3*, and   ³² for *wdpw*. More examples of the word *wb3* with hieroglyphic writing on stone material and that of the word *wdpw* with hieratic writing on ostrakon and/or papyrus are attested on the remains of Ramessesesemperre,³³ Paenrenenutet,³⁴ Sobekhotep,³⁵ Hori,³⁶ Nakhtamun,³⁷ Nesamun,³⁸ and Neferkareemperamun.³⁹ Based on the division of the appearance of the two words in these instances, one might initially agree with Gregersen, who primarily concludes – regarding the distribution and writing of the title *wb3 nswt* – that it predominantly depended on the type of media on which the text was written and on the type of its writing, namely whether a text was written on sources of monumental character with hieroglyphic signs or on papyrus, ostrakon or graffito with hieratic signs. Her conclusion is ‘that the main writings on monuments are   ,   , whereas on papyri, ostraca, and graffiti    , with variants are used’, as she demonstrates in the following:⁴⁰

²⁷ Abu Simbel No. 9.

²⁸ Serabit el-Khadim No. 260.

²⁹ Serabit el-Khadim No. 250, 252.

³⁰ Memphis, No. 2882.

³¹ Neuchâtel, Musée d’Ethnographie, Eg. 428; relief fragment (present location is not known).

³² British Museum EA 588; Deir el-Medina, No. 151.

³³ Stele, Egyptian Museum, TR 3/7/24/17; stele, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, E 5014; pillar fragment, Museo Civico Archeologico, 1913; lintel, Brooklyn Museum, 35.1315; stele, Musée des Beaux Arts et d’Archéologie, NE 1555; relief fragment, private collection; relief fragment, Villa Torlonia, No. 557; relief fragment, Villa Torlonia, No. 554; rock-stele, Timna; ostrakon, Egyptian Museum, CG 25504.

³⁴ Tomb structure; ostrakon, Egyptian Museum, CG 25504.

³⁵ Stele, Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, YPM ANT 266737; papyrus, Museo Egizio, Cat. 2002.

³⁶ Tomb structure(?); ostrakon, Deir el-Medina, No. 45; papyrus, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1891; ostrakon, Nicholson Museum, R.97; ostrakon, Deir el-Medina, No. 2551.

³⁷ Stele, Wadi Hammamat No. 12; ostrakon, Egyptian Museum, CG 25580.

³⁸ Scene showing Amenhotep being rewarded, Karnak; papyrus, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1881; papyrus, British Museum, EA 10054; papyrus, British Museum, EA 10221; papyrus, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, E 6857; papyrus, Museo Egizio, Cat. 212 + 2083/173/179/175/181/183a/b + 1945 + 2073/145 + 2082/172 + 2076/154,155 + 2082/177 + 2083/178.

³⁹ Scene showing Amenhotep being rewarded, Karnak; papyrus, British Museum, EA 10054; papyrus, British Museum, EA 10221; papyrus, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, E 6857.

⁴⁰ Gregersen, 2007, 845–846.

- 18th Dynasty:  (tombs, statues, stelae, (but no papyri or ostraca))
 19th Dynasty: , ,  (tombs, statues, and stelae)
 (with variants) (a few papyri, ostraca, and graffiti)
 20th Dynasty: , ,  (one tomb, a few statues and stelae)
 (with variants) (papyri, ostraca, and graffiti)
 21st Dynasty:  (a sarcophagus and a statuette)

Nevertheless, this statement, as already noted, is exclusively based on the written form of the words. Another important factor, however, which should be taken into account is the textual context in which the words appear, as the analysis of the remains of the 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpw*s' in the present corpus revealed. The distribution of the usage of the two titles, *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt*, show a pattern which seems to depend on the quality in which the officials are represented in certain sources. On monuments with a funerary, votive and offering context, as well as on those on which the official is represented in his position as a courtier, or in his function as a personal attendant of the ruler in his entourage and in his service within the royal household, he is designated by the title *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*'. At the same time, in sources which render an account of the participation of the official in a particular mission, a special assignment ordered by the king, far from his person and from the royal court, such as an expedition, inspection of the work at the royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings or dealing with the supply of the workman at Deir el-Medina, as well as being a member of a judiciary, he was designated as *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*'.⁴¹

The written form of the two words can primarily be distinguished based on their complements and determinatives. The word *wdpw* developed further from its most common Old and Middle Kingdom form . The 96 attestations in the corpus show that the written form usually keeps the vessel and the phonetic complement waw, adding one or more extra waws as phonetic complements, as well as a papyrus roll, an arm with a stick, a man with a stick or a sitting man, alone or two of them, as determinatives. As for these writing forms, there is nothing that would indicate the reading of *wb3* instead of *wdpw*. In regard to the word *wb3*, in most cases there is at least one sign that implies the correct reading, such as the drill, the phonetic complement b, or the linen band.⁴² There are only three instances out of the 120 attestations in the examined corpus where the title is written only with a vessel, however, in these cases, the textual context, as well as the type of the

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion on the duties of ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’, see chapter II.5 The duties of the *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* and their function in the service of the ruler.

⁴² The commonly used phonetic complements *b3* and/or *3* during the Middle Kingdom do not appear in the examined corpus, however, they were still in use, as the example in *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer*) shows, see on p. 97.

object help to determine the reading as *wb3*.⁴³ Apart from eleven examples where an arm with a stick stands as determinative, there is no such element in the writing forms of *wb3*, the papyrus roll and the man with the stick are not represented at all in this corpus.⁴⁴

Gregersen revised the distribution and writing of the two words according to Erman and Grapow from the earliest times until the Late Period. Nevertheless, according to the reasons mentioned above, her categorization has to be corrected according to the following tables:

	Old Kingdom	1 st Interim. P	Middle Kingdom	2 nd Interim. P
<i>wdpw</i>	𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏*	𓂏, 𓂏*	𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*	𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏*
<i>wdpw(t)</i>	𓂏*	𓂏*	𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏*	
<i>wb3</i>			𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*	𓂏𓂏𓂏*
<i>wb3t</i>	𓂏𓂏𓂏.		𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*	

	18 th dynasty	19 th dynasty	20 th dynasty	21 st dynasty	Late Period
<i>wdpw</i>	𓂏𓂏	𓂏𓂏.			𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏
<i>wb3</i>	𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*	𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*	𓂏*, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏	𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏*	
<i>wb3t</i>	𓂏𓂏𓂏* ¹⁶				

Table 1. The distribution and writing of *wdpw*, *wdpw:t*, *wb3* and *wb3:t* according to Table 2. by Gregersen, 2007, 841. The highlighted writing forms should be accounted to the word *wdpw*.

⁴³ The three occurrences of reading *wb3 nswt* written only with a vessel: in the tomb (TT 110) of Djehuti (I), 18th dynasty; on the block statue (CG 569) of Hesinetjeref, 19th dynasty; on the block statue (A 112) of Unknown 1, 19th dynasty.

⁴⁴ However, there are other occurrences, where the man with the stick appears as determinative together with a waw in the word *wb3*, as in papyrus Leiden 348, vs.10,7; cf. Gardiner, 1937, 137,1; Gardiner, 1947, 43*.

	18 th dynasty	19 th dynasty	20 th dynasty	New Kingdom
<i>wdpw</i>				
<i>wb3</i>				

Table 2. The distribution and writing of *wdpw* and *wb3* in the New Kingdom, revision of Table 2. by Gregersen, 2007, 841.

The table contains the main variations of the two words represented in the examined corpus.

(* Three occurrences of reading *wb3 nswt* attested only by a vessel: 1. in the tomb (TT 110) of Djehuti (1), 18th dyn.;
2. on the block statue (CG 569) of Hesinetjeref, 19th dyn.; 3. on the block statue (A 112) of Unknown 1, 19th dyn.)

	18 th Dynasty	19 th Dynasty	20 th Dynasty	21 st Dynasty	Late Period
<i>wdpw nsw</i>	𓏲*, 𓏲*	[𓏲]—𓏲*			𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲 (same person)
<i>wb3 nsw</i>	𓏲, 𓏲𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲𓏲, 𓏲—𓏲 𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲*	𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲, (with variants) 𓏲𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲*	𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲, 𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲*, 𓏲𓏲𓏲𓏲, (with variants)	𓏲𓏲 (two cases: father and son)	

Table 3. The distribution and writing of *wdpw nswt* and *wb3 nswt*
according to Table 5. by Gregersen, 2007, 845.

The highlighted writing forms should be accounted to the title *wdpw nswt*.

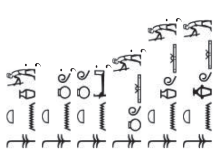
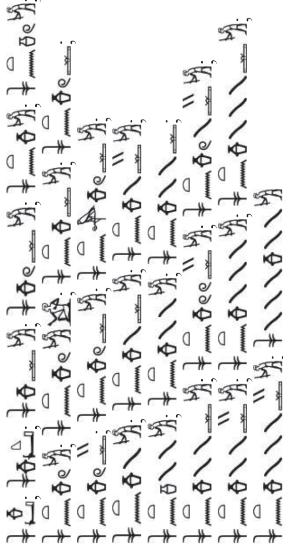
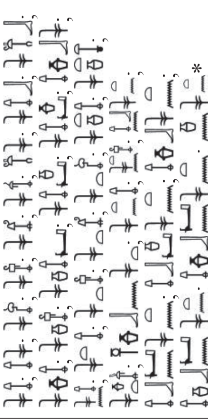
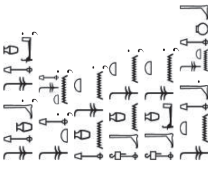
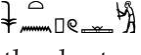
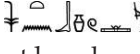
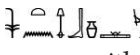
	18 th dynasty	19 th dynasty	20 th dynasty	New Kingdom
<i>wdpw</i> <i>nswt</i>				
<i>wb3</i> <i>nswt</i>				

Table 4. The distribution and writing of *wdpw nswt* and *wb3 nswt* revision of Table 5. by Gregersen, 2007, 845.

The table contains the main variations of the two titles represented in the examined corpus.

- (* Three occurrences of reading *wb3 nswt* attested only by a vessel: 1. in the tomb (TT 110) of Djehuti (I), 18th dyn.;
2. on the block statue (CG 569) of Hesinetjeref, 19th dyn.; 3. on the block statue (A 112) of Unknown 1, 19th dyn.)

As the categorization of the two words shows in the comparative tables above, a certain regularity regarding the writing forms of both *wb3* and *wdpw* can be discerned. However, to determine the correct reading of the particular occurrence of the words with certainty, it is not enough to draw a conclusion based exclusively on the writing form, since the textual context also has to be taken into account. Nevertheless, there are exceptions and complicated cases where other aspects should be considered besides these two criteria. Such an instance is the occurrence of the title ‘royal *wb3*’/‘royal *wdpw*’ in the onomasticon of Amenemope. Gardiner notes⁴⁵ that in one of the manuscripts, on a leather strip (British Museum, EA 10379), the incorrect form  of *wb3* was used which is perhaps corrupted from the form , the shorter version of the word, and barely from the writing of *wdpw* . In the other manuscript, which also preserved this section of the onomasticon, Papyrus Hood (British Museum, EA 10202, another corrupted form of the same title occurs as . It seems almost certain to Gardiner that the emendation of the word must have been . He transcribes both sign groups as *wb3* in the relevant section of the text, however, with a question mark. At the same time, Gardiner also notes that ‘this important title would otherwise be passed over in silence.’⁴⁶ In this particular case, the date of the original work, as well as that of the manuscripts, must be considered.⁴⁷ Amenemope, whom the onomasticon is attributed to, is supposed to have lived at the very end of the 20th dynasty, and the original work was presumably written not earlier than the reign of Ramesses IX. The available manuscripts, eight in number, based on their features, are associated with the 21st and 22nd dynasties, the relevant leather strip is dated to the 21st dynasty, and Papyrus Hood is from the early 21st dynasty.⁴⁸ The last attestation of the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ from the New Kingdom in the present corpus is from the reign of Ramesses IX, and that of the title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ is from the reign of Ramesses XI. Based on these facts, the rare usage of the title during the Second Intermediate Period, text corruption or scribal errors made during copying originating from the similar function and usage of the two titles also have to be considered as possible explanations for the occurrences of the corrupted writing forms. According to the distribution of the writing forms of the two words demonstrated above, it seems to be reasonable to suppose that – contrary to Gardiner’s suggestion – the written form  still derives from the word *wdpw* .

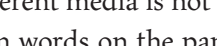
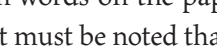
⁴⁵ Gardiner, 1947, 43*.

⁴⁶ Gardiner, 1947, 43*.

⁴⁷ Gardiner, 1947, 24–25.

⁴⁸ Gardiner, 1947, 24–26, 30–31.

as well as in the case of the other example  which should be emended to the written form  of the same word.

A similar case, however, from an earlier period – when the use of both titles was more frequent –, can be observed in the inscriptions on the battle of Qadesh written on temple walls and on papyrus in which the titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* were applied in the same text, respectively.⁴⁹ Here, it is not a question of merging the different writing forms of the two words, but the clear usage of the two of them:⁵⁰ in four of the five versions of the text, all of them on temple walls, the word *wb3*  is used but in the fifth one, on the papyrus, *wdpw*  appears instead.⁵¹ It might seem at first sight indeed that the division of the usage of the two words depends on the type of media they appear on, according to Gregersen's conclusion mentioned above. The examination of the whole text for other differences in wording in the versions reveals several differences in regard to the orthography or word usage between the inscriptions on the temple walls and on the papyri.⁵² Some words are consistently written with differing orthography on the two media, such as  or  and  or  for *phṯj* 'strength',  and  for *3.t* 'time', or  and  for *ḥtrj* 'horse' on temple walls and on papyrus respectively. In addition, there are several occasions where synonyms were used in the different sources, such as  *sdr m ḥdb.wt* 'lying in heaps' and  *sdr gbgb.t* 'lying prostrated', or  *shṃ* 'power' and  *hs3* 'wildness' on temple walls and on papyrus respectively. The use of *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* belongs to this latter category as well. However, the reason for the usage of different words on different media is not clear at this point, one might expect shorter or more easily written words on the papyrus but the evidence contradicts this supposition. Nevertheless, it must be noted that in regard to the available sources examined during the research, there are no examples of occurrence of the word *wb3* written with hieratic writing on papyrus or ostrakon, but at the same time, the word *wdpw* is attested several times written on a monumental source. (See table 2. in the Appendix.)

⁴⁹ For further discussion on this passage of the inscription, see p. 99–100.

⁵⁰ Schulman, however, prefers the reading of *wb3 nswt* for all of the writing forms. Cf. Schulman, 1976, 127, n. 10.

⁵¹ Kitchen, 1979, 84, §274.

⁵² Paragraph numbers according to Kitchen, 1984, where these sorts of differences appear without claiming completeness: 8, 13, 25, 28, 40, 42, 54, 59, 70, 77, 85, 89, 104, 108, 115, 117, 120, 123, 131, 133, 148, 155, 158, 163, 166, 179, 192, 200, 201, 204, 207, 218, 222, 231, 237, 279, 284, 287, 294, 301, 313, 315, 319, 321, 329, 336, 342, 343.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the results and conclusions regarding the diversity of the writing forms of the words *wb3* and *wdpw* depend to a major extent on the random occurrence of the different types of sources that have remained, thus they represent only the current state of research, which might be changed as new evidence emerges that either supports or contradicts the observations.

1.2. THE APPEARANCE AND USAGE OF THE WORDS *wb3* AND *wdpw* FROM THE EARLIEST ATTESTATIONS UNTIL THE NEW KINGDOM⁵³

1.2.1. Archaic Period and Old Kingdom

According to Schott, a possible reading of the label consisting of a flower and a vessel above the man standing behind the ruler on the Narmer-palette, carrying sandals in one of his hands and some sort of pot in the other, as well as on the mace-head assigned to the same ruler, might be either *wdpw hr:w* or *hm hr:w*,⁵⁴ a title referring to a function or profession. However, according to Jones, the reading of this sign group might also be *wn nw*, with a similarly uncertain meaning.⁵⁵ Another, more unambiguous example of the title appears on a funerary stele dated to the 1st dynasty, containing the following: *smr pr:w nsw wtp.w Tjtk3* 'friend of the king's house, the cupbearer Titka'.⁵⁶ It is also worth noting that according to Kahl, the female form *wdpw.t* was already used as a personal name during the 0–3rd dynasties.⁵⁷ He provides two examples to support this statement, both of which are possibly from the reign of Djer: a funerary stela⁵⁸ and a stone vessel,⁵⁹ on which the vessel sign used for describing the word *wdpw* appears.

During the Old Kingdom, *wdpw* is mainly attested in the decoration of tomb walls. All the examined examples show the *wdpw* as a manservant. In the examined corpus, there was only one example from Upper Egypt, from Deir el-Gebrawi in the 12th nome dated to

⁵³ The main basis of the corpus of the examination were the attestations collected by Hannig, 2003, 391-392, and 2006a, 647-648, 750-752.

⁵⁴ Schott, 1951, 79, 97; Kahl, 2002, 127.

⁵⁵ Jones, 2000, 380, no. 1490.

⁵⁶ Petrie, 1900b, 27, pls. 31, no. 40; Kahl, 2002, 127.

⁵⁷ Kahl, 2002, 127.

⁵⁸ Petrie, W. M. F. 1901. *The royal tombs of the earliest dynasties*, 1901, part II. London, pls. 26, 88.

⁵⁹ Kaplony, P. 1963. *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* III. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 8, Wiesbaden, Abb. 860.

the 6th dynasty, in the tomb of Djau Semaj and his son, Djau.⁶⁰ On the south wall of the tomb, the man offering a cattle leg in front of the sitting tomb owner is labelled as *wdpw* with the vessel sign.⁶¹ All the other attestations, slightly more than a dozen, came from Lower Egypt, from the 1st and 2nd nomes dated to the 4th–6th dynasties. In several cases, more than one *wdpw* appear in the same depiction, and most of the figures are labelled with their names and titles above them. The functions in which they are represented can be divided into two main categories: offering bearers and participants in actions connected to the preparation of food.

In the first function, the *wdpw* mainly takes part in the procession of the offering bearers, carrying different types of bread, birds, various kinds of meat and pots in his hands and on his shoulders, as in the tomb of Nikauhor in Saqqara from the 5th dynasty,⁶² or in the mastaba of Seshathotep in Giza from the early 4th dynasty.⁶³ More than one *wdpw* is depicted in the tomb of Kaninisut in Giza from the 4th dynasty, where three men are labelled as *wdpw* in the offering procession in the lower register on the western wall of the cult chamber,⁶⁴ or in the mastaba of Nisutnefer in Giza from the 5th dynasty where two *wdpws* are depicted in one scene.⁶⁵ There is only one example where an attribute was given to the *wdpw*, although the name itself was missing from the label. In the tomb of Satjut in Giza dated to the 4th–5th dynasty, an offering table scene can be seen on the right side of the door and an *wdpw* *hnt-wr* ‘cupbearer of the great cellar’ is depicted kneeling in front of the deceased holding two bowls in his hands.⁶⁶

The second function, in which an *wdpw* appears in offering scenes, is as a participant in food processing. He can be seen engaged in making bread, slaughtering cattle or preparing food, as in the tomb of Uhemka in Giza from the 5th dynasty⁶⁷ or in the mastaba of Idu in Giza from the 6th dynasty, where a label above a man says *pst jwf wdpw Tjdwj* ‘cooking meat (by) the cupbearer Tidui’.⁶⁸ Another food making scene can be seen in the tomb of Mehu in Saqqara from the 6th dynasty. In the bottom register of the relief at the entrance of the corridor a man is sitting in the centre of the scene, roasting a bird

⁶⁰ Davies, 1902, 4-5 pl. iv.

⁶¹ Based on the publication, the two signs before the vessel cannot be identified for certain, but the reading is probably *hq3*.

⁶² Quibell, 1909, 25-26, pl. LXIV.

⁶³ Junker, 1934, Abb. 28.

⁶⁴ Junker, 1934, Abb. 18.

⁶⁵ Junker, 1938, Abb. 28.

⁶⁶ Lepsius, 1970, 72; Bl. 86b.

⁶⁷ Kayser, 1964, 32.

⁶⁸ Simpson, 1976, 25-26, fig. 38.

and heating ember with a fan; above his head, there is the label *wdpw S3bj* ‘Sabi, the cupbearer’.⁶⁹ This must have been the same action to which the spell of the Pyramid Texts (PT 207 §124b-c [W/S/E sup. 19]⁷⁰) refers: *wdpw ʿb3 mw rkḥ sdt ḥnd m ʿb s3šr:t* ‘Cupbearer, present water! Light the fire (for) a joint among the roast meat!’⁷¹

1.2.2. First Intermediate Period

The examples from the First Intermediate Period, albeit fewer in number, show a similar position of an *wdpw* to the ones from the previous period. All of their occurrences are on funerary stelae from the 3rd–6th Upper Egyptian nomes. Most of them show the *wdpw* as an offering bearer standing before an offering table and the deceased, pouring some liquid out of a vessel or offering a bowl. The *wdpw* is labelled in each case with the vessel sign of his title and his name.⁷² There are two examples, however, which differ from the others. One of them is the stele of Iri, on which a certain *wdpw Sbkrn* ‘the cupbearer Sobekren’ appears in the last column of the text, without figural depiction, among others who are meant to be provided with offerings in the afterlife. Here the title *wdpw* is written with the usual vessel and a *waw* as a phonetic complement after it.⁷³ This feature of the writing of the word *wdpw* was common in the Middle Kingdom. The other interesting example is the stele of Merer, who was an *wdpw* himself.⁷⁴ According to its text, Merer was *smr-wʿ.tj wdpw jmj-r3 sft.w n.w pr Hww* ‘sole friend, cupbearer, overseer of the slaughterers of the entire house of Khuu’. Unfortunately, the text of the stele is a very common example of its type with the offering formula, the usual formulae appreciating the life of the deceased and his acts of kindness, and with an offering formula for his wife at the end, does not provide us with a wide range of information about the status or function of an *wdpw* during this period. At the same time, it reveals that Merer bore one of the ranking titles *smr-wʿ.tj* ‘sole friend’, which refers to his high status in

⁶⁹ Altenmüller, 1998, 51, Taf. 16b.

⁷⁰ Abbreviation is after Berger el-Naggar et al, 2013.

⁷¹ Allen, 2005, 29, no. 141.

⁷² For the stele of Demi and his wife Senebet, see Martin, 1980, 117-120; Sternberg, 1978, 55-59; for the stele of Heqaib, see Polotsky, 1930, 194-199, pl. XXIX; for the stele of Khnumerti, see Petrie, 1900a, 51-53, pl. XV; for the stele of Nenu, see Leprohon, 1985, 45-48; for the stele of Shendjintef, see Dunham, 1937, pl. 3.1.

⁷³ Ziegler, 1990, 74-77.

⁷⁴ Černý, 1961, 5-9.

society as well as in the royal court,⁷⁵ nevertheless, nothing can be determined about the connection between his status and his title *wdpw*, if indeed there was one at all. The text also informs us that Merer was a pure one who could slaughter and make offerings in two temples on behalf of the ruler, which function might have been linked to his title 'overseer of the slaughterers', as well as with that of *wdpw*.

1.2.3. Middle Kingdom

In the textual sources from the Middle Kingdom, besides *wdpw* the other word, *wb3* appears with a similar meaning. The appearance of both words is the most frequent on stelae, mainly on funerary stelae, as well as on some stelae in wadis and mining areas which commemorate and render accounts of expeditions there. Some examples can be found on other objects from other areas, such as the appearance of *wdpw* on a limestone slab with a butchering scene on it,⁷⁶ on a stone doorjamb in a chapel at Elephantine,⁷⁷ and on a wooden rectangular coffin from Gebelein,⁷⁸ in tomb scenes⁷⁹ as well as on papyrus containing administrative documents,⁸⁰ or the presence of *wb3* in graffiti and rock inscriptions⁸¹ and in tomb scenes⁸² respectively.

The main corpus of the examination is based on 90 funerary stelae; almost all of them came from Abydos. As to the occurrences of the two words on these stelae, *wb3* appears at least 44 times and *wdpw* appears at least 120 times.⁸³ Numerous dissimilar forms of both words can be differentiated, *wb3* has ca. 20, and *wdpw* has ca. 15 variant writings, the most distinguishable variations are represented in Table 5.

⁷⁵ For the ranking titles, see Baer, 1974, 2-8; Grajetzki, 2000, 220-226; Grajetzki, 2009, 5-6.

⁷⁶ James, 1974, pl. 88.

⁷⁷ Habachi, 1985, 55-56, Taf. 80.

⁷⁸ Lacau, 1904, 86-88, pl. 18, CG 20033.

⁷⁹ Blackman, 1915, pls. 16, 25; Davies, 1913, pl. 38; Newberry, 1893, pls. 17-18, 35.

⁸⁰ Scharff, 1922, 1**-21**.

⁸¹ Farout, 1994, 143-172; Gardiner – Peet, 1917, 67, pl. 11; 73, pl. 13; 219, pl. 93.

⁸² Davies, 1920, pls. 6-7, 12, 26.

⁸³ These numbers show the minimum occurrences of the two words. Since in some cases the texts or the depictions are damaged or broken, one can only presume that one or the other word should stand there, but this cannot be stated with certainty.

	Middle Kingdom
<i>wdpw</i>	
<i>wb3</i>	

Table 5. Variations of the writing of *wb3* and *wdpw* in Middle Kingdom sources

Since most of the stelae are from Abydos from the 12th dynasty, this written diversity cannot be explained by regional division or time of origin, nor even by the workability of the material, since almost all of the stelae are made of limestone. There are some examples of representing more variant forms of the same word on one stele.⁸⁴ As can be observed, the variations of *wb3* are much wider than those of *wdpw*, even if *wb3* has less than half as many occurrences as *wdpw* has. The explanation for this could be the novelty of the word *wb3*. Its consequent writing cannot yet be confirmed, and the main signs of it – the drill or the night sky – appear with diverse complements. In the case of *wdpw*, in contrast, the variations are confined to the numerous shapes of the vessel sign. If there is a complement after the vessel, it is always a *waw*. Complementing the word *wdpw* seems to have become more common during the First Intermediate Period when its appearance was relocated from the labelled depictions of tomb scenes to the texts of funerary stelae. In many cases the word stands alone in the text without any figural depiction, which became more frequent during the Middle Kingdom.

Besides the variations of each word, we can also observe the combination of their writing with their signs mixed. The fact that the usage of the two words would not have been separated clearly from each other by that time, and the duties of these offices might not have been differentiated enough, could have caused their interchange and some orthographical shuffling between them as well.⁸⁵ This, however, does not seem to have been a general tendency since this phenomenon can be observed only in four cases, which number is minimal compared to the total number of the appearances mentioned above. In three of the cases *wb3* is complemented with *waw*,⁸⁶ and in the fourth case the vessel sign is complemented with a leg and a *b3*-bird,⁸⁷ in an attempt to show which word they

⁸⁴ For example BM 170, Budge, 1913, 7, pls. 12-13; BM 216, Budge, 1912, pl. 47.

⁸⁵ For further information, see Ward, 1978, 92, §178.

⁸⁶ Lange – Schäfer, 1902, CG 20075, 91; CG 20171, 202; CG 20199, 226, pl. 16; Simpson, 1974, pl. 26, CG 20075.

⁸⁷ Simpson 1974, pl. 81, MMA 63.154.

intend to mean. Since all of these orthographical improprieties occur in the case of *wb3*, the recent invention of the word could again serve as an explanation for the indefinability in its writing, and a synonym for the generally used *wdpw*, it possibly appropriated its elements.

The two words, *wb3* and *wdpw*, appear in most cases on the stelae as labels for a figure or as a relative of the deceased mentioned in the text, with his name, rarely with affiliation or specified as *m3^c-hrw* 'justified'.⁸⁸ On several stelae, more than one *wb3* or *wdpw* are depicted or mentioned in the text, but there is no example where an *wb3* and an *wdpw* appear together due to their function.⁸⁹

In comparison to the Old Kingdom, the number of the cases in which an *wdpw* or in rare cases an *wb3* is the owner of the funerary stele increased during the Middle Kingdom. Apart from the fact that they are presented in the text, in a shorter or longer *hṭp-dj-nswt* or other offering formula, no other information is provided about them, except their affiliation.⁹⁰ There are some examples when more than one *wdpw* own one funerary stela⁹¹ or they are co-owners with others holding different functions. The offering formula is either repeated before each person or after a common formula, the beneficiaries appear in separate panels with their names and their own offering tables.⁹² Interestingly, there is no funerary stele owned by more than one *wb3*. On some stelae, the *wdpw*, who presents offerings to the deceased, is attributed as favourite or beloved,⁹³ or he declares the same of himself.⁹⁴ Emphasizing this kind of status and personal attachment, the *wdpw* is often depicted under the chair of the deceased.⁹⁵ Finally, the image about the duties of an *wdpw* is verified by the stelae on which the individual is depicted not only standing in front of the deceased, carrying and handing various things to him apparently participating in his provision for offerings, but the label text above the *wdpw* clearly expresses that he is the one who presents the offerings to the deceased.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ Lange – Schäfer, 1902, 54-55, pl. 5, CG 20045, in the ninth column at the bottom of the stela; 96-97, CG 20080, in the eighth line at the lower part of the stela; 46-48, CG 20038; Simpson, 1974, pl. 2, in front of the kneeling figure on the right side of the scene.

⁸⁹ There is only one stele, Wien ÄS 143, where an *wb3* and an *wdpw* appear together, but here the *wdpw* is a co-owner of the stele and the *wb3* is mentioned among the relatives in the text. Simpson, 1974, pl. 68.

⁹⁰ Lange – Schäfer, 1902, 150-151, pl. 11, CG 20127; pl. 16, CG 20199; 315-316, CG 20303.

⁹¹ Gayet, 1889, 3-4, pl. 13, Louvre C 25.

⁹² Simpson, 1974, pl. 68, Wien ÄS 143.

⁹³ Lange – Schäfer, 1902, 38-40, CG 20030.

⁹⁴ Gayet, 1889, 12, pl. 54, Louvre C 15; Schenkel, 1965, 295-298.

⁹⁵ Budge, 1913, 7, pls. 12-13, EA 170 [831].

⁹⁶ Lange – Schäfer, 1902, 127-128, CG 20104; Simpson, 1974, pl. 32; Budge, 1912, pl. 47, EA 216 [903].

As for the individuals labelled as *wb3* appearing on the stelae one cannot make any similar observations to the ones mentioned above. There is no instance of several *wb3*s owning a common stela. If they were presented on a stela because of their function or relationship, there is no other information about them except their names. In cases when an *wb3* is the only owner of a stela, the text contains their affiliation but – in contrast to that of the *wdpw* – no attribution referring to their function or personal attachment to the deceased can be observed. There is only one example where the third person singular masculine possessive suffix =*f* was added to the two *wb3* titles on a stela addressing both persons thereby as *wb3=f* – ‘his butler’.⁹⁷

To conclude, the usage of the two words, *wb3* and *wdpw* was very similar; their meaning conveyed a more or less similar function: a person primarily in charge of preparing and serving food and drinks in households. According to Grajetzki and Quirke,⁹⁸ the original function of the *wdpw* ‘cupbearer’ was bringing the food from the different preparation rooms to the place of eating, while the *wb3* is defined by Quirke as a ‘food bearer’ who seems to have represented the same function, perhaps a lower status or less formal expression.⁹⁹ Helck, in contrast, suggests that the hierarchy was the reverse, and the *wdpw* did the actual work in the food chambers under the direction of the *wb3*.¹⁰⁰ The variations and oddities in their usage are linked to the innovation of *wb3* in the Middle Kingdom, rather than their functional differences since the word *wb3* did not have such a tradition and background by that time as *wdpw* had from the period of the Old Kingdom. In the New Kingdom, however, the differentiation can be observed between the two words used as a title in themselves and those complemented with the attribute of *nswt* ‘royal’, both in respect to their meaning and function, as well as regarding the social status of the persons holding these officials.

⁹⁷ Lange – Schäfer, 1902, 29–33, CG 20025.

⁹⁸ Quirke, 2004, 66, Grajetzki, 2013, 245.

⁹⁹ Quirke, 2004, 66.

¹⁰⁰ Helck, 1958, 257.

The titles *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’: their function and their holders

II.1. PERSONAL BACKGROUND OF THE OFFICIALS

The available sources reveal only limited information about the personal background of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ such as their family relationships or place of origin. A temporal division can be observed among the sources regarding the types of information they provide, and which division derives from the difference between the types of the sources themselves dated to each period. Data concerning family members of the officials are mentioned more often from the 18th dynasty from the period of which the sources contain tombs, funerary objects or monuments for personal use, while during the later period of the New Kingdom the available sources are rather of a monumental and – especially in the 20th dynasty – administrative nature which understandably avoid giving personal details of individuals involved. On the other hand, sources from the Ramesside period provide more information about the foreign origin of certain officials than in earlier times, however, indications are mostly based on only the name of the person, which implies that they are not native Egyptian.

II.1.1. *Genealogy and family relationships*

Naming or mentioning family members on the monuments of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ does not seem to be frequent compared to the total number of the individuals presented in the corpus since any sort of relative is known only from twenty-nine officials out of the one hundred and two. However, if one takes into consideration the different nature of the sources during the 18th and the 19th–20th dynasties respectively that was mentioned earlier, the number of times family members are mentioned by name becomes more understandable: eighteen cases out of twenty-seven individuals from the 18th dynasty, seven cases out of twenty-seven individuals from the 19th dynasty, three cases out

of thirty-nine individuals from the 20th dynasty, and one case out of seven individuals without a specified period during the New Kingdom.

Regrettably, the available data about the family relationships of the officials are generally not really informative concerning the social status and place of origin of the family or the officials themselves as in most of the cases only the name of the person is known but they are not labelled with any titles. The most frequently mentioned relative – not surprisingly – is the wife of the official, who is presented or named in twenty-one cases.¹⁰¹ Both or one of the parents are named in seventeen cases¹⁰² but grandparents are not known, except the grandfather of Suemniut (Thutmose III – Amenhotep II). Other relatives such as siblings and children are also often named in the sources, and even an aunt, a sister-in-law, a mother-in-law or a nephew appear occasionally.

On the occasions when titles are mentioned with the names of the family members, the titles are not important ones (Table 6.), which fact implies that the officials did not originate from the higher social class but rather from the middle one.¹⁰³ There are no explicit references as to how they got into higher social circles and became prominent members of the royal court. Besides, there are only a few (auto)biographical inscriptions in which the owner mentions the stages of his official advancement in detail or conclusions can be drawn based on its content¹⁰⁴, which do not provide with information regarding this question either. Nevertheless, some possibilities emerge as an answer based on observing the titles held by certain officials, which is discussed in detail later.¹⁰⁵ Titles of the fathers are mentioned in four cases (Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenenutet Tjaiui were brothers, so their father is the same individual), all of them are from the 18th dynasty. Pesedjiri and Amenemhat, fathers of Djehuti (I) as well as Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenenutet Tjaiui respectively, hold the title *s3b* ‘dignitary’, which indicates that they were

¹⁰¹ 18th dynasty: Nebamun, Djehuti (I), Qenamun, Suemniut, Heqanakht, Neferrenpet (I), Sarenenutet Tjaiui, Setau, Parennefer, Ptahemwia (I), Ipu, Pay, Paatenemheb, Nensemekhetef, Kasa; 19th dynasty: Tjai Ta, Wenefdjedsen, Ramessesemperre, Pentawer; 20th dynasty: Ptahemwia (II), Hori.

¹⁰² 18th dynasty: Nebamun, Djehuti (I), Montuiui, Suemniut, Neferrenpet (I), Sarenenutet Tjaiui, Ipu, Pay, Qema; 19th dynasty: Tjai Ta, Neferrenpet (II), Ramessesemperre, Pentawer, Bay; 20th dynasty: Hori, Amenkhau; New Kingdom: Isiu.

¹⁰³ Schulman also drew the same conclusion based on a much narrower corpus containing only the ‘royal *wb3s*’ during the Ramesside period. Schulman, 1986, 197.

¹⁰⁴ For the tomb inscriptions of Nebamun, see p. 105. and [1.1] Theban Tomb 24 on p. 327, for the focal points of the tomb of Djehuti (I), see p. 113, for the stelophor statue of Qenamun, see p. 116. and [3.1] Stelophor statue on p. 348, for the tomb inscriptions on Montuiui, see p. 123. and [7.1] Theban Tomb 172 on p. 357.

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion on the possible origins of the close relationship of the officials with the ruler, see p. 62.

respected members of the local society at their place of residence but they were not specifically high ranking persons. Neferhat, father of Ipu, was *hrj-ḥb.t n ʿ3-ḥpr.w-Rʿ* ‘lector priest of Aakheperure’ and *wʿb n Jmn* ‘wab-priest of Amun’ which also refers to the middle social class rather than the upper one. The only case when the highest social class demonstrably served in the social background of a ‘royal *wb3*’ is that of Suemniut, whose father, Iamnefer, and even his paternal grandfather, Paahauti, bore several titles of high rank, both ranking as well as functional ones. Iamnefer was a member of the most important courtiers at the royal court bearing the ranking title *jrj-pʿt ḥ3tj-ʿ* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, and took an important position in the local administration as *hrp-ns.tj* ‘controller of the two thrones’, *hrj-tp ʿ3 n Wnt* ‘greatest among the chiefs in Unet’, as well as *ḥ3tj-ʿ n Nfrwsj* ‘mayor of Neferusi’, and played a major role in sacral life as *ḥm ntr tpj n Dḥwtj* ‘high-priest of Thoth’, *jmj-r3 ḥm.w ntr n Dḥwtj nb Ḥmnw* ‘overseer of the prophets of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis’, *sš ḥtp-ntr Dḥwtj nb Ḥmnw* ‘scribe of the divine offering of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis’ and *wr dj m pr Dḥwtj* ‘the Greatest of the Five in the temple of Thoth’.¹⁰⁶ Paahauti, the grandfather of Suemniut also served as *ḥ3tj-ʿ n Nfrwsj* ‘mayor of Neferusi’. Thus, Suemniut had the proper background in order to allow him to achieve a significant position in life, however, one should not deny his own merits and achievements in the personal service of the rulers under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.¹⁰⁷ As for titles of the female relatives of the officials – besides the usual epithet *nb.t pr* ‘lady of the house’ which appears by almost all of the female relatives mentioned by name in the corpus –, the picture is rather undiversified since the vast majority of them bore the title *šmʿjj.t n Jmn* ‘chantress of Amun’. There are two exceptions for this, namely the mother of Suemniut, Merit who was *šmʿjj.t n Dḥwtj* ‘chantress of Thoth’ and his possible other (step)mother, Mi who held the title *wr.t-ḥnr.wt n Dḥwtj* ‘great of the ladies of the harem of Thoth’. Considering the religious titles of their husband, Iamnefer closely connected to Thoth it is not surprising that the same god appears in the titles of the wives as well.

Based on the pieces of evidence, it also became obvious that the offices of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ was neither hereditary nor prevalent in certain families. The only one case when father and son also bore the title is that of Ptahemwia (II) and Hori in the 20th dynasty during the reign of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.¹⁰⁸ Besides, there is only one other case when two male relatives, two brothers served in this

¹⁰⁶ For the inscriptions on Iamnefer, see Edwards, 1939, 3, pls. II-III; Helck, 1955-1958, 1453-1455.

¹⁰⁷ For a discussion on the career of Suemniut, see p. 127.

¹⁰⁸ Gregersen omits this information from the corpus of these officials in her analysis. Gregersen, 2007, 848.

office, Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenenutet Tjaui during the reign of Amenhotep III. Both examples are strayed occurrences temporarily far from each other so they cannot be considered as basis for any further conclusions in respect to looking for links between the office and family relationships.

II.1.2. The issue of foreign origin of the officials

Foreigners played an active role in the administration of the Egyptian state during the New Kingdom, particularly during the Ramesside period. It is obvious from the titles of these individuals that they participated in every level of the society.¹⁰⁹ Helck¹¹⁰ and Schulman¹¹¹ discussed the foreign origin of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ in the 18th dynasty as well as during the Ramesside period.

Helck notes that the persons who acted in these offices were predominantly Egyptian, however, those of foreign ethnicity might have been represented among them during the 18th dynasty and their number definitely increased from the reign of Ramesses II.¹¹² According to Helck, it was generally accepted that besides their original name officials of foreign origin adopted an additional court name compounded with the word *hq3* during the 18th dynasty,¹¹³ while later during the Ramesside period, the name of the ruler was used instead of the word *hq3*, by which a basiliphoric name was created for the non-native individuals. These names were given to them by the king himself upon their arrival at the royal court for the service of the ruler, as Helck states,¹¹⁴ and, however, it is known that numerous hostages were taken to Egypt during the 19th–20th dynasties for this purpose as well as others, certainly not every name thus compounded with a royal name should automatically infer that an individual was of non-Egyptian origin or entered Egypt as hostage. Basiliphoric names may be interpreted as a mark of a foreign origin indeed, on the one hand, and on the other hand, as Málek notes, they might express a special affiliation of a person with their ruler regardless of their nationality.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, some basiliphoric names such as Ramessesnakht, Nebmaatrenakht or Menmaatrenakht were borne by native Egyptians as

¹⁰⁹ Helck, 1958, 353–367; Schulman, 1986, 193.

¹¹⁰ Helck, 1958, 271–271.

¹¹¹ Schulman, 1986, 193–197.

¹¹² Helck, 1958, 271–273.

¹¹³ Helck mentions Heqaerneheh and Heqareshu as examples of ‘royal *wb3s*’ of foreign origin during the 18th dynasty, however, neither of them bore this office according to the available evidence. Helck, 1958, 273.

¹¹⁴ Helck, 1958, 274.

¹¹⁵ Málek, 1988, 136; Davies, 2014, 87.

well,¹¹⁶ thus one must be cautious in applying this theory without further proof for declaring such attributions and each instance must be examined and determined on its own. There are various criteria for determining the foreign ethnicity or ethnic origin of a particular individual, as Schulman discusses in detail in the case of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ themselves¹¹⁷ and as presented regarding the representatives of the present corpus in the following (summarized in Table 7.), and the more criteria can be detected, the more likely the person was a foreigner or an Egyptianized foreigner.

As for the officials during the 18th dynasty, there is only one person who bore a name with the prefix *ḥq3*, namely Heqanakht from the reign of Amenhotep III. Unfortunately, there is no information on his ancestors or family members except his wife Satre whose name refers to the fact that she was native Egyptian. Thus, based on only the name of Heqanakht in itself, Helck’s theory can be neither supported nor contradicted.

From the Ramesside period, indications for the foreign ethnicity other than the basiliphoric name itself are available only in the case of officials under the reign of Ramesses II and Merneptah. In some cases, individuals who bear a basiliphoric or another Egyptian name have also retained their foreign name. Among the ‘royal *wb3s*’ Ramessesesemperre was called Benazan of Ziri-Bashan on his stele now located in Cairo (TR 3/7/24/17)¹¹⁸ referring to a settlement located in north-eastern Palestine, in the Trans-Jordanian region. It cannot be ascertained when and under what circumstances he came to Egypt,¹¹⁹ but it is reasonable to assume that he began his career under the reign of Ramesses II,¹²⁰ as implied by his basiliphoric name as well as his epithet *pn Rꜥ-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* ‘he of (=son of) Ramesses Meriamun’ in the same inscription. In addition, his father was a certain Yupa, which also clearly proves his Semitic origin.¹²¹ In two other cases, although the officials themselves did not bear a basiliphoric name, the Semitic name of their relatives seem to confirm their foreign roots. Both the mother and the sister of Pentawer had non-Egyptian names, Aurati and Raqasha respectively.¹²² On some occasions, ethnicity is

¹¹⁶ Helck, 1958, 273.

¹¹⁷ Schulman, 1986, 194-196.

¹¹⁸ For the inscription of the stele, see [53] Stele, Cairo, TR 3/7/24/17 on p. 493, and for a discussion on Ramessesesemperre, see p. 201.

¹¹⁹ Giveon raises the possibility that he was a child-hostage who grew up in Egypt, Giveon, 1965, 202; Varille mentions the general idea of taking him hostage as an adult, Varille, 1932, 12; Capart assumes that he is a descendant of Syrians who settled in Egypt during the 19th dynasty, Capart, 1905, 60.

¹²⁰ Kitchen, 1976, 312; Davies, 2014, 89.

¹²¹ Schneider, 1992, 52-54.

¹²² Schneider, 1992, 157-158. For the inscription of the stele on which they are mentioned, see [54] Stele, Cairo, TN 12/6/24/17 on p. 508, for a discussion on Pentawer, see p. 207.

Official	Dynasty	Relative	Title	Translation
Djehuti (I)	18 th dyn.	father Pesedjiri	<i>s3b</i>	dignitary
Suemniut	18 th dyn.	father Iamnefer	<i>jrj-p^εt h3tj-ε</i>	member of the elite, foremost of action
			<i>hrp-ns.tj</i>	controller of the two thrones
			<i>hrj-tp ε3 n Wnt</i>	greatest among the chiefs in Unet
			<i>h3tj-ε n Nfrwsj</i>	mayor of Neferusi
			<i>hm ntr tpj n Dhwtj</i>	high-priest of Thoth
			<i>jmj-r3 hm.w ntr n Dhwtj nb Hmnw</i>	overseer of the prophets of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis
			<i>sš htp-ntr Dhwtj nb Hmnw</i>	scribe of the divine offering of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis
			<i>wr dj m pr Dhwtj</i>	the Greatest of the Five in the temple of Thoth
		paternal grandfather Paahauti	<i>h3tj-ε n Nfrwsj</i>	mayor of Neferusi
		mother Merit	<i>šm^εjj.t n Dhwtj</i>	chantress of Thoth
Montuiui	18 th dyn.	brother Begeni	<i>sš nswt</i>	royal scribe
Neferrenpet (I)	18 th dyn.	father Amenemhat	<i>s3b</i>	dignitary
Sarenenutet Tjau	18 th dyn.	father Amenemhat	<i>s3b</i>	dignitary
		brother Ptahmi	<i>sdm-ε3 n t3 ntr:t</i>	servant of the goddess
		brother ?	<i>sdm-ε3 n t3 [ntr:t]</i>	servant of the [goddess]
		son Userhat	<i>sš</i>	scribe
Ptahemwia (I)	18 th dyn.	wife Mia	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn w^εb.t ε.wj</i>	chantress of Amun clean of hands
Ipu	18 th dyn.	father Neferhat	<i>hrj-hb.t n ε3-hpr:w-R^ε</i>	lector priest of Aakheperure
			<i>w^εb n Jmn</i>	wab-priest of Amun
Paatenemheb	18 th dyn.	wife Tipui	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
Qema	18 th dyn.	wife Sat[...]	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
Ptahpatener	19 th dyn.	wife Tauser	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
		wife Henut	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
		sister-in-law Nebui	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
Ramesesemperre	19 th dyn.	wife Iset	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
Pentawer	19 th dyn.	mother Aurati	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
		sister Raqasha	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
		wife Isetnofret	<i>šm^εjj.t n Jmn</i>	chantress of Amun
Ramesesnakht	19 th / 20 th dyn.	wife Tunuro	<i>šm^εjj.t n Dhwtj</i>	chantress of Thoth

Table 6. Family members of the officials whose titles are mentioned in the sources

indicated by the geographical element in the name which comprised of either the definite article *p3* 'the' or the demonstrative *pn*, often written *p3 n*, 'the one of' plus the geographical specification. According to this pattern, the name of the father of Neferrenpet (II), Penlevi 'the one of Levi' also indicates foreign origin.¹²³ The same pattern can be observed in the case of two other officials as well. The cognomen of *R^c-ms-ḥsw¹-[ḥrw dd n=f] Pn-ḥdr¹* Ramessesheru called Penhazuri 'the one of Hazor' on his stele in Paris (E 3629) supposedly refers to his hometown in north-eastern Canaan.¹²⁴ It cannot be ascertained in this case either when or in what circumstances he came to Egypt and became a personal servant of the ruler. Similarly, almost nothing can be ascertained about of a certain Paluka 'The Lukkan'¹²⁵, who was one of the first individuals to be accused in the trial of the conspirators in the plot against Ramesses III, together with two of his fellow-officials with likewise foreign names, Warn^a¹²⁶ and Inini, the latter of whom was even explicitly called 'the Libyan'.¹²⁷ Two of their colleagues, Baalmeher¹²⁸ and Qedendenna¹²⁹ were on the other side of jurisdiction acting as members of the judiciary that examined the criminals. In such cases, when the name of the individual is a foreign-looking and -sounding name, it is even written with the ideogram of a throwing-stick signifying them as 'foreign, foreigner'. Besides these cases, several officials bore a basiliophoric name during the Ramesside period, however, there are no other indications regarding their foreign ethnicity. In these cases non-Egyptian origin is only assumable but as it was mentioned earlier, and based only on their basiliophoric name one cannot adopt a position in this question unequivocally.

Regrettably, the functional titles held by these officials are either so diverse that no conclusions can be drawn regarding any possible connection between their foreign origin and their status in the royal court nor in respect to their duties in the personal service of the ruler. Schulman speculated in regard to the socio-political background of the increasing number of 'royal *wb3s*' of foreign origin during the Ramesside era that it was because the king either mistrusted or could not rely on the native members of the upper echelons.¹³⁰ He sees the Amarna period as a turning point in this respect. After the triumph over the reforms

¹²³ For a discussion on Neferrenpet (II), see p. 191.

¹²⁴ Sauneron – Yoyotte, 1950, 68; Schulman, 1986, 196; Kitchen, 2003b, 25; Davies, 2014, 88. For the inscription of the stele, see [55] Stele, Paris, E 3629 on p. 509, for a discussion on Ramessesheru, see p. 208.

¹²⁵ Schneider, 1992, 110–111.

¹²⁶ Schneider, 1992, 80–81.

¹²⁷ For the inscription of the trial, see [62] Judicial Papyrus of Turin on p. 521.

¹²⁸ Schneider, 1992, 86.

¹²⁹ Schneider, 1992, 205.

¹³⁰ Schulman, 1986, 198–199.

of Akhenaten, the army installed its own leaders around the throne with the firm support of the priesthood. These two parties of society gained strong positions in the leadership of the country and filled the civil administration with their own. The king might have needed his own men as a counterbalance to these state officials who were technically loyal to him, however, they could have represented a potential threat to his authority. Thus it seemed to be an obvious solution to choose these trusted persons from the closest circle of his entourage, especially from the newly arrived foreigners who did not yet have solid roots in society and who primarily depended on the benevolence of the ruler himself. Nevertheless, Schulman also notes that this explanation cannot be completely correct considering that in the trial of the harem conspiracy against Ramesses III there were three officials of foreign origin (Warna, Paluka and Inini) among the accused individuals. Looking at the presence of the officials of foreign ethnicity under the rulers, it is conspicuous that several of them were attested under Ramesses II and Ramesses III, while from the reign of Ramesses IV on their number decreased. However, Schulman’s theory may have been correct: the system might have worked as it should have for a while but the harem conspiracy was a breaking point in the confidence of the ruler towards his ‘royal *wb3s*’ of foreign origin as one might see a correlation between the affair and the lower number of these officials after the reign of Ramesses IV. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that the distribution of the officials through the period was gained from the information derived from the available sources and not from an analysis of a complete corpus.

	Date	Name	Relative	Cognomen/Epithet
Ramessesashahebused	Sety I – Ramesses II	basilophoric		
Neferrenpet (II)	Ramesses II		father Penlevi	
Ramessesmen	Ramesses II	basilophoric		
Atumemtaneb	Ramesses II			royal <i>wb3</i> of (the land of) Ari
Ramessesuserpehti	Ramesses II – Merneptah	basilophoric		
Ramessesemperre	Ramesses II – Ramesses III	basilophoric	father Yupa	Benazan of Ziri-Bashan, he of Ramesses Meriamun
Pentawer	Merneptah		mother Aurati, sister Raqasha	
Ramessesheru	Merneptah	basilophoric		Penhazuri
Merneptahemperptah	Merneptah	basilophoric		
Ramessesamiiunu	Ramesses III	basilophoric		
Ramessesankherneheh	Ramesses III	basilophoric		

	Date	Name	Relative	Cognomen/Epithet
Warna	Ramesses III	foreign		
Paluka	Ramesses III	foreign		
Inini	Ramesses III	foreign		the Libyan
Qedendenna	Ramesses III – Ramesses IV(?)	foreign		
Baalmeher	Ramesses III – Ramesses IV(?)	foreign		
Ramessessethherwenemef	Ramesses IV – Ramesses V	basilophoric		
Usermaatresekhper	Ramesses IV	basilophoric		
Hegamaatreneh	Ramesses IV	basilophoric		
Nebmaatreper-?	Ramesses V – Ramesses VII	basilophoric		
Ramessesnefer[...]	Ramesses IX(?)	basilophoric		
Neferkareemperamun	Ramesses IX	basilophoric		
Ines	Ramesses XI	foreign		
Nebmaatresekhper-?	20 th dyn.	basilophoric		

Table 7. Indicators of foreign origin of the officials

II.2. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE OFFICIALS

It is reasonable to surmise that the officials serving the ruler as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ – and also as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ – essentially belonged to a certain royal palace which was their main place of function. Apart from the actual whereabouts of the ruler, a certain number of these officials might have resided and maintained their duties in each royal residence, at the same time, there were also several ‘royal *wb3*s’ who escorted the king either during his travels through the country or when he joined military campaigns.¹³¹ However, the original sources do not provide much information regarding this question. One is able to draw conclusions concerning the place of function of these officials only in some cases based on their titles, the contents of their monuments or their textual sources indicating a southern or a northern residence. Further indication might be the location of a person’s burial, however, one has to be cautious in drawing conclusions solely based on this type of evidence since the ideological motivation behind choosing the location of burial places among private individuals changed during the time of the New Kingdom.

¹³¹ The title *šmsw nswt*, with or without any specification, was borne by Djehuti (I), Neferperet, Suemniut, Heqanakht and Ptahemwia (I), while the title *jrj-rd.wj*, again with or without any specification, appeared on the monuments of Qenamun, Suemniut and Parennefer. For a general discussion on these titles, see p. 63–64.

II.2.1. Place of function

As for the geographical distribution of the place of function of ‘royal *wb3s*’, there are only some cases when sources provide information or relatively certain conclusions can be drawn regarding their place of duty. In the 18th dynasty, there are references to their place of service in the royal palaces at Thebes and Memphis, as well as at Amarna, while there are only some instances referring to Memphis or Pi-Ramesse during the Ramesside period.

Memphis played an important role in the state administration as a royal residence, as well as the centre of the vizierate in Lower Egypt from the reign of Thutmose III during the whole period of the New Kingdom, in addition it was an essential settlement as a military and naval base.¹³² It is not surprising that most of the references, especially during the 18th dynasty, indicate Memphis as the place of function of the ‘royal *wb3s*’. Under the reign of Thutmose III, two officials are known with northern connections, despite the fact that their burials were in the Theban necropolis.

The biographical stele of Nebamun in his tomb TT 24 reveals different stages of his career. He served under Thutmose II and Thutmose III and the inscription relates his official advancement to *jmj-r3 ḥꜥ.w nb.w n nswt* ‘overseer of all royal boats’ under the latter ruler.¹³³ The office belonged to the naval administration and its authority covered the coordination and control of war ships as well as royal transportation and cargo vessels.¹³⁴ In all probability, the person in this place had a direct connection with the harbour and storage facilities located at this time at Perunefer, founded by Thutmose III.¹³⁵ Considering that Nebamun held the title *wdpw m stp-s3 ḥꜥ.w d3 snb* ‘*wdpw* in the palace, life, prosperity, health’, as an ‘overseer of all royal boats’ he might have been responsible for directing ships carrying goods and supplies to and from the palace, especially for the personal provision of the king and his family. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, that he served in the royal palace in Memphis, from where the harbour of Perunefer and its storage facilities were easy to approach.

The other ‘royal *wb3*’ who served under Thutmose III and spent the later part of his career in the northern region is Qenamun.¹³⁶ He might have been of Theban origin and

¹³² Badawi, 1948; Helck, 1958, 24-28; van Dijk, 1988, 37-38; Raven, 2009, 154-155.

¹³³ For the biographical inscription of the stele of Nebamun see [1.1] Theban Tomb 24 on p. 327.

¹³⁴ Gnirs, 2013, 652.

¹³⁵ Perunefer itself was also a royal estate during the Thutmosid Period, see Gnirs, 2013, 654; Bietak, 2017, 65; and especially for the location of Perunefer, see Bietak, 2009a; Bietak, 2009b; Bietak, 2017.

¹³⁶ For the titles of Qenamun, see the inscription on his [3.1] Stelophor statue on p. 348.

also must have been buried in Thebes based on his funerary cone¹³⁷ – however, his tomb has not been found. His service in Memphis is more certainly indicated by his title *ḥ3tj-ꜥ n Mn-nfr* ‘mayor of Memphis’ than it is in the case of Nebamun. The title *jmj-r3 šnw.tj* ‘overseer of the double granary’, which Qenamun also bore, was presumably associated with that of ‘mayor of Memphis’, since the mayor as the leader of the settlement was responsible for agriculture and for ensuring a sufficient food supply, as well as for collecting the surplus in the form of taxes. He was also in charge of the collection and transportation of the taxes, grain and other commodities.¹³⁸ The duties belonging to these two offices required the personal presence of the official in the royal residence and Qenamun’s place of function was also in Memphis.

Besides the two examples discussed above, there are three other individuals about whom little can be ascertained regarding their place of function in the northern region either from their titles or from their monuments. The only object that has remained relating to Iuti, who served under Thutmose IV, is a round-topped votive stele which was found in Giza near the Sphinx (now in Cairo, JE 72268), depicting the ruler making an offering to Horemakhet in the upper register, and the kneeling figure of Iuti in the pose of adoration in the lower register with two columns of inscriptions before him.¹³⁹ As the purpose of the stele is votive and not funerary, it could be supposed that Iuti had other types of ties with the northern region than having been buried there, for instance, serving in the royal palace in Memphis. In the case of Heqanakht, dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, the indication is even indirect, since the stele he and his wife are known from (Leiden, AP.19) belongs to a certain Paimred and his spouse, Nebetnehet, ‘Lady of the sycamore’, whose name suggests a connection with the Memphite area.¹⁴⁰ However, there is no information about the connection between Paimred and Heqanakht, they were presumably colleagues or somehow related.¹⁴¹ Sennefer can also be dated to the same ruler and his association with the Memphite region is based on his titles and the presumed provenance of his monument, a sistophor block statue (now in Berlin, ÄM 21595), once placed in the temple of Bastet in Bubastis.¹⁴² His two religious titles connected

¹³⁷ DM 23, for the inscription, see [3.2] Funerary cone DM 23 on p. 350.

¹³⁸ Helck, 1958, 235-236; van den Boorn, 1988, 242-243; Van Siclen III, 1991, 159; Gessler-Löhr, 1997, 36.

¹³⁹ Zivie, 1976, 166. For the inscription of the stele, see [11.1] Stele, Cairo, JE 72268 on p. 373.

¹⁴⁰ For the inscription of the stele, see [12.1] Stele, Leiden, AP.19 on p. 375.

¹⁴¹ According to Leemans, 1840, 280, Heqanakht and his wife receive an offering from their son and daughter in the second register, however, this kind of relationship is not plausible, since the mother of Paimred was named as Rai in the inscription at the bottom of the stele.

¹⁴² Clère, 1970, 2; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 71; Schulz, 1992, 80. For the inscription of the block statue, see [13.1] Sistophor statue, Berlin, ÄM 21595 on p. 377.

to Ptah (*jmj-r hm.w ntr n Pth-hntj-Tnnt* ‘overseer of the prophets of Ptah, Foremost-of-Tjenenet’,¹⁴³ *sšmw-hb n Pth* ‘leader of the festival of Ptah’) and the one connected to Amun (*hm ntr tpj n Jmn m Hnt-nfr* ‘high priest of Amun in Khenetnefer’¹⁴⁴) refer to the supposition that Sennefer might also have served in the royal palace of Memphis.¹⁴⁵

During the Ramesside period, conclusions regarding the place of function of certain ‘royal *wb3*s’ and ‘royal *wdpw*s’ can be drawn only from references on their monuments concerning their duties or assignments. In all cases, the indications suggest that the place of function of these officials might have been in the northern region, either in Memphis or in Pi-Ramesses, however, the exact location cannot be determined.

In the case of Djehutiherhesetef, who served under Sety I, the source itself in which he appears serves as reference for his place of function. The papyrus in question is an account related to the administration of the royal palace of Memphis, in which several Nubians are listed as personal servants of various officials, one of them as that of Djehutiherhesetef.¹⁴⁶ This is the only mention of this official, however, based on the content of the account, it is reasonable to assume that he carried out his duties in the Memphite palace.

There are some examples where the inscription commemorating a particular mission in which the official took part refers to his place of function of some sort. According to his stela set in the direct vicinity of the Hathor temple, Ramessesashahebused had taken part in expeditions to the turquoise mines in Serabit el-Khadim at least four times¹⁴⁷ between the 8th year of Sety I and around the 12th–15th regnal year of Ramesses II.¹⁴⁸ Taking into consideration the geographical distances between the location of the mining area and the royal residences, it would seem to have been more practical to send someone from a northern region than from the more distant southern one to join the expeditions. The frequent participation of Ramessesashahebused in expeditions to the Sinai might only imply that he carried out his duty in the royal palace of Memphis, or later perhaps

¹⁴³ For the title, see Kees, 1953, 110.

¹⁴⁴ A settlement at the southern boundary of the Memphite nome, see Gauthier, 1927, 182; Gardiner, 1947, 121–122.

¹⁴⁵ Helck, 1958, 374; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 71.

¹⁴⁶ For the text of the account, see [38] Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale 209, verso col. 4 on p. 455.

¹⁴⁷ Davies counts only three expeditions to Ramessesashahebused, however, the four stelaes from four different years refer to at least four separate expeditions. Davies, 2013, 172. For the four stelaes, see [39] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 247+248+262 (=247) on p. 457, [39] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 250 on p. 460, [39] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 252 on p. 462, and [39] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 260 on p. 466.

¹⁴⁸ Černý, 1955, 180; Kitchen, 1999, 201; Fischer, 2001, 117; Davies, 2013, 172.

in Pi-Ramesse, the capital that had recently been founded by Ramesses II. The indication for a northern place of function is somewhat more definite in the case of Ramessessemperre, who appears on an ostrakon (CG 25504)¹⁴⁹ reporting visits by high ranking officials in the Valley of the Kings and at Deir el-Medina in the 7th year of Merneptah.¹⁵⁰ The inscription clearly states that after inspecting the procedure of placing the coffins, as well as presumably additional pieces of funerary equipment, into the tomb, the officials returned back to the north. This indicates that the place of function of Ramessessemperre was either in Memphis or in Pi-Ramesse and he travelled to Thebes only to carry out a particular mission under the orders of the king. A similar situation can be concluded in the case of Bay who explicitly defines himself as a visitor to Thebes on a ostrakon (CG 25766),¹⁵¹ indicating that he mainly resided in the northern part of the country. Unfortunately, the purpose of preparing the ostrakon is not clear enough to draw unequivocal conclusions from its content,¹⁵² however, it was probably left in the Valley of the Kings as an *ex-voto*.¹⁵³

Besides the types of references mentioned above, a special duty with which the official is assigned, according to the inscription of a monument, might also specify his place of function. Ramessesankherneheh appears on a donation stele, located in a private collection, dated to the 25th year of Ramesses III that records a land donation of 50 aruras for the cult statue of the ruler which was erected in Pi-Ramesse.¹⁵⁴ The inscription names Prince Ramessesmeriamun as the supervisor of the donation, and Ramessesankherneheh as the person responsible for providing for the cult of the statue. As such, it is hard to imagine that his place of function would have been far away from the cult place of the statue. A similar situation can be observed in the case of Hori who is assigned as one of the members of the great law-court of Heliopolis on a stele (Memphis, 2882) from the 24th year of Ramesses III reporting on the donation of a cult statue of the king, as well as the list of persons and goods ordered to its cult service.¹⁵⁵ Both officials must have been settled in the north, Ramessesankherneheh most probably in Pi-Ramesse, and Hori perhaps in Memphis.

¹⁴⁹ For the inscription of the ostrakon, see [53] Ostrakon, Cairo, 25504 on p. 496.

¹⁵⁰ For a detailed description on the events, see Janssen, 1997, 148-151; Davies, 2014, 139-141.

¹⁵¹ For the inscription of the ostrakon, see [58] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25766 on p. 515.

¹⁵² Černý, 1966, 36; Posener, 1977; Kitchen, 1993a, 237.

¹⁵³ Davies, 2014, 249.

¹⁵⁴ According to the inscription, the cult statue 'is settled in the house of Amun of Ramessesheqaiunu', which refers to the royal residence of Pi-Ramesse. See Chappaz, 2005-7, 6, n. 5, with further references. For the inscription of the stele, see [61] Stele in private collection on p. 519.

¹⁵⁵ For the inscription of the stele, see [73] Stele, Memphis, 2882 on p. 529.

Although all the instances mentioned above showed a supposed northern place of function, there are three officials who might have served in the south at Thebes implied by their religious functional titles. The two brothers, Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenenutet Tjaui were active under Amenhotep III, both of them functioned as *jhjj* ‘sistrum player’ and mediator of Hathor as stated on their sistophor statues found near the sanctuary of the goddess at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁵⁶ Sarenenutet Tjaui was the priest of Werethekau as well who also had a cult place most probably at Thebes.¹⁵⁷ A third individual can be connected to Thebes from the early 19th dynasty, a certain Ptahpatener who bore the titles *hrj-ḥbt n Hr-m-ḥb* ‘lector priest of Horemheb’ and *ḥm nṯr n Hr-m-ḥb* ‘prophet of Horemheb’.¹⁵⁸ The duties associated with these titles required the personal presence of the title holder in the mortuary temple of the deified king. It must be noted, however, that the assumption regarding the connection between these titles and the place of function is merely speculation providing that they were functional titles indeed, and not merely honorary ones which were given as a reward to the official at the end of his active career for his retirement.

The tomb of several officials are known or they can be located with high probability, based on the provenance of their monuments which might also be an indicator regarding the question of their place of function. Nevertheless, one has to be cautious as the place of burial is not necessarily located in the same area as the place of service. Among the above-mentioned officials whose residence was presumably in the north, there are two persons during the reign of Thutmose II and Thutmose III who had their burial places in the Theban necropolis. The tomb of Nebamun (TT 24) is located at Dra Abu el-Naga, while that of Qenamun can be suggested in the same necropolis based on his funerary cone DM 23. Both of them must have served, at least for an uncertain period, in Memphis, still, they had their burial places prepared in Thebes. On the other hand, the two brothers, Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenenutet Tjaui during the reign of Amenhotep III were connected to Thebes as their place of function and their place of burials must have been there as well based on the very likely ownership of the funerary cone DM 335 by Neferrenpet (I), as well as on the provenance at Dra Abu el-Naga of more monuments to Sarenenutet Tjaui. As for the officials from Ramesside period, there are only two individuals whose burial place can be suggested in the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara which coincides with their supposed place of function: as for Ramesseses-

¹⁵⁶ For the inscription of the statue of Neferrenpet (I), see [14.2] Statue, Paris, E 142.41 on p. 379, and for that of Sarenenutet Tjaui, see [15.1] Block statue, London, BM EA 1459 on p. 382.

¹⁵⁷ For the cult and cult place of Werethekau, see Mekawy Ouda, 2014.

¹⁵⁸ For the inscription of the stele of Ptahpatener, see [30] Stele, Bologna, 1906 on p. 447.

perre, the stylistic criteria of his monuments indicate the northern location, and in the case of Hori, the provenance of several of his monuments confirms the locality.

As can be seen, evidence regarding the place of function of these officials is wide ranging as well as quite uncertain, assumptions can be made based only on indirect information of textual and material sources. Regrettably, only the tombs of a few officials are known or can be determined with high probability, as demonstrated in the following, and the sources are only confined to a small percentage of the individuals in the corpus, consequently, no general statements or comparative analysis beyond the ones discussed above can be made at present based on the available data.

11.2.2. Burial places

Geographical distribution can also be observed concerning the location of burials of 'royal *wb3s*', nevertheless, it does not coincide with or indicate the place of function of these officials, at least not unequivocally. Still, the geographical place of the burial, as well as the burial structure itself, provide information regarding their status in the royal court as well as in society, their official duties, and their family background. In contrast to the relatively high number of individuals in the present corpus – one hundred and three in number –, however, the exact location of the tomb of only sixteen of them is known at present.¹⁵⁹

The motivation behind choosing the location of burial places among the high ranking officials was basically religious and ideological which changed during the time of the New Kingdom. Van Dijk discussed the shifting of the usage of the necropolis from south to north, from the Thebes to the Memphite necropolis, as well as the reasons which induced the progress in detail.¹⁶⁰ Burials of the officials were primarily linked to the tomb and the mortuary foundation of the ruler himself during the main part of the 18th dynasty. Individuals of the civil and military administration followed their king back to Thebes to prepare their last resting place even after the royal residence was moved to Memphis under Thutmose III. The turning point occurred after the reign of Akhenaten who placed himself as king and son of the god between the individual worshippers and the gods depriving the subjects of their personal relationship with the deities. In consequence,

¹⁵⁹ The number of the known tombs is actually seventeen, since Parennefer had two tombs, one at Thebes and another at Amarna.

¹⁶⁰ Van Dijk, 1988, especially 38-42.

the attitude towards the religious aspect of the king as well as the kingship changed after they lost their reliability. In the mortuary cult instead of the importance of the living king private individuals started to prefer the god Osiris, whose Memphite form, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, became one of the most important aspects of the god and whose growing importance can be observed from the reign of Thutmose III as well. This development explains the reason for choosing the Memphite necropolis, the ancient sacred abode of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, at the same time it made the private tombs of high officials separate from the royal tombs which had never happened before.

The relocation of the private tombs can also be observed in the case of the burials of 'royal *wb3s*' the situation of which corresponds with the changes in the usage of the necropolises. Thirty-nine burial places of thirty-eight individuals of the one hundred and three officials presented in this corpus can be located exactly or with more or less certainty in the Theban as well as the Memphite necropolis, and even at Amarna. The exact location of seventeen tombs are known, in all the other cases the place of burial is indicated by the provenance of monuments or implied by the stylistic criteria of the decoration of these objects. (Table 8.) During the 18th dynasty until the Amarna period, burial of 'royal *wb3s*' had taken place at Thebes independently of the official's place of function as discussed previously. Parennefer and Seth represent the transition in the progress of replacing the Theban necropolis with the use of the Memphite one. Both officials served under the reign of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. Parennefer started to have a tomb constructed at Asasif in Thebes but left it unfinished when he followed his lord to the new capital, Amarna where he began to construct another burial place. And Seth is the first known 'royal *wb3*' whose sepulchre was discovered in the Memphite necropolis, at the Bubasteion in Saqqara (I.13). From the post-Amarna era on, 'royal *wb3s*' almost exclusively used this northern necropolis to create their last resting place, especially the central cemetery at Saqqara, with one exception at Dahshur during the reign of Tutankhamun. Nevertheless, two officials, Hesinetjeref and Amenhotep from the 19th dynasty and the reign of Ramesses IX respectively, might have been buried at Thebes as their funerary cones indicate. Regrettably enough, the number of known tombs are rather low compared to the total number of individuals in the corpus, thus it does not allow us to make a detailed analysis or draw further conclusions regarding the spatial distribution and organizing principle within the necropolis.

Name	Date	Necropolis	Location	Tomb	Remain
Nebamun	Thutmose II – Thutmose III	Thebes	Dra Abu el-Naga	TT 24	
Djehuti (I)	Hatshepsut – Thutmose III	Thebes	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	TT 110	funerary cone
Qenamun	Thutmose III	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone
Neferperet	Thutmose III	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone
Djehutimes	Thutmose III – Amenhotep II	Thebes	Khokha	TT 205	
Montuui	Thutmose III – Amenhotep II	Thebes	Khokha	TT 172	
Wah	Thutmose III – Amenhotep II	Thebes	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	TT 22	
Suemtiut	Thutmose III – Amenhotep II	Thebes	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	TT 92	
Neferweben	Amenhotep II	Thebes	Khokha	TT 238	funerary cone
Neferrenpet (I)	Amenhotep III	Thebes	unknown		offering table, bricks
Sarenenutet Tiaui	Amenhotep III	Thebes	Dra Abu el-Naga	Bub. 1.13	
Seth	Amenhotep III – Akhenaten	Memphis – Saqqara	Bubasteion	TT 188	
Parennefer	Amenhotep III – Akhenaten	Thebes	Asasif		
Parennefer	Amenhotep III – Akhenaten	Amarna	southern cemetery	No. 7	
Ptahemwia (I)	Akhenaten – Tutankhamun	Memphis – Saqqara	Unas south	tomb	
Ipay	Tutankhamun	Memphis – Dahshur	Dahshur north	tomb	stele
Ipu	Tutankhamun	Memphis – Saqqara	unknown		tomb chapel
Paatenemheb	Horemheb	Memphis – Saqqara	unknown		pillar
Qema	Horemheb	Memphis – Saqqara	unknown		doorframe
Nensemekhetef	18 th dynasty	Thebes	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		pyramidion
Djehuti (II)	late 18 th – early 19 th dynasty	Memphis – Saqqara	Unas north		funerary cone
Hesinetjeref	19 th dynasty	Thebes	unknown		
Tiaui Ta	Ramesses II	Memphis – Saqqara	Unas south	ST 5	
Ianefer	Ramesses II	Memphis – Saqqara	Unas south	ST 105	
Suner	Ramesses II	Memphis – Saqqara	Unas south	ST 201	
Sethherwenemef	Ramesses II	Memphis – Saqqara	Teti pyramid		column-drum
Wenefdjesen	Ramesses II	Memphis – Saqqara	Teti pyramid		relief fragment
Nebmerutef	Ramesses II	Memphis – Saqqara	unknown		different objects
Ramesesemperre	Ramesses II – Ramesses III	Memphis – Saqqara	unknown		relief fragments
Paenenenutet	Merneptah	Memphis – Saqqara	Bubasteion	Bub. 1.21	
Hori	Ramesses III – Ramesses IV	Memphis – Saqqara	Teti pyramid		relief fragment
Heqamaatrenehheh	Ramesses IV	Memphis – Saqqara	Teti pyramid	tomb	
Amenhotep	Ramesses IX	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone
Isiu	New Kingdom	Thebes	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		canopic jars
Merimefjef	New Kingdom	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone
Nebeni	New Kingdom	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone
Rau	New Kingdom	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone
Senemnefer	New Kingdom	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone
Satre	New Kingdom	Thebes	unknown		funerary cone

Table 8. Certain and hypothetical place of burials of 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' in chronological order

The concept of clustering of tombs within the Saqqara necropolis according to the profession of their owners, has recently been suggested by some scholars recently.¹⁶¹ Málek presents the idea in his study about the tomb chapel of the ‘royal *wb3*’ Heqamaatrenehheh that the tombs in the cemetery around the Teti pyramid seem to be grouped on the basis of professional relationships, however, he notes that the available material is insufficient for definite conclusions to be drawn.¹⁶² Raven mentions that the cemetery near the Teti pyramid seems to have been preferred by ‘royal *wb3s*’, as well as by gold-workers, other craftsmen and certain military officials, at the same time, he points out that this evidence is still not conclusive in itself since most of the officials bore several titles in the course of their careers and in many cases, it is not clear at all which title was considered as the most important one for them according to which they identified themselves within the social and administrative hierarchy.¹⁶³ Two other factors can also be considered in the organization of the tombs, as Raven also notes, the pattern of patronage when a superior official allowed a favourite assistant to be buried close to his own monument, or even within the precincts of his own funerary structure, on the one hand, and on the other hand, dynastic considerations as in the case of the layout of tombs in the vicinity of the tomb of Horemheb when the proximity of the founder of the dynasty had greater importance than other patterns of association. Based on detailed studies on different aspects of the Saqqara necropolis, Staring concluded that while the general composition of the two main cemeteries is quite comparable, differences became obvious in regard to the ranks held by the officials: the cemetery south of the Unas causeway contains the tombs of higher ranking officials than those located in the one around the Teti pyramid.¹⁶⁴ He also presents a closer look at the case of ‘royal *wb3s*’ regarding the distribution of tombs within the necropolis, although without any further conclusions concerning the pattern of organization.¹⁶⁵ However, looking at the distribution of their certain and hypothetical place of burials (Tables 9-10.), such grouping based

¹⁶¹ Málek, 1985; Málek, 1988; Raven, 2000; Staring, 2017.

¹⁶² Málek, 1985, 50; Málek, 1988, 136.

¹⁶³ Raven, 2000, 136-137.

¹⁶⁴ Staring, 2017, 601.

¹⁶⁵ Staring counts eighteen officials who are represented by the available records, however, the title of Qenherkhepeshef designated as *wb3* is not convincing at all according to the remaining inscription on his stone block, consequently he is not represented in the present corpus. The cloth-sign, which might mistakenly have led to the identification of Qenherkhepeshef as an *wb3*, should rather be considered as the determinative of the expression *ḥ-s.t n3-šꜥ.t* ‘office of letters/documents’ which forms the latter, remaining part of his title. For the photo of the stone block, see Quibell, 1908, pl. XXXVII.1.

on professional association suggested by Málek cannot be detected unequivocally in either the Theban or the Memphite necropolis among the representatives of the holders of the official title ‘royal *wb3*’ and ‘royal *wdpw*’ either from a spatial or a diachronic perspective.

	Theban necropolis				
	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Khokha	Dra Abu el-Naga	Asasif	without specific area
18 th dyn.	Djehuti (I) Wah Suemniut Nensemekhetef	Djehutimes Montuiui Neferweben	Nebamun Sarenenutet Tjai	Parennefer	Qenamun Neferperet Neferrenpet (I)
19 th dyn.					Hesinetjeref
20 th dyn.					Amenhotep
New Kingdom	Isiu				Meriremetjef Nebseni Rau Senemnetjer Satre

Table 9. Certain and hypothetical place of burials of ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ according to their location in the Theban necropolis

	Memphite necropolis				
	Saqqara – Unas south	Saqqara – Teti pyramid	Saqqara – Bubasteion	Dahshur north	without specific area
18 th dyn.	Ptahemwia (I)		Seth	Ipay	Ipu Paatenemheb Qema
19 th dyn.	Djehuti (II) Tjai Ta Ianefer Suner	Sethherwenemef Wenefdjedsen	Paenrenenutet		Nebmerutef Ramessesemperre
20 th dyn.		Hori Heqamaatreneh			

Table 10. Certain and hypothetical place of burials of ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ according to their location in the Memphite necropolis

The architectural design of the officials’ tombs does not show such consistency based on which their high ranking status could unambiguously be determined. Observations can mainly be made regarding the tombs in the Theban necropolis where the whole structure of rock-tombs remained in contrast to the free standing superstructure of several tombs in the Memphite necropolis, the mudbrick and limestone material of which disappeared in the course of time due to their reuse in other constructions.

The tomb of eight 'royal *wb3s*' are known in the Theban necropolis, all of them are dated to the 18th dynasty between the reign of Thutmose II and Akhenaten: three of them are located at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna – two of which are neighbours in the lower enclosure (TT 110 of Djehuti (I) and TT 22 of Wah from the reign of Hatshepsut – Amenhotep II) –, three other tombs were constructed at Khokha – two of which are also neighbours (TT 205 of Djehutimes and TT 238 of Neferweben from the reign of Thutmose III – Amenhotep II) –, and two more tombs are situated at Dra Abu el-Naga and at Asasif respectively. Their architectural design represents a variety of forms and solutions from the one-roomed tomb (TT 24, TT 205, TT 238) through the usual T-shaped construction occasionally added to a two-pillared hall (TT 22, TT 92, TT 110, TT 172) to the structure that consisted of a large six-pillared transverse hall in front of the axial corridor (TT 188). In spite of their simpler or more elaborate architectural characteristics, however, the quality and design of the wall decoration of the interior of the tombs explicitly demonstrate the prestigious status of their owners in the royal court as well as in society.

In addition, eight tombs of officials are known in the Memphite necropolis, seven in Saqqara and one in Dahshur. Two tombs are situated at the Bubasteion from a very different period, that of Seth (I.13) from the reign of Amenhotep III – Akhenaten and that of Paenrenenutet (I.21) from the reign of Merneptah. Being rock-cut tombs their structure remained fully intact, although masonry had to be applied in their interior even during ancient times to stabilize their structure preventing collapse because of the poor quality of the rock. Regrettably, due to this masonry, only a small part of their wall decoration is accessible. The tomb of Seth consists of three rooms, one opening from the other while the sepulchre of Paenrenenutet has only one room with remains of a free standing superstructure in front of it, which difference might be traced back to the distinct customs of construction of burial places under each period. The tombs of Ptahemwia (I) and Ipay, in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway and in Dahshur respectively, from the reign of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun show a similar layout in accordance with the characteristic memorial temple-like free standing tomb superstructures of the period in the Memphite necropolis mainly consisting of a peristyle court with a central and two side chapels at the end. The burial place of Heqamaatreneh in the cemetery around the Teti pyramid might also once have had such plan but in a somewhat smaller scale, however, only the lower parts of its central and one of its side chapel have remained. Three more tombs from the reign of Ramesses II (ST 5 of Tjai Ta, ST 105 of Ianefer and ST 201 of Suner) are located in the cemetery south of

the Unas causeway, but apart from their position there is no detailed information available.

The geographical distribution of the burial places of 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' does not serve as an adequate base of information regarding the place of function of the officials in itself. While during the late 18th dynasty and the Ramesside period the two places, the functional and the burial one, seem to coincide since both of them are in the northern region, the tendency to construct the sepulchres either in Thebes or in the Memphite necropolis – even at Amarna –, was in accordance with the general burial customs of high ranking officials based on religious ideology related to the king and the kingship during the period of the whole New Kingdom, rather than with personal needs and considerations. Nevertheless, the design and decoration of the inner rooms of the individual tombs do provide valuable information about the duties of these personages in the royal palace and around the king, even if the architectural construction of the tomb itself does not imply that they were honoured members of the highest social circles.

II.3. PRESENCE OF 'ROYAL *wb3s*' AND 'ROYAL *wdpws*' UNDER RULERS

The representatives of individuals bearing the functional titles 'royal *wb3*' and 'royal *wdpw*' are continuously attested during almost the entirety of the New Kingdom, to be precise from the reign of Thutmose II until the reign of Ramesses XI, except for the short turbulent period at the end of the 19th dynasty.¹⁶⁶ As a matter of course, depending on the length of each reign as well as the amount and type of available sources, the number of the officials attested under certain rulers are higher in some periods than in others. (See table 4. in the Appendix.)

It is obvious from the sources that the activity of the officials was not restricted to the reign of only one ruler. They were not necessarily dismissed from their positions upon the accession of a new ruler, on the contrary, the new monarch might have utilised the advantage of relying on the high ranking officials to ensure the smooth process of the

¹⁶⁶ Ramessesesemperre is the only official who is supposed to have served under the reigns of the last rulers of the dynasty from Amenmesse to Sethnakht, however, he does not have any available monuments dated to this period. Otherwise, Ramessesesemperre is attested from Merneptah until Ramesses III but he must have started his career under the reign of Ramesses II based on his basiliophoric name as well as his epithet *pn R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* 'he of (=son of) Ramesses Meriamun'. For a discussion on him, see p. 201, for his inscriptions, see p. 493.

administrative matters of the country as well as of his own household. Based on the sources, the officials can be more or less securely dated, according to which twenty-seven of them served during the 18th dynasty, another twenty-seven of them were active during the 19th dynasty, and thirty-nine individuals are dated to the 20th dynasty, while two officials can be placed in the Ramesside era and the date of seven persons cannot be specified more precisely within the New Kingdom.

In the present work, the date of the particular officials primarily represents the time period which the sources indicate based on the appearance of the name of a ruler or rulers in depictions or inscriptions connected to the official, on the one hand, and on the other hand, if the name of a king was lacking, the most likely date is determined based on indirect evidence or stylistic criteria. In some cases, well-founded indications support the supposition that the official also served before or after a ruler dated with certainty. Parennefer, for instance, served under the reign of Akhenaten as the cartouches of the ruler represent in both of his tombs at Thebes and at Amarna, however, the state of completion, as well as the characteristics of the decoration of his Theban Tomb 188, imply that Parennefer had already been active in the last years of Amenhotep III.¹⁶⁷ Another example is Ramessesemperre, who is certainly attested at first during the reign of Merneptah based on the name of the ruler in his inscriptions but he must have started his career under the reign of Ramesses II as his basiliphoric name as well as his epithet *pn R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* ‘he of (=son of) Ramesses Meriamun’ clearly imply.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, speculating on the service of officials under an earlier or a later ruler except the ones that the evidence reveals is not within the scope of this present work.

It must be noted that there is a representative of this office under the reign of Psamtik II, Harbes, who is known from several of his monuments.¹⁶⁹ He is designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ on a headless hawk statue from Giza (Cairo, TR 31/12/28/10),¹⁷⁰ on an offering table also from Giza (Boston, MFA 26-1-138)¹⁷¹, on a kneeling statue from an unknown provenance (London, EA 514)¹⁷². The revival of older titles – even ones which disappeared at the end of the Old Kingdom – and their reappearance in the civil administration is a characteristic feature for the 26th dynasty indicating administrative reforms

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion on Parennefer, see p. 150.

¹⁶⁸ For a discussion on Ramessesemperre, see p. 201, for his inscriptions, see p. 493.

¹⁶⁹ Jansen-Winkel, 2014, 69-73.

¹⁷⁰ Gunn, 1929, 95; Leahy, 1980, 49; Vercoutter, 1980, 94, pl. 3; Porter – Moss, 1974, 41; ; Zivie-Coche, 1991, 122.

¹⁷¹ Porter – Moss, 1981, 18; Zivie-Coche, 1991, 113-116, pl. 21.

¹⁷² Budge, 1909, 238; Leahy, 1980, 49; Porter – Moss, 1981, 19; Zivie-Coche, 1991, 123-126, pls. 25-26.

under the Saite period.¹⁷³ Some titles were actually an amalgamation of different older titles as well as reinterpreted in terms of their functionality, nevertheless, many former titles disappeared during the long Third Intermediate Period when the civil administration collapsed.¹⁷⁴ Since Harbes is the only known individual from the Late Period, which period is not the focus of the present study, he is not within the scope of the present corpus of the officials.

II.3.1. Ranking among the officials

Several 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' are known to have been in the service of one ruler both during the 18th dynasty as well as the Ramesside period. The highest number of the officials can be observed under Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Ramesses II, Ramesses III, Ramesses IV and Ramesses V. Considering the fact that more than one official bore the title and seemingly was in the same position at the same time, the supposition seems to be logical that some sort of hierarchical structure must have existed within these individuals in the royal household.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence for such a structure from the 18th dynasty and there is only a slightly more certain indication for some kind of ranking among the officials from the Ramesside period, namely an extended form of the title as *wb3 nswt tpj* 'first royal *wb3*'. This version of the title is attested for a short period only, from the reign of Sety I until the reign of Ramesses IV and there are only eight individuals who held it: Ramessesashaheb under Sety I – Ramesses II, Wenefdjedsen, Atumemtaneb, and possibly Tjai Ta or Nebmerutef¹⁷⁶ under Ramesses II, Ramessesnakht under Ramesses II or Ramesses III, Paenrenenutet under Merneptah, Ramessesemperre under Ramesses II and Ramesses III, and Heqamaatreneh under Ramesses IV. It can be supposed that the title was held by one official at the

¹⁷³ For further literature on the reappearance of titles during the Late Period, see Goyon, 1969; Perdu, 1998; Agut-Labordère, 2013.

¹⁷⁴ I would hereby like to thank Dr Alexander Schütze for his kind help, who provided me with information about the revival of administrative titles during the Late Period during our personal conversation.

¹⁷⁵ Davies also raised the possibility, although he has not found firm proof to substantiate this, apart from the title *wb3 nswt tpj* 'first royal *wb3*'. Davies, 2014, 88, 92.

¹⁷⁶ The name of the individual did not remain on the stone block which contains this title but based on the other titles represented, the object might be associated either with Tjai Ta or with Nebmerutef. For a discussion on the officials, see p. 187. and p. 188. respectively.

same time, or at least one in each royal palace where there were resident ‘royal *wb3s*’ even if the ruler resided somewhere else in the country or abroad.¹⁷⁷

Berlandini-Grenier notes that the title of *wb3 nswt tpj* ‘first royal *wb3*’ was frequently held by foreigners and it seems to have been reserved for them.¹⁷⁸ Considering that in the case of four out of the eight officials who bore this title there are more or less strong pieces of evidence for their foreign ethnicity (genealogical data of Ramessessemperre, an epithet referring to a foreign land as place of origin of Atumemtaneb, and basiliphoric names of Ramessesashahebused and Heqaerneheh), the statement might be right in respect to appointing several individuals with foreign backgrounds to this position, however, it does not mean at all that the position was reserved only for them regarding the other three representatives who seemingly were native Egyptians. Since the number of officials who held this title is very small, the division between the native and foreign titleholders is not representative, therefore no firm consequences can be drawn based on only this piece of information.

No further information can be gained from the sources regarding this position or the relationship between the holder of this title and other ‘royal *wb3s*’ or ‘royal *wdpws*’.

II.4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OFFICIALS AND THE RULER

The close and intimate relationship between the ruler and the ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ is unambiguous and undoubted as well as widely represented on the monuments of these officials both in the textual sources and the pictorial depictions. The tomb decorations and inscriptions, votive stelae and pieces of funerary equipment provide the main source of information, predominantly in the form of honorific titles in respect to the loyalty and attachment of the official to his lord. However, the origin of this position of trust and the reason why the representatives of this office were ranked so high cannot be determined with certainty.

It is generally accepted, that the intimate relationship between the ruler and the ‘royal *wb3*’ was based on the nature of the service which the official occupied at the royal household around the person of the king as his personal servant. The official, it is supposed, inevitably got to know and witnessed confidential things regarding the ruler himself, the matters of the palace as well as the political and economic affairs of

¹⁷⁷ For a discussion on place of function of the officials, see p. 48.

¹⁷⁸ Berlandini-Grenier, 1974, 12-13.

the country while he was in the presence of the ruler. The honorific title of Ptahemwia (I) *hrj-sšt3 n W3d.tj* ‘master of secrets of the two cobra goddesses’, the second part of which can only refer to the ruler himself, represents and emphasizes the intimate relationship with the king very well, and the responsibility and virtue of someone serving in a highly trusted position with undoubted loyalty towards his lord. The service required these officials’ loyalty and the ability to keep things secret, since if they did otherwise, they would have fallen out of the favour with their lord immediately, and as they were in a rather high position, they would have had a lot to lose. This situation could be the main basis of the loyalty of the official towards his lord. At the same time, a sort of interdependence can be observed as it was not only the officials who depended on the power of the ruler, but the ruler himself was dependent on the individuals with whom he had surrounded himself, since they ensured his safety, and directed other people and things that could reach the immediate presence of the ruler, thus their reliability was extremely important.

II.4.1. The issue of titles related to growing up in the royal palace and military activity

The background in regard to choosing certain individuals for this position of trust remains unclear. Helck suggests¹⁷⁹ that many ‘royal *wb3s*’ during the 18th dynasty were former pages who had grown up together with the king in one of the royal palaces and later held the honorific title *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’. The idea seems plausible, however, there are only seven individuals in the present corpus of ‘royal *wb3s*’ who bore this title: Djehuti (I), Neferperet, Maaninakhtef, Iuti and Setau during the 18th dynasty, Hesinetjeref during the 19th dynasty, and Meriremetjef, who cannot be dated more precisely within the New Kingdom. Considering the total number of the officials, which is one hundred and two, or even the twenty-seven of them who served during the 18th dynasty, these seven individuals by whom the title *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’ is attested do not support Helck’s supposition unequivocally. Following the idea of his connection with the king during the youth of the official or at the beginning of his career, titles connected to the military sphere can also shed some light on the source of confidential relationship with the ruler. ‘Royal *wb3s*’ frequently attended their lords on his military campaigns, at least

¹⁷⁹ Helck, 1958, 270.

during the 18th dynasty from which period most of the evidence comes.¹⁸⁰ (Table 11.) The two titles are *šmsw nswt* ‘follower of the king’ or *šmsw nb* ‘follower of the lord’¹⁸¹ and *jrj-rd.wj n nb ʔ.wj* ‘attendant of the lord of the Two Lands’¹⁸² explicitly refer to personal participation in military activity either as an actual participant or in the entourage of the ruler.¹⁸³ In addition, actual military titles are also attested, such as *jmj-r3 mšꜥ* ‘general’ (Sety), *hrj-jḥw* ‘stable master’ (Suemniut), *hrj-pd.t qnj* ‘valiant troop commander’ (Ramessesashahebused), *ʔj-pd.t* ‘bow-bearer’ (Wah) and *ʔj-srj.t* ‘standard-bearer’ (Suemniut and Paser). Participating in military campaigns might have been both an antecedence and consequence of being a ‘royal *wb3*’. From those cases where it can be determined with more or less certainty, Djehuti (I), Qenamun and Neferperet accompanied their lords on his campaigns in their function of ‘royal *wb3*’, while Suemniut had presumably started his career in the military sphere and was later promoted to the position of ‘royal *wb3*’ that might have been part of the appreciation of the ruler for his military services.¹⁸⁴ However, in all the other cases there is no information in the sources regarding the temporal relationship of the military participation of the officials and their service as ‘royal *wb3*’. It must be noted, however, that three individuals who held military function titles, namely Djehuti (I), Neferperet and Hesinetjeref, also bore the honorific title *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’. Thus, one might conclude that during the 18th dynasty, from most of the evidence and especially from the reign of Thutmose III, when the first two persons were active, and even in the 19th dynasty, when Hesinetjeref was in the office, having been a member of the closest circle of the king early in his life or during a campaign was an important factor for becoming a high-ranking position in both the royal court and in society. As Málek notes,¹⁸⁵ it is general human behaviour and a need as a ruler to choose personal attendants and confidants among the people who may have been brought together in their youth and who owed their status entirely to him later. Nevertheless, since these sort of instances are very few regarding the ‘royal *wb3s*’, it cannot be stated indisputably that it was the main criteria for an official to achieve this honoured and prominent status during his career.

¹⁸⁰ Helck also mentions the importance of this fact as a main indicator for the elevation of the position of these officials in the hierarchy. Helck, 1958, 270.

¹⁸¹ From the 18th dynasty Qenamun, Suemniut and Parennefer, from the 19th dynasty Hesinetjeref held it.

¹⁸² From the 18th dynasty Djehuti (I), Neferperet, Suemniut, Heqanakht and Ptahemwia (I), from the 19th dynasty Hesinetjeref held it.

¹⁸³ Guksch, 1994, 58–59, 65–66.

¹⁸⁴ For a discussion on Djehuti (I), see p. 111, for Qenamun, see p. 115, for Neferperet, see p. 118, for Suemniut, see p. 125.

¹⁸⁵ Málek, 1988, 136.

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>jmj-r3 mš^c</i>		general	Sety
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>		attendant of the lord of the Two Lands	Hesinetjeref
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>	<i>m s.t nb.t hnd.n.f</i>	attendant of the lord of the Two Lands in every place wherever he goes	Parennefer
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>	<i>hr h3s.t rsj.t</i>	attendant of the lord of the Two Lands in the southern land	Qenamun
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>	<i>tm m tšj grh mj hrw</i>	attendant of the lord of the Two Lands who is never absent by night or day	Suemniut
<i>hrj-jhw</i>		stable master	Suemniut
<i>hrj-jhw</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	stable master of the lord of the Two Lands	Suemniut
<i>hrj-pd.t qnj</i>		valiant troop commander	Ramessesasha-hebused
<i>šmsw</i>	<i>nb rww.t=f</i>	follower of the lord on his journeys	Hesinetjeref
<i>šmsw</i>	<i>nb rww.t=f hr h3s.wt rsj.t mhj.t</i>	follower of the lord on his journeys to the southern and northern lands	Heqanakht
<i>šmsw</i>	<i>nb=f tj sw m jnpw</i>	follower of his lord while he was young	Ptahemwia (I)
<i>šmsw nswt</i>		follower of the king	Djehuti (I), Suemniut
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>r nmtt=f hr h3s.wt rsj.t mhj.t</i>	follower of the king on all his exploits in the southern and northern foreign lands	Suemniut
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>rww.t=f</i>	follower of the king on his journey	Djehuti (I)
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>hr mw hr t3</i>	follower of the king on water and on land	Suemniut
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>hr h3s.t nb.t</i>	follower of the king in every foreign land	Djehuti (I), Neferperet
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>hr h3s.wt nb.wt</i>	follower of the king in every foreign land	Djehuti (I)
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	[...]	follower of the king [...]	Suemniut
<i>Ḳj-pd.t</i>		bow-bearer	Wah
<i>Ḳj-srjj.t</i>		standard-bearer	Suemniut
<i>Ḳj-srjj.t</i>	<i>hr wnmj nswt</i>	standard-bearer on the right of the king	Paser

Table 11. Military related functional titles of the officials

II.4.2. The issue of honorific titles related to the trust and the favour of the ruler

The numerous honorific titles which are mentioned in the sources, mainly from the 18th dynasty, also refer to the close personal relationship of the official with the ruler. (For the full list of the honorific titles in this corpus, see table 1.5. in the Appendix.) The occurrences of these titles can be explained on the one hand by the difference between the

types of the sources themselves dated to each period¹⁸⁶, and on the other hand, by the nature of self-representation of the officials, especially during the 18th dynasty. As Guksch demonstrates in his comprehensive study on royal service, the self-representation of the officials during this period focused on the relationship with the king and proving their suitability, acting for the sake of the ruler as well as being rewarded by him was at the centre of their existence and activity.¹⁸⁷ In order to emphasize their importance and closeness to the ruler, they enumerate several honorific titles on their monuments that they were allowed to use.

The especially close personal relationship is expressed, for instance, by the title *wꜥ mnḥ wb3 n=fjb* ‘the excellent one to whom the heart has been opened’ in the case of Suemniut. Other expressions which seem to represent the confident connection between the two parties¹⁸⁸ are phrases with *jmj-jb* ‘favourite one’, such as *jmj-jb n nswt n wn-mꜥꜥ* ‘true favourite of the king’ by Djehuti (I) or *jmj-jb n ntr nfr* ‘favourite of the good god’ by Suemniut. The phrase *mḥ-jb* ‘confidant’ (lit. ‘who fills the heart’) has a similar shade of meaning but not interchangeable with the previous one. Being a ‘confidant’ is not predominantly the expression of the close relationship with the king in personal sense but, according to Guksch, being a trusted person who acts on behalf of the king as his delegate, entrusted with a specific task which arises from the scope of activities of the official or with a special assignment.¹⁸⁹ These specific duties may be determined by geographical areas or certain activities which complement the phrase, however, unfortunately, in the present corpus there are no such examples. In the cases of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ who bore this honorific title, being a ‘confidant’ is applied to the ruler himself, such as *mḥ-jb n nb t3.wj* ‘confidant of the lord of the Two Lands’ by Maaninakhtef, *mḥ-jb n nswt* ‘confidant of the king’ by Parennefer, or *mḥ-jb nb=f* ‘confidant of his lord’ and *mḥ-jb mnḥ n ntr nfr* ‘excellent confidant of the good god’ by Suemniut.

An important factor in the advancement of the career of an official enjoying the favour or the love of the ruler expressed by phrases with *hsjj* ‘favoured’ or *mrjj* ‘beloved’.¹⁹⁰ These phrases should be handled together since their usage and appearance are clearly parallel, however, they differ slightly in meaning. Honorific titles compounded with these two

¹⁸⁶ As already noted (on p. 39.), the sources from the 18th dynasty mainly contain tombs, funerary objects or monuments for personal use, while during the later period of the New Kingdom the available sources are rather of a monumental and – especially in the 20th dynasty – administrative nature which understandably avoid giving personal details of individuals involved.

¹⁸⁷ Guksch, 1994, 2-3.

¹⁸⁸ Guksch, 1994, 37-38.

¹⁸⁹ Guksch, 1994, 37.

¹⁹⁰ Guksch, 1994, 39-44.

phrases are widely attested in the present corpus from the 18th dynasty, such as *mrjj nb=f* ‘whom his lord loves’ by Ptahemwia (I), *mrr nb t3.wj hr bj.t=f* ‘beloved of the lord of the Two Lands because of his character’ by Paatenemheb, *hsjj n nswt* ‘favoured of the king’ by Nebamun, *hsjj n nb=f* ‘favoured of his lord’ and *hsjj ʕ3 n nb t3.wj* ‘greatly favoured of the lord of the Two Lands’ by Parennefer, in the most common form as *hsjj n ntr nfr* ‘favoured of the good god’ by several officials,¹⁹¹ or in a combined form as *hsjj mrjj nb t3.wj* ‘favoured and beloved of the lord of the Two Lands’ also by Parennefer. Moreover, there are some occurrences from the Ramesside period as well, such as *mrw.tj n nb t3.wj* ‘beloved of the lord of the Two Lands’ by Ramessessamiiunu and *hsjj ʕ3 n ntr nfr* ‘greatly favoured of the good god’ by Nebmerutef from the 19th dynasty, or in a combined form as *hsjj=f mrjj=f n jb n nb=f* ‘his favoured and his beloved one of the heart of his lord’ by Sobekhotep from the 20th dynasty. As Guksch notes, the *hs.wt*-favour is a public act of the ruler and it has a concrete effect on the career of an individual, while the *mr.wt*-favour is a private demonstration of the love of the king without any evident effect on his official advancement.

Besides these honorific titles categorized above, several various other ones appear on the monuments of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ by which they intended to demonstrate their close personal relationship with the king, their trusted position in his service as well as their efficiency and suitability for their privileged status. To determine whether these sorts of titles are more frequented than in the case of other court officials to prove their more intimate relationship with the ruler or not, a comprehensive analysis would be required among the representatives of certain similarly high-ranking official titles, however, an analysis like this is beyond the scope of the present study.

II.4.3. The title *wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’

There is one functional title that must be mentioned here – separately from the other extended forms of the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ – regarding the relationship of the officials with the ruler, namely the title *wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’.

It is generally supposed that the meaning of the title might be connected to serving meals and pouring liquids for a royal person,¹⁹² as well as to some sort of religious func-

¹⁹¹ Nebamun, Djehuti (I), Qenamun, Neferperet, Montuiui, Suemniut, Maaninakhtef, Parennefer, Paatenemheb.

¹⁹² Lilyquist, 2012, 34.

tion and refer to someone who serves the gods in a similar way.¹⁹³ However, titles with the extension *wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘clean of hands’ are attested in the sacral area, such as *wr m3w wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘greatest of the seers clean of hands’ or *wꜥb wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘wab-priest clean of hands’,¹⁹⁴ examining the appearances of the functional title *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ in the textual sources of the officials, the correlation between the religious function of the titleholder and the title itself is not unequivocal and substantiated at all. There are forty individuals in the present corpus who bore this title¹⁹⁵ but only eight of them also bore religious functional titles referring to their activity in the sacral sphere as well.¹⁹⁶ In the case of the ‘royal *wb3*’, the extension *wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘clean of hands’ presumably does not refer to a sacral aspect of the function but rather to the ritually pure state of the person in the immediate presence of whom the official fulfils his duty, i.e. the ruler himself who is the son of the god and also a god himself. In this respect it is only a purified person who may look at him, probably even touch him and handle his food and drink, just as in the case of the wab-priests during the provision of the gods in the temples.

Contrary to expectations, however, the contemporary sources of the officials did not provide any more detailed information on the functional meaning of the title. The only fact which could be determined is that this extension only occurs with the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ but no example was found with the other title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, the reason for which must have been explained by the difference of the usage of two titles, as discussed below.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Helck, 1958, 269, Gregersen, 2007, 841, n. 1.

¹⁹⁴ Al-Ayedi, 2006, 216, 238. Taylor qualifies the title *wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘clean of hands’ as an independent one, even in cases where it obviously belongs to the functional title *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’. Taylor, 2001, 94–95, nos. 859, 861, 862, 865.

¹⁹⁵ The individuals who bore the title *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ are the following: from the 18th dynasty – Djehuti (I), Qenamun, Neferperet, Montuiui, Suemniut, Neferweben, Maaninakhtef, Heqanakht, Neferrenpet (I), Sarenenutet Tjaui, Seth, Parennefer, Ptahemwia (I), Ipay, Ipu, Paatenemheb, Qema, Pay, Nensemekhetef, Djehuti (II); from the 19th dynasty – Ptahpatener, Hesiefshemsunesu, Hesinetjeref, Pare[...], Unknown 1, Sethherwenemef, Tjai Ta, Nebmerutef, Ianefer, Sety, Atumemtaneb, Ramessesnakht, Ramessesuserpehti, Ramessesemperre, Pentawer, Ramessesheru, Paenrenenutet, Merneptahemperptah; from the 20th dynasty – Amenhotep; from the New Kingdom – Unknown 3. For the list, see table 1.1. in the Appendix.

¹⁹⁶ From the 18th dynasty Djehuti (I), Qenamun, Suemniut, Maaninakhtef, Neferrenpet (I), Sarenenutet Tjaui, Parennefer; from the 19th dynasty Ptahpatener.

¹⁹⁷ For further discussion of the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

II.5. THE DUTIES OF THE *wb3 nswt* AND *wdpw nswt* AND THEIR FUNCTION IN THE SERVICE OF THE RULER

Regarding the duties of these officials, Helck devoted a complete chapter to the topic concerning the representative of the office during the 18th dynasty in his comprehensive work on the administration of the Middle and New Kingdom,¹⁹⁸ while individuals who bore these titles during the Ramesside period were primarily the subjects of studies by Schulman.¹⁹⁹ Although both Helck and Schulman's assertions are appropriate in general, the picture becomes more modulated with the increasing number of known officials as well as with the detailed analysis of all the available sources on them. The scope of the officials' duties have changed or expanded in the course of time, while their influence exceeded that of a simple butler or cupbearer, which the title suggests, nevertheless, they presumably never lost this original aspect of the title completely.

Primarily, 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' belonged to the royal household and palace administration as personal attendants of the ruler either in the royal palace or on his journeys within the country or abroad.²⁰⁰ Being responsible for the personal service of the king, 'royal *wb3s*' were in charge of ensuring and inspecting the provision of food and drink as well as other deliveries of the palace, overseeing the state and the procedures of the magazines of the royal palace, and also supervising the conditions on the royal estates.²⁰¹ These duties were mainly the characteristics of the 18th dynasty and represented in the depictions in the tombs of the officials. In addition, the textual sources and the functional titles of these persons reveal that in addition to the management of the living areas of the ruler in the palace, they also took part in the state administration at the highest level as well as in matters of religious.

From the early 19th dynasty onwards, they no longer merely administered the personal needs of the ruler in the royal palace but their extended range of duties led to their widespread participation in various assignments far from the palace as the personal representatives of the ruler and as increasingly influential figures of the royal court.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Helck, 1958, 269-276.

¹⁹⁹ Schulman, 1976, 1986, 1990.

²⁰⁰ Schmitz, 1986, 771-772; Quirke, 1990; Grandet, 2013, 874; Shirley, 2013. For the military participation of the officials, see chapter II.4.1. on p. 63.

²⁰¹ Bryan, 2006, 95; Raven, 2017, 589.

²⁰² Schulman, 1986, 198-189; Grandet, 2013, 874; Davies, 2014, 87, 249. Grandet notes that as their names often refer to a foreign origin, they supposedly had both the knowledge of foreign languages, which qualified them for certain missions, and the advantage of being, in theory, indifferent to considerations of local politics of the places to which they were sent on missions. As for this latter case, he

Such special commissions were different matters regarding the cult statues of the ruler, mining and quarrying expeditions, inspections concerning the working progress of royal tombs and dealing with various affairs of the workmen at Deir el-Medina, as well as acting as members of the judiciary in legal matters.

The reason in the background of this obvious change in the nature of the duties and the widening of the responsibilities of the officials between the 18th and the 19th dynasties might be explained by Schulman’s theory concerning the lurch of the reliance of the king in the native members of the upper echelons.²⁰³ The ruler needed his own trusted men to be loyal exclusively and unquestionably to him, as far as could be possible at least, thus his choice for one of the officials performing the most confidential service around him seems to be reasonable. Nevertheless, it must be noted here again that the distribution of the officials’ duties throughout the period is based on the information from the available sources and not the result of an analysis of a complete corpus, additional evidence may therefore change the present conclusions.

II.5.1. Representations of duties in the tomb depictions

The exact location of the tombs of ‘royal *wb3s*’ is known only in sixteen cases,²⁰⁴ and the number of them that provide us with information about the duties of these officials is even fewer. The pictorial wall decorations represent the individuals during their official tasks as ‘royal *wb3*’ only in five tombs, all of them from the 18th dynasty, while three of them are dated to the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, the other two tombs are from the time of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. In all the other cases, textual materials serve as further points of reference regarding the scope of duties of these persons.

mentions the participation of the officials in the legal matter of the harem conspiracy. These claims can be neither supported nor contradicted, however, as for the knowledge of foreign languages, it is questionable to what extent they were able to preserve their mother tongue in a foreign society, especially if they had lived there for several generations. Concerning the second claim about their theoretically being unbiased, it must be noted that the number of the officials with a proven or presumed foreign background was not in the majority compared to those with a native Egyptian one, who also were members of the judiciary in other legal cases, thus the assumed reason for choosing an official of foreign origin in certain assignments are not valid in this respect. For a discussion on the issue of the officials’ foreign origin, see chapter II.1.2. on p. 42.

²⁰³ Schulman, 1986, 198-199. For a detailed discussion on his theory, see chapter II.1.2. The issue of foreign origin of the officials on p. 42.

²⁰⁴ For a detailed discussion on the officials, see chapter II.2.2 Burial places on p. 53.

All of the scenes representing the tomb owners carrying out their official duties as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ are connected to the original functional tasks of *wb3s* and *wdpws*: preparing and serving food and drinks. Nevertheless, being in a higher rank in the official hierarchy, they did not take part in the processes actively but rather acted as managers directing and overseeing the procedures as well as the workers. The scenes in the tomb of Djehuti (I) (TT 110) show various drinking and storage vessels and men straining out, mixing or cooling liquids. Djehuti (I) addresses the waiters in the text above his figure, however, the inscription is too fragmentary to reveal its meaning.²⁰⁵ Similar depictions can be seen in the tomb of Suemniut (TT 172) as well with preparing and bringing food and drinks, scribes recording produce before the deceased, butchers, as well as men with trays of bread and other food. The inscriptions accompanying the scenes reveal that Suemniut was in charge of the inspection of drink supplies for the royal palace, the preparation of the drinks themselves as well as the sealing of the vessels in the cellars, all sorts of things intended for the king’s table, and the transportation of vegetables grown especially for him.²⁰⁶

The responsibility for inspecting produce appears in the other tombs as well. In his tomb TT 22, Wah is depicted while receiving and inspecting produce, while beside the vintage scene men are represented bringing provisions and preparing drinks, which might also be linked to the office of tomb owner as ‘royal *wb3*’.²⁰⁷ Parennefer is also inspecting the produce of vintages as well as men processing grapes and sealing jars in his tomb TT 188, while scribes and men are measuring grain behind him, which demonstrates his official function as an ‘overseer of the granary’.²⁰⁸ The duty of inspection of a domain is depicted in an elaborate scene in the peristyle court of the tomb of Ptahemwia (I) at Saqqara.²⁰⁹ The tomb owner is standing turning back to the two estate managers who, it is supposed, are reporting to him on the estate. On the other side of him, a servant is presenting the produce of the fields. All the accompanying scenes around Ptahemwia (I) demonstrate his high position and his luxurious circumstances

²⁰⁵ For a detailed discussion on Djehuti (I), see p. 111, for his tomb inscriptions, see [2.1] Theban Tomb 110 on p. 336.

²⁰⁶ For a detailed discussion on Suemniut, see p. 125, for his tomb inscriptions, see [8.1] Theban Tomb 92 on p. 360.

²⁰⁷ For a detailed discussion on Wah, see p. 120, for his tomb inscriptions, see [5.1] Theban Tomb 22 on p. 354.

²⁰⁸ For a detailed discussion on Parennefer, see p. 150, for his tomb inscriptions, see [18.1] Theban Tomb 188 on p. 404.

²⁰⁹ For a detailed discussion on Ptahemwia (I), see p. 155, for his tomb inscriptions, see [20.1] Tomb Saqqara on p. 418.

while travelling, his armed escort is depicted above the estate managers, led by a *hry šmsw=f* ‘commander of the escort’, which person of such rank usually works for the king himself.²¹⁰ In addition, the remaining parts of the decoration of the central chapel depict funeral and workshop scenes, which, according to Raven, may also refer to the official duties of Ptahemwia (I) as ‘royal *wb3*’.²¹¹ This would also support the fact that ‘royal *wb3s*’ were responsible not only for food production for the royal palace but for other items and deliveries as well.²¹²

As for the functional titles of these individuals, most of them have no other titles that could be linked to the occupations described above, thus – as is the case for some of them – the accompanying inscriptions also confirm that these duties must have been related to their office as ‘royal *wb3*’. Parennefer is the only one who bore the titles ‘steward’ as well as ‘overseer of the granary’, the latter of which was represented in an accompanying scene, and besides, the title *jmj-r3 ḥꜥ.w nswt* ‘overseer of the royal boats’ of Suemniut implies that the authority of his office primarily covered the royal transportation, and perhaps the cargo vessels.²¹³ The scenes representing the tomb owner carrying out his duty as a ‘royal *wb3*’ demonstrate that, while the position still maintained the essence of the original function of the profession ‘*wb3*’, the persons who carried out their activity in this position in the royal household were not functional servants anymore but had been elevated higher in the hierarchy of society as well as the administration responsible for a collective of workers as well as for an economic unit of the royal palace. Being a ‘royal *wb3*’ was not primarily a functional profession but it developed into an official title, and their holders became important and trusted members of the royal court. This fact is also supported by the ranking titles of these persons.²¹⁴ Three out of the five tomb owners, namely Djehuti (I), Suemniut and Ptahemwia (I) bore three of the five ranking titles *jrj-pꜥt ḥ3tj-ꜥ* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, *ḥtmtj-bjtj* ‘royal sealer’ and *smr-wꜥ.tj* ‘sole friend’, while Parennefer held the first two of them. The growing importance of these officials as well as their wide-ranging scope of duties, especially during the Ramesside period, are revealed from the textual material of their monuments which is discussed in detail below.

²¹⁰ Raven, 2017, 588; Raven, 2020, 32-33.

²¹¹ Raven, 2017, 589; Raven, 2020, 33.

²¹² See on. p. 71.

²¹³ For the function of this office, see a discussion on Nebamun on p. 105.

²¹⁴ For the ranking titles, see Baer, 1974, 2-8; Grajetzki, 2009, 5-6.

II.5.2. The nature of the duties according to the textual sources

Besides the pictorial depictions on the tomb walls, from which only limited shreds of evidence can be gained, the textual sources – inscriptions on monuments, different types of objects as well as in administrative or legal documents – serve as the main basis of information regarding the duties, responsibilities and assignments of the ‘royal *wb3*’. In regard to the nature of their activity, two main types of their duties can be determined: those related to the royal court, the royal household and the person of the ruler himself, and those performed as particular missions on behalf of the ruler as his personal representatives away from the royal palace. Duties belonging to the former category are revealed from biographical inscriptions and accompanying inscriptions of tomb depictions, but were predominantly implied by the functional titles that certain officials bore. In contrast, the main sources regarding the second type of duties are official notes and accounts or private monuments written about or constructed during the particular assignments with which the officials were delegated. It must be noted, however, that in cases of functional titles without any additional textual or pictorial contexts, deciding their underlying meaning, establishing whether it was an actual function title or an honorific one or whether it was a permanent or a temporary one, is more than difficult and only suppositions can be made regarding their role in the official career of an individual.²¹⁵

II.5.2.1. Duties related to the royal court

As the official primarily belonged to the royal household as a personal attendant of the ruler, the duties of the ‘royal *wb3*’ were connected to the matters of this section of the royal palace, but due to their closeness to the ruler himself, their responsibility spread further to the areas of the royal administration and occasionally, the state administration as well. Unfortunately, there are few inscriptions with biographical or historical content that provide us with information about the career of an official and the temporal order of his advancement in certain positions.²¹⁶ In most of the cases, however, one can rely on the functional titles the officials were designated by on their monuments, based on which

²¹⁵ For the overview of different sorts of titles held by the officials, see the chapter II.5.3. below on p. 85.

²¹⁶ For instance, the biographical stele of Nebamun, see on p. 107, the focal points of the tomb of Djehuti (I), see p. 113, for the block statue of Qenamun, see p. 116, for the tomb inscriptions of Montuiui, see p. 124.

only limited conclusions can be drawn regarding their real functional work on any of the areas mentioned above.

There are some duties and titles within the royal household that originate from or are closely connected with the functional title of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ itself, such as the function of Paatenemheb as *wb3 nswt n hm.t nswt wr.t* ‘royal *wb3* of the great royal wife’ on his wooden stick in Leiden (RMO AH 140c).²¹⁷ This implies that he was in a close connection with the wife of the king just as he was with the king himself, and gained a position of trust in the private household of both of them. In some cases *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ officials can be linked to particular units of the provision quarter of the royal palace.²¹⁸ According to his titles on his stele from Abydos, Ramessesesemperre acted as the manager of two of these units under Ramesses II²¹⁹ as he was *ʿ3 n ʿ.t hnq.t* ‘chief of the beer chamber’ and *ʿ3 n ʿ.t hnk.t* ‘chief of the supplies magazine’²²⁰ as well. The latter title specifying the responsibility of these officials for the palace stores is attested on the stele of Iuti from Giza during the reign of Thutmose IV²²¹, and it was also borne by Ramesse-shehu from the reign of Merneptah.²²²

The functional title *jmj-r3 ʿhntwj* ‘chamberlain’ seems to be very closely linked to the title of ‘royal *wb3*’ in respect to his activity and responsibility, yet the real meaning of the title itself and the function of its holders are highly enigmatic. Several scholars have made suggestions for the definition regarding the title,²²³ the occurrences of which imply that the position of *jmj-r3 ʿhntwj* ‘chamberlain’ must have been a trusted person in the closest circle of the ruler, carrying out personal services for him as well as his special commissions requiring loyalty to him, however, this is attested much more infrequently in the New Kingdom.²²⁴ Unfortunately, the sources of Qema, Horemheb

²¹⁷ For a detailed discussion on Paatenemheb, see p. 165, for the inscription of the wooden stick, see [24.3] Wooden stick, Leiden, AH 140c on p. 438.

²¹⁸ Al-Ayedi, 2006, 226–229. For a discussion on the extended versions of the title *wb3 nswt*, see chapter II.5.3.1. below on p. 90.

²¹⁹ For a detailed discussion on Ramessesesemperre, see p. 201, for the inscription of the stele, see [53] Stele, Cairo, TR 3/7/24/17 on p. 493.

²²⁰ On the title of *ʿ3 n ʿ.t hnk.t*, see Gardiner, 1947, 22*; Zivie, 1976, 168, which indicates the existence of the title only from the Ramesside period. Al-Ayedi translates this title as ‘chief royal butler in the kitchen of the palace’, see Al-Ayedi, 2006, 227, however, I prefer the translation above based on Hannig, 2006, 136.

²²¹ For a detailed discussion on Iuti, see p. 135, for the inscription of the stele, see [11.1] Stele, Cairo, JE 72268 on p. 373.

²²² For a detailed discussion on Ramesse-shehu, see p. 208, for the inscription of his stele, see [55] Stele, Paris, E 3629 on p. 509.

²²³ Maspero, 1888, 56; Moret, 1909, 19; Gauthier, 1918; Grajetzki, 2013, 222.

²²⁴ For a detailed discussion on the title, see Qema on p. 168.

and Heqamaatrenehheh, who bore this title under Horemheb, in the early 19th dynasty and under the reign of Ramesses IV, respectively, do not contribute to expanding our knowledge of this office.

From the reign of Ramesses III, there are two instances where an *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ was involved in a legal matter of the donation for the cult statues of the king. In the 24th year of the ruler, Hori is represented in the inscription of a stele from Memphis (no. 2882) as a member of the great law-court of Heliopolis in the presence of which the fact of the donation was announced and the personnel and the goods ordered for the cult service were presented.²²⁵ One year later, in the 25th year of Ramesses III, a land donation of 50 aruras was recorded on a stele (in a private collection) for the cult statue of the ruler erected in Pi-Ramesse.²²⁶ Prince Ramessesmeriamun was named as the supervisor of the donation and Ramessesankherneheh was responsible for providing for the cult of the statue. He was determined as *wb3 nswt n pr ḥd* ‘royal *wb3* of the treasury’, the title of which obviously refers to his personal service in the provision of the colossus of the king – actually representing the king himself. For carrying out this task, supervision over goods and supplies for the cult of the statue was required as the extension of the title also clearly indicates. In these two cases, the officials acted in their actual function as ‘royal *wb3*’, nevertheless, not in the service of the living ruler, but his cultic image. In any case, their duty was the same: seeing to the personal provision of the ruler himself.

In the 10th regnal year, Ramesses IX rewarded his ‘high priest of Amun-Re’ Amenhotep, the act of which is recorded on the outer face of the eastern wall between the seventh and eighth pylons in Karnak. Three ‘royal *wb3*s’ played an important role in the event: *jmj-r3 pr ḥd n pr-ḥ3 wb3 nswt* ‘overseer of the treasury of the Pharaoh, royal *wb3*’ Amenhotep, *wb3 nswt sš n pr-ḥ3* ‘royal *wb3*, scribe of the Pharaoh’ Nesamun and *wb3 nswt whmw n pr-ḥ3* ‘royal *wb3*, herald of the Pharaoh’ Neferkareemperamun.²²⁷ They were the notables assigned to favour the high priest Amenhotep and to present him with the rewards of the ruler, they represented the ruler himself and acted on his behalf. Furthermore, the fact that in the passage of describing the honouring of Amenhotep, his designation is

²²⁵ For a detailed discussion on Hori, see p. 221, for the inscription of the stele, see [73] Stele, Memphis, 2882 on p. 529.

²²⁶ According to the inscription, the cult statue ‘is settled in the house of Amun of Ramessesheqaiunu’, which refers to the royal residence of Pi-Ramesse. See Chappaz, 2005-7, 6, n. 5, with further references. For a detailed discussion on Ramessesankherneheh, see p. 215, for the inscription of the stele, see [61] Stele in private collection on p. 519.

²²⁷ For a detailed discussions on Amenhotep, Nesamun and Neferkareemperamun, see pp. 245, 242. and 244, respectively, for the inscription of the rewarding scene, see [89] Rewarding scene of Amenhotep, Karnak on p. 581.

‘overseer of the treasury of the Pharaoh’ while the other two individuals are identified as ‘royal *wb3*’ also shows that the reward was given as a personal favour of the ruler since Amenhotep was responsible for the treasury of the royal house and not for the state itself. This title leads to another area besides the royal household where ‘royal *wb3*s’ were active, namely the royal administration.

It is supposed that the activity of these officials in some offices in the area of the royal administration usually derived from their function of being an *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, however, in most of the cases the temporal order of gaining their titles cannot be determined, whether a certain position in the royal administration (or in other area) resulted from the function of the official as a ‘royal *wb3*’, or on the contrary. However, conclusions can be drawn based on inscriptions with biographical content, such as by Nebamun or Montuiui. Nebamun informs us of three stages in his career in the inscription on his biographical stele in his tomb TT 24:²²⁸ he was appointed to *jmj-r3 h3 n nswt* ‘overseer of the royal office’ by Thutmose II, then to *jmj-r3 pr n hm.t nswt Nbtw m3ꜥ.t-hrw* ‘steward of the royal wife, Nebtu, justified’ and later to *jmj-r3 ꜥhꜥ.w nb.w n nswt* ‘overseer of all royal boats’ by Thutmose III. It is supposed that Nebamun started his career in the royal court in the position of *wdpw m stp-s3 ꜥnh wd3 snb* ‘butler in the palace, life, prosperity, health’ under Thutmose II, and the satisfaction of the king with his function in this position might have led to his promotion to direct the bureau that managed the personal affairs of the ruler, or at least this is what the title indicates. During the reign of Thutmose III, Nebamun still remained in the closest circle of the king, extending his official responsibility over the personal possessions of one of the king’s wives. The title of the stewardship already suggests his participation in the royal administration which role is supported by his function as ‘overseer of all royal boats’. This latter title fell under the naval administration, its bearer, as Gnirs notices, was responsible for the coordination and control of war ships as well as royal transportation and cargo vessels.²²⁹ It would be reasonable to surmise that he might have been responsible for directing ships carrying goods and supplies to and from the palace, especially for the personal provision of the king and his family. Another of his titles, *hrj wj3 n nswt* ‘chief of the royal barque’, refers to the boat used for the private transportation of the king and/or his family. The progress of the advancements of Nebamun tended from being the very private servant of the king to a wider administrative role but still connected to the person of the king and his house-

²²⁸ For a discussion on the career of Nebamun, see p. 107, for the inscription of his biographical stele, see [1.1] Theban Tomb 24 on p. 327.

²²⁹ Gnirs, 2013, 652.

hold. Similar progress can be observed in the case of Montuiui regarding his responsibility over the private sector of the ruler in the palace. In the inscription of his autobiographical stele,²³⁰ Montuiui declares that he grew up in the palace under the reign of Thutmose III,²³¹ and at the beginning of his career he served as *b3k n jp.t nswt* 'servant of the royal apartments',²³² then under the reign of Amenhotep II he was promoted as all the offices of the palace had been placed under his authority. This is supposed to mean that he might have been appointed to *jmj-r3 jp.t nswt* 'overseer of the royal apartments',²³³ a position which was also filled by Hesinetjeref during the 19th dynasty.²³⁴

The service of the 'royal *wb3s*' in the royal administration is attested through the whole period of the New Kingdom by their functional titles. Maaninakhtef, under the reign of Amenhotep II, held several functional titles,²³⁵ all of them are some sort of *jmj-r3* 'overseer' in different areas of the royal domain, such as that of the servants, the double granary, the bread, the cattle, the arable lands, the bread and the peasants of the king. Except for the two latter ones, every title has a specific indicative to the ruler, clearly expressing that the titles, as well as the functions themselves, refer to the private properties of the king and not those of the state.²³⁶ The stewardship, with the responsibility of inspecting and administering the affairs of the private domains of the ruler, was rather frequent among the 'royal *wb3s*', as attested by Sennefer and Neferrenpet (I) under Amenhotep III, by Ipay under Tutankhamun, by Sethherwenemef and Sety under Ramesses II, as well as by Ines and Pameriamun under Ramesses XI.

Two additional functional titles appear on more than one occasion among the 'royal *wb3s*' in the area of the royal administration. The title *jmj-r3 šnw.tj* 'overseer of the double granary' is attested by Maaninakhtef from the reign of Amenhotep II and by

²³⁰ For a discussion on Montuiui, see p. 123, for his tomb inscriptions, see [7.1] Theban Tomb 172 on p. 357.

²³¹ According to Bryan, he also bore the epithet *hrd n k3p* 'child of the kap', however, this is not explicitly mentioned on the stele. Bryan, 2006, 96.

²³² According to Taylor, he is the only known bearer of this title in the 18th dynasty. Al-Ayedi does not even mention the title. Taylor, 2001, 107; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 265.

²³³ Bryan also refers to his appointment to *jmj r3 pr nswt* 'steward of the king'. Bryan, 1991, 258.

²³⁴ For a discussion on Hesinetjeref, see p. 177.

²³⁵ For a discussion on Maaninakhtef, see p. 132, for his inscriptions, see p. 367.

²³⁶ Helck, 1958, 103-104. Quirke does not see any evidence in the Middle Kingdom sources for private property of the king and for national land-holdings, as he notes, the king(ship) is the state, so he does not see the high steward as the manager of the private land-holdings of the king either. Quirke, 2004, 11. However, according to these titles, there was definitely a distinction between the two properties during the 18th dynasty, and a clear difference can be seen between the organization of the civil and royal administration, as Grandet names these spheres, they were responsible for the state and the royal administration respectively. See Grandet, 2013, 865-875.

Menmaatrenakht under Ramesses XI, while the title *jmj-r3 pr ḥd* ‘overseer of the treasury’ occurs only during the Ramesside period, by Sety under Ramesses II, Nesamun and Amenhotep under Ramesses IX, and by the above-mentioned Menmaatrenakht under Ramesses XI. Both of the titles were extended with special reference to the ruler himself as *n nb t3.wj* ‘of the lord of the Two Lands’, *n pr ʕ3* ‘of the Pharaoh’ or *n nswt* ‘of the king’ demonstrating that the departments did not belong to the state administration, but to that of the royal palace and the ruler himself.

Nevertheless, there are some titles borne by the officials which indicate their activity in the state administration as well. During the reign of Thutmose III, Qenamun is represented on his statues as *ḥ3tj-ʕ n Mn-nfr* ‘mayor of Memphis’ and *jmj-r3 šnw.tj* ‘overseer of the double granary’, this time without any extension referring to the ruler.²³⁷ These two titles, especially appearing together, definitely connect its bearer to the highest sphere of the central government of the country, as the mayor as a settlement-leader was in charge not only of ensuring a sufficient food supply for the population but also for the collection and transportation of the taxes as well as grain and other commodities.²³⁸ The same is true for the position of Sety under Ramesses II who, among other important titles, acted as *jmj-r3 ḥtm.t* ‘overseer of the sealed things’.²³⁹ The person in this position was one of the most important officials at the royal court during the Middle Kingdom, at least during the 18th dynasty, responsible for managing the commodities of the royal palace and working closely together with the vizier.²⁴⁰

In some cases, it seems obvious that offices belonging to the royal household or royal administration must have been gained in return for a functional service of an individual as ‘royal *wb3*’ at the beginning of their career, however, promotions to the highest ranking positions in the royal and occasionally in the state administration might also have been the result of the confidential relationship of the official with the ruler himself, moreover, both of the reasons can be true at the same time. Since in most cases there is

²³⁷ For a discussion on Qenamun, see p. 115, for the inscription on his statue, see [3.1] Stelophor statue on p. 348.

²³⁸ Helck, 1958, 235-236; van den Boorn, 1988, 242-243; Van Siclen III, 1991, 159; Gessler-Löhr, 1997, 36.

²³⁹ For a discussion on Sety, see p. 194, for the inscription on his statue, see [48] Block statue, Cairo, JE 33263 on p. 480.

²⁴⁰ van den Boorn, 1988, 61, 311; Quirke, 2004, 48-49; Grajetzki, 2013, 215, 219. According to Grajetzki, 2013, 239, it has been proposed that the property of the king was separated from the property of the state, according to which idea, the commodities of the king were administered by the *jmj-r3 ḥtm.t* ‘overseer of the sealed things’, and those of the state by the *pr-ḥd* ‘overseer of the double treasury’, however, there is no evidence for such a division, and person who bore the title ‘overseer of sealed things’ often held that of ‘overseer of the double treasury’ as well, but in the Middle Kingdom it was rather an honorific title than a functional one.

no clear evidence in the sources regarding the temporal order of the career stages as well as the background of the advancements, and since there are no clear indications regarding the functional or honorific nature of the titles, the range of actual duties of a ‘royal *wb3*’ outlined in the previous pages might be changed or expanded in respect to new evidence that may come to light in the future.

11.5.2.2. Duties related to special assignments

The aspect of the special assignments, the second main category of the duties of ‘royal *wb3s*’, in these cases usually identified as ‘royal *wdpws*’, is grouped around four main areas of activity: mining and quarrying expeditions, arrangements regarding the preparation of a royal tomb, affairs concerning the workmen at Deir el-Medina, and legal matters. In addition, there are some tasks that cannot be classified in either category.

11.5.2.2.1. Mining and quarrying expeditions

The participation of these officials in mining and quarrying expeditions is attested from the reign of Sety I to that of Ramesses IV by seven individuals.²⁴¹ The expeditions were led to the turquoise mines at Serabit el-Khadim and the copper mines at Bir-Nasib and Timna on the Sinai, as well as to the stone quarry at Wadi Hammamat. In two cases, suggestions can be made about the role of the officials beyond their participation. Together with his permanently presented title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, Ramessesashahebused, from the time of Sety I and Ramesses II, is identified as *hrj-pd.t qnj* ‘valiant troop commander’ on his stelae from Serabit el-Khadim, which title might indicate his participation in the expedition as the leader of a military unit.²⁴² Besides, on his stele No. 260 he is also designated as *hrj šms n ḥm=f* ‘chief of bodyguard of His Majesty’, which was obviously a temporary function for this particular expedition regarding the participation of Prince Meriatum, who is represented in the field of the monument as well.²⁴³ It seems that Ramessesashahebused had some sort of military

²⁴¹ Ramessesashahebused, Neferrenpet (II), Ramessesemperre, Sobekhotep, Nakhtamun, Usermaatresekhper, Unknown 4.

²⁴² Schulman, 1964, 30-32, 53-56, 151; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 387. For a discussion on Ramessesashahebused, see p. 181, for the inscriptions of his stelae, see p. 457-467.

²⁴³ The title is connected to the person of the king, as one in this position usually works directly for him, see in a discussion on Ptahemwia (I) on p. 155., and note 556. Černý and Spalinger, however, attribute this title to the other official represented on the stele, namely Amenemope. Černý, 1955, 180; Spalinger, 1980, 220.

background in which capacity he served in these missions. Two other officials appear on a rock-stele (No. 12) which commemorates an expedition to the stone quarry at Wadi Hammamat from the reign of Ramesses IV. The leader of the expedition was the ‘high priest of Amun’ and ‘overseer of work’ Ramessesnakht, in whose company – among some other high ranking officials – there were two *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3s*’, Nakhtamun and his colleague, Usermaatresekhper.²⁴⁴ The usage of the title *wb3 nswt* here is not the one that one would expect in a report of an expedition, rather *wdpw nswt* usually appears in these sort of special missions.²⁴⁵ A possible explanation could be the position of the two officials in the assignment, the intensity of their active participation in it, namely they did not function as active leaders but – as the phrasing of the text implies – they ‘only’ accompanied the leader in the mission, possibly as agents of the ruler in the role of observers.

II.5.2.2.2. Preparation of a royal tomb

Several documents render an account of the preparation and the inspection of the procedure of royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings by certain delegations of high ranking officials among whom ‘royal *wdpws*’ appear in great number, in some cases more than one of them acted together. From the present corpus, fourteen officials are presented in these delegations from the reign of Merneptah until the time of Ramesses XI.

The necropolis journal CG 25504²⁴⁶ shows Ramessesesemperre as a member of a visiting commission at the tomb of Merneptah in the Valley of the Kings, together with the ‘vizier’ Panehsy and the ‘scribe’ Penpamer, in order to inspect the procedure of placing the coffins into their places, it is supposed, into the tomb. In the next five days, the same delegation visited the tomb, probably to inspect the placing of additional pieces of funerary equipment. The ostrakon DeM 45²⁴⁷ describes the arrival of a delegation of high ranking officials to the Valley of the Kings in the 2nd regnal year of Ramesses IV to select a site for constructing the tomb of the ruler. Besides the ‘vizier’ Neferrenpet two ‘royal *wdpws*’, Hori and Amenkhau were also a members of the delegation. Amenkhau participated in another commission regarding the tomb of Ramesses IV reported in

²⁴⁴ For a discussion on Nakhtamun and Usermaatresekhper, see p. 234. and p. 235, respectively, for the inscription of the stele, see [79] Stele, Wadi Hammamat No. 12 on p. 560.

²⁴⁵ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

²⁴⁶ For the text of the ostrakon, see [53] Ostrakon, Cairo, 25504 on p. 496.

²⁴⁷ For the text of the ostrakon, see [73] Ostrakon, Deir el-Medina No. 45 + Ostrakon, Berlin, P.12651 + Ostrakon, Vienna, H.4. on p. 535.

papyrus Turin, Cat. 2002²⁴⁸ from the 1st year of Ramesses V²⁴⁹ in order to inspect placing some burial pieces of equipment into a royal tomb. There were five *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpws*’ among the members of the delegation, the highest number acting together in one case according to the available sources. Besides Amenkhau, Atumnakht, Ramesses-sethherwenemef, Sobekhotep and Parenakht were also present. Amenkhau had a special task during the visit: he oversaw the craftsmen of Deir el-Medina during an uncertain working phase (perhaps polishing?), as well as being sent for alabaster-engravers who worked inside the tomb.

Other inscriptions relate the visit of the officials to the Valley of the Kings in less detail: Nebmaatreper-? and Kar inspected the work on the royal tomb according to the ostrakon BTdK 659²⁵⁰ most likely under the reign of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII,²⁵¹ the ostrakon CG 25247,²⁵² probably from the reign of Ramesses IX, mentions that Ramessesnefer[...] visited the royal tomb on the day the decoration of its door-jambs was finished, the Theban graffito No. 1860a,²⁵³ it is supposed, from the time of Ramesses X, commemorates the sealing of the tomb of an unnamed king by a five-member delegation with Pareherwenemef among them, and in a necropolis journal²⁵⁴ relating from the 17th year of Ramesses XI²⁵⁵ Menmaatrenakht acts together with a ‘vizier’ Wennefer in giving orders regarding what the workmen were tasked with at the royal tomb.

However, in several cases, due to the damage suffered by the inscriptions or the laconism of the account itself, the specific purpose of the visit of the delegations as well as ‘royal *wdpws*’ cannot be ascertained. However, some documents reveal that their permanent place of duty was in Memphis or Pi-Ramesse.²⁵⁶ According to the text on the ostrakon CG 25504 when finishing their task the officials went back to the north,²⁵⁷ and Bay explicitly declares on his ostrakon CG 25766 that he was a visitor to Thebes from the north.²⁵⁸

²⁴⁸ For the text of the papyrus, see [74] Pap. Turin 2002 on p. 545.

²⁴⁹ Gutgesell as well as Schulman mistakenly dated the document to the reign of Ramesses IV. Gutgesell, 1983, 226; Schulman, 1986, 202. For discussion of the date, see Helck, 2002, 18.

²⁵⁰ For the text of the ostrakon, see [85] Ostrakon BTdK 659 on p. 575.

²⁵¹ Dorn, 2011, 411.

²⁵² For the text of the ostrakon, see [88] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25247 on p. 578.

²⁵³ For the text of the graffito, see [92] Graffito, West Theban 1860a on p. 596.

²⁵⁴ For the text of the papyrus, see [94] Journal relating to the Theban Necropolis on p. 598.

²⁵⁵ Gardiner, 1948, 64; Helck, 1958, 417.

²⁵⁶ For the place of function of the officials, see chapter II.2.1. on p. 48.

²⁵⁷ For the text of the ostrakon see [53] Ostrakon, Cairo, 25504 on p. 496.

²⁵⁸ For the text of the ostrakon see [58] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25766 on p. 515.

II.5.2.2.3. Affairs of the workmen at Deir el-Medina

In addition to their tasks concerning the works on royal tombs, ‘royal *wdpws*’ also deal with various affairs regarding the workmen at Deir el-Medina. The time period of the appearance of these officials in documents reporting such matters covers almost the entire Ramesside era, just like the previous topic, from the reign of Merneptah until that of Ramesses IX. There are nine individuals who acted in the assignments either alone or with their colleagues or other high ranking officials.

The necropolis journal CG 25504²⁵⁹ reports that Ramessesemperre and his fellow members of a visiting commission to the tomb of Merneptah in the Valley of the Kings rewarded the workforce of the tomb after placing pieces of funerary equipment into the tomb. On the round-topped limestone stele EA 588,²⁶⁰ Hori appears as the agent of Ramesses IV entrusted with delivering several commodities to the ‘chief workman’ at Deir el-Medina, Inherkhau bestowed by the ruler himself. A similar, frequent task in which ‘royal *wdpws*’ participate actively is the providing of supplies to the workmen at Deir el-Medina. Nakhtamun delivers supplies to the workmen as a member of a delegation together with the ‘mayor’ Amenmose and the ‘vizier’ Neferrenpet on the ostracon CG 25580²⁶¹ under the reign of Ramesses IV. His colleague under Ramesses IX, Amenhotep is mentioned in the introduction of a list of the workmen’s names under his authority and the ‘high priest of Amun-Re’, most of whose name is missing, probably also Amenhotep on the papyrus Turin Cat. 1932 + 1939²⁶² which contains lists of supplies for the workmen of Deir el-Medina. In contrast to this, Nesamun, also under the reign of Ramesses IX, acted alone in providing supplies to the workmen four times within a year as reported in the papyrus Turin Cat. 1881.²⁶³

The officials often played an important role in making decisions about the problematic affairs of the workmen’s village. The ostracon R.97 in Sidney²⁶⁴ from the reign of Ramesses IV reports on the visit of a delegation of officials with ‘royal *wdpws*’ Hori and Amenkhau among them to the Valley of the Kings to investigate a strike by the workmen, because they had not received their provisions for a period of time. The officials decided in their favour. The ostracon DeM 46,²⁶⁵ from the time of the same ruler, informs

²⁵⁹ For the text of the ostracon, see [53] Ostracon, Cairo, 25504 on p. 496.

²⁶⁰ For the inscription of the stele, see [73] Stele, London, BM EA 588 on p. 531.

²⁶¹ For the text of the ostracon, see [79] Ostracon, Cairo, CG 25580 on p. 566.

²⁶² For the text of the papyrus, see [91] Pap. Turin 1932+1939 on p. 594.

²⁶³ For the text of the papyrus, see [89] Pap. Turin 1881 on p. 579.

²⁶⁴ For the text of the ostracon see [73] Ostracon, Sydney, Nicholson Museum R.97 on p. 538.

²⁶⁵ For the text of the ostracon see [78] Ostracon, Deir el-Medina No. 46 on p. 559.

us of a disagreement between the leaders of the workmen and the ‘scribe’ Amennakht. The latter was sent for the *wdpw* Aha(?) to settle the dispute. However, the title is not combined with the epithet *nswt*, based on the nature of the matter, it cannot be doubted that Aha(?) was a ‘royal *wdpw*’. Although no detail of the end of the case can be revealed due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, an interesting addition is that Amennakht sent a message directly to Aha(?) asking for his intervention. It cannot be ascertained, however, if the ‘royal *wdpw*’ had his own decisional authority to interfere in a matter like this or he was allowed to act only on the orders of the ruler. Somewhat later, under Ramesses IX, Nesamun, together with the ‘vizier’ and the ‘high priest’ who were not named, was also involved in a disagreement because of the complaints of the workmen as they had not received their provisions for a period of time. The officials decided in their favour again.²⁶⁶

Another matter differing from the above mentioned ones is the increase in the number of workmen at Deir el-Medina from 60 to 120 in the 2nd year of Ramesses IV reported in the papyrus Turin Cat. 1891.²⁶⁷ The assignment seems to be important enough as implied by the number of the high ranking officials acting as members of the delegation. Besides the ‘vizier’ Neferrenpet, the ‘overseer of the treasury’ Montuemtau and the ‘deputy’ Menna, three ‘royal *wdpws*’ were present; Hori, Ramessesethherwenemef and Atumnakht.

11.5.2.2.4. Legal matters

Legal matters in which the officials played an active part were the trial of the conspirators in the plot against Ramesses III, generally known as the harem conspiracy (Turin, Cat. 1875), and an investigation into the cases of tomb robberies under the reign of Ramesses IX (London, EA 10054, EA 10221, Brussels E 6857) and Ramesses XI (London, EA 10052, EA 10383, Liverpool M11162). In the trial of the harem conspiracy, some officials were members of the judiciary, others were accused, and one of them was accused by a judge.²⁶⁸ In spite of the fact that they were designated ‘only’ as *wdpws*, it is reasonable to assume that those acting in the judiciary were high ranking officials regarding the importance of the matter.²⁶⁹ It is clearly stated in the account of the trial that the accused were set

²⁶⁶ For the text of the papyrus, see [89] Necropolis journal for year 17 on p. 592.

²⁶⁷ For the text of the papyrus, see [73] Pap. Turin 1891 on p. 537.

²⁶⁸ For a discussion on the officials that took part in the trial, see p. , for the text of the account of the trial, see [62] Judicial Papyrus of Turin on p. 521.

²⁶⁹ There are other examples where a person otherwise designated as *wb3 nswt* or *wdpw nswt*, appears in a document only as *wdpw*, see for instance Ramessesemperre on p. 201, Paenrenenutet on p. 209,

before the *wdpws* who found them guilty and made them commit suicide as a punishment. During the examination of the tomb robberies, the officials also fulfilled a judicial duty in the inspection of the tomb in question as well as the interrogation of the suspects. In these cases as well, more officials worked together. Under the examination under Ramesses IX, Nesamun and Neferkareemperamun were the members of the judiciary²⁷⁰ together with the ‘vizier’ Khaemwaset and the ‘Mayor of the City’ Paser, while during the other investigation under Ramesses XI, Menmaatrenakht, Ines and Pameriamun²⁷¹ were also in the committee as the fellows of the ‘vizier’ Nebmaatrenakht. In these latter cases, there is no further reference to the exact activity of the officials beyond their partaking in the procedure.

II.5.2.2.5. Miscellaneous tasks

Besides the thematised duties discussed previously, there are two cases where the officials acted on the order of the ruler in very different matters. Maatmen appears in a model letter from the reign of Ramesses II (London, EA 10244)²⁷² in which two lieutenants of the army, Any and Bakenamun informed him of the command of the king as they had to transport three stelae to the place where the official currently stayed – unfortunately, it is not named in the text – so that he could erect them on their places, according to Gardiner, probably in the Syrian territory to propagandize the power of the ruler.²⁷³ Even if it cannot be ascertained whether the text describes a real occasion or a fictional one, one may assume that the characters were real and known persons, as well as the case in which a ‘royal *wdpw*’ normally proceeds. While Maatmen rendered the ruler a service at the north-eastern border of the country, Ines, who otherwise, acted in the judiciary concerning the tomb robberies under Ramesses XI, was sent to the southern territory to Panehsy, the ‘viceroy of Nubia’. The ruler commanded Panehsy to cooperate with Ines to fulfil his commands concerning the transportation of a portable shrine, as well as

Hori on p. 221, Nesamun on p. 242, or Neferkareemperamun on p. 244. In addition, see a discussion on Schulman, 1976, 123.

²⁷⁰ For a discussion on Nesamun and Neferkareemperamun, see p. 242. and p. 244, respectively, for the inscription of the examinations, see [89] Pap. BM 10054 on p. 582, [89] Pap. Abbott (Pap. BM 10221) on p. 583. and [89] Pap. Leopold II – Amherst (Brussels, E 6857) on p. 589.

²⁷¹ For a discussion on Menmaatrenakht, Ines and Pameriamun, see p. 248, p. 249. and p. 250, respectively, for the inscription of the examinations, see [94] Pap. BM 10052 on p. 598, [94] Pap. Mayer A on p. 600. and [94] Pap. BM 10383 (Pap. de Burgh) on p. 603.

²⁷² For a discussion on Maatmen, see p. 197, for the text of the letter, see [50] Pap. Anastasi V 23,8 on p. 486.

²⁷³ Gardiner, 1920, 107.

some sort of raw materials for the craftsmen.²⁷⁴ The fact of commanding such a high ranking official as the ‘viceroy of Nubia’ to be of assistance to a ‘royal *wdpw*’ to accomplish his tasks on behalf of the ruler himself also demonstrates the esteemed and important position of these officials as personal representatives of the king.

11.5.3. Overview of the titles held by the officials

The titles held by the high officials – generally as well as regarding their representatives in the present corpus – can mainly be categorized into three categories: ranking titles, functional titles and honorific titles. The determination of officials according to various titles was obviously a central element of the functioning of the administration and the royal court.²⁷⁵ In several cases, however, it is immensely difficult to determine which category a particular title belongs to, and in some instances, the line between the categories is blurred. The ranking titles showed the high ranking situation of an individual within the royal court as well as in society, without any actual official function of their bearer.²⁷⁶ Five of them are known: *jrj-pꜣt* ‘member of the elite’, *h33tj-ꜣ* ‘foremost of action’, *htmtj-bjtj* ‘royal sealer’, *smr-wꜣ.tj* ‘sole friend’, *rh nswt* ‘acquaintance of the king’, among which the first two usually appear together. By contrast, functional titles did have an actual scope of official duties, however, it must be noted that they were also possibly granted as a favour by the ruler to the officials at the end of their careers as a provision for their maintenance during their old age. Functional titles were given as permanent offices and also as temporary assignments for particular projects or missions. There are functional titles the function of which are more or less clear, but in some cases – just like by the subject of the present study – the duties behind the title are hard to define, or not even interpretable at all. Besides, it is very difficult – in several cases even impossible – to determine the difference between the permanent and the temporary titles of an official on his monuments, especially on his funerary ones where he wished to represent all of his titles that he gained and bore during his whole life. The third category of the titles are the honorific titles, the use of which depended entirely on the favour of the ruler and they are important elements of the self-representation of an official express-

²⁷⁴ For a discussion on Ines, see p. 249, for the text of the letter, see [95.4] Pap. Turin 1896 on p. 604.

²⁷⁵ For the structure of the ancient Egyptian administration in different periods, see Helck 1954; Helck 1958; Baer 1960; Strudwick 1985; Grajetzki 2000.

²⁷⁶ For further discussion on the ranking titles, see Baer, 1974, 2-8; Grajetzki, 2000, 220-226; Grajetzki, 2009, 5-6.

ing his own values and virtues as well as his usefulness for and his close relationship with his lord.²⁷⁷ All the three types of official titles are widely represented in the present corpus. (See Table 12. below for the occurrence of the titles of the individuals by category in number.) Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized, as it has already been noted elsewhere in the present study as well, that differences in the occurrence and quantity of the ranking titles, functional titles as well as honorific titles primarily depend on the type of the available sources from the two main periods of the New Kingdom: the 18th dynasty and the 19th–20th dynasty. From the first one, there are several funerary monuments with depictions and inscriptions containing biographical references and title strings which provide a wide range of the above-mentioned designations, however, from the later period, the main type of the sources are administrative reports on the activities of the officials that were principally restricted to the facts of the relevant matter. Based on this, it must always be kept in mind that the information and data provided by the sources are rather accidental than general, thus one has to be careful when drawing comprehensive conclusions in several respects.

Ranking titles are only attested by ‘royal *wb3*s’ during the 18th dynasty. Four out of the five are represented in this corpus with the exception of *rh nswt* ‘acquaintance of the king’. Eight officials bore this type of title, three of them, namely Djehuti (I), Suemniut and Ptahemwia (I) possessed all the four attested ones – *jrj-p^ct* ‘member of the elite’, *h3tj-^c* ‘foremost of action’, *htmtj-bjtj* ‘royal sealer’, *smr-w^c.tj* ‘sole friend’ –, the other five individuals, Nebamun, Montuiui, Maaninakhtef, Seth and Parennefer, bore two or three of them. These titles clearly show the prestigious position of these officials within the royal court. Besides, they were frequently rewarded with the Gold of Honour during the whole New Kingdom.²⁷⁸ (For a detailed list, see table 1.2. in the Appendix.)

As for the functional titles, one hundred and forty-eight different ones can be distinguished in the present corpus, among which thirty-seven are religious functional titles and one hundred and eleven of them are administrative functional titles, out of the latter ones, the titles constructed with *wb3* are twenty in number and those constructed with *wdpw* are five. These numbers contain all the extended variations of basic titles but do not contain the variations with the genitival adjective *n* in the case of the titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt*. The number of the basic titles is somewhat less, one hundred and three altogether distributed as the following: twenty religious functional titles and thirty-six administrative functional titles, titles out of the latter ones constructed with *wb3* are

²⁷⁷ Strudwick 2016, 9.

²⁷⁸ For a comprehensive study on the reward of Gold of Honour and the honourees, see Binder, 2008.

five in number and those of constructed with *wdpw* are two. (For the detailed list, see tables 1.1., 1.3. and 1.4. in the Appendix.) Regarding the honorific titles borne by the officials, a similar diversity can be observed, forty basic honorific titles can be distinguished within their total amount, which comes to sixty-three in number. (For the detailed list, see table 1.5. in the Appendix.) Depending on the types of the sources, their occurrence was more frequent during the 18th dynasty than in the later period.

Due to the wide range of diversity of functional titles as well as the fact that there are only a few of them which were borne by more than one or two officials, it is rather difficult to give a definite picture about the position, activity and connections with the fellow officials of 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' within the royal court as well as the administrative system. Further similar prosopographical research would be required concerning other representatives of the most common functional titles held by these officials to reveal more detailed information about the areas mentioned above.

name	period	ranking title	functional title		honorific title
			administrative	religious	
Nebamun	18 th dyn.	2	8		5
Djehuti (I)	18 th dyn.	4	7	13	9
Qenamun	18 th dyn.		7	2	2
Neferperet	18 th dyn.		5		2
Wah	18 th dyn.		5		
Djehutimes	18 th dyn.		1		
Montuiui	18 th dyn.	3	2		2
Suemniut	18 th dyn.	4	10	5	18
Neferweben	18 th dyn.		1		
Maaninakhtef	18 th dyn.	2	12	2	3
Iuti	18 th dyn.		2		1
Heganakht	18 th dyn.		4		
Sennefer	18 th dyn.		3	4	
Neferrenpet (I)	18 th dyn.		4	1	
Sarenenutet Tjau	18 th dyn.		2	4	
Setau	18 th dyn.		1		1
Seth	18 th dyn.	3	3		2
Parennefer	18 th dyn.	3	9	2	17
Nakhuempaaton	18 th dyn.		1		
Ptahemwia (I)	18 th dyn.	4	2		6
Ipay	18 th dyn.		4		1
Ipu	18 th dyn.		3		
Pay	18 th dyn.		4		
Paatenemheb	18 th dyn.		4		3
Qema	18 th dyn.		2		

name	period	ranking title	functional title		honorific title
			administrative	religious	
Nensemekhetef	18 th dyn.		1		
Kasa	18 th dyn.		1		
Nebnefer	18 th -19 th dyn.		2		1
Djehuti (II)	18 th -19 th dyn.		1		
Ptahpatener	19 th dyn.		1		4
Horemheb	19 th dyn.		2		2
Unknown 5	19 th dyn.		2		
Hesiefshemsunesu	19 th dyn.		2		
Hesinetjeref	19 th dyn.		6		1
Pare[...]	19 th dyn.		1		
Unknown 1	19 th -20 th dyn.		1		
Unknown 2	19 th -20 th dyn.		1		
Djehutiherhesetef	19 th dyn.		1		
Ramessesashahebused	19 th dyn.		8		
Sethherwenemef	19 th dyn.		3		
Tjai Ta	19 th dyn.		7		
Nebmerutef	19 th dyn.		8		
Neferrenpet (II)	19 th dyn.		1		
Ramessesmen	19 th dyn.		1		
Ianefer	19 th dyn.		1		
Suner	19 th dyn.		1		
Wenefdjedsen	19 th dyn.		2		
Sety	19 th dyn.		11		
Atumemtaneb	19 th dyn.		4		3
Maatmen	19 th dyn.		2		
Ramessesnakht	19 th dyn.		6		
Ramessesuserpehti	19 th dyn.		3		
Ramessesemperre	19 th dyn.		11		
Pentawer	19 th dyn.		1		
Ramessesheru	19 th dyn.		3		
Paenrenenutet	19 th dyn.		3		
Merneptahemperptah	19 th dyn.		1		
Bay	19 th dyn.		2		
Ramessessamiiunu	20 th dyn.		1		2
Ptahemwia (II)	20 th dyn.		2		1
Ramessesankherneheh	20 th dyn.		2		
Pabes	20 th dyn.		1		
Mesedsure	20 th dyn.		1		
Warna	20 th dyn.		1		
Paluka	20 th dyn.		2		
Inini	20 th dyn.		1		
Nebdjefau	20 th dyn.		1		
Hentuenimen	20 th dyn.		1		
Qedendenna	20 th dyn.		1		

name	period	ranking title	functional title		honorific title
			administrative	religious	
Baalmeher	20 th dyn.		1		
Pairsun	20 th dyn.		1		
Djehutirekhnefer	20 th dyn.		1		
Hori	20 th dyn.		5		
Amenkhau	20 th dyn.		1		
Atumnakht	20 th dyn.		1		
Ramessesethherwenemef	20 th dyn.		2		
Sobekhotep	20 th dyn.		3		2
Aha(?)	20 th dyn.		1		
Nakhtamun	20 th dyn.		3		
Usermaatresekhheper	20 th dyn.		1		
Unknown 4	20 th dyn.		1		
Hegamaatrenehch	20 th dyn.		4		
Nefersunu	20 th dyn.		1		
Parinakht	20 th dyn.		2		
Kar	20 th dyn.		1		
Nebmaatreper-?	20 th dyn.		1		
Qedren	20 th dyn.		1		
Ramessesnefer[...]	20 th dyn.		1		
Nesamun	20 th dyn.		9	1	
Neferkareemperamun	20 th dyn.		6		
Amenhotep	20 th dyn.		4		
Pareherwenemef	20 th dyn.		1		
Paser	20 th dyn.		3		
Menmaatrenakht	20 th dyn.		4		
Ines	20 th dyn.		5		
Pameriamun	20 th dyn.		3		
Nebmaatresekhheper-?	20 th dyn.		1		
Unknown 3	NK		1		
Isiu	NK		1		
Meriremetjef	NK		1		2
Nebseni	NK		1		
Rau	NK		2		
Senemnetjer	NK		1		
Satre	NK		1		

Table 12. Available titles of the officials known from their inscriptional sources, containing all the extended variations of basic titles but did not contain the variations with the genitive adjective *n*

II.5.3.1. The occurrences of the titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt*, and their extended variations

The first available attestations of the titles *wdpw nswt*, as well as *wb3 nswt*, are from the Middle Kingdom, with one known example of each. The only known example of the other title, *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ occurs on the sarcophagus of Ashait, wife of Mentuhotep II from Thebes (now in Cairo, JE 47267).²⁷⁹ The label inscriptions of the decoration on the sides of the sarcophagus mention the title three times without identifying the individual by name whom they refer to. On the outer right side of the sarcophagus, the servant is presented with a cup into which he is pouring the contents of a vase before the queen, on the outer left side, he is carrying a bird and presenting it to the queen, and on the inner right side, he is offering two vases to the queen. Here, the title is presumably applied as the designation of a person in a functional position in the service of a royal person as a manservant, similarly to the representations of *wdpw*s in the offering scenes of the tombs in the Old Kingdom where the individuals labelled as *wdpw* are often unnamed since the focus was on their activities and not on their personalities. From the New Kingdom, however, there are no representations of an *wdpw nswt* or *wb3 nswt* in the original functional role of an *wdpw* ‘cupbearer’ or *wb3* ‘butler’ in the tomb depictions, they are only depicted in a position as courtiers and high officials.²⁸⁰ In contrast with the above mentioned example of the occurrence of the title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ appearing on a sandstone funerary stele of unknown provenance (now in Leiden, V 89), the owner of which was a certain *rh nswt m3c mrjj=f wb3 nswt jmj-r3 hnwjtj* ‘true acquaintance of the king, his beloved, royal *wb3*, chancellor’, Intef represents an official of high rank.²⁸¹ Besides the deceased, several persons are represented on the stele, however, except his mother Satuser and his maternal grandmother Satre, there is no information about his relationship to the other persons. As the functional titles of Intef reveal, he was in high position in the royal court as his ranking title ‘true acquaintance of the king’ implies, and he served in the personal service of the ruler in the royal household, as his two other titles ‘royal *wb3*’ and ‘chancellor’ demonstrate.

Reference to the original functional role in connection with food preparation and service of the *wdpw* ‘cupbearer’ and *wb3* ‘butler’ can be observed in some of the extended versions of these titles.²⁸² Schulman sees evidence of the existence of different grades

²⁷⁹ Winlock, 1921, figs. 18-19, 22; Clère, 1948, 26-27.

²⁸⁰ See chapter II.5.1. Representations of duties in the tomb depictions on p. 70.

²⁸¹ Boeser, 1909, 10, Taf. xxvii.

²⁸² Hannig, 2006a, 648, 752-754; Hannig, 2006b, 201, 242-243.

among the officials in these specifications,²⁸³ but it is more reasonable to interpret these extensions, as Davies does,²⁸⁴ as an affiliation to special departments within the palace. In the present corpus this feature is not represented, *wb3 nswt n pr ḥd* ‘royal *wb3* of the treasury’ by Ramessesankherneheh²⁸⁵ is the only *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ title with a suffix referring to a particular administrative unit. However, the linking of the officials to such a unit can be ascertained by their other titles, such as *ʕ3 n ʕ.t ḥnk.t* ‘chief of the supplies magazine’ by Iuti and Ramessesemperre,²⁸⁶ or *ʕ3 n ʕ.t ḥnq.t* ‘chief of the beer chamber’ by Ramessesemperre. Besides the references linked to various units of the royal palace, however, suffixes referring to the ruler appear more frequently, in the forms of *n pr-ʕ3* ‘of the Pharaoh’ *n pr-ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb* ‘of the Pharaoh, L.P.H.’, *n nb t3.wj* ‘of the lord of the Two Lands’ or *n ḥm=f* ‘of His Majesty’. In addition, there are two more extended versions of the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, namely *wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ that supposedly refers to the ritually pure state of the ruler in the immediate presence of whom the official fulfils his duty,²⁸⁷ and *wb3 nswt tpj* ‘first royal *wb3*’ indicating some kind of ranking among the officials.²⁸⁸

In the case of the title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, only extensions referring to the ruler are attested and there are no such variations indicating hierarchical position or personal closeness to the king, the background of which fact can be explained by the difference between the usage of the two titles, which is discussed below.

11.5.3.2. The difference in the titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* in regard to their usage

During the periods before the New Kingdom when the words *wb3* and *wdpw* designated persons in their actual functional role as servants, their translations as ‘butler’ and ‘cup-bearer’ respectively were sufficient to make a distinction between them. Yet the functional titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* of high officials represented primarily during the New Kingdom, neither the sort of differentiation nor the translations are suitable anymore. Previous studies did not make a clear distinction between the two titles in meaning and sometimes even in transliteration, but merged both of them under the entry of *wb3*

²⁸³ Schulman, 1976, 123-124.

²⁸⁴ Davies, 2014, 88.

²⁸⁵ For a discussion on Ramessesankherneheh, see p. 213, as well as chapter II.5.2.1. on the duties related to the royal court on p. 73.

²⁸⁶ For a discussions on Iuti and Ramessesemperre, see pp. 135. and 201, respectively.

²⁸⁷ For a detailed discussion on this, see chapter II.4.3. The title *wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ on p. 67.

²⁸⁸ For a detailed discussion on this, see chapter II.3.1. Ranking among the officials on p. 61.

nswt,²⁸⁹ however, it seems that differences in the functional features and the usage of the two titles depended on the quality and context in which the titleholder was represented. On the monuments – primarily those of funerary, votive and offering context – which represent the official in his position as a courtier, or in his function as a personal attendant in the entourage and service of the ruler within the royal household and royal administration, the individual is designated by the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’. At the same time, in sources which render an account of a particular mission, a special assignment ordered by the king with the participation of the official far from the person of the ruler and from the royal court, the person was designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’.

Based on the division of the appearance of the two titles in the sources of this corpus, at first sight, one might agree with Gregersen in her conclusion that the writing of the title as *wb3 nswt* or *wdpw nswt* – she did not make a difference in meaning between the two titles – primarily depended on the type of media and the type of writing in which they appeared, namely it was written in the form of *wb3 nswt* on sources of monumental character with hieroglyphic signs and in the form of *wdpw nswt* on papyrus, ostrakon or graffito with hieratic signs.²⁹⁰ However, the differentiation of the usage of the two titles based exclusively on the type of media is not clear at this point. It must be noted that in respect to the available sources examined during the research, there are no examples of the word *wb3* written with hieratic writing on papyrus or ostrakon occurring, but at the same time, the word *wdpw* is attested several times written on a monumental source that might contradict Gregersen’s theory. Moreover, there are some examples where both titles are attested by the same individual and their usage supports the division of the two titles according to the functional representation of the officials mentioned above. (For the division of the two titles on different types of media, see table 2. in the Appendix.)

The different nature and purpose of the monuments of Ramessesashahebused nicely demonstrate the feature of his designations as *wb3 nswt* or *wdpw nswt*. While his stelae from Serabit el-Khadim which were erected to commemorate a particular mission where Ramessesashahebused had been sent to by the king as his personal agent identify him as *wdpw nswt*, the rock-stele at Abu Simbel, which is a dedicatory monument, represented him in the aspect of his permanent function, as a high ranking official and a courtier in the highest circles in the royal palace.²⁹¹ Ramessesemperre appears on his monuments

²⁸⁹ For a detailed discussion on the reading of the two words *wb3* and *wdpw*, see chapter I.1. on p. 21.

²⁹⁰ Gregersen, 2007, 845-846.

²⁹¹ For a discussion on Ramessesashahebused, see p. 181, for his inscriptions, see p. 457.

of funerary context as *wb3 nswt*, while on an ostrakon reporting on his activity as a member of a visiting commission inspecting of the work on the royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings designated him as *wdpw nswt*.²⁹² The functional titles of Hori appearing on his monuments of different types also represent the regularity in the usage of the two variations of the two titles: the documents reporting on peculiar missions ordered by the king far from his person and the royal residence designate him as *wdpw nswt*, while the ones in connection with his general representation as a court official entitle him as *wb3 nswt*.²⁹³

Interestingly, Sobekhotep is designated as *wb3 nswt* at the end of the text of his stele from Serabit el-Khadim, however, from the fact alone that the object was made for commemorating an expedition, a special mission commanded by the king, one might expect the presence of the title *wdpw nswt*. Nevertheless, the text clearly states that Sobekhotep was ordered to participate in the expedition due to his other function as *jmj-r3 pr ḥd n nbw ḥd* 'overseer of the treasuries of gold and silver', thus with his designation as *wb3 nswt*, he supposedly intended to express his importance in the court and his close relationship with the ruler himself. At the same time, in a papyrus that renders an account of the visit of some high officials in order to inspect the placing of some pieces of burial equipment into a royal tomb, as a member of the commission he is identified with the expected title of *wdpw nswt*.²⁹⁴ Nesamun and Neferkareemperamun are designated as *wdpw nswt* in all but one of their sources, as was usual in cases of special assignments carried out on the command of the ruler. The only source where they appear with the title *wb3 nswt* is the scene of Amenhotep being rewarded in Karnak. The explanation for the usage of this title here might be in connection with the fact that in this case, both officials take part in a ceremonial event as courtiers and not as particular agents of the king in an administrative matter.²⁹⁵

It must be noted, however, that besides the examples above, which support the division of the usage of the two titles according to the functional representation of the officials, there are some instances which do not entirely accord with this theory where the usage of an unexpected title variation cannot at present be unequivocally explained. In an account, in which several Nubians are listed, who apparently, were personal servants of various officials, Djehutiherhesetef is designated as *wdpw nswt*, although the

²⁹² For a discussion on Ramessesemperre, see p. 201, for his inscriptions, see p. 493.

²⁹³ For a discussion on Hori, see p. 221, for his inscriptions, see p. 529.

²⁹⁴ For a discussion on Sobekhotep, see p. 231, for his inscriptions, see p. 557.

²⁹⁵ For a discussion on Nesamun and Neferkareemperamun, see pp. 242. and 244, respectively, for their inscriptions, see pp. 579. and 594, respectively.

content of the document cannot be classified as a particular assignment ordered by the ruler.²⁹⁶ An interesting example of the use of the title *wb3 nswt* can be found on a monument obviously made during a special mission where otherwise, the title *wdpw nswt* would be expected to be represented on the rock stele of Ramessesesemperre at Timna. The explanation may be that in the intensity of his participation in the activity, Ramessesesemperre may not have been involved in the leadership of the expedition but was only an attendant in the mission as the observer of the king.²⁹⁷ A similar situation can be seen on the stele No. 12 from Wadi Hammamat in the case of Nakhtamun and Usermaatresekhper. The inscription commemorates an expedition that designated the officials as *wb3 nswts*. A possible explanation could be the position of the two officials in the assignment, the intensity of their active participation in it, namely that they did not function as active leaders but – as the phrasing of the text implies – ‘only’ accompany the leader in the mission, possibly as agents of the ruler in the role of observers.²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, this is pure speculation. Hopefully, further evidence, which might come to light in the future, will help to gain a clearer picture regarding the usage of the two titles as well as the duties of the officials they designate.

As for the translation of the titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt*, it is rather difficult to find proper solutions, which both reflect their wide-ranging official activities and at the same time, do not generate a gap regarding the relationship between the original functional occupation and the title of the high ranking officials. The continuity between the two stages is clearly represented in the tomb depictions of the officials²⁹⁹ and it is not negligible in spite of the obvious functional changes, especially in the case of the title *wdpw nswt*. The usual translations for *wb3* and *wb3 nswt* are ‘butler’ and ‘royal butler’, respectively. According to Schulman,³⁰⁰ this translation is somewhat misleading, since it might cover the modern nuances of a major-domo and personal servant connected with the administration of food, however, while such duties were without doubt originally characteristics of the title, mainly during the Ramesside period other duties of a legal, administrative, and even judicial nature came to be associated with it. This interpretation by Schulman originates from the fact that he did not make a distinction between the

²⁹⁶ For a discussion on Djehutiherhesetef, see p. 180, for his inscription, see p. 455.

²⁹⁷ For a discussion on Ramessesesemperre, see p. 201, for his inscriptions, see p. 493.

²⁹⁸ For a discussions on Nesamun and Neferkareemperamun, see pp. 242. and 244, respectively, for their inscriptions, see pp. 579. and 594, respectively.

²⁹⁹ For the duties of the officials depicted in the tomb decorations, see chapter II.5.1. on p. 70.

³⁰⁰ Schulman, 1976, 123.

two titles according to their functions either. Nevertheless, observing the duties of an *wb3 nswt* who primarily acted as a personal servant in the royal household as well as the royal administration, in more cases, even as a steward responsible for overseeing the royal domains,³⁰¹ the translation ‘butler’ seems to be more or less suitable for demonstrating the original function of the occupation, as well as for expressing the new scope of duties in which these officials acted.³⁰²

In the case of the title *wdpw nswt*, however, the situation is more complicated since the difference between the original functional occupation of an *wdpw* and the duties of an *wdpw nswt* is considerable indeed and there are seemingly no common points or continuity between the two of them in this respect.³⁰³ It is unequivocal that the usual translation of *wdpw* as a ‘cupbearer’ cannot be applied in the case of the official title *wdpw nswt* since this latter one has no connection with any sort of duties regarding the service or preparation of food or drink. Based on the evidence concerning the official tasks represented in the textual sources of the individuals who bore this title, an *wdpw nswt* acted as a personal representative of the ruler in particular assignments in various respects. From this perspective, a new translation such as ‘royal representative’, ‘royal agent’, ‘royal delegate’ or ‘royal commissioner’ might be applicable, however, it might also be confusing in respect to other titles with a similar meaning, for instance *ꜥ, jdnw* or *rwḏw* as well as in respect to the scientific tradition.

For the revision of and for changing the tradition of the translation of the two functional titles, *wb3* and *wdpw* as ‘butler’ and ‘cupbearer’ respectively, a comprehensive study of their textual and iconographical appearances from the whole pharaonic period would be required. Based on the research, new proposals could be made for a more appropriate translation for both the functional and the official titles reflecting the duties of their representatives. In this respect it is worth keeping in mind that the ancient Egyptians themselves used the same words, *wb3* and *wdpw* during the whole course of time even if they had become official titles as *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* and their function had changed to some extent. Until more adequate solutions can be found regarding the translations of both titles, the usage of their forms ‘royal *wb3*’ and ‘royal *wdpw*’ seems to be convenient.

³⁰¹ For a detailed discussion of the duties of the officials related to the royal court in the position as an *wb3 nswt*, see chapters II.5.1. and II.5.2.1. on pp. 70. and 72, respectively.

³⁰² Although Gregersen does not entirely agree with any of the translations used in any languages (butler, cupbearer, l’échanson, Truchsess – accepting Truchsess as the most agreeable one), she does not offer any other solution instead of them. Gregersen, 2007, 849–850.

³⁰³ For a detailed discussion of the duties of the officials in the position as an *wdpw nswt*, see chapter II.5.2.2. on p. 79.

II.5.4. Occurrence of the words *wb3* and *wdpw* in narrative texts – an overview

A brief overview is given on the following pages on the appearance of the words *wb3* and *wdpw* ‘butler, cupbearer’ in ancient Egyptian literary texts, as well as the contextual information regarding the occupation and the later becoming titles of high officials in the forms of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’. There are, however, only a few examples of the occurrence of both words in these type of texts, appearing only in six writings from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside period, including the historical inscription describing the battle of Ramesses II at Qadesh, as well as the historical inscriptions of Ramesses III on the walls of his temple at Medinet Habu. These latter examples are also included in this category, as these texts are likewise deliberately edited and written pieces of work for the public rather than for private or administrative use.

The earliest example is *The Story of Sinuhe*, in which the word *wdpw* occurs once in plural form. When Sinuhe on his way back to the land of Egypt arrives at the Ways of Horus and separates from the Asians who had escorted him, the following can be read:

(246) *jw wdpw.w nb hr jr.wt=f šsp.n.j f3j.n.j* (247) *ḫw šbb ʿtḫ tp-m3ʿ=j r ph.t.j dmj n Itj-t3wj*³⁰⁴

‘... every butler was at his task. When I had started and set sail, there was kneading and straining beside me, until I reached the city of Itj-tawy.’³⁰⁵

The hieroglyphic signs here clearly identify the word *wdpw* complemented with the plural determinative . The ‘cupbearers’ appear in their original, functional role, and carry out brewing, mixing and filtering liquids while travelling. The text, however, does not provide additional information in this respect.

As to its time of origin, the following text is presumably *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer*).³⁰⁶ There are two occurrences of the words *wb3* and *wdpw* in the text, nevertheless, there is no more information about the function itself. The first occurrence is in connection with citizens who were forced to perform domestic duties. Gardiner, Faulkner, Lichtheim and Tobin give slightly different translations for the section referring to the *wb3* ‘butler’:

³⁰⁴ Koch, 1990, 71.

³⁰⁵ Lichtheim, 1975, 231. For further translation, see Simpson, 2003³, 64.

³⁰⁶ Papyrus Leiden 344 recto. For the edition of the text, see Enmarch, 2005.

(4,11) *hpr wb3 hd sw*

‘As for the butler, wear him out(?)’.³⁰⁷

‘As for the butler, he is ruined.’³⁰⁸

‘And the butler is lacking.’³⁰⁹

‘As for the butler, he no longer exists, ...’³¹⁰

‘Now, the attendant, his is destroyed.’³¹¹

Gardiner assumes that the term *hd sw* is in the imperative form, just as the verbs are in the surrounding sentences.³¹² Faulkner, however, suggests that it is better to use the word *hd* in the perfective passive participle form functioning as an adjectival predicate, literally ‘one ruined is he’, which would refer to a turbulent social situation when there was no opportunity to get work for ‘butlers’.³¹³ The spelling of the word *wb3*  with the drill and the phonetic complement ‘b’ leaves no doubt about the correct reading.

The second occurrence sheds some light on the relative position of the two occupations. The two words appear in a passage where the author compares different occupations, social ranks, and tenure relations in an interchanged role:

(8,2) *m3=tn wdpw.w* (8,3) *hpr m nb.w wb3.w*

‘Behold, ... have become the masters of butlers.’³¹⁴

‘Behold, serving-men have become masters of butlers, ...’³¹⁵

‘See, cooks have become masters of butlers, ...’³¹⁶

‘Behold, cupbearers have become the masters of butlers, ...’³¹⁷

‘Look, <but>lers have become owners of attendants; ...’³¹⁸

According to this sentence, *wb3* was ranked slightly higher than *wdpw* in the occupational hierarchy, in spite of that, this text does not reveal any more detailed information about the tasks of the two occupations.

³⁰⁷ Gardiner, 1990², 38.

³⁰⁸ Faulkner, 1965, 55.

³⁰⁹ Lichtheim, 1975, 153.

³¹⁰ Simpson, 2003³, 195.

³¹¹ Enmarch, 2008, 99.

³¹² Gardiner, 1990², 40.

³¹³ Faulkner, 1964, 27.

³¹⁴ Gardiner, 1990², 61.

³¹⁵ Faulkner, 1965, 58.

³¹⁶ Lichtheim, 1975, 157.

³¹⁷ Simpson, 2003³, 200.

³¹⁸ Enmarch, 2008, 139.

The spelling of the word *wdpw*  is somewhat problematic in this case. Gardiner does not give any suggestion or solution to the question, he simply does not translate this section, merely adding that the word is obviously incomplete, some sort of domestic servant could be expected, but *hrpw* ‘administrator’ does not fit here.³¹⁹ However, among additions and corrections in his work, Gardiner notes that Erman suggested a misspelled form of the word *wdpw*, which might be a correct reading indeed, although *wdpw* was never written with each phonetic complement (, except in the Pyramid Texts (PT 205 §12ob [W/S/E sup. 10]³²⁰; PT 207 §124b-c [W/S/E sup. 19]; PT 1071 §13 [P/V/E 87] (=PT *769 §13 of Allen, 2013)). Based on this, according to Erman, the simplest solution would be to emend the ‘p’ to a vessel sign which would give the same *wdpw* reading, but in its usual New Kingdom form .³²¹ Faulkner agrees with this solution, refining it slightly in translation, he proposes that ‘serving-man’ fits better into the context.³²² Interestingly enough, however, Gardiner in his work on the onomasticon of Amenemope doubts this solution.³²³ He notes that in one of the manuscripts of the onomasticon,³²⁴ the incorrect form  of *wb3* was used, which is perhaps corrupted from the form , the shorter version of the word, and hardly from some writing of the word *wdpw* . He transcribes the sign group as *wb3* in the relevant section of the text, albeit with a question mark.³²⁵

The spelling of *wb3*  is not conventional either. The drill sign was often complemented with *b*, *3*, *b3* bird, or a combination of these, but so far no other example containing *p3* bird as a complement has been discovered. In the hieratic text, the identification of the *p3* bird seems undoubted. Although the interchangeability of *b3* and *p3* birds in writing is not unprecedented in hieratic, in this case one might also think of a scribal error in copying, which might explain the peculiarity of the writing of *wdpw* as well.³²⁶

³¹⁹ Gardiner, 1990², 61.

³²⁰ Abbreviations are after Berger el-Naggar et al, 2013.

³²¹ Gardiner, 1990², 113. It must be noted though, that this spelling is not exclusively related to the New Kingdom, as it was also used in the Middle Kingdom, see Tables 1-4. on p. 26-29. Whether we take into consideration either the supposed origin of the text, namely the Middle Kingdom, or the supposed origin of the papyrus, namely the late phase of the New Kingdom, the writing is entirely appropriate in both cases.

³²² Faulkner, 1964, 31.

³²³ Gardiner, 1947, 43*.

³²⁴ Leather strip, British Museum EA 10379.

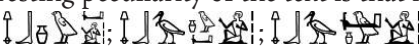
³²⁵ For a detailed discussion on the reading of the two words, see p. 21.

³²⁶ Although the probability of misspelling or copying both words incorrectly seems likely, it is not surprising taking into account the frequency of similar errors within the whole text. Besides several

It is worth briefly mentioning the translations of these two words by the above-quoted authors:

	<i>wdpw</i>	<i>wb3</i>
Gardiner		butler
Faulkner	serving-man	butler
Lichtheim	cook	butler
Tobin	cupbearer	butler

Remarkably, they all used the word ‘butler’ for *wb3* uniformly, but as for *wdpw*, they used different solutions. Since in most cases *wdpws* appear in activities related to fluids, cup-bearer might be the most appropriate translation, but in more general terms, serving-man might also be an option. If one observes the word and the occupation together with their feminine pair *wdpy.t*, translated as ‘serving-maid’, one might assume that there was a division of tasks between the two genders, whereas *wdpy.t* was primarily responsible for food, *wdpw* was primarily responsible for drinks, based on the division of depictions in which women were primarily represented in food-related scenes, while in beverage-related scenes men were mainly shown. All this, however, is pure speculation, which theory cannot be supported with facts.

Two historical inscriptions from the New Kingdom mention *wb3* and *wdpw*. In the inscription of the battle of Ramesses II at Qadesh, one occurrence of the two words can be observed. An interesting peculiarity of the text is that in four of the five versions of the text the word *wb3*  was used but in the fifth one *wdpw*  appears instead.³²⁷ In this passage the ruler rebukes his troops, his officers and his charioteers for running away and left him alone on the battlefield, and laments that – apart from his two horses – only his own ‘charioteer’, his ‘shield-bearer’, and the *wb3*s/*wdpws* in his private service stayed with him and witnessed the battle:

K1, L1, L2, L3 (274) *m-dj n3y=j wb3.w n ʿhntj ntj r-gs=j*

S (274) *m-dj n3y=j wdpw.w m ʿhntj ntj r-gs=j*

emendations, some examples – without claiming completeness – for text corruption can be observed in passages 2,3; 2,6; 4,4; 4,14; 5,4; 6,2; 7,5; 7,9; 9,3; 10,4; 14,1; 15,1; as well as those for miswriting are attested in passages 2,4; 4,13; 5,2; 5,10; 6,11; 8,2; 8,10; 8,11; 11,3; 12,7; 13,4; 13,11; 13,3; 14,1; 15,13; 16,1. For a detailed commentary, see Gardiner, 1990², 19–95.

³²⁷ Kitchen, 1979, 84, §274.

‘(It was they (i.e. the horses) whom I found amidst the strife, with the charioteer Menna, my shield-bearer,) and with my household butlers who were at my side, (those who are my witnesses to the fighting.)’³²⁸

Interestingly, it seems at first sight that the division of the usage of the two words depends on the type of media they appear on: the word *wb3* was used on the walls of the temples of Karnak and Luxor, and the word *wdpw* was used on papyrus. Although Gregersen concluded that the usage of the two words primarily depended on the type of media on which the text was written and on the type of its writing, namely whether a text was written on sources of monumental character with hieroglyphic signs or on papyrus, ostrakon or graffito with hieratic signs,³²⁹ based on only this example, one cannot draw further conclusions to confirm such a division but should examine the whole text for other differences in wording in the versions, which might also refer to different textual tradition.³³⁰

Another remarkable feature of the text is the mention that only the *wdpws/wb3s* remained with the ruler on the battlefield, apart from his personal ‘charioteer’ and his ‘shield-bearer’. Obviously, the description does not realistically reflect the events, since it would definitely not have happened that the ruler would have been left alone in the middle of a battle. But highlighting the presence of the ‘butlers’ clearly shows their importance in the close, personal circle of the king, not from the point of view of their original occupation of serving refreshments, but rather as special trustworthy fellows whose presence can credibly justify the reality of what had happened.

The other corpus of historical inscriptions, presented on the walls of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, also supports the high ranking position of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ in the royal court as well as in society. Five attestations of the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and one in the form of *wb3 n ḥ.t* ‘*wb3* of the palace’ can be observed in four scenes on the temple walls. In all cases, the ‘royal *wb3s*’ appear in a list of dignitaries either as the addressee of the speech of the king or as speakers themselves, in the second or the third place after the ‘princes’ and the ‘officials’ or the ‘couriers’, and in front of the ‘notables’ and the ‘charioteers’ and the ‘leaders of the infantry and chariotry’:

*ms.w nswt (34) wb3.w nswt wr.w smr.w ḥ3wtj (35) nb n mšꜥ nt ḥrtj*³³¹

³²⁸ Kitchen, 1996, 11-12.

³²⁹ Gregersen, 2007, 845-846.

³³⁰ For a detailed discussion on Gregersen’s theory and the usage of the two words, see p. 23.

³³¹ South inner wall of the second court, Ramesses III is celebrating his victory over the Libyans after the first Libyan war. Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 23; Kitchen, 1983a, 17.

‘the princes, royal cupbearers: notables and courtiers, and all the leaders of the infantry and chariotry’³³²

*ms.w nswt wb3.w nswt wr.w*³³³

‘the Princes, royal cupbearers, and notables’³³⁴

「*ms.w nswt wb3.w nswt¹ wr.w*」³³⁵

‘the Princes, royal cupbearers, and notables’³³⁶

「*ms.w nswt wr.w¹ wb3.w nswt ktn.w*」³³⁷

‘the princes, officials, royal cupbearers and charioteers’³³⁸

*šnwt ms.w nswt wb3.w [n] 「h.t¹」*³³⁹

‘Courtiers, princes and cupbearers (of) the Palace’³⁴⁰

*ms.w nswt wr.w wb3.w nswt n h.t ntj m ššm hm=f*³⁴¹

‘the Princes, officials and royal cupbearers of the Palace who are in His Majesty’s retinue’³⁴²

In another text from the same era, *The Tale of the Two Brothers*, the word *wdpw* is mentioned in the following sentence:

(16.7) *jw.tw hr dj.t šm.t w^c n wdpw nswt tpj n hm=f h^ch wd3 snb r dj.t m3^c.t p3 k3*³⁴³

‘... and he sent a chief royal butler of His Majesty, l.p.h., to sacrifice the bull.’³⁴⁴

Here again, *wdpw* appears in a role typically represented in the cattle slaughtering scenes on the walls of Old Kingdom mastabas, but this time in a higher rank and a more important position than in the early appearances.

Gardiner quotes this passage as being parallel to the occurrence of the word *stnwjj* for ‘butcher’, at the same time he notes that the reading is slightly doubtful.³⁴⁵ However, this

³³² Kitchen, 2008, 15.

³³³ Same scene. Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 23; Kitchen, 1983a, 18.

³³⁴ Kitchen, 2008, 16.

³³⁵ Same scene. Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 23; Kitchen, 1983a, 18.

³³⁶ Kitchen, 2008, 16.

³³⁷ North outer wall of the second court, Ramesses III is celebrating his victory over the Sea Peoples. Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 42; Kitchen, 1983a, 33.

³³⁸ Kitchen, 2008, 28.

³³⁹ Outer wall of the north pylon of the second court, inscription of year 8. Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 46; Kitchen, 1983a, 39.

³⁴⁰ Kitchen, 2008, 33.

³⁴¹ South inner wall of the first court, Ramesses III inspects horses. Epigraphic Survey, 1932, pl. 109; Kitchen, 1983a, 112.

³⁴² Kitchen, 2008, 88.

³⁴³ Papyrus d’Orbiney, British Museum EA10183. For the edition of the text, see Gardiner, 1932, 26.

³⁴⁴ Simpson, 2003, 88.

³⁴⁵ Gardiner, 1990², 64.

is a misidentification, since a clear distinction can be made between the two words and the writing of the word in *The Tale of Two Brothers* clearly offers the reading of *wdpw nswt*. In addition, the word *stnwjj* has a very speculative meaning of ‘a sort of occupation’,³⁴⁶ or ‘an occupation or trade’, possibly ‘heater’,³⁴⁷ which also contradicts its application in this passage.

Furthermore, Gardiner notes that *tpj n* could be an incorrect writing of the preposition *tp m* ‘before’.³⁴⁸ This explanation of miswriting the preposition is not very likely, however, since at least seven individuals held the title *wb3 nswt tpj* with or without the extension of *n hm=f*, under the reign of Sety I and Ramesses IV,³⁴⁹ nonetheless, in all cases the word *wb3* was used in it, and no examples of *wdpw nswt tpj* are attested in the present corpus of these officials. It might be noted here again that the possibility of the division of the two words depended on the material they were written on, since all the examples with the word *wb3* appear on some sort of hard material, such as stone or silver, while the only example with the word *wdpw* occurs on papyrus. Nevertheless, this occurrence is still not a firm basis for supporting the theory without further evidence.

The last literary text belonging to this small corpus is *The Report of Wenamun*. Here, the word *wdpw* appears twice, in the same scene. The ruler of Byblos prepared the cargo of cypress requested by the pharaoh and invited Wenamun to examine it. Meanwhile, an *wdpw* of the ruler of Byblos, Penamun, made an ironic remark to Wenamun³⁵⁰:

(2,45) *jw Pn-Jmn* (2,46) *w^c wdpw jw m ntfs w (hr) jr:t jwd=j r dd³⁵¹*

‘(Now when I stepped into his presence, the shadow of his lotus fan fell upon me,) and Penamun, a cupbearer whom he had, interposed, saying, (“The shadow of Pharaoh, l.p.h., your lord, has fallen upon you.”)’³⁵²

A few sentences further on, the ruler of Byblos addresses his *wdpw*, but this time he is not named, so it cannot be ascertained whether it is the same Penamun or another *wdpw*:

(2,52) *jw=f dd n p3jj=f wdpw³⁵³*

³⁴⁶ Hannig, 2006b.

³⁴⁷ Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, lemma-no. 148350 (<http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnDetails?u=bartosfruzsi&f=o&l=o&wn=148350&db=o> – accessed on 12.08.2020)

³⁴⁸ Gardiner, 1990², 64, n. 1.

³⁴⁹ Ramessesashahebused under Sety I – Ramesses II, Wenefdjensen, Atumemtaneb, and possibly Tjai Ta or Nebmerutef under Ramesses II, Paenrenenutet under Merneptah, Ramessesemperre under Ramesses II and Ramesses III, and Heqamaatreneh under Ramesses IV.

³⁵⁰ For the possible interpretations of this passage, see Schipper, 2005, 203–206.

³⁵¹ Papyrus Moscow 120. For the edition of the text, see Golénischeff, 1899, 74–102; Gardiner, 1932, 71.

³⁵² Simpson, 2003³, 122.

³⁵³ Gardiner, 1932, 71–72.

‘And he said to his cupbearer, (“Take him, let him see their tomb in which they lie.”)’³⁵⁴

Unfortunately, these passages do not reveal more about the function of *wdpw* either, however, it can be stated that his role was not limited to the actual serving or preparation of drinks, but he also participated, to a certain extent and form, in official diplomatic life. As Schipper notes, Penamun, based on his name and title, is an Egyptian who served as a ‘cupbearer’ in the court of the ruler of Byblos. He concludes that an *wdpw* might belong to the personal attendants of the ruler and might be close to his person.³⁵⁵ It must be noted, however, that the transcription of the word by Schipper is inconsistent since he uses the *wdpw* form in the transcription of the text,³⁵⁶ but in the comment section he mentions the title as *wb3*.³⁵⁷ The reason for this inconsistency is unclear, although one might think of the same background because of which Gregersen or Lesko merged the two differently spelled words into one category, as will be discussed later.³⁵⁸

From the above, it seems that the references in the literary texts do not contribute to improving our knowledge about the function of *wb3* and *wdpw* to a significant extent, however, they provided us with some information on the hierarchical relationship between them, the progress of their becoming an official title as *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt*, as well as their advancement in the ranking system and their holders becoming some of the most important members of the royal court and the personal entourage of the ruler. All of these correspond with the facts which the non-literary sources provide us with.

Due to the huge diversity of functional titles as well as the fact that there are only a few that were borne by more than one or two officials, it is rather difficult to form a definite picture about the position, activity and connections with the fellow officials of ‘royal *wb3*s’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ within the royal court as well as the administrative system. Further similar prosopographical research would be required on other representatives of the most common functional titles held by these officials to reveal more detailed information about the areas mentioned above.

³⁵⁴ Simpson, 2003³, 122.

³⁵⁵ Schipper, 2005, 205.

³⁵⁶ Schipper, 2005, 83, 86.

³⁵⁷ Schipper, 2005, 205.

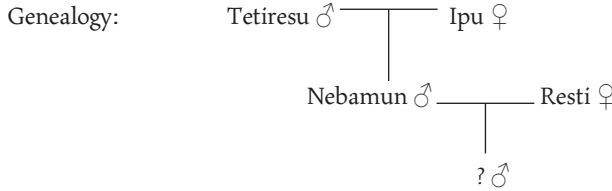
³⁵⁸ See above on p. 23.

Prosopography of ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’

FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH DYNASTY – FROM THUTMOSE II TO THUTMOSE IV

III.1. Nebamun

Date: Thutmose II – Thutmose III (based on the cartouches in the tomb)



Tomb: Theban Tomb 24

Remains: – tomb structure
– funerary cone DM 188

Ranking title: *jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c*

Functional titles: *wdpw m stp-s3 ^cnḥ wd3 snb*
jmj-r3 ḥ3 n nswt
jmj-r3 pr n ḥm.t nswt Nbtw m3^c.t-ḥrw
jmj-r3 pr n ḥm.t nswt
jmj-r3 ^cḥ^c.w n nswt
jmj-r3 ^cḥ^c.w nb.w n nswt
ḥrj wj3 n nswt
jmj-r3 šn^cw n nswt

Honorific titles: *mḥ-jb mnḥ n nb t3.wj*
ḥsjj n ntr nfr
ḥsjj n nswt
ḥrp rs tp šw m gbj
ḥrp rs tp jwty wn=f

As far as it is known, Nebamun is the first attested person in the New Kingdom who functioned as a ‘royal *wb3*’, and although he did not bear the proper title *wb3 nswt* or *wdpw nswt*, he can nevertheless be regarded as one of those officials since he held the title of *wdpw m stp-s3 ʿnh wd3 snb* ‘*wdpw* in the palace, life, prosperity, health’ instead. The function of this position might correspond to that of *wb3 nswt* or *wdpw nswt* in practice, although no other known person bore this specific title.³⁵⁹

His tomb – TT 24 – is situated at the foot of the south-east side of Dra Abu el-Naga in Thebes.³⁶⁰ The tomb itself is a rather small one consisting of only one room. Hermann notes that the explanation for the use of different sized and formed tombs seems to correlate with the position of the owner in the social and official hierarchy. According to his theory, a simpler one-roomed tomb may show the lower status of the owner in these spheres, while a larger, more sophisticated T-shaped tomb, which was the usual type in this period, may indicate the owner’s higher position in administration and society. At the same time, Hermann also points out that this sort of differentiation and use of tomb forms were not strictly consistent, since in several cases the correlation between the status of the owner and the form and size of the tomb is quite the opposite of the one outlined above.³⁶¹ One example is the tomb of Nebamun himself, who based on his titles had obviously not belonged to the lower administrative and social class. In spite of the small size of his tomb, its decoration scheme is complete. It contains all the themes that would have been expected on the walls of a tomb during this period: the deceased and his wife are sitting with offering lists before them, funerary rituals with an Abydos pilgrimage and rites before the mummy, agricultural scenes, hunting in the desert, fishing and fowling, banquet scenes, receiving produce and inspecting vintages that depicted the official duties, stele with biographical inscriptions and appeals to the living.³⁶² All of the decorations are painted, except the stele on the south wall of the tomb, which is also engraved.

³⁵⁹ Al-Ayedi, 2006, 263.

³⁶⁰ For an architectural description of the tomb and for the depiction of the false-door, see Kampp, 1996, 209–210.

³⁶¹ Hermann, 1940, 16, n. 25, for example TT 12, TT 24, TT 51, TT 110, TT 181, TT 318. Intriguingly, Hermann counts TT 110 among the examples of a lower status person having a larger elaborate tomb. TT 110 is the tomb of Djehuti (I), another ‘royal *wb3*’, discussed on the following pages, who was definitely not a lower status person as he also bore the highest ranking title *jrj-pʿt h3tj-ʿ*, to mention but one among his important titles indicating his higher status in the court hierarchy, see p. 111.

³⁶² Porter – Moss, 1960, 41–42. For a detailed description of the decoration and for the inscriptions, see Bouriant, 1887, 95–99; for the inscription of the stele, also see Sethe, 1927–1930, 145–153; for scenes from the tomb, see Wreszinski, 1923, pls. 97b, 125–126.

The painted wall decorations and the inscriptions of the tomb reveal some of the official duties of Nebamun and periods in his career. His biographical stele is one of the few monuments of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ in this corpus that gives us detailed information on the official advancement of the owner.³⁶³ Nebamun informs us that Thutmose II appointed him to *jmj-r3 h3 n nswt* ‘overseer of the royal office’. Interestingly, this is another title he bore that is unattested elsewhere.³⁶⁴ Helck identifies the title as overseer of one of the offices of the processing departments,³⁶⁵ however, the word *h3* itself means ‘office’ or ‘bureau’³⁶⁶ and there is no reference in the title to any special department but that of the king. While there is no information on his career under the reign of Hatshepsut, two further promotions can be dated to the reign of Thutmose III: Nebamun was appointed to *jmj-r3 pr n hm.t nswt Nbtw m3ꜥ.t-hrw* ‘steward of the royal wife, Nebtu, justified’, then he was promoted to *jmj-r3 ꜥhꜥ.w nb.w n nswt* ‘overseer of all royal boats’. As for his other titles, there are no records on which period of his life he bore them.

Besides the highest ranking title *jrj-pꜥt h3tj-ꜥ* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’,³⁶⁷ Nebamun possessed at least six functional titles. As is already known, he was ‘overseer of the royal office’ under Thutmose II, and ‘steward of the royal wife, Nebtu’ as well as ‘overseer of all royal boats’ under Thutmose III. Based on the first title, one might suppose that the starting point of his career could be the position of ‘butler in the palace, life, prosperity, health’ under Thutmose II. This title suggests a close connection with the king in everyday court life as his personal attendant, and, moreover, the satisfaction of the king with Nebamun’s function in this position might have led to his promotion to a position in which he directed the office that managed the personal affairs of the ruler, or at least this is what the title indicates. Having become the ‘steward of the royal wife, Nebtu’,³⁶⁸ Nebamun remained in the closest personal circle of the king, extending his official responsibility over the personal possessions of one of the king’s wives. However, this latter title already suggests his participation in the administrative field, and since stewardship definitely has an administrative aspect to it as well, it is not only a personal service of the owner. A scene on the eastern wall

³⁶³ For the focal points of the tomb of Djehuti (I), see p. 113, for the stelophore statue of Qenamun, see p. 116. and [3.1] Stelophore statue on p. 348, for the tomb inscriptions of Montuiui, see p. 123. and [7.1] Theban Tomb 172 on p. 357.

³⁶⁴ Taylor, 2001, 39; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 96.

³⁶⁵ Helck, 1958, 270.

³⁶⁶ Erman – Grapow, 1971, WB III, 221-222; Hannig, 2006, 622. Generally, the word also means ‘hall’ but it is preferred as ‘office, bureau’, meaning in an administrative context.

³⁶⁷ The translation of the two titles are based on Grajetzki, 2009, 5.

³⁶⁸ The title has two variations in his tomb and it also appears on his funerary cone DM 188: *jmj-r3 pr n hm.t nswt Nbtw m3ꜥ.t-hrw* and *jmj-r3 pr n hm.t nswt*.

of his tomb is probably connected to this office of Nebamun, and shows the inspection of the filling of a storage area, presumably that of Nebtu, with different products and supplies.³⁶⁹ His administrative function becomes obvious from the next stage of his career as ‘overseer of all royal boats’. The title – or as it appears more frequently in the tomb *jmj-r3 ḥꜥ.w n nswt* ‘overseer of the royal boats’ – fell under the naval administration, while its bearer, as Gnirs notes, was responsible for the coordination and control of war ships as well as royal transportation and cargo vessels.³⁷⁰ *The Duties of the Vizier* reveals that the vizier was also in control of the entire fleet, which confirms the importance and power of this position.³⁷¹ In spite of the responsibility of the title bearer for all the royal ships mentioned above, it would be reasonable to surmise that in the case of Nebamun, the authority of his office primarily covered the royal transportation, and perhaps the cargo vessels. Another of his titles, *hrj wj3 n nswt* ‘chief of the royal barque’, which appears on his funerary cone, also supports this supposition. Although it cannot be determined when he acquired this latter title, it seems reasonable to assume that he had already borne it before his elevation to the position of ‘overseer of the royal boats’. The word *wj3 nswt* ‘royal barque’ refers to the vessel used for the private transportation of the king and/or his family, while *ḥꜥ* has a general meaning of ‘boat’ in a wider sense for travel, transport, fishing or war.³⁷² Therefore, it accords with the progress of Nebamun’s career, which went from being the close and personal servant of the king, through being given responsibility over the affairs of the ruler’s closest personal circle, to a wider administrative role that was still connected to the person of the king and his household. Besides the transportation of the royal family, possibly that of some high ranking persons according to the order of the ruler as well, as an ‘overseer of the royal boats’, Nebamun might have been responsible for ships carrying goods and supplies to and from the palace, especially for the personal provision of the king and his family. This function, after all, would correspond to his former title ‘butler in the palace, life, prosperity, health’. The two titles of Nebamun related to ships are again rare in usage. The only attestation of the title ‘chief of the royal barque’ in the New Kingdom is the appearance on his funerary cone,³⁷³ while in regard to the title ‘overseer of the royal boats’, or any variation of

³⁶⁹ Wreszinski, 1923, pl. 126.

³⁷⁰ Gnirs, 2013, 652.

³⁷¹ van den Boorn, 1988, 34–35; Gnirs, 2013, 652–653.

³⁷² Jones, 1988, 131, no. 14, 133, no. 20.

³⁷³ Jones, 1988, 85, no. 157 (the citation for the title no. 155 *hrj ḥꜥ.w n nswt* is not correct since in the text the reading of *jmj-r3 ḥꜥ.w n nswt* is quite clear, cf. Sethe, 1927–1930, 153,2); Taylor, 2001, 158, no. 1552; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 374, no. 1259 (however, he transcribed it as *hrj ḥꜥ.w n nswt*).

it, this is attested only among the titles of Nebamun's contemporary colleague, the 'royal *wb3*' Suemniut,³⁷⁴ whose career is discussed below.³⁷⁵

The last official title among the ones mentioned in the tomb of Nebamun, but again without any information on its temporal use in his life, is *jmj-r3 šnꜥw n nswt* 'overseer of the storehouse of the king'. Intriguingly, neither Taylor, nor Al-Ayedi mentioned this title in their works.³⁷⁶ There are two possible explanations for this: 1. they did not come across or notice this title, which I very much doubt; 2. the copy of the hieroglyph text in the publication of Bouriant³⁷⁷ is inaccurate, which is more conceivable, because there are also some other mistakes or uncertainties in the copy.³⁷⁸ The question cannot be answered without the collation of the original text, a task I have not had the chance to carry out. In these circumstances I do not intend to make any suggestions either about the connection of this title to the others belonging to Nebamun or of its possible use during his career.

Looking into the functional titles of Nebamun, it can be observed that three out of five (I do not consider 'overseer of the storehouse of the king' in this respect) are exclusively attested on his remains, and the two other titles that are rarely attested during the New Kingdom.³⁷⁹ Might this phenomenon be the influence of the general aspect of the administration in the early 18th dynasty, especially during the reigns from Ahmose to that of Thutmose II, which period was characterized by continuous reform and consolidation in the area of central administration, when the practices had already been formed by the Theban centred 17th dynasty of the Second Intermediate Period were retained, at the same time the installation of new officials and creation of new offices could also be seen?³⁸⁰ The question cannot be answered with certainty, nor can any other credible solution for this occurrence be provided.

³⁷⁴ Jones, 1988, 54, nos. 20, 22; Taylor, 2001, 15, no. 136-137; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 22, nos. 73, 75-76. It is clear, however, that Tjanuni (TT 134) bore a similar title, *jmj-r3 šnꜥw n nb <ḫ>wj?* 'overseer of the royal boats of the lord <of the Two Lands?>', see Jones 1988, 54, no. 21.

³⁷⁵ For the discussion on Suemniut, see. p. 125.

³⁷⁶ Taylor, 2001, 47; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 123-124.

³⁷⁷ Bouriant, 1887, 97.

³⁷⁸ Uncertainties in the copy are the inaccurate writing of the name of Dunanui, Bouriant, 1887, 98, or a barely explainable *ṯ* ending after the word *ḫ*, Bouriant, 1887, 98.

³⁷⁹ The title 'overseer of the royal boats' (or any variation of it) was already mentioned earlier, borne by Suemniut, a colleague of Nebamun, see note 374. The other title 'steward of the royal wife' was borne in slight variation by Kheruef, the owner of TT 192, during the reign of Amenhotep III – Akhenaten, by Huy in his Amarna-tomb during the reign of Akhenaten, as well as by Yuy on his stele during the reign of Ramesses II, see Taylor, 2001, 26; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 52-53.

³⁸⁰ Shirley, 2013, 576.

Nebamun bore the highest ranking title *jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’.³⁸¹ This means that he moved in the highest circles in the royal court and society. Besides his functional titles, biographical titles as *mḥ-jb mnḥ n nb t3.wj* ‘excellent confidant of the lord of the Two Lands’, *ḥsjj n ntr nfr* ‘favoured of the good god’ and *ḥsjj n nswt* ‘favoured of the king’ also prove his close relationship and trusted position with the ruler. It cannot be ascertained when he acquired the highest ranking title, however, it can be suggested that he achieved his distinguished position by himself, since his family background implies an origin of lower social class. His father was Tetiresu, without any data on his titles, his mother was Ipu, who was lady of the house, just like his wife, Resti. Davies attempted to draw some conclusions regarding the family relationships between Nebamun and Montuherkhepeshef, based on the adjacent location of their tombs and the similarities of the names of some family members. He proposed the possibility that the son of Montuherkhepeshef might have married to the daughter of Nebamun.³⁸² Nevertheless, this kind of relationship between the two families can be neither contradicted nor confirmed.

Nothing can be established geographically of his origin, although his name containing the name of Amun, the main deity of the city, may refer to a Theban origin, where his burial place can be found as well. His place of function, however, could have been in the northern administrative centre, Memphis, if the necessity of his being in the immediate vicinity of the king and his family is taken into consideration on the one hand, and on the other hand, his title ‘overseer of the royal boats’, surmising a direct connection with the harbour and storage facilities, which were located at this time at Perunefer, founded by Thutmose III.³⁸³

Nebamun was not the only one who fulfilled the position of ‘royal *wb3*’ during his career. One of his colleagues was Suemniut, who held this office under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and who has already been mentioned above. Besides, Nebamun must have been acquainted with other persons who held this office during the reign of Thutmose III, however, the precise date cannot be ascertained either for the end of Nebamun’s career nor for the beginning of that of the other ‘royal *wb3s*’, who are discussed below.

³⁸¹ For the ranking titles, see Baer, 1974, 2-8; Grajetzki, 2000, 220-226; Grajetzki, 2009, 5-6.

³⁸² Davies, 1913, 5-6, note 3.

³⁸³ Perunefer itself was also a royal estate during the Thutmosid Period, see Gnirs, 2013, 654; Bietak, 2017, 65; and especially for the location of Perunefer, see Bietak, 2009a; Bietak, 2009b; Bietak, 2017.

III.2. Djehuti (I)

Date: Hatshepsut – Thutmose III (based on the cartouches in the tomb)

Genealogy:

Pesedjiri ♂ — Keku ♀

Djehuti (I) ♂ — Baket ♀

Tomb: Theban Tomb 110

Remains:

- tomb structure
- funerary cone DM 47

Ranking titles: *jrj-p^εt h3tj-^ε*
htmtj-bjtj
smr-w^ε.tj

Functional titles:

wb3 nswt
wb3 n nswt
wb3 n nswt w^cb ʕ.wj
wb3 n nswt M3^c.t-k3-R^c
wḥmw nswt
šmsw nswt
šmsw nswt rww.t=f
šmsw nswt ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t
wdn
wdn n Jmn
wdn n Jmn-R^c
wdn n Jmn jr ḥss.wt=f
wdn n Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt ḥr-tp ʕ.w:s nswt-bjtj M3^c.t-k3-R^c ʕnh.tj d.t
wdn n Jmn n nswt-bjtj ʕ3-ḥpr-k3-R^c n psd.t Jp.t-s.wt n ntr:w dsr:t jmnt.t
sšmw-ḥb n nswt ntr:w
sšmw-ḥb m Jp.t-s.wt
w^cb ʕ.wj jr:f ḥss.wt wdnw n Jmn f3j ʕḥ m Jp.t-s.wt ḥr-tp ʕ.w:s nswt-bjtj
Mn-ḥpr-R^c m ḥr:t n.t r^c nb
w^cb ʕ.wj jr:f ḥss.wt n.t Jmn Jp.t-s.wt
w^cb ʕ.wj jr:f ḥss.wt q^cḥ.f^c=f r s.t wr:t
w^cb ʕ.wj jrr ḥss.wt
f3j ʕḥ n nb ntr:w
[...] ʕ3

Honorific titles: *mḥ-jb ntr nfr*
 mḥ-jb n drdr=f?
 jmj-jb n nswt n wn-m3^c
 jmj-jb n ntr nfr
 ḥsjj n ntr nfr
 mnh-jb n nb t3.wj
 w^c mnh-jb n nb t3.wj
 hrd n k3p
 3q hr nfr:t r bw hr nswt hr 3nh nb ntr:w

Djehuti (I) and Nebamun must have been aware of each other since both of them served under Hatshepsut as well as Thutmose III. Unlike Nebamun, Djehuti (I) bore the actual title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’. The wall decorations as well as the inscriptions in his tomb, TT 110, which settles at the lower enclosure of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in Thebes, provide scenes of his official duties and information on the required approach of an official of the highest circles in the royal court, engaged in the personal service of the king.

The tomb itself is a T-shaped tomb with a two-columned room at the end, which has been completely burnt out.³⁸⁴ The wall decoration, which combines painting as well as sculpting, is mainly confined to the scenes of Djehuti (I)’s official duties; a banquet, a funeral procession, and offering scenes either before the two rulers or the deceased and his family.³⁸⁵ The south side of the eastern wall is devoted to the depiction of the function of Djehuti (I) as ‘royal *wb3*’. The scenes in the four registers show different drinking and storage vessels, and men straining out, mixing or cooling liquids, while in the text above the figure of Djehuti (I), standing to the right, addresses the waiters. Unfortunately, the inscription is too fragmentary to decipher its meaning. The pictorial decoration and the remains of the inscription nevertheless clearly illustrate the function of Djehuti (I) as an actual butler whose duties also included overseeing the drinks for the king and perhaps for his closest family members. On the right of the other, northern side of the eastern wall, Djehuti (I) appears in religious function as he offers braziers to the gods. The illustrations and the inscription depict him as an offering priest, who leads a festival and performs rites before Amun. The wealth of his religious titles connected to this god as well as to the two rulers are worthy of note: there are thirteen titles in the tomb, which

³⁸⁴ For an architectural description of the tomb, see Kampp, 1996, 390–391.

³⁸⁵ Porter – Moss, 1960, 227–228. For a detailed description of the decoration and for the inscriptions, see Davies, 1932, 279–290; for the inscription of the stele, see also Hermann, 1940, 31*–35*.

are variations for the functions described above. It seems certain that Djehuti (I) acquired and bore these titles under the reign of Hatshepsut. The Amun domain had become powerful by the reign of Thutmose II, and during the reign of Hatshepsut it became a dominant element in the role of the favoured officials. The queen, as God's Wife of Amun herself, was closely connected to the precinct of Amun, and as a result, the officials favoured by her were also connected to the Amun domain either through their position rewarded by promotions or specific tasks assigned to them. By contrast, under Thutmose III the Amun precinct was not as predominant as it had been under Hatshepsut, moreover, it appeared that the king intentionally avoided linking his highest officials to the Amun precinct.³⁸⁶

The focal points of the tomb are on the western wall of the transverse hall, on the two sides of the entrance to the axial corridor, where Djehuti (I) is depicted standing before Hatshepsut and Thutmose III on the right and on the left respectively. The inscription of the adoration scene of Hatshepsut represents Djehuti (I), besides *wb3 n nswt w' b' ʿ.wj* 'royal *wb3* clean of hands', in his clerical function as *wdn n Jmn* 'offerer of Amun' and the one *ʃj ʿh n nb ntr: w* 'who carries the brazier of the lord of the gods'. This fact also supports the theory outlined above that he must have acquired his titles connected to the Amun precinct in the earlier phase of his career, during the reign of the queen. On the other hand, the inscriptions of the canopy scene of Thutmose III add further information on his official advancement: the text identifies him, besides 'royal *wb3*' again, as *šmsw nswt hr h3s.wt nb.wt* 'follower of the king in every foreign land'. Considering the military activities of Thutmose III and the fact that in this period the phrase was primarily connected to participating in campaigns,³⁸⁷ it is fair to assume that Djehuti (I) acquired it under the reign of the king, and he may have escorted him on at least one but maybe more of his campaigns, however, there is no information on this matter. It is also very likely that Djehuti (I) was promoted to *wḥmw nswt* 'royal herald' also by Thutmose III. In spite of the fact that the title was regularly associated with the military it was not rare among the officials who did not belong to this area but served as civil officials in the administration and in the royal court. They might have acted and spoken as the personal agents of the king, on behalf of and with his authority. The holders of the title 'royal herald' were in an especially important position in the administration, as well as in society.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁶ Shirley, 2013, 582-584.

³⁸⁷ Guksch, 1994, 58-59.

³⁸⁸ For further information on the title, see Pardey, 1997, 377-397.

Behind the canopy scene of Thutmose III, there is the false-door of Djehuti (I), on which his religious titles are clearly shown. Besides these, his title ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ also appears. Based on the presence of this title together with the religious ones on the false-door and in some other scenes in the tomb, one might think that it is closely connected to the religious function of the owner. However, on examining its appearances in all the inscriptions in the tomb, as well as in the sources of other titleholders, their correlation is by no means unequivocal and substantiated.³⁸⁹ In the inscriptions of Djehuti (I), the title ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ is also presented in the same title string with *whmw nswt* ‘royal herald’ and also *šmsw nswt rww.t=f* ‘follower of the king on his journey’.

There is a stele on each end wall of the transverse hall. The one on the southern end wall contains offering formula and wishes for the deceased for his existence in the netherworld, and both religious and non-religious titles designate the addressee of these benefits. The stele on the northern end wall, besides an offering formula, comprises a section of ideal biography.³⁹⁰ Here Djehuti (I) enumerates the attributes and approach that an official in the personal service of the ruler must have. Interestingly, while these features rather characterise a court official in the royal palace, they are accompanied with the religious titles of Djehuti (I), however, they would have been more appropriate for his civil offices as ‘royal *wb3*’, ‘royal herald’ or ‘follower of the king on his journey’.³⁹¹

Not only functional titles but three out of the five ranking titles also appear in the inscriptions of the tomb of Djehuti (I). These ranking titles are *jrj-pʿt h3tj-ʿ* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, *hmtj-btj* ‘royal sealer’, and *smr-wʿ.tj* ‘sole friend’, which definitely proves his high status in the royal court as well as in society. In addition to this he bore the title *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’, probably referring to his common childhood with and his similar age to Thutmose III. Honorific titles such as *mḥ-jb ntr nfr* ‘confidant of the good god’, *jmj-jb n ntr nfr* ‘favourite of the good god’ and *hsjj n ntr nfr* ‘favoured of the good god’, which are mentioned several times in the inscriptions, demonstrate not only his close connection with the ruler but also his trusted position by him. The ranking titles suggest that Djehuti (I) must have originated from the upper classes of society, yet there is no information on his personal background except for the names of his closest relatives. His father and mother were called Pesedjiri and Keku respectively, and he married a woman called Baket. The women were ladies of the house, while her father was identified as *s3b* ‘dignitary’.

³⁸⁹ See chapter II.4.3 on p. 67.

³⁹⁰ For the ideal and other types of ancient Egyptian autobiography, see Guksch, 1994, 24–25; Gnirs, 1996, especially 203–206.

³⁹¹ Helck also refers these characteristics to the function of ‘royal *wb3*’, see Helck, 1958, 269.

Djehuti (I) must have been the owner of the funerary cone DM 47. Zenihiro notes that Djehuti (I) has been widely accepted as the owner of the cone, at the same time, he points out the common occurrence of the name Djehuti (I) and the title ‘royal *wb3*’ among the New Kingdom officials, which leaves the ownership uncertain.³⁹² The facts, however, contradict this statement. Among the corpus of the ‘royal *wb3*s’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ known to me, there are only two persons called Djehuti (I): one is the owner of TT 110, the other is known only from a fragment of a pyramidion from Saqqara dating to the late 18th – early 19th dynasty. As the only known ‘royal *wb3*’ Djehuti (I) from Thebes, where funerary cones were primarily in use, is the owner of TT 110, the person currently under discussion, it is reasonable to assign funerary cone DM 47 to him.

III.3. Qenamun

Date:	Thutmose III (based on the cartouche on the statue)
Genealogy:	Qenamun ♂ ————— Amenhotep ♀
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stelophor statue – funerary cone DM 23
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 n nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj n ntr nfr Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ</i> <i>jmj-r3 šnw.tj</i> <i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ n Mn-nfr</i> <i>wḥmw n nfr.t(?)</i> <i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj ḥr ḥ3s.t rsj.t</i> <i>sš [...]</i> <i>jrj-ꜥ.t n Jmn</i> <i>wꜥb n Jmn</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>mḥ-jb mnḥ n nb t3.wj</i> <i>hsjj n ntr nfr</i>

Eight known persons bore the office of ‘royal *wb3*’ and served under the reign of Thutmose III at the beginning or at the end of their careers, however, Qenamun, called Raka, only attested during the reign of this king. He has thus far been known from a stelophor

³⁹² Zenihiro, 2009, 63.

statue and a funerary cone, and there is no information on his activity under previous or subsequent rulers. In all likelihood, he bore the title *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj* 'royal *wb3* clean of hands'.³⁹³

In spite of the limited sources, plausible conclusions drawn concerning the career of Qenamun can be based on his titles on his two remains.³⁹⁴ His black granite stelophor statue was found in a poor condition among the remains of the temple of Thutmose I, called Khenemetankh, built by Hatshepsut in Asasif.³⁹⁵ The present location of the statue is unknown. The head and the feet of the kneeling figure were broken as well as the rear part of the base. The rectangular stele was decorated with a cornice atop it and a small offering table carved out of the base at the bottom. There were eight columns of inscription on the stele, six on the front and one on each side. Each of the six columns on the front of the stele contained a *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formula naming various gods and presenting Qenamun in his different offices. The text lines on the sides of the stele were identical, they named the owner as *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj n ntr nfr Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ* 'royal *wb3* clean of hands of the good god, Menkheperre', at the same time they dated the activity of the owner as well as the time of origin of the statue.

Qenamun might have been of Theban origin based on his and his wife's name, who was called Amenhotep, as well as his two religious titles *wꜥb n Jmn* 'wab-priest of Amun' and *jrj-ʕ.t n Jmn* 'head of the magazine of Amun'. He might have acquired these titles under the reign of Hatshepsut, taking into consideration the importance of the Amun domain during that time, nonetheless, this is pure speculation without any proof. Besides these religious titles, his other early official title must have been 'royal *wb3* clean of hands'. Serving in the royal household as a personal servant of the king, he obviously joined his lord on his Nubian campaign or campaigns, which is proved by his title *jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj hr ḥ3s.t rsj.t* 'attendant of the lord of the Two Lands in the southern land'. This title was introduced under Thutmose III and it mainly refers to some sort of military service, either as an actual participant in battles, or – in a more general sense – a position in the army in the personal attendance of the king.³⁹⁶ It remains uncertain, however, when this action took place, as it appears that few military campaigns of Thutmose III took place to the south during his sole reign. There seems to be another possibility that the title

³⁹³ Van Siclen, 1991, 156.

³⁹⁴ Van Siclen, 1991, 156-160; Gessler-Löhr, 1997, 34-36.

³⁹⁵ Barakat, 1981, 29-30; Barakat, 1983; on the identification of the temple, see Iwaszczuk, 2011, 23.

³⁹⁶ Guksch, 1994, 65-66.

refers to a campaign under the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, which was led by the latter.³⁹⁷

The second stage of his career places Qenamun in the northern region as *ḥ3tj-ꜥ n Mn-nfr* ‘mayor of Memphis’ and *jmj-r3 šnw.tj* ‘overseer of the double granary’. Van Siclen suggests that the appointment of Qenamun to ‘mayor of Memphis’ might have been a reward from Thutmose III for his loyal service during the military campaign or campaigns.³⁹⁸ Gessler-Löhr mentions Intef and his appointment to ‘mayor of Thinis’ as a parallel, who also got this position as a reward for his military services under the reign of the same king.³⁹⁹ The title ‘overseer of the double granary’ seems to be closely linked to that of ‘mayor of Memphis’, since one of the main agricultural tasks of the mayor as a settlement-leader was to manage agricultural activities in order to ensure a sufficient food supply for the population on the one hand, and on the other hand, to collect the surplus in the form of taxes. He was also responsible for the collection and transportation of taxes as well as grain and other commodities.⁴⁰⁰

Although Qenamun is supposed to have finished his career in the north in Memphis, he moved back to the south to prepare his burial in Thebes. Although his tomb has not been discovered, funerary cone DM 23 leaves no doubt that it existed in this necropolis. The appearance of the official title ‘royal *wb3*’ and the epithet *mḥ-jb mnḥ n nb t3.wj* ‘excellent confidant of the lord of the Two Lands’ on both the statue and the funerary cone connects the two objects to the same person, currently under discussion, whose identification with anyone of the same name was unsuccessful. Barakat considered three well-known persons as the possible owner of the stele: 1. the ‘steward’ Qenamun, owner of TT 93; 2. the ‘mayor of Thebes’ Qenamun, owner of TT 162; 3. the ‘royal scribe’ Qenamun, owner of TT 412. His most possible candidate was the owner of TT 93, and he supposed that the statue belonged to the early stage of his career under Thutmose III.⁴⁰¹ This identification was not substantiated enough based on two identical titles and one identical epithet of the two persons, and what Barakat had not considered, and what contradicted his theory, was the existence of the funerary cone, which excluded all the possible candidates who had identified the tomb with the funerary cone that belonged

³⁹⁷ Spalinger, 2006⁴, 352–355. In his biographical inscription Montuiui mentions a campaign launched against Nubia, in which he participated with Thutmose III, presumably in the later stage of his reign. For the text, see Helck, 1955–1958, 1466–1468; for further information on Montuiui, see p. 123.

³⁹⁸ Van Siclen III, 1991, 159.

³⁹⁹ Gessler-Löhr, 1997, 36.

⁴⁰⁰ Helck, 1958, 235–236; van den Boorn, 1988, 242–243; Van Siclen III, 1991, 159; Gessler-Löhr, 1997, 36.

⁴⁰¹ Barakat, 1983, 89–91. Málek also identifies him wrongly with the owner of TT 93, see Málek, 1987, 135, n 72.

to it.⁴⁰² The text lines on the sides of the stele contain another (nick)name of Qenamun: Raka. This addition also made Barakat confused about the identification of the person. It was not entirely clear to him if Raka was a successor of Qenamun in his office and commemorated his name on the statue of his predecessor, or it was another name of Qenamun himself, so he left this question open.⁴⁰³ Van Siclen, in contrast, was quite sure about the fact that Raka was a second name of Qenamun as well as about the incorrect identification of him by Barakat.⁴⁰⁴

Unfortunately, we have no information on the family background of Qenamun, except that his wife was lady of the house, Amenhotep.

III.4. *Neferperet*

Date:	Thutmose III (based on the cartouche on the statue)
Genealogy:	
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stelophor statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37177 / CG 42121 / SR 4/11643 – funerary cone DM 213
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>wb3 n nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 n nswt</i> <i>šmsw nswt ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>ḥrd n k3p</i> <i>ḥsjj n ntr nfr</i>

⁴⁰² Qenamun of TT 93 has the funerary cones DM 187, DM 431 and DM 432; the owner of TT 162 has the funerary cone DM 12. The owner of TT 412 has no identified funerary cone but he does not have any title which matches those of the ‘royal *wb3*’ Qenamun, see Saleh, 1983, 19.

⁴⁰³ Barakat, 1983, 91.

⁴⁰⁴ Van Siclen III, 1991, 156–158. For further possible but not identical candidates, see Van Siclen III, 1991, 158, n. 11.

Similarly to Qenamun, Neferperet can firmly be attested only under the reign of Thutmose III, however, there is a possibility that he served on under Amenhotep II. He is known from a stelophor statue and the funerary cone DM 213. The latter indicates a Theban burial place, although his tomb has not been identified. According to the limited available sources of Neferperet, we know only two of his functional titles. One of them is *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’,⁴⁰⁵ which also appears in its shorter version *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ on the statue. We do not know anything about his activity in this office, so we can only suggest that it was linked to his participation in the military campaign to Retjenu. It cannot be specified which campaign Neferperet refers to on his statue, but according to his title *šmsw nswt hr ꜥ3s.t nb.t* ‘follower of the king in every foreign land’, also represented on his monument, his participation in more than one military expedition is also possible. His honorific title *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’ refers to his childhood spent in a royal palace.

The black granite stelophor statue of Neferperet was found in 1904 in the cachette in Karnak, and it is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 42.121). The stele held by Neferperet contains two registers: in the upper one the figures of Thutmose III and his great royal wife, Meritre Hatshepsut can be seen; in the lower one two figures of the owner are depicted kneeling in poses of adoration with praises addressed to the king and the queen, respectively. A *hꜥp-dj-nswt* formula runs down on each side of the stele, which names the king as foremost of Heneketankh, his memorial temple on the west bank of Thebes, as well as Amun who resides in this temple. The main aim of stelophor statues placed by favoured individuals in the temples was to ensure that they got close to the deity after their death and thereby benefited from the offerings for their own cult.⁴⁰⁶ According to this fact and to the reference for the Heneketankh in the inscription, one might suppose that the original place of the statue of Neferperet must have been in this temple. At the same time, this assumption is contradicted by the fact that the statue was found on the east bank in the temple of Karnak, where Thutmose III had built his temple Akhmenu to serve his cult, which would indicate that it was the original place of the statue there.⁴⁰⁷

The back of the statue is occupied by an autobiographical inscription, with a reference to the Heneketankh again, which would turn the balance to this temple in terms of the

⁴⁰⁵ In some publications other functional titles are mentioned as well, however, based on his remains, none of them can be confirmed: ‘scribe’ in Maspero, 1906, 123, and Maspero, 1915, 123; ‘steward’ in Komorzynski, 1962, 73; ‘royal tutor’ in Bryan, 2006, 113.

⁴⁰⁶ For the function of the temples statues, see Guksch, 1994, 16–17.

⁴⁰⁷ See Haring, 1997, 145, n. 5. and Bryan – Hornung, 2002, 91.

original placement of the statue. However, references to the temple in the inscription or the place of discovery themselves cannot serve as conclusive evidence for the original place of the statue. The inscription on the back is an autobiographical part which informs us that Neferperet brought back seven bulls as booty from a campaign in Retjenu with the permission of the king in order to offer them as a donation to the memorial temple of Thutmose III. These kinds of private endowments to temples or temple statues of the king were common, most frequently with a funerary purpose. The objects of the donation and the exchange for it, namely for a personal offering cult, were recorded in contracts, and required royal consent. In some cases, however, the endowments were conveyed during the life of the donor, as in the case of Neferperet as well.⁴⁰⁸ The inscription contains the act of donation, as well as the protection guaranteed by the royal residence: it assures the authority of Neferperet over the animals that would be taken over by his heirs after his death, not by the overseer of the cattle. The text also mentions some members of the family of Neferperet: his brother, Amenemmehib, who was the guardian of the cattle, and his son, Djeserkare,⁴⁰⁹ who carried the milk jars, which were supposedly to be presents to the gods in the temple daily, and which were then the benefit of Neferperet as well.

It is not known until when Neferperet was active in his office. Based on the type of the wig on his stelophor statue, which is similar to wigs of statues under Amenhotep II, Bryan suggests that the statue be dated to the later phase of the reign of Thutmose III.⁴¹⁰ It is conceivable that Neferperet remained in office under Amenhotep II as well, although there is no evidence of this.

III.5. *Wah*

Date:	Thutmose III (?) – Amenhotep II (?) (based on the stylistic criteria of the tomb structure and decoration)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Theban Tomb 22
Remains:	– tomb structure
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

⁴⁰⁸ For private endowments and the case of Neferperet, see Haring, 1997, 142-147.

⁴⁰⁹ Legrain wrongly identified Djeserkare as the father of Neferperet. Legrain, 1908, 92.

⁴¹⁰ Bryan – Hornung, 2002, 92; Bryan, 2006, 89.

jmj-r3 ʕrrjj.t/rwjj.t
jmj-r3 npjjw (nbjjw?)
sš [...]
ʕj-pd.t

Little is known about the tenure and activities of Wah. His tomb settles at the lower enclosure of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in Thebes, but it has not been published until now and only some information is accessible either on its decoration or inscriptions.

The tomb itself is a simple T-shaped tomb, which was originally constructed during the reign of Thutmose III and/or Amenhotep II, and which was usurped not long after the death of Wah by a certain Meriamun.⁴¹¹ The usurpation must have taken place during the reign of Amenhotep II or Amenhotep III, but definitely before the Amarna period, as indicated by the erasing of the name of Amun in the name of the usurper.⁴¹² On the western end wall of the transverse hall there is a painted stele, where only parts of the inscription are legible and part of one official title of Wah is recognizable: *sš [...]* ‘scribe of [...]’.⁴¹³ Another official title is known from the note of Mond,⁴¹⁴ namely *wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’. The inscription he copied is a part of an offering formula naming the owner and his wife as benefactors of the offering, however, unfortunately, the name of the wife was destroyed. It is not mentioned from which part of the tomb the text originates. On the south-western wall next to the entrance of the tomb Wah is depicted while receiving and inspecting produce and he is named as ‘royal *wb3*’.⁴¹⁵ On the eastern end wall of the hall, scenes of fishing and fowling are depicted, with a vintage scene below. This latter scene together with the one on the neighbouring north-eastern wall of the hall, representing men bringing provisions and preparing drinks, might be in connection with the office of Wah as ‘royal *wb3*’. Besides these, mainly offering and banquet scenes can be seen in the other parts of the tomb.⁴¹⁶

Three other functional titles of Wah are mentioned by Helck:⁴¹⁷ *ʕj-pd.t* ‘bow bearer’, which refers to some sort of military function of Wah; *jmj-r3 npjjw* ‘overseer of the *npjjw*’,

⁴¹¹ For the architectural description of the tomb, see Kampp, 1996, 205–206.

⁴¹² Polz, 1990, 304; Kampp, 1996, 205;

⁴¹³ Hermann, 1940, 3c, 5*–6*.

⁴¹⁴ Mond, 1905, 75.

⁴¹⁵ Wreszinski, 1923, pl. 62; Porter – Moss, 1960, 37.

⁴¹⁶ For the decoration of the tomb, see Wreszinski, 1923, pls. 40, 62, 68, 76a–b, 121–122; Baud, 1935, 79–83; and Porter – Moss, 1960, 37–38.

⁴¹⁷ Helck, 1958, 67.

about which Helck notes that the meaning of the title is unknown,⁴¹⁸ the correct reading cannot be confirmed due to the lack of collating with the original inscription in the tomb;⁴¹⁹ and *jmj-r3 ʿrrjj.t* ‘overseer of the gateway’, to which Bryan refers as *jmj-r3 rwjj.t* ‘overseer of the ruit’, and for which the same is true regarding the collation as for the latter title. Binder notes the significance of the holder of this office as one who was responsible for controlling who could gain admittance to the palace and contact the king in person.⁴²⁰ Unfortunately, without more evidence nothing else can be concluded in regard to the career or life of Wah.

III.6. Djehutimes

Date:	Thutmose III (?) – Amenhotep II (?) (based on the stylistic criteria of the tomb structure and decoration)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Theban Tomb 205
Remains:	– tomb structure – funerary cone DM 350
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

Besides the fact that he bore the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and he was buried in Thebes, nothing else can be ascertained about the life and career of Djehutimes. According to the stylistic criteria of his tomb, TT 205, situated on the mound of Khokha in the Theban necropolis, he was supposedly active during the reign of Thutmose III and/or Amenhotep II.⁴²¹ The tomb itself has not been published. Only a small part of its decoration remained on the western end of the northern wall of the transverse hall, above the shaft, a detail of an offering scene depicting a figure of a sem-priest with remains of an inscription above and before him.⁴²² The inscription is part of an offering formula, naming Djehutimes as the beneficiary of the offering.

⁴¹⁸ Helck, 1958, 67, n. 2.

⁴¹⁹ The title *jmj-r3 nbjjw* ‘overseer of the goldsmith’ might be considered as a possible candidate. Hannig, 2006, 63.

⁴²⁰ Binder, 2008, 239.

⁴²¹ For the architectural description of the tomb, see Kampp, 1996, 491.

⁴²² Porter – Moss, 1960, 305; Kampp, 1996, 491.

The funerary cone DM 350 of Djehutimes is identified as well, and also designates him as ‘royal *wb3*’. As for his genealogy, no information is available to us.

III.7. Montuiui

Date:	Thutmose III – Amenhotep II (based on the cartouche and the depictions in the tomb)
Genealogy:	? ♂ ——— Hapu ♀ Montuiui ♂
Tomb:	Theban Tomb 172
Remains:	– tomb structure
Ranking titles:	<i>jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c</i> <i>htmtj-bjtj</i> <i>smr-w^c.tj</i>
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj</i> <i>b3k n jp.t nswt</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>mnh n nb=f</i> <i>Hsjj n nTr nfr</i>

Similarly to Wah and Djehutimes, Montuiui can also be dated to the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, however, with more certainty than his colleagues can. Based on his titles, as well as on his biographical inscription, he must have belonged to the most prominent circles of the administration and the royal court, bearing three ranking titles and with responsibility for all of the royal apartments.

The only source regarding the life and career of Montuiui is the stele in his tomb, TT 172, on the mound of Khokha in the Theban necropolis. The tomb itself has not been published as a whole yet. It is a T-shaped structure with a statue niche at the end of the axial corridor.⁴²³ Its decoration scheme contains the typical scenes of the era: offering scenes, fishing and fowling on the long walls, a stele and a false-door on the end walls of the transverse hall, funeral procession and rites, hunting in the desert, vintage, workshops, agricultural activities and bringing produce in the axial corridor.⁴²⁴ However, two scenes are worth mentioning. In one of them the owner is receiving collars as gifts for

⁴²³ For the architectural description of the tomb, see Kampp, 1996, 459–461.

⁴²⁴ Wreszinski, 1923, pls. 353–355; Porter – Moss, 1960, 279–280.

the New Year’s festival,⁴²⁵ which demonstrates his special and favoured place in the royal household in the personal circle of the ruler. The other scene occupies the upper part of the eastern end wall of the transverse hall above the false-door, and it represents two kings receiving offerings from the figure of Montuiui. Both Murnane and van Siclen believe that this representation is proof of the coregency of the two kings, Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, based on the different sizes of the figures of the kings, both of them depicted in royal regalia.⁴²⁶

A stele with an autobiographical inscription occupies the western end wall of the transverse hall. Unfortunately, due to its poor preservation, there are long lacunae in the text. This is the only textual source from the tomb that is accessible at the moment.⁴²⁷ In spite of its fragmentary state, it informs us of several details of the career and life of Montuiui. He grew up in the palace, as he himself says in his inscription, under Thutmose III. According to Bryan, he also bore the epithet *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’,⁴²⁸ however, this is not explicitly mentioned on the stele, but it probably is in another part of the tomb. At the beginning of his career, Montuiui served as *b3k n jp.t nswt* ‘servant of the royal apartments’,⁴²⁹ and he followed Thutmose III on his campaign to every foreign land as a youth. Then, because of his excellence, he was promoted to a position among certain attendants of the palace, but his proper function was lost in a lacuna. Bryan and Shirley agree that he was appointed to *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ either during this stage of his promotion or sometime later, still under Thutmose III.⁴³⁰ However, as there appears to be no indication of the exact time of his acquiring the title, it might also be conceivable that Montuiui had already been a ‘royal *wb3*’ when he followed his lord to foreign lands. The attendance of a person in this function would be rather more reasonable than that of a ‘servant of the royal apartments’. As a person who followed the king on his campaigns, he must have nevertheless borne the epithet *šmsw nswt* ‘follower of the king’, as Shirley also refers to it,⁴³¹ or perhaps that of *jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj* ‘attendant of the lord of the Two Lands’.

After a longer section of praising the actions and approach of Thutmose III, Montuiui continues his biographical description informing us of his participation in the

⁴²⁵ Porter – Moss, 1960, 280.

⁴²⁶ Murnane, 1977, 53, n. 94; van Siclen III, 1982, 49(D); Shirley, 2011, 305, n. 71.

⁴²⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Hermann, 1940, 17*, 40*-41*; and Helck, 1955-1958, 1466-1468.

⁴²⁸ Bryan, 2006, 96.

⁴²⁹ According to Taylor, he was the only known bearer of this title in the 18th dynasty. Al-Ayedi does not even mention the title. Taylor, 2001, 107; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 265.

⁴³⁰ Bryan, 2006, 95; Shirley, 2011, 304.

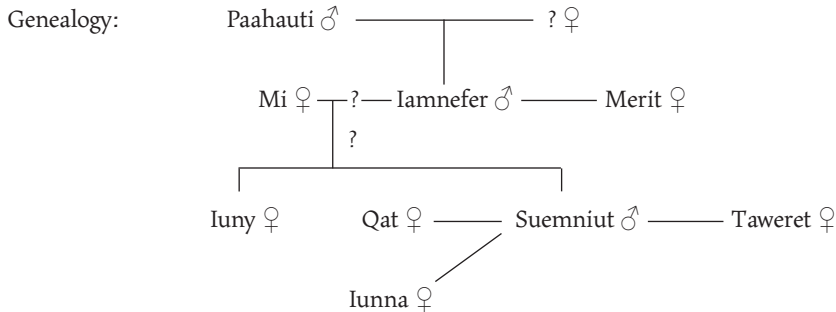
⁴³¹ Shirley, however, does not name the epithet itself. Shirley, 2011, 305.

military campaign of the king launched against Karoy in Nubia, and he declares that his rising in the official and, obviously at the same time, the social hierarchy was due to the favour of the king. The continuation of his career under the reign of Amenhotep II is clear from the next part; after a subtle reference to the death of Thutmose III and the ascension of Amenhotep II, Montuiui proudly announces that he was placed among the courtiers of the king and was promoted among his officials as all the offices of the palace had been placed under his authority, which supposedly means that he might have been appointed to *jmj-r3 jp.t nswt* ‘overseer of the royal apartments’.⁴³²

The distinguished position of Montuiui in the royal court and among the officials, to which he himself referred, is also represented by the three ranking titles he bore: *jrj-p^ct* ‘member of the elite’, *htmtj-bjtj* ‘royal sealer’, *smr-w^c.tj* ‘sole friend’. Besides, further honorific titles such as *mnh n nb=f* ‘excellent of his lord’ and *hsjj n ntr nfr* ‘favoured of the good god’ demonstrate his close relationship with the king. Unfortunately, there is no information on his family background, except the name of his mother, Hapu, however, it might be supposed that he had come from the upper classes of society, based on his being ‘child of the kap’. Due to this fact, together with his abilities, he rose ever higher in the official hierarchy, becoming one of the most prominent persons in the royal administration and household.

III.8. Suemniut

Date: Thutmose III – Amenhotep II (based on the cartouche in the tomb and on the stylistic criteria of the tomb decoration)



Tomb: Theban Tomb 92

Remains: – tomb structure

⁴³² Bryan also refers to his appointment to *jmj r3 pr nswt* ‘steward of the king’. Bryan, 1991, 258.

- stele, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 27840
- funerary cones DM 143, DM 156, DM 163, DM 181
- graffito on Sehel

Ranking titles: *jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c*

ḥtmtj-bjtj

smr-w^c.tj

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt*

wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj

šmsw nswt

šmsw nswt r nmtt=f ḥr ḥ3s.wt rsj.t mḥj.t

šmsw nswt ḥr mw ḥr t3

jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj tm m tšj grḥ mj hrw

jmj-r3 ^cḥ^c.w nswt

ḥrj-jḥw

ḥrj-jḥw n nb t3.wj

t3j-srjj.t

sšmw-ḥb n Jmn

jmj-r3 jḥ.w n Jmn

wdn n Jmn

wdn n ntr:w nb.w

jt mrj-ntr

Honorific titles: *mḥ-jb nb=f*

mḥ-jb mnḥ n ntr nfr

mḥ-jb n nswt m mry=f

jmj-jb n ntr nfr

ḥsjj n ntr nfr

w^c wb3 n=fjb

w^c mnḥ wb3 n=fjb

w^c mnḥ n ntr nfr

shntj jqr st sbq=f

hrrw jty ḥr shr=f

hrrw nswt ḥr tpt-r3=f

jr ḥss.t jmj-^cḥ

jr ḥss.t jmj-^cḥ m ḥr:t hrw n.t r^c nb

mn ḥs.wt

mn ḥs.wt m stp-s3

3 mr.t

s3.n sw nb t3.wj

kw qnj n nb t3.wj

Suemniut was a contemporary of Montuiui and just as illustrious in the royal court as his colleague. Being a native of Neferusi, following the kings to far beyond the borders of the kingdom, at the end of his active career he might have retired in Thebes, and was buried in a splendid tomb in the necropolis there. In contrast to Montuiui, however, he did not leave biographical inscriptions regarding the main stages of his life and advancements in his career, even so the inscriptions in his tomb provide us with a great deal of information concerning his situation in society.

The close connection of Suemniut to the king and his honoured status in the royal court were not only represented by his ranking titles and honorific titles in his tomb but also presented by the tomb itself. Although, the wall paintings are largely unfinished,⁴³³ the quality of the workmanship, the shaping of the tomb and its position in the necropolis all demonstrate the fortunate position of its owner. The tomb is situated on the western part of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, high up on the hill-side, in the neighbourhood of the tombs of several other prominent personages of his time.⁴³⁴ The plan of the tomb differs from the usual T-shaped form, as between the courtyard and the transverse hall another, two-pillared hall was added.⁴³⁵ The decorative programme, which is traditionally placed on the walls of the transverse hall, is now divided between the two halls.⁴³⁶ Besides the usual offering and banquet scenes, the two-pillared hall primarily gives place to scenes representing the official and court life of Suemniut: preparing and bringing food and drinks, as well as scribes recording produce before the deceased, butchers, men with trays of bread and food, gifts for Amenhotep II, and at the focal point of the tomb on the left side of the north-western wall an unfinished scene of Amenhotep II under a canopy with Suemniut before him. The transverse hall, on the other hand, is mainly the place of the representation of his daily life: fishing and fowling, receiving products of the marsh-lands among his family, offering scenes, as well as inspecting vintages and

⁴³³ For the analysis of the painting methods observed on the walls of the tomb of Suemniut, see Bryan, 1995, 14-16; Bryan, 2001, 63-72.

⁴³⁴ Bryan, 1995, 14-15.

⁴³⁵ For the architectural description of the tomb, see Kampp, 1996, 350-352.

⁴³⁶ For the decoration of the tomb, see Wreszinski, 1923, 29a-c, 31a-b, 259, 294-297; Porter – Moss, 1960, 187-189.

sealing wine jars, which may also be in connection with his office. The decoration of the axial corridor contains the appropriate scenes of funeral procession, Abydos pilgrimage and rites before the mummies, with a niche⁴³⁷ at the end.

The depictions illustrating the official duties of Suemniut are all in connection with his titles *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, which are the only titles or epithets repeated twice and six times respectively, except for his ranking title *jrj-pꜥt h3tj-ꜥ* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, which is repeated seven times in his tomb. It leaves no doubt that these titles played a significant role in his self-identification. There is no information on when he acquired the title, however, he had supposedly functioned as ‘royal *wb3*’ under the reign of Thutmose III. Based on the stylistic grounds of the decoration of the tomb, as well as the depiction of Amenhotep II, the tomb was constructed in the early years of his reign.⁴³⁸ As Suemniut lists several ranking and functional titles as well as numerous biographical titles denoting his confidential relationship with the ruler it can be reasonably supposed that he was an honoured member of the court of Thutmose III with many years in his attendance and experience in the civil administration as well as in military service.

In contrast to the earlier examples of ‘royal *wb3s*’ – namely Djehuti (I), Qenamun, or Neferperet –, who accompanied their lords on their campaigns in this function and in consequence they used the titles *šmsw nswt* ‘follower of the king’ or *jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj* ‘attendant of the lord of the Two Lands’, Suemniut had presumably started his career with the military and later moved into administration. His low-ranking titles linked to the military such as *hrj-jḥw n nb t3.wj* ‘stable master of the lord of the Two Lands’,⁴³⁹ *ḥj-srjj.t* ‘standard-bearer’⁴⁴⁰ and *jmj-r3 ḥꜥ.w nswt* ‘overseer of the royal boats’,⁴⁴¹ together with his military related titles such as *šmsw nswt r nmtt=f hr h3s.wt rsj.t mhj.t* ‘follower of the king on all his exploits in the southern and northern foreign lands’, *šmsw nswt hr mw hr t3* ‘follower of the king on water and on land’, *jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj tm m tšj grḥ mj hrw* ‘attendant of the lord of the Two Lands who is never absent by night or day’ and *kꜥw qnj n nb t3.wj* ‘valiant despoiler of the lord of the Two Lands’⁴⁴² all refers to some degree of active

⁴³⁷ Supposedly for free standing statues, see Hermann, 1940, 20.

⁴³⁸ Kampp, 1996, 350; Bryan, 2001, 63.

⁴³⁹ For more on the title, see Helck, 1964, 62; Schulman, 1964, 51–53.

⁴⁴⁰ For more on the title, see Schulman, 1964, 69–71.

⁴⁴¹ For the title, see Jones, 1988, 54, no. 22; and the discussion on Nebamun above, p. 105.

⁴⁴² Although Binder refers to the epithet as *qn n nb t3.wj*, see Binder, 2008, 337, I would rather suggest this form. It appears in the title string, and directly follows the epithet *šmsw nswt hr mw hr t3*, however, the word *kꜥw* can neither be part of it, nor can it stay in itself as it does not make any sense. The reasonable solution is to take it as part of the next epithet as *kꜥw qnj n nb t3.wj*.

military service. However, as Shirley notes, the three titles could also be related to the royal palace rather than the military,⁴⁴³ Suemniut was awarded with the Gold of Honour by Thutmose III, which was primarily bestowed upon officials in the military.⁴⁴⁴ Based on this fact, one may presume his involvement in military actions, where he excelled in some way, and in appreciation of which the ruler rewarded him with the Gold of Honour. One also may presume that promoting him to the personal service of the king as ‘royal *wb3*’ in the royal household would also have been part of the reward. Nevertheless, Bryan agrees that Suemniut had already accompanied Thutmose III on his campaigns to Syria and Palestine, suggesting that he became ‘royal *wb3*’ only under Amenhotep II.⁴⁴⁵ Binder and Shirley, however, refer to Suemniut as ‘royal *wb3*’ of Thutmose III.⁴⁴⁶ The tomb itself, as mentioned above, was constructed in the early years of Amenhotep II. The last phase of the construction, the decoration of the walls, was never finished, which suggests that Suemniut passed away relatively soon after the ascension of the king to the throne. Since the first hall contains several depictions of his official duty as ‘royal *wb3*’, and since designing and implementing the decoration take time, it seems to support the assumption that Suemniut had already borne the title ‘royal *wb3*’ and was active in this function for a longer period under the reign of Thutmose III. As the depictions and inscriptions of him in this role reveal, he was responsible for the inspection of drink supplies – both wine and some sort of drinks made of milk – for the royal palace on behalf of the ruler, preparation of the drinks themselves and sealing of the vessels in the cellars, all sort of things that were to be placed on the king’s table (*shꜥp jb* ‘which please the heart’), and the transportation of vegetables grown especially for the him. He was in charge not only of the drinks in the royal palace but of the food as well. In this respect his duties combined those of a cupbearer as well as a naperer, so it confirms that neither of these labels fit well enough to denote the wide ranging responsibilities of the representatives of this office.⁴⁴⁷

Besides his military and administrative titles discussed above, Suemniut held some religious titles as well, three of them directly connected to Amun. Binder suggests that these probably represent retirement titles,⁴⁴⁸ and the title *jmj-r3 jh.w n Jmn* ‘overseer of the cattle of Amun’ might reflect his active military service as *hrj-jhw* ‘stable master’. However, it is also possible that these religious titles may also refer to his father, Iamnefer,

⁴⁴³ Shirley, 2011, 301, n. 70.

⁴⁴⁴ Binder, 2008, 238–239.

⁴⁴⁵ Bryan, 2006, 101.

⁴⁴⁶ Binder, 2008, 238; Shirley, 2011, 305, n. 70.

⁴⁴⁷ For the representations of duties of the officials see p. 70.

⁴⁴⁸ Binder, 2008, 238, n. 905.

to some extent, who bore important religious titles.⁴⁴⁹ He was *jmj-r3 hm.w-ntr* ‘overseer of the prophets’, *sš htp-ntr Dhwtj nb Hmnw* ‘scribe of the divine offering of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis’, *wr dj m pr Dhwtj* ‘the Greatest of the Five in the temple of Thoth’, *hm ntr tpj n Dhwtj* ‘high-priest of Thoth’. Furthermore, he bore the ranking title *jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, and he was *h3tj-^c n Nfrwsj* ‘mayor of Neferusi’, as well as *hrp-ns.tj* ‘controller of the two thrones’ and *hrj-tp 3 n Wnt* ‘greatest among the chiefs in Unet’. He held an important place in local administration being not only the head of the city of Neferusi in the 15th Upper Egyptian nomos, but the first person of the whole nomos as well, and not only in regard to administration but also to sacral duties too. Moreover, the father of Iamnefer, Paahauti had also been ‘mayor of Neferusi’. As can be observed, Suemniut had the proper background to help him achieve a significant position in life, and as his titles prove, he improved upon his father since he bore not only one but three ranking titles (*jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, *htmtj-bjtj* ‘royal sealer’, *smr-w^c.tj* ‘sole friend’), and he attended in the personal service of the rulers. This latter is demonstrated by his several honorific titles that emphasize his close personal relationship with the king, such as *jmj-jb n ntr nfr* ‘favourite of the good god’, *w^c mnḥ wb3 n=fjb* ‘the excellent one to whom the heart has been opened’, *hrrw nswt hr tpt-r3=f* ‘with whose utterance the sovereign is content’, *jr ḥss.t jmj-^ch* ‘who does that which is praised by the dweller of the palace (i.e. the king)’ or *mn ḥs.wt m stp-s3* ‘stable in favour in the palace’. His trusted position under the king is also manifested in the three variations of the same phrase, *mḥ-jb nb=f* ‘confidant of his lord’, *mḥ-jb mnḥ n ntr nfr* ‘excellent confidant of the good god’, and *mḥ-jb n nswt m mry=f* ‘confidant of the king as his beloved’, which means to be entrusted by the king with a certain specific task that arises from an official duty or may also mean a special assignment.⁴⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the specific task or assignment is not indicated for any of the holders of this epithet in this corpus.⁴⁵¹

The sources are very fortunate in respect to the information on Suemniut’s family. Intriguingly enough, the inscriptions in his tomb name three of his wives, Qat,⁴⁵² Iunna⁴⁵³ and Taweret,⁴⁵⁴ however, there is no reference to when he married them or to their titles. On one of the offering scenes in the first hall, a child of Suemniut appears, but remains

⁴⁴⁹ For the inscriptions of Iamnefer, see Edwards, 1939, 3, pls. II-III; Helck, 1955-1958, 1453-1455.

⁴⁵⁰ Guksch, 1994, 38.

⁴⁵¹ The persons are Nebamun, Qenamun, Djehuti (I), Maaninakhtef, Parennefer.

⁴⁵² Porter – Moss, 1960, 187; Bryan, 1995, 15.

⁴⁵³ Bryan, 1995, 15.

⁴⁵⁴ Helck, 1955-1958, 1450.

unnamed.⁴⁵⁵ As mentioned above, the father of Suemniut was Iamnefer, and his grandfather Paahauti. His grandmother is not known, while the identity of his mother is uncertain. Porter and Moss state that she was Merit, who was mentioned in the tomb,⁴⁵⁶ but she was not designated as the mother of Suemniut, only as the wife of Iamnefer, namely *nb.t pr šmꜥjj.t n Dḥwtj* ‘lady of the house, and chantress of Thoth’. She also appears on the monuments of Iamnefer with the same title.⁴⁵⁷ On his graffito in Aswan, seven sons as well as seven daughters of Iamnefer and Merit are named, but none of them is Suemniut. If the mother of Suemniut was really Merit, he may have been a late child who was born after the graffito was finished. On a statue in Leiden (V 46) Iamnefer appears with a certain Mi, who was *sn.t=f wr.t-ḥnr.wt n Dḥwtj* ‘his sister, great of the ladies of the harem of Thoth’. Mi could also have been the mother of Suemniut, but in this case she might have passed away early, probably during childbirth, after which Iamnefer married Merit. This would also be an explanation for Suemniut missing from the children named on the graffito, as well as for Merit only being mentioned in the tomb as the wife of Iamnefer. The situation would be the same in the case of the sister of Suemniut, ‘chantress of Amun’, Iuny, with whom he is represented on a stele in Cairo (JE 27840).⁴⁵⁸ At the same time, Mi might also have been the real sister of Iamnefer, not his wife. Without more evidence the identity of the mother of Suemniut cannot be definitively ascertained.

At the end of his active career Suemniut supposedly retired in Thebes, as the connection of his retirement titles to Amun and his resting place imply. Besides his tomb, there are four funerary cones assigned to him: DM 143, DM 156, DM 163, DM 181, with different titles on each of them. Unfortunately, they do not provide any information on the sequence of the titles in time, and in this respect, on the career of Suemniut.

III.9. *Neferweben*

Date:	ca. Amenhotep II (based on the stylistic criteria of the tomb decoration)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Theban Tomb 238

⁴⁵⁵ Porter – Moss, 1960, 188 (3).

⁴⁵⁶ Helck, 1955-1958, 1451; Porter – Moss, 1960, 187.

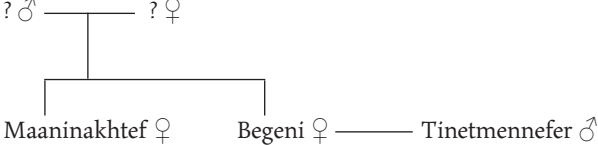
⁴⁵⁷ Helck, 1955-1958, 1454-1455.

⁴⁵⁸ I would hereby like to express my gratitude to Dr Susanne Binder, who provided me with the photo of the stele in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 27840).

Remains: – tomb structure
 Functional title: *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj*

Neferweben was *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ according to the inscription on the ceiling of the transverse hall in his tomb, TT 238, which is situated on the mound Khokha in Thebes.⁴⁵⁹ Unfortunately, nothing else can found out about him. He might have been active around the time of Amenhotep II’s reign, which dating is based on the stylistic criteria of the remains of the decoration and inscriptions in his tomb.⁴⁶⁰ The tomb itself has not been published.

III.10. *Maaninakhtef*

Date: Amenhotep II (based on the cartouche on the statue)
 Genealogy: ? ♂ — ? ♀

 Tomb: unknown
 Remains: – block statue, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 12926
 – stele, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.T.1 (V 93)
 – funerary cone DM 8
 Ranking title: *jrj-pꜥt ḥ3tj-ʕ*
 Functional titles: *wb3 nswt*
wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj
wb3 n nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj
jmj-r3 pr
jmj-r3 pr wr n nswt
jmj-r3 pr nb n nswt
jmj-r3 mr.t nb.t n.t nswt
jmj-r3 šnw.tj
jmj-r3 šnw.tj n nswt r Šmꜥw Mḥw
jmj-r3 ḥsb.w t n.w Šmꜥw Mḥw

⁴⁵⁹ Porter – Moss, 1960, 330.

⁴⁶⁰ For the dating and architectural description of the tomb, see Kampp, 1996, 515.

jmj-r3 jh.w n ntr nfr ʕnh wd3 snb

jmj-r3 3h.wt n nb t3.wj

jmj-r3 sh.tjw

jmj-r3 dhr.w n Jmn

jmj-r3 pr n Mntw nb W3st

Honorific titles: *hrd n k3p*

mh-jb n nb t3.wj

hsjj n ntr nfr

The ‘royal *wb3*’ Maaninakhtef can also be dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, however, with more certainty than Neferweben. On the right shoulder of his block statue (Louvre E 12926), the cartouche of the ruler provides hard evidence for the time the object was made as well as for the time of Maaninakhtef’s active service. Besides this statue, two additional monuments are available that provide information on him: a stele of a ‘royal scribe’ Paser from the time of Amenhotep III (RMO H.III.T.1 (V 93)), and the funerary cone (DM 8) of Maaninakhtef, although his tomb has not yet been discovered.

At first sight, the case of Maaninakhtef could cause some confusion, on the one hand, since his name appears in two variations on his remains (Maanakhtef and Maaninakhtef), and on the other hand, because of the date of the stele in Leiden. These two details might give the impression of being two individuals bearing the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ during the reign of Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III respectively. Schulman even listed Maaninakhtef among the Ramesside ‘royal *wb3*s’, obviously wrongly.⁴⁶¹ Furthermore, the functional titles on the three objects – thirteen altogether – do not show an unambiguous overlap, except for the one of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and two others in their longer and shorter versions. In spite of all these, Gessler-Löhr gives a convincing overview and analysis of the identity of Maaninakhtef and the time of his life.⁴⁶² She concludes that Maanakhtef and Maaninakhtef is one and the same person, who lived under Amenhotep II, as the cartouche on his block statue demonstrates. The donor of the stele in Leiden, Paser lived under Amenhotep III and – for some reason unknown to us – he presents an offering to Maaninakhtef, his brother, Begeni, and the wife of the latter, Tinetmennefer. Based on a parallel stele in the Louvre (V 65) of the same Paser, the pictorial and textual structure of which is very similar to the stele in Leiden, and on which Paser presents an offering to his grandparents, Gessler-Löhr surmises that Maan-

⁴⁶¹ Schulman, 1986, 201, Nr. 48; Schulman, 1990, 18, Nr. 60.

⁴⁶² Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 53–57.

inakhtef and the grandfather of Paser, who was *jmj-h.t* ‘chamberlain’, might have been contemporaries, both of them in service at the court of Amenhotep II. Helck also agrees that the two name variations belong to the same person, moreover he presumes his kinship with the family of Paser.⁴⁶³

Despite the relatively large number of his functional titles represented on his monuments, nothing can be ascertained about their temporal distribution. The inscriptions on the block statue contain *hṯp-dj-nswt* formulae addressed to different gods on the front⁴⁶⁴ and praises on the sides. The stele of Paser also holds a *hṯp-dj-nswt* formula, in the frame of which a long self-presentation of Maaninakhtef can be read, full of self-praising expressions but without any biographical data. Finally, as usual, the funerary cone does not have such information either.

Looking through the functional titles of Maaninakhtef, one can observe that he functioned in the royal administration, in connection with the royal domains, as well as in the royal household. His position in the latter is demonstrated by the three versions of the title that he meant as his most important one, since he repeated it nine times on his remains: *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ (seven times), *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* and *wb3 n nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’. The other titles were connected to the administration of the royal domains, and all of them derived from one function, denoted by two titles: *jmj-r3 pr wr n nswt* ‘high steward of the king’ and *jmj-r3 pr nb n nswt* ‘steward of every estate of the king’. Interestingly, all the functional titles are some sort of *jmj-r3* ‘overseer’ in different areas in connection with the royal domain, such as that of the servants, the double granary, the cattle, the arable lands, bread and the peasants of the king. Except for the two latter ones, every title has a specific indicative to the ruler, clearly expressing that the titles as well as the functions themselves refer to the private properties of the king and not those of the state.⁴⁶⁵ For instance, Maaninakhtef held the title *jmj-r3 šnw.tj n nswt r Šmꜥw Mḥw* ‘overseer of the double granary of the king in Upper and Lower Egypt’ and not the similar title, one of the highest positions in the state administration *jmj-r3*

⁴⁶³ Helck, 1958, 367.

⁴⁶⁴ For a similar textual structure on statues, see van de Walle, 1971, 131-133; and Desroches Noblecourt – Vercoutter, 1981, 222.

⁴⁶⁵ Helck, 1958, 103-104. Quirke does not see any evidence in the Middle Kingdom sources for private property of the king and for national land-holdings, and as he notes, the king(ship) is the state, so he does not see the high steward as manager of the private land-holdings of the king either. Quirke, 2004, 11. However, according to these titles, there was definitely a distinction between the two properties during the 18th dynasty, and a clear difference can be seen between the organization of the civil and royal administration, as Grandet names these spheres, which were responsible for the state and the royal administration respectively. See Grandet, 2013, 865-875.

šmw.tj ‘overseer of the double granary’. However, this title appears on his funerary cone, but it is clearly a shortened version of the first one because of the limited space on the object. Intriguingly, except for *jmj-r3 pr wr n nswt* ‘high steward of the king’, most of his titles are only attested by him, and only two of them are attested by two or three other persons.⁴⁶⁶

Maaninakhtef also held two religious titles, *jmj-r3 dḥr.w n Jmn* ‘overseer of the leathers of Amun’ and *jmj-r3 pr n Mntw nb W3st* ‘steward of Montu, lord of Thebes’. He must have been in close connection with Montu, since his block statue had once stood in his temple in Medamud, where it was found under the pavement.⁴⁶⁷ Both of these titles, the provenance of his block statue, as well as his presumed burial place in the Theban necropolis strongly imply that he lived in the Theban area. From his family only his brother, Begeni, and his sister-in-law, Tinetmennefer are known from the stele of Paser, the two being mentioned above. It is worthy of note that Maaninakhtef bore the ranking title *jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, as well as the epithets *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’, *mḥ-jb n nb t3.wj* ‘confidant of the lord of the Two Lands’ and *ḥsjj n nṯr nfr* ‘favoured of the good god’, which also refer to his prestigious position in the court, as well as to his trusted status by the king himself.

III.11. Iuti

Date:	Thutmose IV (based on the cartouche on the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 72268
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>ḥ3 n ^c.t ḥnk.t</i>
Honorific title:	<i>hrd n k3p</i>

Iuti is the only *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ who can be dated with certainty to the reign of Thutmose IV. His only remains is a round-topped stele found in Giza in the vicinity of the Sphinx.⁴⁶⁸ In the lunette of the stele there is a winged solar disc, while beneath, in the

⁴⁶⁶ Taylor, 2001, 10, 14, 17, 24, 28, 39, 43, 50, 60; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 5, 18, 49, 63, 95, 113, 132, 155.

⁴⁶⁷ For the circumstances of discovery of the statue, see Bisson de la Roque, 1927, 108.

⁴⁶⁸ Zivie, 1976, 166.

upper register, the figure of Thutmose IV is making an offering to Horemakhet, lying on a pedestal. In the lower register there is the kneeling figure of Iuti in a pose of adoration, with two columns of inscriptions before him. The quality of the workmanship of the stele is rather rough and poor, and it even appears to be unfinished. The figure of the king as well as the head of the owner are erased, which Hassan ascribes to disputes in the royal family.⁴⁶⁹ In the inscription of the owner there are either scribal oddities or mistakes by the stone-mason. The name of the owner is in the middle of the title string at the end of the first column, yet should be at the very end of the inscription.⁴⁷⁰ The other point of interest is the writing of the title *wb3 nswt*, as the sign *wb3* stands before the sign *nswt*, although the expected writing would be the reverse. Zivie mentions the repetition of the title at the top of both columns as a third point,⁴⁷¹ however, its second occurrence might be somehow related to the title *ʕ3 n ʕ.t hnk.t* ‘chief of the supplies magazine’⁴⁷² that follows it directly.

Based on the provenance of the stele, we may assume that Iuti was an official in the Memphite region. There is no information either on his origin, or about his family background, however, as he bore the epithet *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’, he must have come from the upper class of society and grown up in a palace.

⁴⁶⁹ Hassan, 1953, 81 and 84ff. He refers to a “fierce feud” in the royal family, similarly to the situation under Thutmose II, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and he suggested some other stelae as additional evidence for this theory.

⁴⁷⁰ This is also noted by Zivie, 1976, 168. There are some examples of placing the name between the titles, however, the importance of this practice is not clear.

⁴⁷¹ Zivie, 1976, 167.

⁴⁷² Al-Ayedi translates this title as ‘chief royal butler in the kitchen of the palace’, see Al-Ayedi, 2006, 227, however, I prefer the translation above based on Hannig, 2006, 136.

MIDDLE OF THE 18TH DYNASTY – AMENHOTEP III AND AKHENATENIII.12. *Heqanakht*

Date:	Amenhotep III (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)
Genealogy:	Heqanakht ♂ ——— Satre ♀
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AP.19
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>šmsw nb rww.t=f hr h3s.wt rsj.t mhj.t</i>

In contrast to the only ‘royal *wb3*’ dated to Thutmose IV, several officials in this function can be attested during the reign of his successor, Amenhotep III, both from the northern and the southern region. One of them is Heqanakht, who presumably, served in the palace in Memphis, however, there is scant information on his life.

Heqanakht, together with his wife, Satre, are known from a stele in Leiden (RMO AP.19), the owner of which is *jdwn n ꜥ.t hnq.t* ‘deputy of the beer chamber’, Paimred. The stele might have stood in his tomb. The name of his wife, Nebetnehet, ‘lady of the sycamore’ suggests a connection with the Memphite area, as well as the place of the tomb in the necropolis of Saqqara.⁴⁷³ According to Bresciani, the stele can be dated to the time of Amenhotep III based on the double contour of the torso of the figures, which is characteristic of the era,⁴⁷⁴ with which dating Gessler-Löhr also concurs.⁴⁷⁵ The connection between Paimred and Heqanakht is unknown, they were presumably colleagues or somehow related.⁴⁷⁶

Heqanakht is designated as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, also as *ꜥ n ntr nfr* ‘agent of the good god’ on the stele. His title *šmsw nb rww.t=f hr h3s.wt rsj.t mhj.t* ‘follower of the lord on his journeys to the southern and northern lands’ is also mentioned, which refers to his participation in military campaigns in

⁴⁷³ Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 73.

⁴⁷⁴ Bresciani, 1981, 94, n. 13.

⁴⁷⁵ Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 73.

⁴⁷⁶ According to Leemans, 1840, 280, Heqanakht and his wife receive an offering from their son and daughter in the second register, however, this kind of relationship is not plausible, since the mother of Paimred was named as Rai in the inscription at the bottom of the stele.

attendance to the ruler. Referring to Helck’s earlier study, Gessler-Löhr notes⁴⁷⁷ that the prefix *hq3* in personal names of the 18th dynasty refers to a foreign origin, however, in the case of Heqanakht, this statement can neither be contradicted nor confirmed.

III.13. Sennefer

Date:	Amenhotep III (based on the stylistic criteria of the statue)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– sistophor statue, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 21595
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr wr n nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 hm.w ntr n Pth-hntj-Tnnt</i> <i>jmj-r3 hm.w ntr n Mnw nb Jpw</i> <i>hm ntr tpj n Jmn m Hnt-nfr</i> <i>sšmw-hb n Pth</i>

Besides Heqanakht, another ‘royal *wb3*’, Sennefer can also be associated with the Memphite region, primarily based on his titles and the presumed provenance of his monument, however, the chronological relation between the two persons cannot be determined. The date of the statue, as well as the time of Sennefer, to the reign of Amenhotep III is based on stylistic criteria, mainly on the facial characteristics of the figure.⁴⁷⁸

The only source available to us about Sennefer is his sistophor block statue in Berlin (ÄM 21595), that was most likely placed in the temple of Bastet in Bubastis.⁴⁷⁹ On the front of the statue, a Hathor-headed naos-sistrum is represented in bas-relief, with the name of the goddess,⁴⁸⁰ to whom Sennefer appeals for a blessing, namely for a good old age and

⁴⁷⁷ Helck, 1958, 272-273; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 73.

⁴⁷⁸ Vandier, 1958, 454; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 71. Kees and Helck wrongly dated the statue to the Ramesside era, see Kees, 1953, 109; and Helck, 1961, 925 (143).

⁴⁷⁹ Clère, 1970, 2; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 71; Schulz, 1992, 80.

⁴⁸⁰ For the sistophor statues and their connection with goddesses, see Clère, 1970, 2.

a good lifetime in the palace.⁴⁸¹ This latter desire refers to his official duties as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ as well as *jmj-r3 pr wr n nswt* ‘high steward of the king’,⁴⁸² and to his honoured position in the royal court. Besides being a member of the royal administration and household, he held various religious titles that also demonstrate his sacral activity. The two titles connected to Ptah (*jmj-r hm.w ntr n Pth-hntj-Tnnt* ‘overseer of the prophets of Ptah, Foremost-of-Tjenenet’,⁴⁸³ *sšmw-ḥb n Pth* ‘leader of the festival of Ptah’) and the one connected to Amun (*hm ntr tpj n Jmn m Hnt-nfr* ‘high priest of Amun in Khenetnefer’⁴⁸⁴) also confirm that Sennefer might have served in the royal palace of Memphis.⁴⁸⁵

However, there is no information on his family or his burial⁴⁸⁶, as Helck suggests,⁴⁸⁷ his religious title *jmj-r3 hm.w-ntr n Mnw nb Jpw* ‘overseer of the prophets of Min, lord of Achmim’ might be an indication of his origin, as a position he had fulfilled earlier in his career.

⁴⁸¹ Gessler-Löhr raises the possibility of a connection between the office ‘royal *wb3*’ and the service of certain goddesses, based on the sistophor statues of Sennefer and Sarenenutet Tjaiu (BM EA 1459) dedicated to Bastet and Hathor respectively, and the statue of Neferrenpet (I) (Louvre E 14241) depicted him as a scribe, also mentioning his role as mediator of Hathor. See Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 71-72. Apart from these three persons, however, there is no other ‘royal *wb3*’ in this corpus who held any title or demonstrated any evidence relating to a connection with these goddesses. As all of the three men were contemporaries, a possible explanation might be the popularity of sistophor statues in the private statuary in this era.

⁴⁸² Gessler-Löhr notes that in this position Sennefer might have been the predecessor of the well-known Amenhotep Hui. Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 71-72.

⁴⁸³ For the title, see Kees, 1953, 110.

⁴⁸⁴ A settlement at the southern boundary of the Memphite nome, see Gauthier, 1927, 182; Gardiner, 1947, 121-122.

⁴⁸⁵ Helck, 1958, 374; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 71.

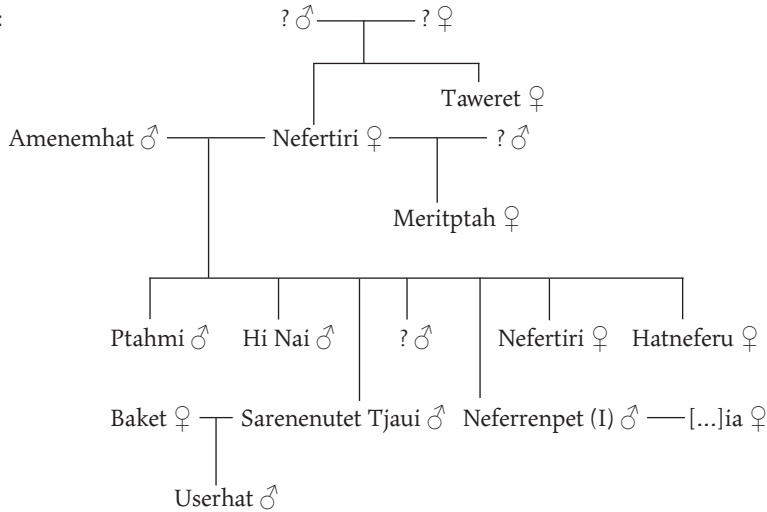
⁴⁸⁶ Zivie raises the possibility that his tomb was in Bubasteion, based on the same name and the title ‘high steward of the king’ of a person who might have had a tomb in common with Merire, however, it cannot be proved that he also bore the title ‘royal *wb3*’. See Zivie, 1988, 108, and n. 19; Zivie, 1997, 379.

⁴⁸⁷ Helck, 1958, 374; see also Kees, 1953, 110.

III.14. Neferrenpet (I)

Date: Amenhotep III (based on the stylistic criteria of the monuments)

Genealogy:



Tomb: unknown

Remains:
 – statue, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 14241
 – relief fragment, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1972.651
 – funerary cone DM 335?

Functional titles:
wb3 nswt
wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj
jmj-r3 pr
3 n ^c.t n nb t3.wj

Besides his colleagues discussed above, an additional *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, Neferrenpet (I) can also be dated to the reign of Amenhotep III based on the stylistic and philological criteria of his monuments⁴⁸⁸, and the same is true in the case of his colleague, the *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Sarenenutet Tjaiui,⁴⁸⁹ who was most likely also his brother and the individual discussed in the following.⁴⁹⁰ These two individuals are the only ones in the corpus who had a family relationship, apart from Ptahemwia (II) and Hori who were father and son.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ Drioton, 1933, 2, n. 2, 20–22; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 57.

⁴⁸⁹ Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 61–63, 70; Kozloff – Bryan, 1992, 284.

⁴⁹⁰ See on p. 142.

⁴⁹¹ For the discussion on Ptahemwia (II) and Hori, see p. 214. and 221. respectively.

In addition to their title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenenutet Tjaui share another common factor in their official careers, namely that both of them held the title *jhjj* ‘sistrum player’ of Hathor, which function they emphasized on their sistophor statues. The sandstone statue of Neferrenpet (I) found in the Theban necropolis,⁴⁹² is now located in Paris (E 14241), and once might have stood in the temple of Hathor in Deir el-Bahari. The point of interest of this intermediary statue is that it depicts the owner sitting on a cushion in scribal posture with a small basin before him, holding a menat in his right hand, while once a sistrum was presumably held in his left hand, however, it is missing. This latter feature, as Clère noted,⁴⁹³ makes the statue extraordinary, since sistophor statues are usually completed with the symbol of Hathor in a naos or the symbol is depicted on the body of the statue itself, but in this case, the instrument itself was attached to it. Neferrenpet (I) addresses himself as *jhjj* ‘sistrum player’ of his mistress, a herald of the lady of truth, who mediates the petitions addressed to the goddess to her inside her sanctuary, as he says. Furthermore, he states that his hands were pure to offer the menat before the Ennead. According to these statements, Neferrenpet (I) indeed had access to the sanctuary of Hathor, and the basin before him on his statue might refer to his additional duty of making a libation before the goddess.⁴⁹⁴ This religious function might refer to a Theban function place of his, although it also can be considered that he was appointed in this office only after his retirement as a reward for his useful service in the royal court. According to his function titles on his statue, he served in the royal household as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ – he also bore the title *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ – and *ꜥ3 n ꜥ.t n nb t3.wj* ‘chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands’, as well as in the royal administration as *jmj-r3 pr* ‘steward’. Contrary to Gessler-Löhr’s suggestion,⁴⁹⁵ according to which being of clean of hands as a priest derives from his being of *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, this pure feature of Neferrenpet (I) has two separate aspects, his religious duty towards the goddess Hathor, on the one hand, and on the other hand, his duty as a ‘royal *wb3*’ to his lord who was a living manifestation of a god.

Neferrenpet (I) is also depicted on the relief block of his brother, Sarenenutet Tjaui (Boston, MFA 1972.651), in an offering scene together with his wife, [...]ia, and the sister of his mother, Taweret. A sem-priest presents an offering before them, who is labelled

⁴⁹² Boreux, 1933, 12-13.

⁴⁹³ Clère, 1970, 1-3. For the sistophor statues of ‘royal *wb3s*’, see also note 481. in the discussion on Sennefer above.

⁴⁹⁴ Boreux, 1933, 16.

⁴⁹⁵ Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 58.

as *s3 n sn=f sš* ‘son of his brother, the scribe’ Userhat. Since the owner of the monument ideally appears as a sem-priest in the offering scenes, it seems an obvious conclusion that Userhat is the son of Sarenenutet Tjaiui and consequently, Sarenenutet Tjaiui is the brother of Neferrenpet (I). Moreover, Neferrenpet (I) is identified as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *ʕ3 n ʕ.t n [nb t3.wj]* ‘chief of the chamber of [the lord of the Two Lands]’, these titles overlapping the ones on his sistophor statue, therefore the identity of the two individuals seems to be certain.

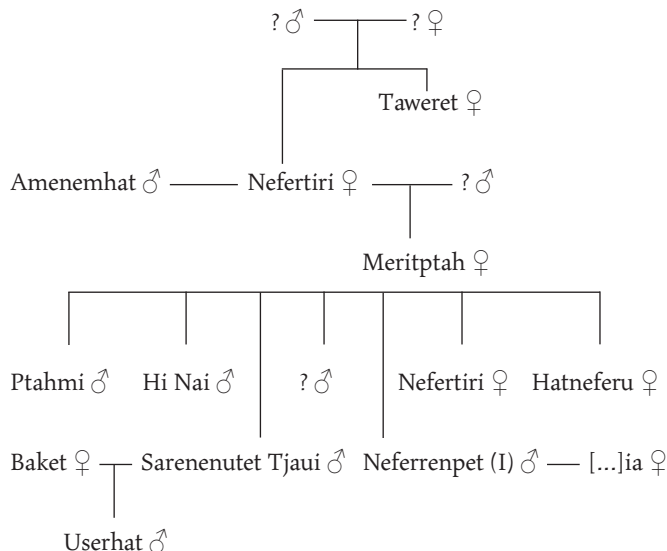
As for the family background of Neferrenpet (I), there is a wide range of information regarding his family members based on another monument of his brother, Sarenenutet Tjaiui (offering table, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 27987 + Pennsylvania, Penn Museum, 29-87-474 + Luxor fragment), a detailed discussion of whom can be found below.

Neferrenpet (I) must have been buried in the Theban necropolis based on the funerary cone DM 335, the ownership of which can most likely be assigned to him.⁴⁹⁶

III.15. Sarenenutet Tjaiui

Date: Amenhotep III (based on the stylistic criteria of the monuments)

Genealogy:



Tomb: unknown

Remains: – block statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 632

⁴⁹⁶ Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 57.

- block statue, London, British Museum, EA 1459
- brick, London, Petrie Museum, UC69964
- brick, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 15704
- brick, Philadelphia, Penn Museum, 29-86-717
- relief fragment, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1972.651
- offering table, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 27987 + Philadelphia, Penn Museum, 29-87-474 + Luxor fragment
- shabti, present location is unknown

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt*
wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj
*jrj-^c.t n pr Wrt-*hk3w**
*^c3 n w^cb.w n Wrt-*hk3w**
^c3 n w^cb.w

The *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Sarenenutet Tjaiui most likely served under the reign of Amenhotep III and his burial place was also in the Theban necropolis, similarly to his brother, Neferrenpet (I) discussed above. The date of his service is based on the stylistic and philological criteria of his monuments,⁴⁹⁷ however, some scholars mistakenly dated his activity to the 19th dynasty.⁴⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Gessler-Löhr remarks that in regard to their form and content, the monuments of Sarenenutet Tjaiui do not follow conventions but represent original solutions, which also supports a dating under the reign of Amenhotep III, a period in which several innovations were introduced in various areas of art.⁴⁹⁹

Similarly to his brother, Neferrenpet (I), Sarenenutet Tjaiui also had a sistophor intermediary statue which was found in the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari⁵⁰⁰, which is now located in London (BM EA 1459). In contrast to the statue of Neferrenpet (I), in the hand of which the instrument itself was attached, the black granite block statue of Sarenenutet Tjaiui represents the symbol of Hathor – in this case the head of the goddess – at the front, as the sistophor statues usually do.⁵⁰¹ The head of the owner is missing, unfortunately, but the menat appears in his left hand, just as on the statue of his brother. The inscription addresses Sarenenutet Tjaiui as *jhjj* ‘sistrum player’

⁴⁹⁷ Drioton, 1933, 2, n. 2, 20-22; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 61-63, 70; Kozloff – Bryan, 1992, 284.

⁴⁹⁸ Daressy, 1916, 57; Porter – Moss, 1972, 259, 395; Schulman, 1986, 201; Pinch, 1993, 172.

⁴⁹⁹ Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 66-67, 70.

⁵⁰⁰ Porter – Moss, 1972, 395; Pinch, 1993, 172; Clère, 1995, 200-207.

⁵⁰¹ Clère, 1970, 1-3. For the sistophor statues of ‘royal *wb3s*’, see also note 481. in the discussion on Sennefer above.

of Hathor, who listens to the petitions and mediates them to the goddess. His pureness appears in the text as well, however, the end of the line of this statement is missing.

The other granite statue of Sarenenutet Tjauī was found in the Mut temple at Karnak, now located in Cairo (CG 632). It is unique in terms of its shape which can be identified as a bust or pillar with the only sculptural element, the head of the owner on the top.⁵⁰² All the four sides are covered with inscriptions addressed to various gods in favour of the well-being of the owner in the netherworld. Both statues identify Sarenenutet Tjauī as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ with references to his duty in the royal court, more precisely in the royal household, close to the person of the ruler himself. In addition, the statues inform us that he was also active in the religious sphere as *jrj-ꜥ.t n pr Wrt-ḥk3w* ‘keeper of the storehouse of the temple of Werethekau’⁵⁰³ and as *ꜥ3 n wꜥb.w n Wrt-ḥk3w* ‘chief of the wab-priests of Werethekau’.

Sarenenutet Tjauī can be seen carrying out his duties as the priest of Werethekau on his limestone relief block found at Dra Abu el-Naga,⁵⁰⁴ now located in Boston (MFA 1972.651). Since this sort of object, a free-standing stone slab erected into the sand or on a pedestal, is primarily known from the tombs dated to the post-Amarna period in the Memphite necropolis, with a figural program on its front and inscription on its back, according to Gessler-Löhr, the relief block of Sarenenutet Tjauī is unique from this early period.⁵⁰⁵ Concerning its shape and textual content, the monument should be interpreted as a stele, nevertheless, its architectural correlation with the tomb itself is not unequivocal.⁵⁰⁶ The front side of the relief block, besides appearing in his religious function mentioned above, represents the owner among his servants and some of his relatives, namely his brother, Neferrenpet (I) and his wife, [...]ia, as well as his son, Userhat, who acts as sem-priest in the offering scenes. His parents, who are named on the London and Cairo statues as well, are also represented, in one of the offering scenes: his father was Amenemhat, abbreviated to Hat, and his mother was named Nefertiri, abbreviated to Ri. We are informed about a sister of his mother, named Taweret, as well as a daughter

⁵⁰² Vandier, 1958, 473-474; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 65.

⁵⁰³ Mekawy Ouda reconstructs two titles connected to the goddess on the Cairo statue, ‘the guardian of the temple of Werethekau’ and ‘the overseer of the *šnꜥ* of Werethekau’, however, the latter one is reconstructed incorrectly based on an inaccurate copy of the inscription by Borchardt. See Borchardt, 1925, 180-183; Mekawy Ouda, 2014, 114; Mekawy Ouda, 2015, 363.

⁵⁰⁴ Simpson, 1987, 42.

⁵⁰⁵ Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 65.

⁵⁰⁶ Clère, 1981, 232; Gessler-Löhr, 1990, 66; Kozloff – Bryan, 1992, 284.

of his mother, presumably from another marriage since the inscription labels the daughter as *sn.t=f n mw.t=f Mrjj(.t)-Pth* 'his (i.e. Sarenenutet Tjaiui) maternal sister Meritptah'.

Another monument of Sarenenutet Tjaiui, which provides information on his family, is a limestone offering table, the fragments of which are now located in Cairo (JE 27987), in Philadelphia (29-87-474) and in a private collection in New York.⁵⁰⁷ Its front side shows several relatives sitting in the bottom right corner, among whom the wife of Sarenenutet Tjaiui, Baket appears in the first place, with his brothers and sister behind her. Two of his brothers, Ptahmi and another one whose name has been lost, were designated as *sdm-š n t3 ntr:t* 'servant of the goddess' that might also indicate their activity in the service of Werethekau. The sitting figure of Sarenenutet Tjaiui was depicted above the relatives, however, and now only his feet and the bottom of the offering table before him can be seen. At the left end of the front side, two individuals are depicted one above the other in the function of sem-priest, seemingly labelled as *sdm-š T3wj p3 nds(?)* 'the servant, Tjaiui, the younger' and *T3wj p3 wr* 'Tjaiui, the older', respectively. According to Silverman,⁵⁰⁸ they could be the sons of Sarenenutet Tjaiui, as at the same time he notes that it might also be possible that the two persons represent the same individual and the two bird determinatives were intended to be the same, in spite of the clear difference in their tail. In any case, the identity of these persons is not clearly determined, and as they are sem-priests, the son or sons of the deceased might be expected in this function, however, there is no mention of a son or sons of Sarenenutet Tjaiui with the same name on his monuments, which, however, is in itself not a reason for exclusion. On the right end of the back side two figures are also represented one above the other, however, since this area is quite fragmented, only part of the name of the upper figure is legible, presumably Ptahmi, one of the brothers of the deceased.

Besides the Cairo statue and the relief block mentioned above, the offering table with its peculiar textual content augments the specially designed monuments of Sarenenutet Tjaiui.⁵⁰⁹ The front side contains chapters 25 and 595 of the Pyramid Texts, and the major part of the text has a parallel in the tomb of Rekhmire.⁵¹⁰ The back side of the offering table represents chapters 268, 269, 275, 276 and 307 of the Pyramid Texts, while the left

⁵⁰⁷ A fragment that originated from Luxor was sold in an auction of the Bonhams auction house in 2017, see <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/24251/lot/15/?category=results&length=90&page=1>, last access on 21.10.2020.

⁵⁰⁸ Silverman, 1982, 68.

⁵⁰⁹ For a detailed discussion of the textual program of the monument, see Clère, 1981, 213-234; Silverman, 1982, 67-70.

⁵¹⁰ Davies, 1943, pl. LXXVI; Clère, 1981, 224-225.

short side allocates a place to spell 902 of the Coffin Texts, which also has a parallel in the tomb of Rekhmire.⁵¹¹

Maspero mentions⁵¹² a shabti once kept in the Bulaq Museum and assigns its provenance Bab el-Meluk in Thebes, yet, the object has appeared in none of the later lists or publications of shabties, and its present location is unknown.⁵¹³ No illustration is available of the shabti, it is therefore not possible to date the object based on stylistic criteria. Its inscription names an *wb3 nswt T3wj* and makes it highly probable that the shabti belonged to the royal *wb3* Sarenenutet Tjaui, despite the slight difference in the written forms of the name.⁵¹⁴

The tomb of Sarenenutet Tjaui must have been in the upper cemetery of Dra Abu el-Naga in the Theban necropolis, since more of his monuments have been found there,⁵¹⁵ such as the relief block (MFA 1972.651), the fragment of the offering table, which is now located in the Penn Museum (29-87-474), and a brick, also located in the Penn Museum (29-86-717), which might be part of an architectural element of the tomb indicated by the angle of its surface. Two similar objects can be found in the Petrie Museum (UC69964) and in the Neues Museum (ÄM 15704) which are also connected to Sarenenutet Tjaui as the inscriptions on them prove mentioning his name and his titles *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *3 n w3b.w n Wrt-ḥk3w* ‘chief of the wab-priests of Werethekau’. Both bricks are curved, which indicates that they might have been part of an arch or a vault, probably at the entrance or in the superstructure of the tomb.

III.16. *Setau*

Date: Amenhotep III (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)

Genealogy:

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      Setau ♂ ——— Henutweret ♀
            |
            +-----+
            |         |
            |         |
      son ♂?      Nia ♀?
  
```

⁵¹¹ Davies, 1943, pl. XCVI,2; Clère, 1981, 226.

⁵¹² Maspero, 1889, 10, pl. 36e.

⁵¹³ I would hereby like to thank Frauke Pumpenmeier for providing me with information on the shabti and for her valuable notes on its probable connection to Sarenenutet Tjaui.

⁵¹⁴ The name of Sarenenutet Tjaui consequently appears as  on his other remains, while the name on the shabti appears as .

⁵¹⁵ For a detailed description of the provenance of the monuments, see Clère, 1981, 232-234.

Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, 849-1-338
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>
Honorific title:	<i>hrd n k3p</i>

The *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the *kap*’ Setau can also be dated to Amenhotep III, based on the stylistic criteria of his stele (Musée Granet 849-1-338), mainly on the facial characteristics of the owner, and on the personal names that appear in the inscription.⁵¹⁶

The provenance of the stele is unknown. It contains three registers. In the upper register, Setau and his wife, Henutweret adore Osiris sitting under a canopy. In the middle register, at the left side Setau and his wife are also sitting with a boy and a girl before them, the son of a person with an unidentified name, and Nia, daughter of an unknown woman. At the left side of the register, another couple are sitting, Ipeni and his wife, Kia, with the granddaughter of Kia, named Niui behind them, and with a girl, Tui, daughter of a woman before them. All the persons are named in the inscription at the bottom of the stele, under their figures. The family relationship between the two couples is not defined, nor is it clear to whom the possessive suffix refers in the cases of Nia and Tui. They might be the daughters of Henutweret and Kia respectively, the couples to whom they present an offering. Based on this concept, the son at the left side might be the son of Setau and Henutweret. Another woman is named and represented at the far left side at the bottom of the stele, Medetnakht, whose identity and relationship with the other members of the offering scene are not defined either.

Unfortunately, nothing else can be found out about the life and career of Setau, only that he grew up in a palace and that he was engaged in the personal service of the ruler.

III.17. Seth

Date:	Amenhotep III – Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (?) (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Bubasteion I.13

⁵¹⁶ Barbotin, 1995, 52. I would hereby like to thank Musée Granet for providing me with the photo of the object.

Remains:	– tomb structure – stele, Saqqara
Ranking titles:	<i>jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c</i> <i>smr-w^c.tj</i>
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj</i> <i>jmj-r3 [...]</i> <i>[...] nb t3.wj</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>ḥsjj n nb t3.wj</i> <i>mrj nb=f</i>

Similarly to Setau, the dating in the case of Seth is also based on the stylistic criteria of the facial characteristics of the owner on his stele⁵¹⁷ found not far from his tomb in the Bubasteion (I.13).⁵¹⁸ According to this, Seth was active under Amenhotep III, as the stele must have been made at the end of his reign, and he might have continued his career under Akhenaten.⁵¹⁹ The location of his tomb indicates that he served in the royal palace in Memphis.

The rock-cut tomb consists of three rooms, one opening from the other, with a limestone door frame in the second passage, and a burial shaft opening from the third room. Unfortunately, the wall decoration is not accessible in several parts of the tomb because of later masonry built up in front of the walls to stabilize the structure of the tomb, which would have had to have been removed to gain access to the walls. Furthermore, the walls of the first room are severely damaged due to the infiltration of water over the years.⁵²⁰ The limestone door frame leading to the third room provides information on the owner of the tomb: some titles and the name of Seth can be read on the lintel and the door-jambs.⁵²¹ In the third room, remains of engraved and painted wall decoration depict the seated tomb owner, identified by his name and, receiving an offering from a man standing before him.⁵²²

⁵¹⁷ Zivie, 1998, 179.

⁵¹⁸ For a general overview of the tomb and the stele, Zivie, 1997; Zivie, 1998, 36-37.

⁵¹⁹ Zivie, 1997, 378-379; Zivie, 1998, 37; Zivie, 2000, 179.

⁵²⁰ Zivie, 1997, 375; Zivie, 1998, 36-37.

⁵²¹ Zivie, 1997, 375.

⁵²² Zivie, 1997, 376.

The large rectangular limestone stele of Seth was found not far from the entrance of his tomb, under the sand, with its decorated face upwards.⁵²³ It has a cornice at the top, and a round-topped stele in the middle within an inscribed frame. The symmetrical inscriptions on the frame are *htp-dj-nswt* formulae to Re-Harakhti and Osiris on the left and right, respectively. The field of the stele contains two registers. In the upper one, the two figures of the owner, standing in the middle, adore Re-Harakhti and Osiris again on the left and right respectively, corresponding to the offering formulae on the frame, with a similar sort of inscription above them in the lunette. In the lower register, only the upper body and head of a presumably sitting couple has remained, who, it is supposed, are Seth and his wife.

Sadly, nothing can be ascertained about the family background or the origin of Seth. The inscriptions in his tomb and on his stele⁵²⁴ only reveal some of his titles and honorific titles, based on which one can draw some conclusions about his duties and status in life. He bore at least two ranking titles, *jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’ and *smr-w^c.tj* ‘sole friend’, which refer to his privileged position in the highest circles of the royal court. Besides these titles, his close connection to the ruler is expressed by the two honorific titles, *hsjj n nb t3.wj* ‘favoured of the lord of the Two Lands’ and *mrj nb=f* ‘whom his lord loves’, as well as the fact of being in the personal service of the king in the royal household attested by the titles of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’. He held some sort of overseer title as well, however, it cannot be ascertained at present what he was responsible for. Based on a representation in the first room of his tomb, Zivie presumes that Seth had a certain military role as well.⁵²⁵ The figure of Seth on the right in the upper register of the stele is depicted with the Gold of Honour around his neck.⁵²⁶ On the one hand, this fact would support Zivie’s supposition that Seth served in the army, on the other hand, it would refer to Seth having been among the officials who were bestowed with this award on the occasion of one of the sed-festivals of Amenhotep III for their useful services to foster the prosperity of the country.⁵²⁷

⁵²³ Zivie, 1997, 376.

⁵²⁴ Zivie, 1997, 375-377.

⁵²⁵ Zivie, 2007, 62. According to the oral communication of Prof. Zivie, there is a military, but not a battle scene on the wall in the first room, with soldiers represented holding standards. I would hereby like to thank him for his kind help and information as well as his suggestion regarding the discussion on Seth.

⁵²⁶ Zivie, 1997, 382, Fig. 3b.

⁵²⁷ Binder, 2008, 223, 241-243.

It is worthy of note that the name of Seth appears in the inscriptions in two variations, namely Seth, Setesh, both on the door frame in the tomb and on the stele, and while Zivie has discussed the issue of their unusual spelling in detail the reason for this cannot as yet be determined.⁵²⁸

III.18. *Parennefer*

Date:	Amenhotep III (?) – Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (based on biographical data and on the cartouche in the tomb)
Genealogy:	Parennefer ♂ ————— ? ♀
Tombs:	Theban Tomb 188 Amarna Nr. 7.
Remains:	– tomb structures
Ranking titles:	<i>jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c</i> <i>ḥtmtj-bjtj</i>
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj</i> <i>wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj n ḥm=f</i> <i>jmj-r3 ḥm.wt nb.t n.t nswt</i> <i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj m s.t nb.t ḥnd.n.f</i> <i>^c3 [...] nswt</i> <i>[...] r3 n Ḥr m pr=f</i> <i>jmj-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nswt m pr Jtn</i> <i>jmj-r3 ḥm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w</i> steward (no hieroglyphic source) overseer of the granary (no hieroglyphic source)
Honorific titles:	<i>ḥm nswt n tj sw m jnpw</i> <i>mḥ-jb n ntr nfr</i> <i>mḥ-jb n nswt</i> <i>mḥ-jb n nswt m [...]</i> <i>ḥsjj r pr:f m ḥ.t</i> <i>ḥsjj n nb=f</i> <i>ḥsjj n ntr nfr</i>

⁵²⁸ Zivie, 1997, 377-378.

hsjj ʕ3 n nb t3.wj
hsjj mrj nb t3.wj
mr.t ntr
wr m j3w.t=f
sr m h3t rhy.t
wʕ tkn m hʕ.w ntr
wʕ n nswt m s.t wʕ [...]tw
ʕq r ʕh pr hr hs.wt
ʕ3 m sʕh=f
smnh mnw=f m pr Jtn
m[...] Šmʕw Mhw
[...] 3.t r 3.t
[...] n ntr nfr
[...] n nb [...]
 favourite of Akhenaten (no hieroglyphic source)

While Setau presumably continued his career under Akhenaten, Parennefer may have begun his own under Amenhotep III, however, there is no unequivocal evidence to support the latter supposition. His dating under Akhenaten is certain, based on the cartouches in his tomb – TT 188 – in the Theban necropolis. More precisely, the construction and decoration of the tomb must have been carried out during the early years of the king, since the cartouches represent his throne name of the period when he still used the name Amenhotep before he moved to Amarna in his fifth regnal year.⁵²⁹ Parennefer was one of the many officials who had followed his lord to the new capital, where he started to construct a new tomb, and moreover, became an important person of the royal entourage.

The decoration and inscriptions of the two tombs mainly represent the personal relationship of Parennefer with the king, and reveal less of his official duties, however, there is some information from which one can draw conclusions about his career. His tomb in Thebes is located in the Asasif, facing north-east. Originally, the tomb was supposed to be constructed on a T-shaped plan, nevertheless, the axial corridor was never completed.⁵³⁰ The façade of the tomb was once decorated, and Davies, as well as Porter and Moss, men-

⁵²⁹ Davies, 1923, 139; Redford, 1995, 63.

⁵³⁰ For an architectural description of the tomb, see Kampp, 1996, 475-478; for the description of the tomb and its decoration, see Davies, 1923; Porter – Moss, 1960, 293-295; and Redford, 1995.

tion the remains of a royal offering scene with the figure of the king and the inscribed lintel of the entrance, however, Redford discovered during her work about 70 years later that the decoration had almost completely gone and the inscription on the lintel had been damaged as well.⁵³¹ The transverse hall was once divided by six pillars and two pilasters, of which only traces remain in most cases. On the thickness of the entrance, where parts of the figures of the owner and his wife remained only on the left side, the fine relief work shows that this was typical of tomb decoration in the last years of Amenhotep III.⁵³² This feature might indicate the start of the decoration of the tomb, as well as the active official duty of Parennefer under the reign of this king.⁵³³ The eastern part of the north-eastern long wall together with the half of the end wall joining to it were devoted to the depiction of the official activities of the owner: he is reporting to the king standing on a podium under a canopy, while scribes and men are measuring grain behind him, as well as inspecting vintages, with the scene of men processing grapes and sealing jars. The inscription above Parennefer in the grain measuring scene, naming him as *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* 'royal *wb3* clean of hands', refers to measuring the grain offering for all the gods, especially to Aton, supposedly in his official function as an 'overseer of the granary', the vintage scene, on the other hand, demonstrates his function as 'royal *wb3*'.

On the two focal points of the tomb on the south-western wall of the transverse hall, the figures of the king and the queen under a canopy had once been visible. On the left side of the wall, an important episode in the life of Parennefer is depicted, namely his being rewarded with the Gold of Honour.⁵³⁴ As Binder pointed out, during the reign of Akhenaten, the primary purpose of rewarding certain members either in influential positions in state administration or in his personal service was to ensure their loyalty to the person of the king, as well as to his political and religious reforms.⁵³⁵ At the same time, a sort of interdependence can be observed: not only the officials depended on the power of the ruler, but the ruler himself was dependent on the individuals with whom he had surrounded himself, since they ensured his safety, and directed persons and things that came into his immediate presence, thus their reliability in this politically sensitive situation was extremely important.⁵³⁶

⁵³¹ Davies, 1923, 136; Porter – Moss, 1960, 293-294; Redford, 1995, 63-64.

⁵³² Redford, 1995, 67.

⁵³³ Shirley classifies Parennefer among the officials whom Akhenaten retained from the time of his father, however, she does not give any explanation for this claim. Shirley, 2013, 597-598.

⁵³⁴ Binder, 2008, 302-303.

⁵³⁵ Binder, 2008, 223, 243-244.

⁵³⁶ Binder, 2008, 244.

Expressing a close personal connection with the king is generally typical among the tomb scenes and inscriptions of the era,⁵³⁷ and both tombs of Parennefer well demonstrate this. Besides the depictions and accompanying texts of adoration or on making an offering to the king or the royal couple, which emphasize the autocracy of the ruler and the dependency of the subject on him – both in life and in the afterlife –,⁵³⁸ the numerous honorific titles intended to show the close relationship of Parennefer to his lord. They are also informative regarding certain aspects of his life and career. He mentions himself as *hm nswt n tj sw m jnpw* ‘servant of the king when he was young’,⁵³⁹ which indicates either his growing up together with Akhenaten, or serving him as an official under his father as mentioned above. In both cases, he must have been in a lower position in the court during this time, since he declares – twice – in his tomb that Akhenaten was the one who made him great because of his character.⁵⁴⁰ This statement is supposed to refer to his promotion to ‘royal *wb3*’, which title appears at least seventeen times in both of his tombs, indicating its importance for its bearer, as well as gaining his two ranking titles, *jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’ – also appearing six times in the tomb – and *htmtj-bjtj* ‘royal sealer’. Besides, his religious titles *jmj-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nswt m pr Jtn* ‘overseer of all the works of the king in the temple of Aton’ and *jmj-r3 hm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w* ‘overseer of the prophets of every god’ also demonstrate his prestigious position among the courtiers, standing close to the ruler himself and taking part in the materialization of his religious ideas. To demonstrate how inaccurate the judgement of the importance of a person depending on the resources available to us can be, it is worth quoting Davies’ final remark on Parennefer in his publication of the Amarna tomb, years before he started to work on TT 188: “Considering the very modest titles of Parennefer – Craftsman of the King (Plate iii.) He who washes the hands of His Majesty (Plates iii., vii.) – it is not surprising that we have no other record of his existence than his tomb. Indeed, the display he makes is probably somewhat incommensurate with his position. By economizing on the size of his tomb he managed to have it decorated with sculptures designed for larger walls and illustrating the careers of bigger men than himself; but he did not court rebuff by obtruding his name. If the erasure of the name in the entrance

⁵³⁷ Shirley, 2013, 600.

⁵³⁸ Davies 1923, 138.

⁵³⁹ In his tomb Nr. 7. in Amarna.

⁵⁴⁰ On the lintel above the entrance of the tomb and in the hymn to Re-Harakhti on the left thickness of the entrance door.

is not accidental, it would appear that with all his prudence he failed to escape the reward of the overweening".⁵⁴¹

The other tomb of Parennefer is located in the southern group in Tell el-Amarna (Nr. 7).⁵⁴² It is rather modest compared to his Theban tomb, consisting of a transverse hall, with two additional rooms opening from the left end wall, and a shrine. Both the construction and the decoration of the tomb were left unfinished. The façade, similarly to TT 188, is decorated, showing the royal family worshipping Aton, as well as the figure of the owner making his own offering. On the left thickness of the entrance, the royal family and their entourage⁵⁴³ are depicted in a posture as if they had just arrived at the tomb for a visit. The right thickness gives place to the figure of Parennefer, with the golden rewards around his neck, and a hymn to Aton before him. The northern side of the eastern wall of the transverse hall is dedicated – here again – to the rewarding of Parennefer, not only with the Gold of Honour, but with numerous other presents as well, the delivery of which to his house can be seen further to the right on the wall. This latter part of the wall decoration is unfinished, just like those on the other parts of the left side of the tomb. On the northern side of the western wall, the king can be seen under a canopy with two persons bowing and kneeling before him. Davies assumes that the kneeling man, who is seemingly taking care of the feet of the king, could be Parennefer himself,⁵⁴⁴ nevertheless, there is no inscription naming any of the officials.

Nothing is known about the family background of Parennefer. His wife is depicted in TT 188 and the name on the right thickness of the Amarna tomb Nr. 7., but her name has not remained. According to Davies, since there was no burial chamber in the Amarna tomb, he returned to Thebes to be buried, presumably in one of the shafts he discovered, however, Redford could not detect any of them during his work.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴¹ Davies, 1908, 6.

⁵⁴² For the description of the tomb and its decoration, see Bouriant, 1903; Davies, 1908; Porter – Moss, 1968, 219–221.

⁵⁴³ Davis suggests that the figure in the lower register carrying a ewer and a towel might be Parennefer himself, although he is not mentioned by name, only with the label 'cleanser of His Majesty's hands'. Davies, 1908, 2.

⁵⁴⁴ Davies, 1908, 5.

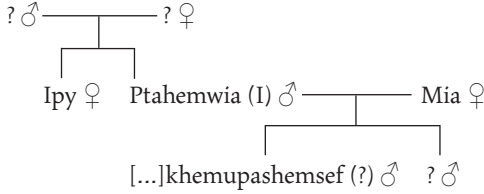
⁵⁴⁵ Davies, 1923, 136; Redford, 1995, 67.

III.19. Nakhuempaaton

Date:	Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (based on the provenance of the relief fragment)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– relief fragment, London, Petrie Museum, UC077
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

The *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Nakhuempaaton is known only from a relief fragment (Petrie Museum UC077) from Tell el-Amarna. Based on the provenance of the fragment, supposedly coming from a stele of Nakhuempaaton, he served under Akhenaten. The fragment shows only part of a leg, presumably that of the owner, with part of an offering formula above, naming him. Unfortunately, nothing else can be revealed about him. Nonetheless, the use of the word *wdpw* in the title instead of the more frequently used *wb3* is worthy of note.⁵⁴⁶

III.20. Ptahemwia (I)

Date:	Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten – Tutankhamun (based on the stylistic criteria of the tomb decoration)
Genealogy:	 <pre> graph TD A[? ♂] --- B[? ♀] A --- C[Ipy ♀] A --- D[Ptahemwia (I) ♂] D --- E[Mia ♀] D --- F[...khempashemsef (?) ♂] D --- G[? ♂] </pre>
Tomb:	Saqqara
Remains:	– tomb structure – pilaster, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, EG 1891 – doorjamb, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 8383
Ranking titles:	<i>jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c</i> <i>htmtj-bjtj</i> <i>smr-w^c.tj</i>

⁵⁴⁶ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj</i> <i>šmsw nb=f tj sw m jnpw</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>hrj-ssṯ3 n w3d.tj</i> <i>hsjj ʕ3 n ntr nfr</i> <i>mrw.tj n nb t3.wj</i> <i>mrj nb=f</i> <i>wr m ʕh</i> <i>sprr m t3 r-dr=f</i>

Besides Parennefer and Nakhuempaaton, Ptahemwia (I) can also be dated to the Amarna period, under the reign of Akhenaten, and he continued his career under his successor, Tutankhamun as well. However, in contrast to two of his contemporary colleagues, who served in Thebes as well as Tell el-Amarna, he carried out his official duties in Memphis, indicating that his tomb was in the necropolis in Saqqara.⁵⁴⁷

The tomb is situated in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway, among the tombs of other contemporary courtiers of high rank, such as Meryneith, Maya or Horemheb himself. The rectangular monument is built in mud-brick with a limestone pavement and revetment, most of which has been preserved, and among them the lower part or base of some limestone papyrus-formed columns. The entrance opens into to a peristyle courtyard, with a central chapel and two side chapels at the back. The shaft leading to the subterranean chambers is located in the middle of the courtyard. The limestone revetment mainly remained on the northern part of the courtyard and in the thickness of the entrance gate, as well as partly in the thickness and on the lower half of the northern and central chapel, respectively. On the northern jamb of the west face of the entrance gate, the sitting figure of the owner is depicted with an inscription above him in raised relief. The decoration on the west face of the eastern wall is unfinished, funerary scenes can be seen only sketched in red ink, depicting the conveyance of the mummy and mourners. The scene on the eastern part of the joining northern wall is also unfinished, however, the beginnings of a carved out part represent the owner and his wife ploughing. Further to the west, the decoration is completed and represents Ptahemwia (I) in his office inspecting a domain. The western part of the wall shows funeral scenes again: the ritual of the opening of the mouth, and making an offering to the deceased and his wife. Parts of the decoration

⁵⁴⁷ For the rediscovery and structure of the tomb, see Raven et al., 2007; Raven et al., 2009; Raven, 2020, 13-17, 37-52; for the person of the owner, see Raven, 2017; Raven, 2020, 27-33. I would hereby like to thank Prof. Raven for his kind help, as he provided me with the manuscript of the relevant part (Chapter II, regarding the life and career of Ptahemwia) before the publication of his book.

remained on the lower part of the northern wall and at the entrance of the central chapel, depicting funeral and workshop scenes, the latter probably also demonstrates the official duty of the owner, as well as some remains of the doorjambs of the northern side chapel still in their original place. Two architectural elements of the tomb are located in museums: a doorjamb in Cairo (JE 8383) and a pilaster in Bologna (EG 1891),⁵⁴⁸ the original place of this latter was supposed to be on the eastern part of the northern wall, where a gap can be seen in the revetment.

The dating of the tomb, as well as the active duty of Ptahemwia (I), are based on the stylistic characteristics and features of the wall decoration.⁵⁴⁹ Two phases can be distinguished in the making of the decoration. The western parts of the tomb, namely the central and side chapels, show typical Amarna-style reliefs, even the west portico before the chapels seems to belong to this decoration phase. The walls of the peristyle courtyard, however, represent reliefs featuring the style of the reign of Tutankhamun. An interesting element also supports the separate preparation phases of the decoration, yet not exactly in the same way that the stylistic features do. Two variations of the name of the owner can be discovered in the inscriptions of the tomb. Although in most cases his name is written as Ptahemwia (I), in one case it appears as Amunemwia, on a column panel in the west portico of the tomb. This part of the tomb might have belonged to either phases of decoration mentioned above, namely under Akhenaten as well as under Tutankhamun, however, the fairly negligent carving of the panel suggests its belonging to the earlier period.⁵⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the usage of the two variations of the name demonstrate temporal differentiation in making the decoration even under the reign of Akhenaten. It seems that Amunemwia was the original name of the tomb owner, used in the early reign of the king, until ca. his 9th regnal year. Around that time, bearing a personal name containing the name of Amun started to cause problems in relation to the political-religious policy of Akhenaten, namely the beginning of his ostracism of the god Amun. In this situation, changing the name was recommended, especially for a person in a high ranking position as the tomb owner was. As Raven notes, since the representation of the god Ptah was acceptable and compatible with the religious concept and policy of Akhenaten, and already Akhenaten around this time, it was an acceptable solution for Amunemwia to change his name to Ptahemwia.⁵⁵¹ On the same

⁵⁴⁸ For the history of the two architectural elements, see Staring, 2015, 35–36.

⁵⁴⁹ Raven et al., 2007, 26–27; Raven et al., 2009, 14; Raven, 2017, 584; Raven, 2020, 136–144.

⁵⁵⁰ Raven, 2017, 584.

⁵⁵¹ For a detailed discussion on the change of the name, see Raven et al., 2007, 28; Raven et al., 2009, 13–15; Raven, 2017, 584; Raven, 2020, 27–29. As Raven notes, leaving the name Amun on this panel of the tomb might have been an oversight by the agents of Akhenaten, or it could also have been the result of the fact

panel containing the name Amunemwia, there is a title, similarly to the one of Parennefer, which provide further information on the life of Ptahemwia (I): *šmsw nb=f tj sw m jnpw* 'follower of his lord while he was young'.⁵⁵² This phrase might refer to some sort of official activity in the service of the later Akhenaten during the reign of his father, Amenhotep III, however, it might also be an indication of their growing up or being educated together in a palace. None of them can be proved unequivocally.

The only functional title that Ptahemwia (I) held is *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʿ.wj* 'royal *wb3* clean of hands', appearing eleven times in his tomb. As Staring notes, it is rather surprising, since one could expect a longer title list in the case of knowing an official from a large monument like a tomb.⁵⁵³ The case of Ptahemwia (I), however, contradicts this notion. He was presumably appointed to this high position by Akhenaten after the latter's accession.⁵⁵⁴ There is no attestation to his presence in Amarna, although it is possible that he made an official visit there during his life. An elaborated scene on the northern wall of the courtyard represents Ptahemwia (I) fulfilling his official task as 'royal *wb3*', while inspecting a domain.⁵⁵⁵ In the centre of the scene, the tomb owner is standing turning back to the two estate managers who are supposedly rendering an account of the estate to him. On the other side of him, a servant presents the produce of the fields. All the accompanying scenes around Ptahemwia (I) demonstrate his high position and his luxurious circumstances while travelling: his private charioteer can be seen on his right side above the servant presenting the produce; on the other side, his armed escort is depicted above the estate managers, led by a *hꜣry šmsw=f* 'commander of the escort', a person of such rank usually working for the king himself;⁵⁵⁶ on the left of the scene, a large tent is represented with the wife of Ptahemwia (I), Mia, inside, while servants and musicians are acting around her; and under the tent, three boats are shown at a landing stage, symbolizing the private flotilla of the tomb owner, on which he travels through the country. Another scene which may refer to the official duties of Ptahemwia (I) as 'royal *wb3*', according to Raven, is the workshop scene on the lower part of the northern wall in the

that the iconoclasm in Saqqara was not so vehement as in other parts of the country, which is proved by more examples where the name of Amun has not been destroyed. Raven, 2017, 585.

⁵⁵² As the word *jnpw* 'young' was only employed for the future king, it could only refer to Akhenaten when he had been prince. Raven, 2017, 587.

⁵⁵³ Staring, 2017, 599.

⁵⁵⁴ There are remains of decoration on the south wall of the courtyard, which, according to Raven, might represent his installation in this new office, rather than the scene of his being rewarded with the Gold of Honour. Raven, 2017, 588; Raven, 2020, 23, note 62.

⁵⁵⁵ Raven et al., 2007, 23; Raven, 2017, 588; Raven, 2020, 32–33, 85–91.

⁵⁵⁶ Raven, 2017, 588; Raven, 2020, 32.

central chapel,⁵⁵⁷ where his figure must have once been in the upper register while inspecting the products. This would support the fact that ‘royal *wb3s*’ were responsible not only for food production for the palace, but for other items and deliveries as well.⁵⁵⁸

The inspection scene on the domain discussed above reveal another important detail of the career of Ptahemwia (I). He is depicted with the Gold of Honour around his neck. Being rewarded is supposed to have happened during the reign of Tutankhamun,⁵⁵⁹ together with gaining his three ranking titles: *jrj-pꜣt ḥ3tj-ꜣ* ‘member of the elite, foremost of action’, *ḥtmjtj-bjtj* ‘royal sealer’, and *smr-wꜣ.tj* ‘sole friend’. These rewards secured Ptahemwia (I) with a position in the most prestigious circle of the courtiers as well as society. Raven notes that moving the royal residence to Memphis during the reign of Tutankhamun must have lent new impetus to the career of Ptahemwia (I), the result of which was manifested in the reward.⁵⁶⁰ He must have been one of the several officials who served under Akhenaten as well, with the help of whom the officials in the leading positions (Ay, Horemheb, and probably Maya as well) tried to take control of the restauration and maintain the stability of the country.⁵⁶¹

The several honorific titles he presented in his tomb also demonstrate his close personal connection with the king. The most interesting one is *ḥrj-sšt3 n W3d.tj* ‘master of secrets of the two cobra goddesses’, the second part of which can only refer to the ruler himself, and not to a religious title.⁵⁶² It emphasizes the intimate relationship with the king, and the responsibility and virtue of someone serving in a highly trusted position with undoubted loyalty to his lord, although none of the other ‘royal *wb3s*’ or ‘royal *wdpws*’ in this corpus designated themselves with this epithet.⁵⁶³ Not only he, but his wife, Mia was also an honoured member of the royal court, as expressed by her honorific title *ḥsjj.t ꜣ.t n nb t3.wj* ‘greatly favoured of the lord of the Two Lands’ in the inspection scene. Besides, the title of Mia, *šmꜣjj.t n Jmn wꜣb ꜣ.wj* ‘chantress of Amun clean of hands’, provides additional proof of the dating of the decoration of the courtyard, since it implies the reopening of the Amun temple in Memphis under the reign of Tutankhamun. The epi-

⁵⁵⁷ Raven, 2017, 589; Raven, 2020, 33.

⁵⁵⁸ For the duties of the officials, see p. 69.

⁵⁵⁹ Binder, 2008, 246, 307 (mistakenly dated Ptahemwia (I) to the 19th dynasty); Raven, 2017, 588; Raven, 2020, 32.

⁵⁶⁰ Raven, 2017, 587-588; Raven, 2020, 31-32.

⁵⁶¹ Binder, 2008, 223, 244-246; Shirley, 2013, 602-603.

⁵⁶² Raven, 2017, 586; Raven, 2020, 30.

⁵⁶³ Sobekhotep had a similar epithet *ḥrj-sšt3 n ꜣḥ šps* ‘master of secrets of the august palace’, see on p. 231.

thet *wꜥb ꜥ.wj* 'clean of hands', however, is quite unusual in this context.⁵⁶⁴ Next to the inspection scene, to the west on the northern wall of the courtyard, an offering scene reveals more family members of Ptahemwia (I): an elderly woman called Ipy, who must have been his sister, and two of his sons, with part of the name of the older one, called [...]khemupashemsef. There is no mention, however, of the parents of Ptahemwia (I). Nevertheless, the offering formula on the doorjamb in Cairo (JE 8383) names Horus-Khentikheti and Osiris who dwells in Athribis, deities worshipped in Athribis, which would denote that he originated from that part of the country. Moreover, Raven assumes some sort of kinship between Ptahemwia (I) and an exotic looking couple, who appear both in the tent in the inspection scene and behind his seat in the offering scene, identifying them as possible Asiatic descendants, perhaps from Mitanni.⁵⁶⁵ It might indicate the foreign origin of the tomb owner himself, which may even be conceivable regarding the very close ties between the two territories during the era.

There is no information on the end of Ptahemwia (I)'s career, or the place of his burial. The tomb has been left unfinished, supposedly due to his untimely death. The subterranean part of the tomb provided no inscribed material that would prove his ownership.⁵⁶⁶

It must be noted that he cannot be identical with his colleague of the same name who served under Ramesses III, there is not even the slightest proof of their being related through family.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ Raven, 2017, 585.

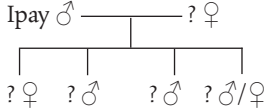
⁵⁶⁵ Raven, 2017, 598-599; Raven, 2020, 33.

⁵⁶⁶ Raven et al., 2009, 6; Raven, 2017, 590.

⁵⁶⁷ Málek, 1988, 133; Raven et al., 2007, 28; Raven, 2017, 585; Raven, 2020, 30.

LATE 18TH DYNASTY – FROM TUTANKHAMUN TO HOREMHEB

III.21. Ipay

Date:	Tutankhamun/late 18 th dynasty (based on the cartouches on the finds in the tomb)
Genealogy:	 <pre> graph TD Ipay[Ipai ♂] --- UnknownFemale[? ♀] Ipay --- Child1[? ♀] Ipay --- Child2[? ♂] Ipay --- Child3[? ♂] Ipay --- Child4[? ♂/♀] </pre>
Tomb:	Dahshur North
Remains:	– tomb structure – stamped bricks – stele
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>sš nswt</i> <i>sš nswt m3ꜥ</i>
Honorific title:	<i>mrj=f</i>

The *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Ipay is known from his tomb in the necropolis north of Dahshur, as well as from two stamped bricks and a stele of him, found during the excavation.⁵⁶⁸ According to the cartouches on the objects found in the shafts of the tomb, the structure can be dated to the post-Amarna period, most likely during the reign of Tutankhamun.⁵⁶⁹

The superstructure of the tomb is missing, however, the foundation and the lower courses of the mudbrick walls show the plan of one of the largest tombs found in Dahshur, with its ca. 47 m length and 17 m width.⁵⁷⁰ The tomb structure consists of a ramp, a first

⁵⁶⁸ For the excavation of the tomb, description of its structure and the finds, see Yoshimura et al., 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Yoshimura – Hasegawa, 2000.

⁵⁶⁹ Yoshimura et al., 1999, 8; Yoshimura et al., 2000, 5; Yoshimura et al., 2001, 6. Yoshimura and Hasegawa suggest a post-Amarna date also based on an architectural feature of the tomb, mud-brick superstructure with a limestone revetment, which process was used in tombs dated after the transfer of the capital from Amarna to Memphis by Tutankhamun until the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, see Yoshimura – Hasegawa, 2000, 147. Shirley suggests that Ipay continued to serve under Ay and Horemheb, see Shirley, 2013, 603.

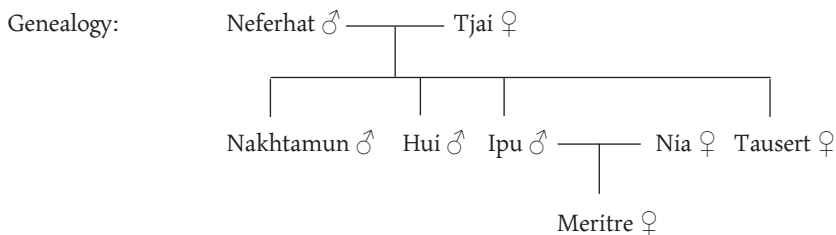
⁵⁷⁰ It is similar in size to the tomb of Horemheb or Maya and Meryt in Saqqara, for the tomb publications see Martin, 1989; Martin, 2012.

courtyard with a shaft on the northern part, a second courtyard with another shaft in the middle, a central cult chapel, and two side rooms next to this latter. It is not known whether Ipay was buried here or somewhere else, since none of his burial remains have been found. The objects with his inscriptions were found out of the tomb structure: stamped bricks in a depression north of the ramp, and a stele under the tafla debris south of the ramp.⁵⁷¹ Two types of stamps were used on the bricks, a one-columned and a two-columned version, naming Ipay as *sš nswt* 'royal scribe' and *sš nswt m3ꜥ mr=f wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* 'true royal scribe', 'his beloved', 'royal *wb3* clean of hands' respectively.⁵⁷² The limestone stele, with a pyramidal top, contains two registers, in the upper one Ipay is adoring Osiris, Isis and Nephthys, in the lower one he is sitting on the left with his two sons, his daughter, and his younger child standing before him.⁵⁷³ The title string, which appears in the upper register above the owner, is similar to that of the two-columned brick stamp: *sš nswt m3ꜥ mr=f jmj-r3 pr* 'true royal scribe', 'his beloved', 'steward'.

Unfortunately, based on the scarce data regarding the life and career of Ipay, only a short conclusion can be drawn: he must have served in the post-Amarna era, most likely under the reign of Tutankhamun, in the royal palace of Memphis; he served in the royal household as 'royal *wb3*', as well as in the royal administration as 'true royal scribe' and 'steward', however, the precise designation of this latter title is not known, one might suppose that it was applied to the royal domains.

III.22. Ipu

Date: Tutankhamun/late 18th dynasty (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)



Tomb: most likely in Saqqara

Remains: – stele, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AP.9 (V 12)

⁵⁷¹ Yoshimura et al., 2001, 6, 9.

⁵⁷² Yoshimura et al., 2000, 18, Figs. 3-4.

⁵⁷³ Yoshimura et al., 2001, 9, pl. 18.

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt*
 wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj
 wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj n nb t3.wj

As a contemporary colleague of Ipay, Ipu also served in the royal palace in Memphis in the post-Amarna period, based on the stylistic features of the figures on his stele (RMO AP.9 (V 12)), with great certainty under Tutankhamun.⁵⁷⁴ Sadly, similarly to Ipay, the data available to us about Ipu are quite limited, as there is no other source on him, except his stele. The inscriptions identify him by only one functional title, which appears in three variations, namely *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ and *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj n nb t3.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands of the lord of the Two Lands’, and altogether seven times, which seems to be a rather high number compared to the fact that they are on a single object.

The tomb of Ipu has not been found, however, it must have been located in the necropolis in Saqqara, according to the inscription on his monument, in which he is praying for a beautiful burial in the west of Memphis (*jmnt.t Mn-nfr*).⁵⁷⁵ The field of the limestone, rectangular, naos-shaped stele is divided into two registers, framed by inscriptions and a shortened depiction of a funeral procession on the base. In the upper register, Ipu presents an offering to Osiris sitting under a canopy, while in the lower register, the owner, his wife and his daughter do the same to his parents and three of his siblings. This latter scene is informative, at least about the family of Ipu: his father was Neferhat, *hrj-ḥb.t n ꜥ3-ḥpr:w-Rꜥ wꜥb n Jmn* ‘lector priest of Aakheperure’ and ‘wab-priest of Amun’, his mother Tjai, without any title, he had two brothers, Nakhtamun and Hui, and one sister, Tausert, all of them must have died before him. The text also names the wife and daughter of Ipu as Nia and Meritre, respectively. The scene on the base represents the funeral at the tomb, before the miniature tomb façade itself,⁵⁷⁶ with wailers and offering bearers.⁵⁷⁷ In both registers, the Gold of Honour can be seen around the neck of Ipu, who was supposedly rewarded by Tutankhamun for his faithful services.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁴ Berlandini, 1982, 202; Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 28; Freed et al., 1999, 280. Schulman mistakenly listed Ipu among the Ramesseid officials. Schulman, 1986, 201, Nr. 43.

⁵⁷⁵ Gessler-Löhr, 1997, 34, n. 29; Freed et al., 1999, 280.

⁵⁷⁶ For the possible tomb structures representing the model façade, see Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 28; Staring, 2015, 173-174.

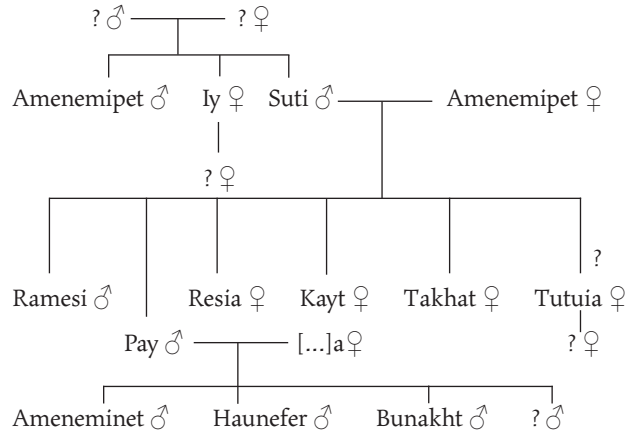
⁵⁷⁷ I would hereby like to thank Rijksmuseum van Oudheden for providing me with the photo of the object. The hieroglyphs on the base, however, are too small and less carefully carved, thus collating of the text would be needed for an adequate transcription.

⁵⁷⁸ Binder, 2008, 246, 289.

III.23. *Pay*

Date: post-Amarna (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)

Genealogy:



Tomb: probably in Abydos

Remains: – stele, München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 50

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt**wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj**ḥrj jrj-ꜥ3**ḥrj jrj-ꜥ3 n nb t3.wj*

The limestone stele of Pay, now located in München (ÄS 50), is stylistically comparable to that of his contemporary colleague, Ipu, which dates the object, as well as the activity of Pay to the end of the 18th dynasty, during the post-Amarna era, however, without placing him under any specific rulers.⁵⁷⁹ The stele itself does not reveal much about his occupation, only that he bore the titles *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, as well as *ḥrj jrj-ꜥ3 n nb t3.wj* ‘main doorkeeper of the lord of the Two Lands’. This latter title also places him into the royal palace, to a position of controlling who is allowed to enter into the presence of the king. In addition, the figure of Pay is wearing the Gold of Honour around his neck, nevertheless, it cannot be ascertained which king was the bestower of the reward.⁵⁸⁰

Contrary to his official duties, the stele tells much more about the family of Pay, yet unfortunately, he is the only member of it whose titles are mentioned. Based on the

⁵⁷⁹ Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 27–28.

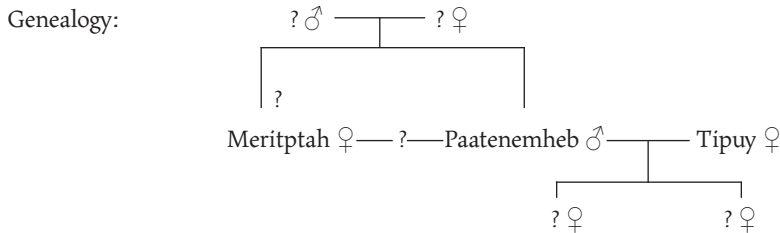
⁵⁸⁰ Binder, 2008, 301. She dates Pay to the 19th dynasty.

information, an extended family tree of three generations can be drawn up, which is without example among the ‘royal *wb3s*’ and ‘royal *wdpws*’ in this corpus. In the upper register, Pay, his father, Suti and his brother, Ramesi adore Osiris and Isis. In the middle register, a double offering scene took place, on the left Pay and his wife are sitting before Semeni and Kayt, the latter is one of the sisters of Pay, while on the right, the father and mother of Pay, Suti and Amenemipet are sitting with the brother and sister of Suti, Amenemipet and Iy before them. In the lower register, a male relative(?) and four sons of Pay are represented on the right, and his brother, Ramesi, two of his sisters, Resia and Takhat, his female cousin, and probably, his niece on the left.

Although the provenance of the stele is not known, the epithet of the god ‘who settles in Abydos’ in the upper register allowed Gessler-Löhr to draw the conclusion that Pay must have been buried near this place.⁵⁸¹

III.24. *Paatenemheb*

Date: Horemheb (based on the stylistic criteria of the tomb chapel)



Tomb: Saqqara

Remains: – tomb chapel and stele, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMT 1-35 and AP 52

– wooden stick, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AH 140c

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt*
wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj
wb3 nswt n ḥm.t nswt wr.t
rwꜥw

Honorific titles: *ḥsij n ntr nfr*
ḥsij 3 n ntr nfr
mrr nb t3.wj ḥr bj.t=f

⁵⁸¹ Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 28.

The *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Paatenemheb⁵⁸² is known from his tomb chapel and a wooden stick located in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (AMT 1-35, AP 52, AH 140c). His tomb, to which the chapel once belonged, was situated in the necropolis in Saqqara, however, it has not been found. Nevertheless, based on the fact that it shows a close parallel in its stylistic characteristics and similarities to the tombs of Maya and Horemheb, a possible location in the area around these tombs is conceivable. The analogy of the decoration allows us to date Paatenemheb to the post-Amarna period, most likely under the reign of Horemheb.⁵⁸³ The location of his tomb also denotes that he most probably carried out his official duties in the royal palace in Memphis.

The plan of the tomb of Paatenemheb must have been similar to that of the tombs of his contemporaries, where the chapel was the central one between two side chapels at the western end of a peristyle court.⁵⁸⁴ Two papyrus-formed columns, and elements of the portico in front of the chapel, can still be seen together with the chapel in the museum, each of them holding three offering formulae. The walls of the chapel, according to its purpose as the main cult place of the tomb, give place almost exclusively to offering scenes. In addition, on the right side wall, musicians are represented before the sitting figures of the owner and his wife, and their two daughters squatting under their seats, with part of the well-known Song of the harper above them.⁵⁸⁵ On the wall left of the entrance, scenes connected to death and the netherworld are depicted: the fields of Iaru, the owner and his wife ploughing, combined with Chapter 110 of the *Book of the Dead*. A large stele occupies the centre of the rear wall. It has a cavetto cornice on the top, the frame contains two rows of *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formulae, and the central field is divided into two registers. In the upper register, Paatenemheb and his wife adore Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and the Horus-sons, in the lower register, a man named Kasa and a woman present an offering to the owner and his wife. Kasa also appears in another offering scene elsewhere in the chapel, he is designated as *sdm n pr-ʿ3* ‘servant of the palace’, but his relationship with the owner is not defined. The figure of Paatenemheb on the stele is decorated with

⁵⁸² Gessler-Löhr discussed the possibility in detail that Paatenemheb and his contemporary, Paraemheb might or might not have been the same person who changed his name at a certain point of his life, but based on their titles and known relatives, she concluded quite convincingly that they were two different persons. Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 29-31.

⁵⁸³ Schneider – Raven, 1981, 95; Málek, 1985, 46; Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 31; Hoffmann, 2004, 100; Gessler-Löhr, 2012, 158, with n. 35, and 188, with n. 170.

⁵⁸⁴ Málek suggests, however, based on the presence of the vignette of the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 110 on the southern part of the eastern wall, that the tomb was one of the ‘compact type’ tombs with only one room on the western end. Málek, 1985, 46, n. 18.

⁵⁸⁵ Simpson, 2003³, 332-333.

the Gold of Honour around his neck.⁵⁸⁶ He is the third among his colleagues during the post-Amarna period who was honoured with this reward. It is quite possible that he wore the golden reward in other scenes of the chapel as well, however, as the upper row of the limestone slabs is missing, the owner can only be seen below his shoulders.

Paatenemheb bore the only functional title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ in his chapel, repeated twenty-one times, as well as its variation *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, which appears twice. Another title can also be read on the wooden stick, *rwꜥdw* ‘representative’, and an additional variation of his ‘royal *wb3*’ title, but this time concerning the spouse of the king, namely *wb3 nswt n ꜥm.t nswt wr.t* ‘royal *wb3* of the great royal wife’. This implies that he was in a close connection with the wife of the king just as he was with the king himself, and acquired a position of trust in the private household of both of them.⁵⁸⁷ Two of his three honorific titles, which also support his honoured place in the court, also appear on his wooden stick within a text of autobiographical content:⁵⁸⁸ it is a short inscription with some important virtues of a loyal official, or actually a good person.

As for the family of Paatenemheb, as mentioned above, his wife was called Tipuy, who was *šmꜥjj.t n Jmn* ‘chantress of Amun’, and he had two daughters who were not named. There is no information on his parents. An intriguing point in his family tree, however, is the identity of the woman represented on the left doorjamb of the chapel sitting under the seat of Paatenemheb. In the literature on the chapel, she is referred to as the mother of Paatenemheb, Meritptah.⁵⁸⁹ But if one looks at the inscription above her, although the word concerning their kinship is partly broken, signs *n* and *t* can clearly be seen, together with remains of sign *f*, which altogether can barely be read as *mw.t=f* ‘his mother’, rather *sn.t=f* ‘his sister’, completing with the initial sign *sn* lost in the outbreak. According to this, Meritptah was either the sister or a second wife of Paatenemheb, in the latter case without the temporal relationship between the two women being known.

⁵⁸⁶ Binder dates his being rewarded to the reign of Tutankhamun. Binder, 2008, 246, 301.

⁵⁸⁷ Gessler-Löhr raises the possibility, that the figure of a butler behind Horemheb as king in the tomb of Neferhotep in Thebes (TT 50) could be interpreted as the image of Paatenemheb or his contemporary colleague, Qema (see below on p. 168.). At the same time, she notes that there were likely to have been more than two ‘royal *wb3s*’ in the service of Horemheb, so any identification cannot be proven. Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 32.

⁵⁸⁸ According to Hassan, the stick is one of the rare examples representing this type of text. Hassan, 1976, 153.

⁵⁸⁹ Boeser, 1911, 2; Porter – Moss, 1981, 709, Schneider – Raven, 1981, 95. According to Hari, she is the wife of Paatenemheb, however, he identifies Paatenemheb as the brother or husband of Tipuy, and the potential father of Kasa, and mistakenly read the title of Paatenemheb as *ꜥmww nswt* ‘royal craftsman’. See Hari, 1976, Nr. 82.

III.25. Qema

Date: Horemheb (based on the stylistic criteria of the pillar)

Genealogy: 

Tomb: most likely in Saqqara

Remains: – pillar, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, EG 1892

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj*

jmj-r3 *h**nwtj*

The only source available to us about *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Qema is his limestone pillar from his tomb, now found in Bologna (EG 1892). The provenance of the pillar is Saqqara, which locates his tomb in the necropolis there, although it has not been found, and which also implies that Qema served in the royal palace of Memphis. His name and titles appear only in the inscription of the pillar, however, the figure of another person, a certain *jmj-r3 ꜥhntwj* ‘chamberlain’ Paraemheb,⁵⁹⁰ is represented in the action of the votive motif of offering the djed-pillar, symbolizing the sacral ritual of erecting the real object.⁵⁹¹ There are no data regarding the relationship between the two men, but Paraemheb presumably was the father of Qema⁵⁹² and presents an offering for his son. The pillar is usually dated to the end of the 18th dynasty and/or the beginning of the 19th dynasty,⁵⁹³ however, according to the stylistic characteristics of the figure of Paraemheb, showing the still strong influence of the artistic features of the Amarna period, the tomb as well as the activity of Qema must have been dated to the reign of Horemheb.⁵⁹⁴

Similarly to Paraemheb, Qema also bore the functional title *jmj-r3 ḥnwtj* ‘chamberlain’. Although the meaning of the title itself and the duties of its holders are highly enigmatic, it can be stated that these officers were in the private service of the king. Maspero thought that *ḥnwtj* would be the closed, inaccessible part of the royal palace, where the stores,

⁵⁹⁰ For the possibility that Paraemheb and his contemporary, Paatenemheb were the same person, see above note 582.

⁵⁹¹ Helck, 1939, 61. For similar pillars from tombs in the Saqqara necropolis, see Gauthier, 1935. Ramessesesemperre has a similar depiction on his pillar, for his discussion, see p. 201.

⁵⁹² Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 29, 31; Ferrari – Piacentini, 1990, 118; Morigi-Govi, 1994, 41.

⁵⁹³ Curto, 1961, 85; Porter – Moss, 1981, 751; van Dijk, 1986, 9; Málek, 1988, 136; Morigi-Govi, 1994, 41.

⁵⁹⁴ Morigi-Govi, 1982, 125; Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 31; Ferrari – Piacentini, 1990, 117–118.

cellars, etc. were located.⁵⁹⁵ Moret suggested that it could rather be a privately accessed room in the royal administration, which one could call a cabinet or an office.⁵⁹⁶ He also mentioned that in many cases, the term appeared completed with a certain administrative unit, such as *jmj-r3 ḥnwtj* of the royal palace, of the vizier, of the treasury, or the hall of justice. Gauthier, who discussed the function of the title in detail,⁵⁹⁷ notes that there are around twenty buildings to which this title was applied, and which help to define the official affiliation of the title holder. In cases of no distinction, however, *jmj-r3 ḥnwtj* should be translated as the vague term ‘office manager’, he proposes. Grajetzki, who translates the title as ‘chamberlain’, and also mentions that in the early period of the Middle Kingdom the title was used primarily in itself, while later the versions complemented by specific units became more usual.⁵⁹⁸ Inscriptions of some of the title holders, also from the Middle Kingdom, who described or referred to their activity in this function, express that they were entrusted with forwarding messages, going on inspections or confidential missions, moreover, it was their responsibility to reveal the truth to the king.⁵⁹⁹ According to this scant information, one might suppose that the position of *jmj-r3 ḥnwtj* ‘chamberlain’ must have been similar to that of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ in respect of being a trusted person in the closest circle around the ruler, carrying out his personal service, and fulfilling his special commissions requiring loyalty to him, however, this is attested much more infrequently in the New Kingdom.⁶⁰⁰

Returning to Paraemheb, as already mentioned, he presumably was the father of Qema, and based on his representation on the pillar, he was rewarded with the Gold of Honour.⁶⁰¹ Three relief blocks were found at the sacred animal necropolis in North Saqqara,⁶⁰² on which his name also appeared, together with part of the name of his wife, Sat[...], who was *šmḥjj.t n Jmn* ‘chantress of Amun’. The owner of the tomb, where the blocks originate from, was the brother of Paraemheb, whose name has been lost.

⁵⁹⁵ Maspero, 1888, 56.

⁵⁹⁶ Moret, 1909, 19.

⁵⁹⁷ Gauthier, 1918.

⁵⁹⁸ Grajetzki, 2013, 222.

⁵⁹⁹ Gauthier, 1918, 204–205.

⁶⁰⁰ Taylor, 2001, 16; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 23–24.

⁶⁰¹ Binder, 2008, 302.

⁶⁰² Martin, 1979, 42–43.

III.26. *Nensemekhetef*

Date:	18 th dynasty (based on the provenance and the stylistic criteria of the doorframe)
Genealogy:	Nensemekhetef ♂ ————— Mutnefret ♀
Tomb:	most likely in Thebes
Remains:	– doorframe fragment, Florence, Museo Archeologico, 6397
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj</i>

Hardly anything can be ascertained about *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Nensemekhetef. The only remains attesting to him is a fragment of a limestone doorframe in Florence (No. 6397), which originates from his tomb at Sheikh Abd el Qurna in the Theban necropolis, probably from the 18th dynasty.⁶⁰³ Only the upper left corner of the doorframe is left, which must once have been located in the interior of the tomb, based on the vivid colours of its decoration. Under the cavetto cornice, the left half of the panel depicting a double adoration scene can be seen, with the figures of the tomb owner and his wife, Mutnefret, adoring Osiris sitting on a throne. The inscription above the figures names the persons, as well as the deity. A small part of the left doorjamb also remained, with the beginning of *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formulae on them.

III.27. *Kasa*

Date:	second half of the 18 th dynasty (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)
Genealogy:	Kasa ♂ ————— Kemi ♀
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Moscow, Pushkin Museum, I.1.a 5630 (formerly in Golenishchev Museum, No. 4147)
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

The stele, of which *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Kasa is known, is an interesting piece regarding its shaping. Two ears are attached to the round-topped stele, imitating the head of a jackal, the figure of which appears in the lunette of the object. The two ears presumably hold an offering formula, only the remains of which can be seen. In the field

⁶⁰³ Schiaparelli, 1887, 508.

of the stele, the figures of Kasa and his wife, Kemi are sitting facing each other on the two sides of an offering table, with their labels above them. An offering formula addressed to Osiris runs along the bottom of the stele. Neither the stele, nor the time of the office of Kasa can be dated more precisely than to the second half of the 18th dynasty.

III.28. *Nebnefer*

Date:	late 18 th – early 19 th dynasty (based on stylistic criteria and on the supposed date of the depot of the shabtis)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– shabti, Amiens, Musée de Picardie, 3057.326 – shabti, San Francisco, Fine Arts Museum San Francisco, 1925.133
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>sš nswt</i>
Honorific title:	<i>hsjj ʕ3 n ntr nfr</i>

The *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Nebnefer is attested only on two shabtis found in Umm el-Qaab in Abydos.⁶⁰⁴ Both shabties are made of limestone, delicately crafted, painted polychrome, and the text of the shabti formula, the Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead* can be read on their body. They were obviously votive objects offered by Nebnefer to Osiris, as the text on the shabti in San Francisco mentions that he followed the lord of Abydos, Osiris on the festival of Thot. Beside his titles, the texts does not provide any additional information on Nebnefer.⁶⁰⁵ The shabtis of Nebnefer were found in a depot with two other shabties.⁶⁰⁶ Their stylistic features as well as the fact that the owner of one of the other two shabtis is well-known from the late 18th – early 19th dynasty make it possible to date both the depot and the shabtis of Nebnefer to this period as well.

⁶⁰⁴ I would hereby like to thank Frauke Pumpenmeier for providing me with information on Nebnefer and his shabtis.

⁶⁰⁵ Amélineau incorrectly read the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ as *hmww nswt* ‘royal craftsman’. Amélineau, 1899, 161-162.

⁶⁰⁶ Amélineau mentions that five shabtis were found together in the depot, nevertheless, he describes only four, see Amélineau, 1899, 75. and 160-164 respectively.

III.29. Djehuti (II)

Date:	late 18 th – 19 th dynasty (based on the provenance of the pyramidion)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely in Saqqara
Remains:	– pyramidion fragment
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i>

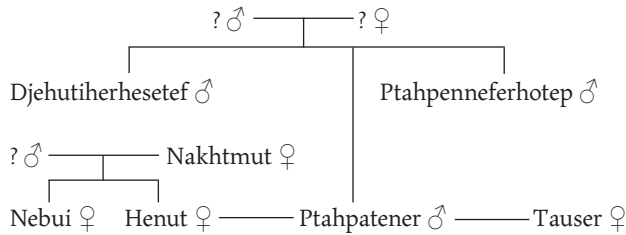
Hardly anything can be ascertained about *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Djehuti (II). The fragment of his limestone pyramidion was found in Saqqara, north of the Unas causeway. The provenance of the object locates the tomb of Djehuti (II) to this area, as well as his place of service into the royal palace of Memphis, however, its date cannot be determined any more closely. On two of the three sides of the pyramidion, parts of inscription can still be read. It contains the title of its owner, only *wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘clean of hands’ remained, however, it can be completed with great certainty to *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’.

THE 19TH DYNASTY

III.30. Ptahpatener

Date: early 19th dynasty (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele and on the titles of the owner)

Genealogy:



Tomb: most likely in Saqqara

Remains: – stele, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, EG 1906

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj*

hrj-ḥbt n Hr-m-ḥb

ḥm ntr n Hr-m-ḥb

ḥm ntr

wꜥb

Ptahpatener is the first *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ dated with certainty to the 19th dynasty. The only monument to him is a limestone funerary stele, the provenance of which is not documented, however, Bresciani believes that it comes from Thebes.⁶⁰⁷ She bases her opinion, on the one hand, on the titles of the owner that are linked to the cult of Horemheb, consequently with his tomb and his mortuary temple in Thebes, and on the other hand, on certain features of the decoration of the stele, as well as the title *šmꜥjj.t n Jmn* ‘chantress of Amun’ of the female relatives. This latter argument is not entirely substantiated, insomuch as the wives of Ptahemwia (I) and Paatenemheb, as well as the presumed mother of Qema also bore this title, and all of their tombs were located in the Memphite necropolis.⁶⁰⁸ As for her remark regarding the titles of Ptahpatener, however, it is reasonable, indeed. He bore the religious titles *wꜥb* ‘wab-priest’, *hrj-ḥbt n Hr-m-ḥb* ‘lector priest of Horemheb’ and *ḥm ntr n Hr-m-ḥb* ‘prophet of Horemheb’, and the duties associated with these titles – supposedly that they were functional titles, and not only honorary ones – required the personal presence of the title holder

⁶⁰⁷ Bresciani, 1985, 70.

⁶⁰⁸ See the discussions on the certain ‘royal *wb3s*’ on pp. 155, 165, and 168, respectively.

in the mortuary temple of the deified king. Based on this concept, it can also be supposed that he carried out his duty as 'royal *wb's*' in the royal palace in Thebes.

The importance of the stele from an historical perspective is that it proves the existence of the funerary cult of Horemheb,⁶⁰⁹ who is represented on the object. His depiction in his divinized position does not refer to the absolute date of the stele, but gives a terminus post quem for its making and for the life of its owner. Indicators for the absolute dating, however, are the stylistic characteristics of the figures, since the impression of the art of the Amarna period can hardly be recognized, at the same time, initial signs of the typical artistic features of the Ramesside era have already appeared.⁶¹⁰ The depiction on the back of the stele also supports the actual dating. The surface on its rear is rather rough, a goddess is depicted emerging from a tree, pouring water from two vessels, while ba-birds are drinking the poured water from their hands before the tree. This type of scene was quite common during the New Kingdom,⁶¹¹ however, the domination of the water donation and the addition of ba-birds are an innovation from the end of the 18th – beginning of the 19th dynasty.⁶¹² This coincides with the narrowed time limit of Bresciani for the date of the stele to the reigns of Ramesses I or Sety I.⁶¹³

In the second and third registers of the stele, family members of Ptahpatener are depicted, however, their relationship is somewhat doubtful. The identity of the two brothers of Ptahpatener in the third register is unambiguous. At the same time, the woman standing behind Ptahpatener in the second register, named Tauser, as well as the woman sitting behind him in the third register, named Henut, is designated as *sn.t=f* 'his sister', based on which it cannot be determined whether the term refers to a wife or an actual sister. The labels, however, above and behind another woman sitting in the third register behind Henut seem to confirm the meaning of the term as wife. This woman is Nebui and the small inscription behind her refers to her and Henut as sisters, whose mother is a certain Nakhtmut. According to these labels naming Henut as a sister, but not using the term in the case of Nebui, despite their having a common mother, one might conclude that Nakhtmut must have been the mother-in-law of Ptahpatener, while Henut and Nebui his wife and sister-in-law, respectively. As for Tauser, her position in the scene indicates that she is another wife of Ptahpatener, although there is also

⁶⁰⁹ Bresciani, 1985, 70; Ferrari – Piacentini, 1990, 129; Morigi – Govi, 1994, 36.

⁶¹⁰ Ferrari – Piacentini, 1990, 129.

⁶¹¹ Bresciani, 1985, 68, Ferrari – Piacentini, 1990, 129.

⁶¹² For a detailed discussion on the tree goddesses and the water donation in these type of scenes in the transitional period between the 18th and 19th dynasty, see Keel, 1992, 74-76.

⁶¹³ Bresciani, 1985, 70.

the possibility, of course, of her being an actual sister. However, the most reasonable solution for defining Ptahpatener's family relationships is the concept discussed above, i.e. having two wives, yet without any information on their temporal relation.

III.31. Horemheb

Date:	early 19 th dynasty (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele fragment, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 8402
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 ḥnwtj n nb t3.wj</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>ḥsjj ʿ3 n ntr nfr</i> <i>tsw wd3.t?</i>

Horemheb can also be dated to the early 19th dynasty, based on the stylistic features of his stele now in Paris (E 8402).⁶¹⁴ Only the upper part of the round topped stele remained, with an offering scene in the field. The owner presents a burnt offering before Osiris sitting on a throne and Isis standing behind him. The inscription above Horemheb names him, together with two of his functional titles, *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' and *jmj-r3 ḥnwtj n nb t3.wj* 'chamberlain of the lord of the Two Lands',⁶¹⁵ as well as an honorific title *ḥsjj ʿ3 n ntr nfr* 'greatly favoured of the good god'. Both of the functional titles place Horemheb into the royal household, acting in the personal service of the king, and the honorific title supports his close connection with the ruler. In addition, he is represented with the Gold of Honour around his neck,⁶¹⁶ which also confirms his privileged position and importance in the royal court, as well as in society. The lower part of the stele contained thirteen columns of inscription, probably figural decoration as well, but now only the very beginning of them can be seen. This is the only source we know of Horemheb, its provenance is not known, nor is there any information on his origin⁶¹⁷ or family, his place of office or his burial.

⁶¹⁴ Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 32. I would hereby like to thank Dr Susanne Binder, who provided me the photo of the stele, for her kind help.

⁶¹⁵ For a detailed discussion on the title, see Qema on p. 168.

⁶¹⁶ Binder, 2008, 246, 332. She dates Horemheb slightly earlier, from the post-Amarna to the early 19th dynasty.

⁶¹⁷ Gessler-Löhr suggests that the provenance of the stele might be the area of Abydos, based on the epithet of Osiris, lord of Abydos. This argument, however, is not substantiated at all, as there are some monuments even only in this corpus, on which the same epithet appears by Osiris and the provenance

III.32. Unknown 5

Date:	early 19 th dynasty (based on the stylistic criteria of the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele fragment, Hanover, August-Kestner-Museum, 1935.200.225
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>ʕ3 n ʕ.t n nb t3.wj</i>

The upper part of the round-topped stele, presumably dated to the early 19th dynasty⁶¹⁸ and now located in Hanover (1935.200.225),⁶¹⁹ was probably a personal gift donated to Meretseger by an unknown ‘royal *wb3*’. The provenance of the stele is not known, however, it might have originated from Thebes, presumably from the small sanctuary dedicated to Ptah and Meretseger, located half-way between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens, where several similar stelae were once embedded in the limestone rock of a natural cave.⁶²⁰ Meretseger is depicted on the front of the stele, with Horus in his falcon-form protecting her from behind. The label names the goddess, otherwise she does not have any personal attribute based on which she can be identified.⁶²¹ On each side of the stele, remains of a single column of inscription runs downwards, probably with the same content, however, the craftsmanship is rather poor, and it is barely legible. Unfortunately, the name of the donator has been lost on both sides, only two of his titles have remained: *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *ʕ3 n ʕ.t n nb t3.wj* ‘chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands’.⁶²² There are only two other ‘royal *wb3s*’ in the corpus who bore the same titles: Neferrenpet (I),⁶²³ who served under Amenhotep III, but he is too far back in time to allow us to identify him with the owner of the Hanover stele; and Ramessesnakht who very likely served either under Ramesses II

of the monuments themselves is far from Abydos, for instance the tomb of Nebamun in Thebes (TT 24), the block statue (CG 632) of Sarenenutet Tjai from Karnak, or the stele of Tjai Ta from Saqqara. Gessler-Löhr, 1989, 32.

⁶¹⁸ Mynařová – Onderka, 2007, 268; Dziobek – Höveler-Müller – Loeben, 2009, 169.

⁶¹⁹ I would hereby like to thank Dr Christian Loeben, who provided me the photos of the stele, for his kind help.

⁶²⁰ Mynařová – Onderka, 2007, 268; Dziobek – Höveler-Müller – Loeben, 2009, 169.

⁶²¹ Dziobek – Höveler-Müller – Loeben, 2009, 168-169.

⁶²² Grajetzki and Loeben have given a presumed translation of the inscription: “For the Ka of the King’s Butler and the Great One of the Chamber of the Lord of the Two Lands ...”. Dziobek – Höveler-Müller – Loeben, 2009, 169.

⁶²³ For the discussion on Neferrenpet (I), see p. 140.

or Ramesses III. Although he would seem to be a good candidate as the owner of the Hanover stele, the identity of the titles is still not a firm basis for supporting this theory without further evidence.

III.33. *Hesiefshemsunesu*

Date:	early 19 th dynasty (based on the stylistic criteria of the shabti)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– shabti, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, CI 3-b
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i>

An elaborated, painted wooden shabti, now placed in Leiden (CI 3-b), depicts *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Hesiefshemsunesu. The provenance of the object is not recorded, there is no more information on the life or activity of the owner than his title appearing three times on the shabti. Based on the double wig and the characteristic pleated daily dress he is wearing, Hesiefshemsunesu can be dated to the early 19th dynasty.⁶²⁴ On the dress on the back and sides of the shabti, Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead* can be read.

III.34. *Hesinetjeref*

Date:	19 th dynasty (based on the stylistic criteria of the statue)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely in Thebes
Remains:	– block statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 569 – funerary cone DM 209 – funerary cone DM 545
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 n nswt</i> <i>wb3 n nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>jmj-r3 jp.t nswt</i>

⁶²⁴ Schneider, 1977, Shabtis I, 206; Shabtis II, 55.

šmsw nb=f rww.t=f

jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj

Bj-hw hr wnmj nswt

Honorific title: *hrd n k3p*

The activity of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Hesinetjeref can be dated to the 19th dynasty, however, without referring to any specific ruler, based on the stylistic characteristics of his fragmentary block statue, now situated in Cairo (CG 569).⁶²⁵ Five vertical lines of inscription occupy the front of his garment, containing a *htp-dj-nswt* formula, addressed to Amun and Osiris. The inscription gives the name and titles of Hesinetjeref, as well as some honorific titles. In addition, the ownership of two funerary cones, DM 209 and DM 545, might also be associated with him, implying that his burial place was in Thebes.

According to his functional titles, *wb3 n nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, *wb3 n nswt w^cb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ and *jmj-r3 jp.t nswt* ‘overseer of the royal apartments’, he carried out his duties in the royal household, in the private service of the king, however, there is nothing to indicate which royal palace he was attached to. Another title, *Bj-hw hr wnmj nswt* ‘fan-bearer on the right of the king’, that once used to be a functional title, but during the time it became rather an honorary one expressing the prestigious and trusted position of the owner at the royal court, which also supports the close connection of Hesinetjeref to the king. This intimate relationship between him and his lord probably started in their childhood, as Hesinetjeref was *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’, as his funerary cones inform us. In addition, his titles *šmsw nb=f rww.t=f* ‘follower of the king on his journey’ and *jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj* ‘attendant of the lord of the Two Lands’ indicate his participation in military campaigns in the personal attendance of his lord.⁶²⁶ Interestingly, these titles were mainly common during the 18th dynasty,⁶²⁷ which is proved by the members of this corpus as well,⁶²⁸ during the 19th dynasty only Hesinetjeref bore them.

⁶²⁵ Vandier, 1958, 454-455.

⁶²⁶ Guksch, 1994, 65-66; Shirley, 2011, 305.

⁶²⁷ Taylor, 2001, 65-68, 226-230; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 167-170, 604-608.

⁶²⁸ The title *šmsw nswt*, with or without any specification, was borne by Djehuti (I), Neferperet, Suemniut, Heqanakht and Ptahemwia (I), while the title *jrj-rd.wj*, again with or without any specification, appeared on the monuments of Qenamun, Suemniut and Parennefer. For a general discussion on these titles, see p. 63.

III.35. Pare[...]

Date:	19 th dynasty
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 29222 (TR 16.3.25.13)
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i>

A round-topped stele, located in Cairo (JE 29222 (TR 16.3.25.13)), mentions a *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ whose name remained only partly: Pare[...]. The literature dates the object to the 19th dynasty.⁶²⁹ Unfortunately, the provenance of the stele is not recorded, only the fact that it was purchased by the Egyptian Museum in April 1891. The stele contains two registers, in the upper one, the owner is depicted in adoration before the bull of Amun-Re, in the lower one, two men and two women are represented with offerings. Nothing can be ascertained about the life and activity of the owner. No image of the stele is available to the author. There are two ‘royal *wb3*s’ in the present corpus whose names begin in the same way, Parenakht and Pareherwenemef dated to the 20th dynasty, but there are no indications of their identification with the present person.

III.36. Unknown 1

Date:	19 th –20 th dynasty
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– block statue, Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 112 (N 104)
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i>

A block statue, located in Paris (A 112 (N 104)), also mentions the title *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, however, the name of the titleholder has not remained. The statue seems to be unfinished, the single column of inscription running downwards on the front of it contains only this title. The provenance of the statue is unknown. Unfortunately, based on the scant data available about the object, it is not alliable with any ‘royal *wb3*’ or ‘royal *wdpw*’ in the present corpus.

⁶²⁹ Institut Égyptien, 1892, 327; Málek et al., 2012, 239.

III.37. *Unknown 2*

Date:	19 th –20 th dynasty
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– relief fragment
Functional title:	royal <i>wb3/wdpw</i>

Málek mentions a relief fragment,⁶³⁰ found at the Teti pyramid area, which contains the title ‘royal *wb3/wdpw*’ but the name of the titleholder has been lost. Unfortunately, since no image of the object is available, the exact writing of the title itself cannot be ascertained.

III.38. *Djehutiherhesetef*

Date:	Sety I (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 209
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

A group of papyri kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale contain different sort of accounts and lists related to the administration of the royal palace of Memphis from the time of Sety I.⁶³¹ The provenance of the papyri is not known, but it is believed that they originate somewhere from the area of Memphis and Saqqara.⁶³² Pap. BN 209, dated to the 2nd year of the ruler, seems to be a first draft of an account, in which several Nubians are listed, however, the purpose of their inspection is unknown. All of them bear Egyptian names, and they apparently are personal servants of various officials. One of these officials is *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Djehutiherhesetef, whose attendant is a Nubian woman, named Amendisú, daughter of Amenemipet. This is the only mention of Djehutiherhesetef, and, although his tomb has not been found, it is reasonable to assume that he carried out his duties in the Memphite palace.

⁶³⁰ Málek, 1988, 136. As his source, he refers to Gunn MSS xix. I i [i]; Notebook, 6, no. 3.

⁶³¹ Spiegelberg, 1896.

⁶³² Kitchen, 1993c, 160.

III.39. *Ramessesashahebused*

Date:	Sety I – Ramesses II (based on the cartouches on the monuments)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 247+248+262 (=247) – stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 250 – stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 252 – rock-stele, Abu Simbel No. 9 – stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 260 – stone block, Serabit el-Khadim No. 253 (?)
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>wdpw nswt n hm=f</i> <i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt tpj n hm=f n h wd3 snb</i> <i>wpwt nswt n h3s.wt nb.wt</i> <i>hrj-pd.t qnj</i> <i>hrj šms n hm=f</i> <i>ḥj-ḥw (?)</i>

Ramessesashahebused is known from several free-standing stelae from Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai and one rock-stele from Abu Simbel, and based on the cartouches that appear on these monuments he can be dated with some certainty to the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II. The two versions of his name, Ashahebused and Ramessesashahebused,⁶³³ as well as his titles *wdpw nswt* and *wb3 nswt*, might cause confusion, nevertheless, the two names and the two titles belong to the same person, and an explanation can be given based on the nature of the inscriptions they appear in. Spalinger devoted a separate study to the chronology of the monuments of Ramessesashahebused, giving a framework of his life and activities under the rulers mentioned above.⁶³⁴

Four stelae from Serabit el-Khadim, as well as the rock-stele on the wall of the small temple in Abu Simbel can be connected to him for certain. In addition, another stone block, also from Serabit el-Khadim (No. 253),⁶³⁵ depicts the figure of *ḥj-ḥw* ‘fan-bearer’

⁶³³ Schulman, 1976, 123, 129, n. 56; Spalinger, 1980, 215.

⁶³⁴ Spalinger, 1980.

⁶³⁵ Gardiner – Peet – Černý, 1952², pl. LXX; Černý, 1955, 178; Porter – Moss, 1960, 363; Kitchen, 1979, 340; Kitchen, 1996, 179; Davies, 2013, 202-203.

Ramessesashahebused adoring the praenomen of Ramesses II, however, the identity of the names cannot unequivocally prove the identification of the owner with the 'royal *wb3*' Ramessesashahebused.

The four stelae were set in the direct vicinity of the Hathor temple in Serabit el-Khadim,⁶³⁶ implying that Ramessesashahebused had taken part in expeditions to the turquoise mines there at least four times.⁶³⁷ His first attestation on the site is proved by stele No. 247 from the 8th year of Sety I. He appears at the bottom of the northern face of the stele as Ashahebused, adoring the cartouches of the king, with 8 lines of inscription above him praising the ruler, who is depicted in the lunette of the stele making an offering to Re-Harakhti. Ramessesashahebused bore the titles *wpwt nswt n h3s.wt nb.wt* 'royal envoy to every foreign land' and *hrj-pd.t qnj* 'valiant troop commander'. The latter title is present on all of his stelae from Serabit el-Khadim, and might indicate his participation in expeditions as the leader of a military unit.⁶³⁸ His other title indicates his taking responsibilities for minor diplomatic affairs as an agent of the king.⁶³⁹ The southern face of the stele, with the adoring figure of the ruler before Hathor in the lunette, must have contained the official record of the expedition,⁶⁴⁰ however, the inscription is severely damaged. On the western face of the stele, an additional scene was added some years later by a certain *hrj-pd.t b3 hnm.t R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* 'troop commander of the Well of Ramesses II' Amenemope, in the memory of his father, Amenemhat. Amenemope was definitely in a collegial relationship with Ramessesashahebused, since he reappears on two other monuments to him (stelae No. 252 and No. 260), discussed in detail later.

Stele No. 250 is a fragment that depicts Ashahebused on the lower part, with four columns of inscription before him, and the feet of two royal figures on the upper part. This piece was taken as evidence for the coregency of Sety I and Ramesses II.⁶⁴¹ According to Kitchen, since Ramesses II is designated as *s3 nswt=f* 'his royal son', he should not be termed as a coregent in the full sense, but rather a prince regent, and this coregency cannot be dated earlier than the 8th year of Sety I, based on the previous stele, which named Sety I

⁶³⁶ However, the original, as well as the present place of the stele No. 250 is unknown, stele No. 247 stood on the approach of the temple, stele No. 252 was erected in front of the entrance, and stele No. 260 was found in front of the temple. Černý, 1955, 175, 177, 180.

⁶³⁷ Davies counts only three expeditions to Ramessesashahebused, however, the four stelae from four different years refer to at least four separate expeditions. Davies, 2013, 172.

⁶³⁸ Schulman, 1964, 30-32, 53-56, 151; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 387.

⁶³⁹ For the title 'royal messenger' see Valloggia, 1976, esp. 120, no. 64; El-Saady, 1999, esp. 411-412; Taylor, 2001, 97; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 387.

⁶⁴⁰ Brand, 2000, 126.

⁶⁴¹ Murnane, 1977, 62-64.

alone.⁶⁴² At the same time, Brand is not convinced of the dating of the stele under the coregency, and he suggests that it was made during the first year of Ramesses II when he sought to link himself with the memory of his deceased father.⁶⁴³ Brand builds his theory upon the figures of Ashahebused below and the man on the right above facing left, towards the man on the left, as he would be the subject of the offering, which in fact is also supported by the orientation of the lotus flowers facing left on the offering table in the upper register. In addition, although Ramesses II is also mentioned in the inscription below, it mainly praises Sety I. The simple form of the prenomen of Ramesses II, appearing only as Usermaatre, implies that the stele was made during his 2nd year at the latest, when, from a certain but undeterminable point of this year, he started to use his prenomen in its compound form as Usermaatre Setepenre.⁶⁴⁴ Based on this fact, during this time between the 8th year of Sety I and the making of the stele No. 250, Ramessesashahabused advanced in his career and besides his title ‘valiant troop commander’, he acquired another functional title: *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’. Based on the uncertainties of the date of the stele, it cannot be ascertained for certain which king appointed him to this position.

The third stele, No. 252, is very close in date to the previous one, dated to the 2nd year of Ramesses II, definitely under his sole reign. In the lunette of the stele, the king is presented making an offering to Re-Harakhti, with nine lines of inscription below containing praise to the ruler. At the bottom of the monument a double scene took place with the figures of Ashahebused and Amenemope on the left and the right respectively, adoring the cartouches of the king in the middle. In this case, however, the depiction of Amenemope is not a later addition, but was rather carved at the same time as the whole decoration, thus, the stele was erected conjointly by the two officials. Ashahebused bore the same titles as on stele No. 250, with only a small addition to his ‘royal *wdpw*’ title, namely *wdpw nswt n hm=f* ‘royal *wdpw* of His Majesty’. Amenemope also appears in the function as earlier: *hrj-pd.t t3 hnm.t R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* ‘troop commander of the Well of Ramesses II’.

The last monument from Serabit el-Khadim is a fragment of a stele again, No. 260, depicting the feet of two figures: son of the king, Prince Meriatum, and Ashahebused. Spalinger also dates this fragment to the first two regnal years of Ramesses II based on the spelling of his nomen,⁶⁴⁵ however, the representation of Meriatum, the sixteenth son

⁶⁴² Spalinger, 1980, 218; Kitchen, 1993c, 59. For a detailed discussion on the activities of Ramesses II during the reign of his father, see Murnane, 1975; Spalinger, 1979.

⁶⁴³ Brand, 2000, 126-127.

⁶⁴⁴ Spalinger, 1980, 218-219. For a detailed discussion on the praenomen of Ramesses II, see Murnane, 1975, 158-161.

⁶⁴⁵ Spalinger, 1980, 220.

of the king, who was born from Nefertari before his twentieth regnal year, suggests a much later date, around the 12th–15th regnal year.⁶⁴⁶ Ashahebused is designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, as well as *hrj šms n hm=f* ‘chief of bodyguards of His Majesty’, which is clearly a temporary function for this particular expedition regarding the participation of the prince.⁶⁴⁷ He must have also borne the title *hrj-pd.t qnj* ‘valiant troop commander’, which presumably appeared before his ‘royal *wdpw*’ title in the lost part of the stele.⁶⁴⁸ Below the two figures, remains of four columns of inscription can be seen, naming, here again, the colleague of Ashahebused, now as *wpwt nswt n h3s.wt nb.wt* ‘royal envoy to every foreign land’ and *hrj-pd.t t3 hnm.t R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* ‘troop commander of the Well of Ramesses II’, Amenemope.⁶⁴⁹

The last known monument to the person currently discussed is his rock-stele carved on the north face of the small temple at Abu Simbel, naming the dedicator as Ramessesashahebused, and designating him as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt tpj n hm=f nh wd3 snb* ‘first royal *wb3* of His Majesty, L.P.H.’. Both the name and the title differ from those on the stelae discussed above, which can be explained by the different nature and purpose of the current monument. While the stelae from Serabit el-Khadim were erected to commemorate a particular mission where Ramessesashahebused had been sent by the king as his personal agent, the rock-stele at Abu Simbel is a dedicatory monument by him as a high ranking official of the king, rejoicing over the construction of his memorial temple and praising the ruler because of what he had done. The use of the longer form of his name with the basilophoric prefix would be considered as a sign of adoration to his lord,⁶⁵⁰ even perhaps for appointing him to the position of ‘royal *wb3*’, at the same

⁶⁴⁶ Černý, 1955, 180; Kitchen, 1999, 201; Fischer, 2001, 117; Davies, 2013, 172.

⁶⁴⁷ The title is connected to the person of the king, as one in this position usually works directly for him, see in the discussion on Ptahemwia (I) above, and note 556. Černý and Spalinger, however, attribute this title to the other official represented on the stele, namely Amenemope. Černý, 1955, 180; Spalinger, 1980, 220.

⁶⁴⁸ Kitchen restored the title string based on the other monuments of Ramessesashahebused. Kitchen, 1979, 340.

⁶⁴⁹ Spalinger mentions another stele fragment from Serabit el-Khadim, No. 261, as proof of the end of the participation of Ashahebused in the Sinai expeditions. Only Amenemope is depicted on this stele, and although there is no date on the stele, based on the spelling of the nomen of Ramesses II, Spalinger believes it can be placed in the 2nd year of Ramesses II, concluding that Ashahebused was no longer taking part in mining activities on the Sinai after this date. Since his supposition about the date of the stele No. 260 proved to be incorrect, and Ashahebused took part in an expedition during the 12th–15th years of the king, his theory about the stele No. 261 is also mistaken. Spalinger, 1980, 221.

⁶⁵⁰ It is generally accepted that basilophoric names usually refer to the foreign origin of their owner, however, one must be cautious applying this theory without further proof for declaring such attributions. Helck, 1958, 353–367; Schulman, 1976, 123; Schulman, 1986, 192–197.

time, the use of the title *wb3 nswt* would refer to his status in which he dedicated the stele, namely as a court official, not as an agent of the ruler taking part in a certain mission.⁶⁵¹ The inscription of the rock-stele conveys the fact of the construction of the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, for which he recruited labour from Asian prisoners of war, who might have been captured during his northern campaign or campaigns, either in his 4th year or even under the reign of his father.⁶⁵² In addition, Ramessesashahebused informs us that during this time he was in charge of reorganizing the land of Kush in the name of the king, and reassures the king that all his land is in a state of peace, and that there are no rebellions anywhere. The inscription was taken as proof of the role of Ramessesashahebused directing or taking part in the construction of the Abu Simbel temple.⁶⁵³ Spalinger even concludes that the reorganization of the land of Kush was commanded due to the work at Abu Simbel,⁶⁵⁴ but Davies contradicts this sort of correlation of the two facts.⁶⁵⁵ Reading through the content of the inscription carefully, however, one can ascertain that there is no clear indication for the role of Ramessesashahebused either as a director or as a participant of the construction works of the temple. There is only the statement of the fact of the construction itself, which is not surprising in case of a dedicatory inscription placed on the wall of the structure in question. As for his duty to reorganize the land of Kush, there is no clear indication of a casual relationship between the two events either, only a temporal juxtaposition: at the time the king filled the estates of the gods with the children of Retjenu, and Ramessesashahebused was commissioned with the reorganization of the land of Kush. If the first part of this statement really means the actual work on the temple by prisoners of war, Ramessesashahebused carried out his duty in Kush during the construction phase of the monument. Assuming that the dedicatory stele was placed on the cliff-face of the small temple only after, or at least around, the finishing stage of the work, the inscription must have been a retrospective commemoration, especially as Ramessesashahebused certifies the ruler of the peace on his land, consequently, he had already completed his duty by this time. This fact is another reason for his designation as *wb3 nswt* and not as *wdpw nswt*, since his particular assignment was ended, he did not dedicate the stele in the aspect of his temporary activity, but in that of his permanent function, as a courtier in the highest circles in the royal palace.

⁶⁵¹ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁶⁵² Spalinger, 1980, 224; Davies, 2013, 171.

⁶⁵³ Spalinger, 1980, 223, 228; Davies, 2013, 171-172.

⁶⁵⁴ Spalinger, 1980, 223.

⁶⁵⁵ Davies, 2013, 171-172.

Unfortunately, nothing can be ascertained about the background of Ramessesashahebused's mission in Kush. This sort of duty is expected to fall under the responsibility of the viceroy of Kush, and not that of a 'royal *wb3*'.⁶⁵⁶ There are no records of the circumstances in the southern region that would have indicated the intervention in its local affairs, nor of the unrest to which Ramessesashahebused refers in his inscription. It is not known if something had happened with Iuni, the viceroy in Kush at this time, in consequence of which Ramessesashahebused had to take over his duties, but it is not certain that he ever bore the office of viceroy.⁶⁵⁷ It is highly likely, however, that he was rewarded with the Gold of Honour because of the successful completion of this mission, as he is represented with the reward around his neck on the rock-stele at Abu Simbel.⁶⁵⁸ At the beginning of the 19th dynasty, relatively few pieces of evidence attest the bestowing of this reward to the officials, in comparison with the previous post-Amarna era, and the number of those rewarded is especially low under the reign of Ramesses II. Interestingly, none of them is attested in the state administration, and only a few of them in the military sphere, while leaders of regional centres, officials taking part in building projects, as well as those serving in the personal service of the king and the royal family were significant in number.⁶⁵⁹

An interesting addition regarding the development of the functional title *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' is the appearance of the form *wb3 nswt tpj* 'first royal *wb3*'. This is the first attestation of this title, and it implies a hierarchical organization among its holders: they are not only a group of people in the same position holding the same title, but are structured according to a ranking system, placing one person as a superior above their collective. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined when or as a result of what this structural development was carried out.

As for the family background, there is no information on either the burial or the place of duty of Ramessesashahebused, but based on his frequent participation in expeditions to the Sinai, it can be supposed that he carried out his duties in the royal palace of Pi-Ramesses, the new capital of Ramesses II, or perhaps in that of Memphis.

⁶⁵⁶ Schulman, 1976, 123.

⁶⁵⁷ Reisner, 1920, 38-47.

⁶⁵⁸ Binder, 2008, 249-251, 326.

⁶⁵⁹ Binder, 2008, 248-250. Binder also supposes that Ramessesashahebused was rewarded because of his involvement with the building of the temple at Abu Simbel, however, I do not see his participation in this project to be sufficiently substantiated.

III.40. Sethherwenemef

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the cartouche on the column-drum)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Saqqara
Remains:	– column-drum
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr wr n nb t3.wj</i> <i>sš nswt</i>

In contrast to his colleague previously discussed, Sethherwenemef is known only from one monument, namely, a column-drum originating from Saqqara. The cartouche in the inscription shows that it was dated to the reign of Ramesses II, and according to the spelling of his name, more precisely after the 21st regnal year.⁶⁶⁰ The object was excavated in the cemetery around the Teti pyramid, associated with some shafts, which probably belonged to the 19th dynasty, above the satellite pyramid of the complex.⁶⁶¹ The column-drum must have been part of a column of the peristyle forecourt in the tomb of Sethherwenemef. Two panels are carved on the opposite sides of it, depicting the tomb owner adoring before Ptah and another god, whose name has been lost, respectively. In addition, part of a *hꜥtp-dj-nswt* formula and four short columns of text with the titles of Sethherwenemef can still be read around the figures, revealing that Sethherwenemef served in the royal administration and was also engaged in the personal service of the king. His titles *sš nswt* ‘royal scribe’ and *jmj-r3 pr wr n nb t3.wj* ‘high steward of the lord of the Two Lands’ place him in the first sphere, with the responsibility of inspecting and administering the affairs of the private domains of the ruler, while the title *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ denotes his place in the inner circle around the king, with the responsibility for providing his personal needs. Nothing can be ascertained, however, about his personal background and life.

⁶⁶⁰ Kitchen, 1979, 384; Davies, 2013, 155.

⁶⁶¹ Giddy, 1992, 4-5.

III.41. Tjai Ta

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the date of the tomb)
Genealogy:	Hui ♂ ——— ? ♀ Tjai Ta ♂ ——— Taweretemheb ♀
Tomb:	Saqqara, ST 5
Remains:	– tomb structure – stele – stone block (?)
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt tpj (?)</i> <i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>wr swnw</i> <i>wr swnw m ꜥh nswt</i> <i>sš nswt</i> <i>ḳꜣ-hw hr wnmj nswt</i>

The tomb of Tjai, also named Ta, is located in the Saqqara necropolis (ST 5), south of the Unas causeway, and was excavated with many other tombs in the vicinity dated to the reign of Ramesses II.⁶⁶² The tomb itself has not been published yet, nonetheless, the stele of Tjai Ta has been described in detail.⁶⁶³ The stele is rectangular, and the field is divided into two registers and was once framed by a double band of inscription, of which only the inner one can be read, however, remains of the outer one can still be observed on the sides. It is assumable that the top of the stele was decorated with a cavetto cornice. There is a blank space at the bottom of the stele, which indicates its insertion into the ground. In the upper register, the tomb owner and his wife, Taweretemheb are standing in the posture of adoration before Osiris and Isis, in the lower register, there are 8 lines of inscription containing praise of Wenennefer.⁶⁶⁴ In addition to his functional titles *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, he also bore the title *wr swnw* ‘great physician’, as well as its variant complemented with an indication of the place of duty, *wr swnw m ꜥh nswt* ‘great physician in the royal palace’, which are

⁶⁶² Tawfik, 1991, 404.

⁶⁶³ Handoussa, 1986.

⁶⁶⁴ This is an extract from the beginning of chapter 183 of the *Book of the Dead*; a hymn to Wenennefer, which appeared during the 18th–19th dynasty, Allen, 1974, 200; Handoussa, 1986, 414.

not widely attested in the New Kingdom, especially during the Ramesside era.⁶⁶⁵ The latter title supports the duties of Tjai Ta in the personal service of the king, already implied by the title ‘royal *wb3*’, while the honorary title *ḥj-ḥw ḥr wnmj nswt* ‘fan bearer on the right of the king’ confirms his close connection with the ruler. Similarly to his colleague, Sethherwenemef, mentioned above, he was also *sš nswt* ‘royal scribe’, indicating his presence in the royal administrative sphere as well. A stone block found by the EES-Leiden expedition contains some functional titles but without the name of the owner: *sš nswt* ‘royal scribe’, *wb3 nswt tpj* ‘first royal *wb3*’ and *wr swnw* ‘great physician’.⁶⁶⁶ The titles almost entirely correspond to those of Tjai Ta, except the *tpj* ‘first’ complement by the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, however, the same is true for one of his contemporary colleagues, Nebmerutef, discussed below. Even the order of the titles in their title strings is identical, thus, it cannot serve as a basis for deciding the ownership of the stone block either. This question has to be left open until new evidence comes to light.

As for the family of Tjai Ta, only his father, Hui and his wife, Taweretemheb are mentioned in the inscription of the stele. Being buried in Saqqara, it can be assumed that Tjai Ta carried out his duties in the royal palace of Memphis or that of Pi-Ramesse.

III.42. Nebmerutef

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the cartouche on the pottery plaque)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely in Saqqara
Remains:	– faience plaque – pottery plaque – shabti fragment – stone block (?)
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt tpj</i> (?) <i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>wr swnw</i> (?) <i>wr swnw n nb t3.wj</i> <i>sš nswt</i>

⁶⁶⁵ Taylor, 2001, 103; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 250.

⁶⁶⁶ van Dijk, 1989, 12; Málek, 1988, 136.

*hm ntr*Honorific title: *hsjj ʿ3 n ntr nfr*

Three items of remains can be associated with *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Nebmerutef with a high degree of certainty, who can be dated to the reign of Ramesses II. Two of them, a faience plaque and a shabti fragment come from surface debris from the necropolis in Saqqara, the third object, a pottery plaque originates from Gurob. The faience plaque was found in the first courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb,⁶⁶⁷ where it had obviously been placed as an ex-voto, with the hope of the owner to participate in the benefits of the cult of the deified king.⁶⁶⁸ If the three objects belonged to the same Nebmerutef under Ramesses II, the faience plaque would prove that the funerary cult of Horemheb still existed at this time. On one of the sides of the plaque, there is a *hṯp-dj-nswt* formula addressed to Wenennefer, whereas the other side is uninscribed. There is a hole in the middle of the second line which indicates that the object was designed to be fixed onto another object. The faience shabti fragment was found on the surface west of the tomb of Paser without any context. It mentions the title *hm ntr* ‘prophet’ which is not attested on the other two objects of Nebmerutef, however, his ownership is quite possible.⁶⁶⁹ The owner of the blue pottery plaque, found in Gurob, was not identified, while the title was misread as ‘superintendent’ by Fraser.⁶⁷⁰ Nevertheless, both the name and the title can clearly be read as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Nebmerutef, thus, there is a high likelihood that it was linked to the owner of the faience plaque, moreover, based on the cartouche of the king, it gives a date for the activity of its owner. The provenance of the faience plaque, as well as the shabti fragment, suggest that Nebmerutef was buried in Saqqara, probably south of the Unas causeway.

The faience plaque mentions three functional titles, *wb3 nswt wʿb ʿwj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’, *wr swnw n nb t3.wj* ‘great physician of the lord of the Two Lands’, and *sš nswt* ‘royal scribe’, as well as an honorific title, *hsjj ʿ3 n ntr nfr* ‘greatly favoured of the good god’. Similarly to his contemporary colleague, Tjai Ta, discussed above, Nebmerutef was a member of the royal household, engaged in the private service of the king in regard to his personal needs and health, and he might also have worked in the royal administration

⁶⁶⁷ Schneider, 1996, 17.

⁶⁶⁸ Schneider, 1996, 17; Staring, 2015, 400–401.

⁶⁶⁹ Schneider, 1996, 17.

⁶⁷⁰ Fraser, 1900, 39, pl. XI.

as a ‘royal scribe’. According to the titles, it is equally likely that the stone block found by the EES-Leiden expedition⁶⁷¹ belonged to him as much as it did to Tjai Ta.

III.43. *Neferrēnpet (II)*

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the cartouche on the stele)
Genealogy:	Penlevi ♂ ——— ? ♀ Neferrēnpet (II) ♂
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– rock-stele, Bir Nasib
Functional title:	royal <i>wb3/wd pw</i>

The only monument of Neferrēnpet (II) which is known is a rock-stele at Bir-Nasib high up on the cliff face of the mountain. Although the stele is significantly eroded the remains of figures of two officials can be recognized facing each other and adoring the cartouche of the ruler between them. Columns of inscription are above them obviously containing their titles and names, however, since there has been no suitable publication, the transcription and translation are not yet possible. The stele must have been made during an expedition led to the copper mines in the area. According to Schulman,⁶⁷² the father of Neferrēnpet (II) was a certain Penlevi, whose name clearly implies foreign origin, even if Neferrēnpet (II) bore an Egyptian name.

III.44. *Ramessesmen*

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the cartouche on the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Hildesheim, Roemer– und Pelizaeus-Museum, 1079
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

⁶⁷¹ van Dijk, 1989, 12; Málek, 1988, 136.

⁶⁷² Schulman, 1986, 196.

The round-topped limestone stele of Ramessesmen is one of the so-called Horbêt-stelae. It was found together with many others in Qantîr, as they were once erected in the capital of Pi-Ramesses.⁶⁷³ The owner is presenting offerings to the statues of the king and the god Montu. These statues most probably stood at either side of the pylon gateway of a temple.⁶⁷⁴ The workmanship of the stele is rather poor, the figures and hieroglyphs are roughly carved. Ramessesmen is designated as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, however, nothing else can be discerned about him.⁶⁷⁵

III.45. *Ianefer*

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the date of the tomb)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Saqqara, ST 105
Remains:	– tomb structure
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj</i>

The tomb of Ianefer with its limestone superstructure is located in the Saqqara necropolis (ST 105), in the same group with that of Tjai Ta, south of the Unas causeway, dated to the reign of Ramesses II.⁶⁷⁶ The tomb itself has not been published yet. Unfortunately, there is no further information available on Ianefer.

III.46. *Suner*

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the date of the tomb)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Saqqara, ST 201

⁶⁷³ Habachi, 1945, 527; Davies, 2013, 173.

⁶⁷⁴ Davies, 2013, 173.

⁶⁷⁵ Schulman refers to a shabti in the collection of the Musée du Louvre (inv. no. 31785), see Schulman, 1986, 199–200, and Schulman, 1990, 13, but the object belongs to a woman named Iset, who was a chantress of Thot. There is another shabti in the same collection (inv. no. N 2955) that belongs to a man named Ramessesmen, however, the title royal *wb3* does not appear among his titles on the object, therefore the similarity of their names alone does not provide firm ground for linking the two individuals.

⁶⁷⁶ Tawfik, 1991, 406.

Remains:	– tomb structure – relief fragment, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1937.126 – inscription in the speos of Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsile (?)
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>sš šꜥ.t</i> (?)

Similarly to his contemporary colleagues, Tjai Ta and Ianefer, Suner was also buried in the necropolis of Saqqara, in a tomb with a limestone superstructure, just like the others in the group south of the Unas causeway, dated to the reign of Ramesses II.⁶⁷⁷ A relief fragment in New Haven (1937.126) very likely originates from his tomb, depicting a couple and behind them a harp player with four columns of inscription containing his song, praising Suner. Unfortunately, no title of Suner is presented on the relief fragment. Scott assumes that an individual with the same name and with the title *sš šꜥ.t* ‘secretary’, appearing in the inscription of the speos of Horemheb in Gebel el-Silsile while assisting Prince Khaemwaset in announcing one of the jubilees of Ramesses II,⁶⁷⁸ could be identical with the ‘royal *wb3*’ Suner,⁶⁷⁹ however, without additional evidence this can neither be discounted nor confirmed.

III.47. Wenefdjedsen

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the date of the tombs in the area)
Genealogy:	Wenefdjedsen ♂ ————— Naj ♀
Tomb:	most likely in Saqqara
Remains:	– relief, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 24.981
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj</i> <i>wb3 nswt tpj n hm=f</i>

The tomb of Wenefdjedsen must have been in the necropolis in Saqqara, among others from the time of Ramesses II in the Teti pyramid cemetery. Only a part of the limestone wall of his funerary chapel remained, now located in Boston (24.981), depicting Wenefdjedsen and his wife, Naj as they are pouring libation and burning incense before

⁶⁷⁷ Tawfik, 1991, 406.

⁶⁷⁸ Habachi, 1971, 66, fig. 3.

⁶⁷⁹ Scott, 1986, 133.

Ptah and Ptah-Sokar, respectively. The inscriptions above the couple and at the bottom of the wall contain praises and offering formulae naming the donators. Wenefdjensen is designated three times as *wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj* ‘royal *wb3* of the lord of the Two Lands’ and once as *wb3 nswt tpj n hm=f* ‘first royal *wb3* of His Majesty’. He is the third out of the five persons who bore the title *wb3 nswt tpj* ‘first royal *wb3*’ under the reign of Ramesses II. Regarding the extremely long reign of the ruler, at the same time, not knowing the exact time period of the activity of these officials in this position, it is plausible enough that all of them filled the role of the superior of the collective alone for a certain time, and it is not necessary to assume that more than one person acted in this position, at least not in the same palace.

III.48. *Sety*

Date:	Ramesses II
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– block statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 33263
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd n nb t3.wj</i> <i>jmj-r3 ḥtm.t</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr n Šmꜥw Mḥw</i> <i>jmj-r3 k3.t</i> <i>jmj-r3 mšꜥ</i> <i>sš nswt</i> <i>sš nswt n mr=f</i> <i>ḳꜣ-ḥw ḥr wnmj n nswt</i>

A block statue found in Memphis, now located in Cairo (JE 33263), depicts *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Sety, dated to the reign of Ramesses II. A stele is represented on the front of his robe, which depicts Mut before the sitting figure of Amun-Re and the standing deity, perhaps Khonsu behind him. There is a column of inscription with some of his titles on the top of the statue between the two hands of Sety, and also one column

on each side and seven lines on the back of the back-pillar containing *hṭp-dj-nswt* formulae. Besides his title ‘royal *wb3*’, which refers to his place of duty in the royal household in the personal service of the king, he also bore titles of the state administration, as *jmj-r3 ḥtm.t* ‘overseer of the sealed things’, the royal administration, as *jmj-r3 pr ḥd* ‘overseer of the treasury’ and its variant *jmj-r3 pr ḥd n nb t3.wj* ‘overseer of the treasury of the lord of the Two Lands’, *jmj-r3 pr* ‘steward’ and its variant *jmj-r3 pr n Šmꜥw Mḥw* ‘steward of Upper and Lower Egypt’, *jmj-r3 k3.t* ‘overseer of work’, as well as one military title *jmj-r3 mšꜥ* ‘general’. Helck assigns other monuments to Sety as well,⁶⁸⁰ which Kitchen collects with additional monuments under the remains of an ‘overseer of the treasury’ and ‘general’ Suti, however, without mentioning the statue presently being discussed.⁶⁸¹ Although more titles of Suti and Sety coincide, the identity of the two individuals is not absolutely convincing, since the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ appears on none of the other monuments, on the one hand, and on the other hand, none of the ranking titles appearing on the other monuments so frequently presented on the Cairo statue of Sety. The possibility of their identity is not completely out of question, nevertheless, this question must be left open until new evidence emerges to support or contradict the supposition.

III.49. *Atumemtaneb*

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the stylistic criteria of the objects)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– silver pitcher, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 53262 (=JE 38705 and 39867, SR 1/6609) – silver pitcher (fragments), Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 53258 (=JE 38720 and 39868, SR 1/6623); Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 20106 (now lost), ÄM 20107a, b; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.228.219-22, 242 – silver pitcher (fragments), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.228.187
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i> <i>wb3 nswt tpj n nb t3.wj</i>

⁶⁸⁰ Helck, 1958, 472-473.

⁶⁸¹ Kitchen, 1980, 140-147.

wpwt nswt n h3s.wt nb.wt

Honorific titles: *w^c jqr*

mtj m3^c jb

shtp jb n nb=f

Two groups of gold and silver finds were discovered at Tell Basta in 1906, dated to the Ramesside period.⁶⁸² Three jugs of Atumemtaneb were among them, dated more precisely to the reign of Ramesses II.⁶⁸³ The decoration of the objects prove the multicultural society that existed in the eastern Delta during the Ramesside period, and although the motifs and stylistic features mainly reflect the Egyptian artistic tradition, elements from the repertoire of the Mediterranean iconography are represented as well.⁶⁸⁴ The wine jugs had been created for wine service for temple or festival use, these sort of so-called *k3* vessels were used for pouring liquid, and with their usage their purpose brought sustenance and a blessing for the spirit of the owner to whom the vessels were dedicated.⁶⁸⁵ Two of the pitchers (vessel A = CG 53262 and vessel B = CG 53258, ÄM 20106 (now lost), ÄM 20107a, b; MMA 07.228.219-22, 242) are quite similar in their shape and decoration: the body of the vessels are made of silver, their rims, as well as their goat and aurochs shaped handles, are made of gold, their bodies are decorated with scale patterned repoussé, while two registers on their neck depict wildlife, mythological creatures, fishing and fowling, and a band of inscription runs around the shoulder of the jugs with a scene of worship in a rectangular panel opposite to the handle, and there is a lotus flower on each of the bases. The third pitcher (vessel C = MMA 07.228.187), which is a bit different, is made of silver with a lion-headed handle, and the body is decorated with long petal patterned repoussé, while the band of inscription runs directly under the rim, the rectangular panel is missing, but the two registers on the neck represent similar wildlife motifs as they do in the case of the two other pitchers. The inscriptions contain similar praises for the *k3* of Atumemtaneb on all the three vessels. Vessel A designates the owner as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ twice, vessel B identifies him as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, *wb3 nswt tpj n nb t3.wj* ‘first royal *wb3* of the lord of the Two Lands’ and *wpwt nswt n h3s.wt nb.wt* ‘royal envoy to every foreign land’, and also contains honorific titles regarding his excellent and reliable virtue, while

⁶⁸² For a detailed description of the circumstances of the discovery of the finds, see Edgar, 1907; Simpson, 1949; Simpson, 1959; Lilyquist, 2012.

⁶⁸³ Lilyquist, 2012, 37.

⁶⁸⁴ Lilyquist, 2012, 9, 40-41. For a detailed description of the iconography of the jugs, see Edgar, 1925, 98-99; Scharff, 1930, 114-116; Simpson, 1959, 31-35; Lilyquist, 2012, 22-33.

⁶⁸⁵ Simpson, 1959, 35; Lilyquist, 2012, 20-24.

vessel C labels Atumemtaneb as *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* pure of hands’, repeating two of his honorific titles from vessel B. In the rectangular panels on vessels A and B, Atumemtaneb is standing before a goddess, who seemingly is not an Egyptian one, nor is she named, however, based on her attributes, her identification with Anat or Astarte is possible but not certain.⁶⁸⁶ The panel on vessel A does not contain any label for the figures, at the same time, vessel B designates the man as *wb3 nswt Jr* ‘Royal Cupbearer of (the foreign land of) Ari’.⁶⁸⁷ This label indicates that Atumemtaneb had a foreign origin, although, there is no available information on his family background, furthermore, he did not bear a basilophoric name, which is common among persons of a non-Egyptian origin.⁶⁸⁸ His title *wpwt nswt n h3s.wt nb.wt* ‘royal envoy to every foreign land’ might be a link to his foreign background as one who was responsible for diplomatic affairs as an agent of the king serving Egyptian interests, primarily in the northeast.⁶⁸⁹ Besides these wine vessels, there is no additional information on Atumemtaneb.

III.50. Maatmen

Date:	Ramesses II (based on the cartouche in the inscription)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– Pap. Anastasi V, London, British Museum, EA 10244
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>wdpw n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb</i>

A model letter on Papyrus Anastasi V (London, EA 10244) mentions an *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ in relation to a mission to set up three stelae at the command of the king, Ramesses II (Pap. Anastasi V, 23,7-25,2). The recto of the papyrus seems to be a palimpsest, the present inscription, based on several occurrences of the name of the king, can be dated to the reign of Sety II, while the verso is uninscribed.⁶⁹⁰ The letter was written by two lieutenants of the army, Any and Bakenamun, to the ‘royal *wdpw*’ Maatmen, informing him of the king’s command to transport three stelae to the place where the official was

⁶⁸⁶ Simpson, 1959, 32-33; Lilyquist, 2012, 22.

⁶⁸⁷ For the possible identifications of the location of Ari, see Lilyquist, 2012, 34.

⁶⁸⁸ Helck, 1958, 273-274; Schulman, 1986, 194-195.

⁶⁸⁹ El-Saady did not include Atumemtaneb among the Ramesside royal envoys in his study. El-Saady, 1999.

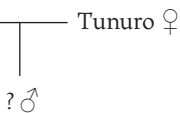
⁶⁹⁰ Gardiner, 1954, XVI.

staying at the time – unfortunately, it is not named in the text – in order for him to have them erected on their places. They also reported that they had passed the fortress at Tjel (modern El-Qantara, on the bank of the Suez Canal) on the 23rd day of 2nd month of shemu in the 33rd regnal year of the king, they unloaded the ships at The-Dwelling-of-Ramesses-Meriamun,⁶⁹¹ and they were waiting for further instructions from Maatmen. Even if it cannot be ascertained whether the text describes a real occasion or a fictional one, it can be supposed that the characters were real and known persons. It also provides information on the duties of a ‘royal *wḏpw*’, since he was commissioned with a particular assignment,⁶⁹² namely to erect some monuments, according to Gardiner, probably in the Syrian territory to propagandize the power of the ruler.⁶⁹³

III.51. Ramessesnakht

Date: Ramesses II or Ramesses III (based on the stylistic criteria of the remains)

Genealogy:



Tomb: most likely in the Memphite necropolis

Remains:

- relief fragment, Switzerland, private collection
- relief fragment, Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, NME 026
- sarcophagus fragments
- shabti, Paris, Louvre, E 3514

Functional titles:

wb3 nswt

wb3 nswt tpj

wb3 nswt tpj n nb t3.wj

wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj

3 n^c.t n nb t3.wj

sš n^c.t hnk.t pr-3^c 3nh wd3 snb

Ramessestakht is attested on four remains, three of which designate him as *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' and therefore they belong to him without question. The fourth remains (re-

⁶⁹¹ For the location of the settlements, see Gardiner, 1920, 106-107; Gauthier, 1929, 67-68.

⁶⁹² For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁶⁹³ Gardiner, 1920, 107.

lief fragment, NME 026) does not contain this title, however, it can be most likely linked to him as well.

There is a limestone relief fragment in a private collection in Switzerland that might have come from Ramessesnakht's tomb that was most likely in Memphis.⁶⁹⁴ Zivie dates the fragment to the reign of Ramesses III based on stylistic features,⁶⁹⁵ while Schulman dates it to the period of Ramesses II.⁶⁹⁶ The scene on the fragment represents Ramesesenakht and his wife, Tunuro sitting on the left side and a standing young man facing them and making libation on the right. Although he is not identified, the young man must have been the son of the couple as is usual in the offering scenes. The seven columns of inscription before the couple identify Ramessesnakht as *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' and *3 n ʕ.t n nb t3.wj* 'chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands', and also mentions the titles of her wife: *nb.t pr šmʕjj.t n Dḥwtj wp rh.wj* 'lady of the house, chantress of Thoth, who separates the Two Combatants'.

Another limestone relief fragment that it is supposed also comes from his tomb (Stockholm, NME 026) shows a very similar scene. A seated couple, a man wearing the traditional garment of the vizier and his wife can be seen on the left. Their identity has not been ascertained. Ramessesnakht stands on the right and presents them with incense. The inscription before him does not designate him as *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' but mentions him as *sš n ʕ.t ḥnk.t pr-ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb* 'scribe of the supplies magazine of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health' which title may be related to the former position as well. As an additional information on Ramessesnakht, the inscription refers to him as one with a Memphite origin. Based on its stylistic features, the fragment could be dated to the early Ramesside period and it most likely comes from Memphis.⁶⁹⁷

Even though the burial place of Ramessesnakht was believed to be in the Memphite necropolis, fragments of his sarcophagus were found in a tomb shaft in the eastern areas of Ain Shams in Heliopolis, and stored in the magazine in Matariyyah.⁶⁹⁸ Some of the fragments are inscribed: remains of Chapter 161 of the *Book of the Dead* and beginnings of the speeches of Qebehsenuef as well as Imsety can be read on them. The inscriptions

⁶⁹⁴ Zivie, 1975, 68.

⁶⁹⁵ Zivie, 1975, 68.

⁶⁹⁶ Schulman, 1990, 13.

⁶⁹⁷ Peterson, 1974, 10.

⁶⁹⁸ There is a discrepancy in the reports regarding the material of the sarcophagus, limestone and red granite are also mentioned, see El-Alfi, 1994, 15. and Abd El-Gelil – Shaker – Raue, 1996, 142. respectively.

designate Ramessesnakht as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ as well as *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’.

The last known remains of Ramessesnakht is a shabti in Paris (E 3514) that is dated to the reign of Ramesses II according to the Musée du Louvre. On the body of the statuette the text of the shabti formula, Chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead* can be read. It bestows upon Ramessesnakht the titles of *wb3 nswt tpj n nb t3.wj* ‘first royal *wb3* of the lord of the Two Lands’, which suggests a higher position that he acquired at some point in his career as an official in the royal administration.

III.52. *Ramessesuserpehti*

Date:	Ramesses II – Merneptah (based on the cartouches on the statue)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 1208
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj</i> <i>wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj</i> <i>ḥj-ḥw ḥr wnmj n nswt</i>

A limestone statue, excavated in Heliopolis,⁶⁹⁹ represents the seated figure of Osiris, with two smaller figures of Ramesses II and Merneptah on the left and the right side of his feet respectively.⁷⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the head of all of the three figures is missing. At the back pillar of the statue, a dedicatory inscription of Ramessesuserpehti was made, designating him as *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ in the right, and as *ḥj-ḥw ḥr wnmj n nswt* ‘fan bearer on the right of the king’ and *wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj* ‘royal *wb3* of the lord of the Two Lands’ in the left column of the inscription respectively. The inscription supposedly contained *ḥtp-dj-nsw* formulae, however, their beginning with the addressed deities have been lost. The titles indicate the service of Ramessesuserpehti in the royal household, as well as his close personal connection with the rulers. No further information is known about his life or his career.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ Griffith, 1890, 65; Porter – Moss, 1968, 63; Davies, 2014, 87.

⁷⁰⁰ Borchardt, 1934, 108, pl. 170.

⁷⁰¹ Pomorska assigns an alabaster block and a seal to the ‘royal *wb3*’ Ramessesuserpehti, however, these objects belong to Prince Ramessesuserpehti. See Fraser, 1900, 39, No. 310; Newberry, 1908, 182, No. 19; Pomorska, 1987, 159.

reign of Ramesses III.⁷⁰² Varille, Berlandini-Grenier and Schulman devoted separate studies to the life and the remains of Ramessesesemperre.⁷⁰³

The round-topped limestone stele, now located in Cairo (TR 3/7/24/17), is one of the two monuments, which gives more details about the personal background as well as functional titles of Ramessesesemperre. The object was found in the northern cemetery at Abydos, together with the stele of Pentawer.⁷⁰⁴ According to Porter and Moss it originates from his tomb,⁷⁰⁵ however, as his sepulchre supposedly, was in the Memphite necropolis, it can be supposed that his cenotaph is here too. The field of the stele is divided into two registers and four lines of inscription at the bottom. The upper register depicts the kneeling Ramessesesemperre on the right in the posture of adoration before Osiris sitting on his throne with Isis standing behind him, with an inscription above them naming the characters, and also giving the names of Merneptah in cartouches. In the lower register, the owner is represented on the right, presenting an offering to his parents sitting on the left, again with inscriptions above them identifying the persons in the scene. The text at the bottom contains a *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formula in favour of the owner. Although the name of his mother is not represented, his father was called Yupa, proving a clearly Semitic origin.⁷⁰⁶ Ramessesesemperre himself was of foreign origin as well, and this is not only implied by the name of his father or his basilophoric name but also because he is named in the inscription at the bottom of the stele as Benazan, of Ziri-Bashan (Rock-of-Bashan), a settlement located in north-eastern Palestine, in the Trans-Jordanian region.⁷⁰⁷ It is not known when and under what circumstances he came to Egypt,⁷⁰⁸ but it is reasonable to assume that he began his career under the reign of Ramesses II,⁷⁰⁹ as implied by his basilophoric name⁷¹⁰ as well as by his epithet *pn Rꜥ-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* 'he of (=son of) Ramesses Meriamun' in the inscription at the bottom. There

⁷⁰² Schulman is the only one who suggests that Ramessesesemperre began his career only in the later years of Merneptah. Schulman, 1976, 125; Schulman, 1988, 144.

⁷⁰³ Varille, 1932; Berlandini-Grenier, 1974; Schulman, 1976

⁷⁰⁴ Mariette, 1880b, 422. For the stele of Pentawer, see p. 208.

⁷⁰⁵ Porter – Moss, 1962, 58-59.

⁷⁰⁶ Schneider, 1992, 52-54.

⁷⁰⁷ Capart, 1905, 61-62; Givon, 1965, 200-202; Berlandini-Grenier, 1974, 11-12; Davies, 2014, 90.

⁷⁰⁸ Givon raises the possibility that he was a child-hostage who grew up in Egypt, Givon, 1965, 202; Varille mentions the general idea of taking him hostage as an adult, Varille, 1932, 12; Capart assumes that he was a descendant of Syrians who settled in Egypt under during the 19th dynasty, Capart, 1905, 60.

⁷⁰⁹ Kitchen, 1976, 312; Davies, 2014, 89.

⁷¹⁰ Helck, 1958, 273-274; Schulman, 1986, 194-195.

is another nickname pertaining to him on the stele; Meriiunu/Meron, which refers to some of his duties in connection with Heliopolis.⁷¹¹

The inscription of the stele is quite rich in functional titles borne by Ramessesemperre, nevertheless, there is no indication of his advancement under the particular rulers. Unfortunately, there is no reference to his title(s) under the reign of Ramesses II. On the stele from Abydos, he was already designated by several *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' titles, with suffixes referring to the ruler, as well as titles referring to particular units of the provision quarter of the royal palace. Schulman notes that the repetition of the title *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' in the title strings demonstrates the importance of this office and its holder in the royal court.⁷¹² Neither he, nor Kitchen⁷¹³ took into consideration, however, the fact that the repetition of the title in itself is not reasonable at all, and also that the title could rather be linked to the particular units following them. All the three title strings – one in each register and one in the bottom inscription – start with the title *wb3 nswt w3b 3.wj n nb 3.wj* 'royal *wb3* clean of hands of the lord of the Two Lands', followed by the titles *3j-ḥw ḥr wnmj nswt* 'fan bearer on the right of the king' and *wḥmw nswt tpj n ḥm=f* 'first royal herald of His Majesty', and close with the title *wb3 nswt 3 n 3.t ḥnk.t* 'royal *wb3*' and 'chief of the supplies magazine' in the upper register, *wb3 nswt 3 n 3.t ḥnk.t pr-3 3nh wd3 snb* 'royal *wb3*' and 'chief of the supplies magazine of the Pharaoh, L.P.H.' in the lower register, and with the titles *wb3 nswt 3 n 3.t ḥnk.t pr-3 3nh wd3 snb* 'royal *wb3*' and 'chief of the supplies magazine of the Pharaoh, L.P.H.' and *wb3 nswt 3 n 3.t ḥnq.t* 'royal *wb3*' and 'chief of the beer chamber' in the bottom inscription.

Davies speculates that since the title 'first royal herald' is a senior title, borne by the person who introduces the visitors into the presence of the king during an audience, Ramessesemperre must have been appointed to the position of 'royal *wb3*' in appreciation of his duties in this function.⁷¹⁴ Unfortunately, as the title 'first royal herald' appears only on this monument, nothing can be ascertained about the temporal relation among the titles of Ramessesemperre.

As for the date of this stele, it is generally accepted that the cartouches of Merneptah provide the date of its making. Schulman, however, doubts this fact, primarily on stylistic grounds, and, although he notes that the style of the workmanship applied to the figures and garments might fit both the 19th and the 20th dynasty, he rather dates the stele

⁷¹¹ Giveon, 1965, 200; Davies, 2014, 90.

⁷¹² Schulman, 1976, 123.

⁷¹³ Kitchen, 2003a, 81-82.

⁷¹⁴ Davies, 2014, 89.

after the reign of Merneptah, seeing the composition as an adoration of the deified king.⁷¹⁵ He instances another stele of Ramessesesemperre, now in Brussels (E 5014), which depicts the owner adoring the deified Thutmose III sitting on a throne before him, and which, despite the fact that it represents the cartouches of this ruler, obviously cannot be dated to his reign. Two details must be noted here to contradict Schulman's argument. One of them is the representation of the adored person: on the Brussels stele, the figure of the deified king, Thutmose III himself is represented as the object of adoration with his cartouches, while on the Abydos stele the object of adoration is Osiris, represented by his figure as well as his name in the inscription, while the cartouches of Merneptah appear beside these. The second detail is the provenance of the stelae: the Brussels stele was found in the small Ramesside temple in Gurob dedicated to the cult of Thutmose III,⁷¹⁶ while the other stele originates from Abydos, the cult place of Osiris himself. Furthermore, this latter stele is very similar to the stele of Pentawer, with which it was found and which is dated to the 1st year of Merneptah, based on the regnal year beside his cartouche.⁷¹⁷ Considering these facts, dating the Abydos stele to the reign of Merneptah seems to be more convincing than the theory for a later date outlined by Schulman.

The other object besides the Abydos stele which provides us with some details about the official duties of Ramessesesemperre is an ostrakon, now located in Cairo (CG 25504), preserving part of the necropolis journal, and recording visits by high ranking officials in the Valley of the Kings and at Deir el-Medina.⁷¹⁸ The text is dated to the 7th and 8th years of Merneptah, whose name has partially remained in the 1st column of the recto, but the presence of the vizier Panehsy also supports the date, since he served under this ruler.⁷¹⁹ The beginning of the inscription is damaged, and some lines might also have been lost, so it cannot be established when and for what purpose the first mentioned visit took place, one of the members of which was another *wdpw*, Paenrenenutet.⁷²⁰ Ramessesesemperre appears in the 7th year, on the 14th day of the 4th month of shemu as a member of a visiting commission at the tomb of the ruler in the Valley of the Kings, together with the 'vizier' Panehsy and the 'scribe' Penpamer, in order to inspect the procedure of placing the coffins in their places, it is supposed, into the tomb. In the following five days, the same delegation visited the tomb, probably to inspect the placing

⁷¹⁵ Schulman, 1976, 121.

⁷¹⁶ Capart, 1905, 60; Porter – Moss, 1968, 113; Davies, 2014, 90.

⁷¹⁷ For the stele of Pentawer, see p. 208.

⁷¹⁸ For a detailed description of the events, see Janssen, 1997, 148-151; Davies, 2014, 139-141.

⁷¹⁹ Schulman, 1976, 119-120; Davies, 2014, 90.

⁷²⁰ For the discussion on Paenrenenutet, see p. 209.

of additional pieces of funerary equipment. On the sixth day, the officials rewarded the workforce of the tomb, and on the next day, after finishing their commission, they headed back north. This latter point implies that Ramessesesemperre carried out his duties either in Memphis or in Pi-Ramesse. He was in Thebes only because of a particular mission at the king's behest, which is also indicated by his designation as *wdpw*.⁷²¹ It must be noted that the title appears without the epithet *nswt* 'royal'. This fact led Schulman to incorrectly conclude that the office of *wdpw* without any further specification was not necessarily a high one, as well as that, in consequence of the previous statement, Ramessesesemperre must have been only at the beginning of his career.⁷²² At the same time, he contradicts himself later in his study, when he instances the document of the harem conspiracy and states that the officials taking part in the judicial procedure simply designated as *wdpws* obviously were high ranking officials, just like those who participated in the investigation of the tomb robberies in the 20th dynasty, where they appear in their qualified form as *wdpw nswts* 'royal *wdpws*'.⁷²³ The inspection of the work on the tomb of the ruler is important enough not to send a young and inexperienced official, especially in the company of the vizier himself, to take part in the delegacy as the personal agent of the king. Based on this, in every single case of appearance of an *wdpw*, it has to be the context in which it appears that determines the significance and the proper rank of the titleholder.

As for the remains presumably originating from the tomb of Ramessesesemperre, they are supposed to come from Saqqara.⁷²⁴ The pillar fragment is worthy of note, and is now located in Bologna (EG 1913), on which the face of the owner became quite strange due to the depiction of his mouth in a front view rather than in profile.⁷²⁵ The kneeling person is holding a djed-pillar on his shoulders, which act symbolizes the ritual of the establishment of the djed-pillar, as already seen by the similar pillar of Qema from

⁷²¹ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁷²² Schulman, 1976, 120, 124-125. He also draws parallels with the mention of *wdpws* of the ruler in Papyrus Anastasi III A, who were recruited from slaves of foreign territories as well as young males from the priestly phyle, whose task was to prepare drinks for the royal household. However, Schulman does not take into consideration the change in the meaning of the word *wdpw*, nor the scope of duties or the official position of the persons who bore it at the time.

⁷²³ Schulman, 1976, 123. For the discussion on the 'royal *wdpws*' taking part in the judicial procedure of the harem conspiracy, see p. 216, and in the investigation of the tomb robberies, see pp. 243, 245, 248, 249, 250.

⁷²⁴ Varille, 1932, 11, although he also mentions the possibility of the Theban location based on the title 'chantress of Amun' of the wife; Curto, 1967, 92; Berlandini-Grenier, 1974, 13; Málek, 1988, 136; Davies, 2014, 91.

⁷²⁵ Helck, 1939; Bresciani, 1975, 59.

Saqqara.⁷²⁶ On a lintel fragment, now in Brooklyn (35.1315), Ramessesesemperre is kneeling before the seated figure of Hathor. The proportions of the two figures are interesting as the owner seems to be twice as big as the goddess. The epithet of the latter, 'Lady of the Southern Sycamore', also refers to the tomb in the Memphite necropolis. One of the two fragments located in Rome (Villa Torlonia, No. 554, 557) does not even mention the name of the owner, and can be assigned to Ramessesesemperre, based only on stylistic similarities to his other remains.⁷²⁷ The wife of Ramessesesemperre, *šmꜥjj.t n Jmn* 'chantress of Amun', Iset is known from a stele fragment, now located in Vienne (Isère) (NE 1555), on which an unidentified sem-priest is making an offering to the deceased couple.

The latest dated monument to Ramessesesemperre is a rock stele at Timna, on the cliff face of the rock above the temple of Hathor. The workmanship of the stele is rather poor, the figures are poorly executed, and the round-topped frame is unfinished. The field depicts the king making an offering to a goddess, who is otherwise unnamed, but she can be identified with Hathor, the only goddess who had a cult place at the site.⁷²⁸ The inscription line at the bottom is damaged and barely legible.⁷²⁹ The cartouche of the ruler between the figures dates the stele to the reign of Ramesses III. Ramessesesemperre must have been a participant in one of the expeditions sent by the king to the copper mines of Timna.⁷³⁰ The temple was found under Ramesses II and the site was actively used until Tausert, when a hiatus came until the time of Ramesses III, who restarted the mining there, as proven by the Papyrus Harris, according to which the king sent messengers to Atika,⁷³¹ a place identified with Timna with a high degree of certainty.⁷³² It is not known exactly when the stele was made, Schulman suggests the second decade of the reign of Ramesses III, when the situation in the country was relatively stable after the military activities of the early years.⁷³³ On the other hand, however, precisely due to these military activities, it may have been necessary to reopen the mines to secure the supplies of copper for the army, and in this case, the date of the stele might be earlier. The interesting point is the usage of the title *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' on a monument obvi-

⁷²⁶ Helck, 1939, 61. For the discussion on Qema, see p. 168.

⁷²⁷ Curto, 1967, 90-91; Davies, 2014, 93.

⁷²⁸ Ventura, 1974, 61-62; Schulman, 1976, 118; Schulman, 1988, 143.

⁷²⁹ Ventura assumed the presence of the names of two 'royal *wdpws*' due to the lacuna, but Kitchen revealed that it had contained the second half of the name of the owner. Ventura, 1974, 62; Kitchen, 1976, 311-312.

⁷³⁰ Ventura, 1974, 62-63; Kitchen, 1976, 312; Schulman, 1988, 144; Davies, 2014, 89.

⁷³¹ Pap. Harris I, 78,1-5; Breasted, 1906, 204; Erichsen, 1933, 95.

⁷³² Rothenberg, 1972, 201-203; Schulman, 1976, 124, n. 77; Schulman, 1988, 144.

⁷³³ Schulman, 1976, 124.

ously made during a special mission of such an official, and that is why the title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ would be expected.⁷³⁴ The explanation may be found in the intensity of his participation in the activity, Ramessesesemperre may not have been one of the expedition’s leaders but was merely an attendant of the mission as the king’s observer. A similar situation can be seen on the stele No. 12 from Wadi Hammamat in the case of the ‘royal *wb3s*’ Nakhtamun and Usermaatresekhper.⁷³⁵

An additional piece of information on the career of Ramessesesemperre was that he was rewarded with the Gold of Honour,⁷³⁶ which is represented around his neck on some of his monuments (pillar fragment, Bologna, EG 1913; lintel, Brooklyn, 35.1315; relief fragment, Cairo, private collection), however, there is no information on why he received this reward.

Based on the addendum of Berlandini-Grenier’s study,⁷³⁷ Schulman focuses on the identification and/or possible kinship with two other individuals with the same name, namely a ‘chief guardian’ in the Ramesseum probably from the reign of Ramesses II or Merneptah, and a ‘commander of foreign warriors’ from the time of Ramesses V.⁷³⁸ However, there is no evidence for any sort of relationship between the three persons, let alone their identification, and the mere identity of their names is not enough to draw any further conclusions in this regard.

III.54. Pentawer

Date: Merneptah (based on the cartouche on the stele)

Genealogy:

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graph TD
    P1[? ♂] --- P2[Aurati ♀]
    P1 --- Raqasha[Raqasha ♀]
    P1 --- P3[Pentawer ♂]
    P3 --- P4[Isetnofret ♀]
    P3 --- P5[? ♂]
    P5 --- Teri[Teri ♂]
  
```

Tomb: unknown

Remains: – stele, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, TN 12/6/24/17

Functional title: *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj*

⁷³⁴ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁷³⁵ For the discussion on Nakhtamun and Usermaatresekhper, see pp. 234 and 235, respectively.

⁷³⁶ Binder, 2008, 250, 327. Binder dates him to the reign of Ramesses II.

⁷³⁷ Berlandini-Grenier, 1974, 15-16.

⁷³⁸ Schulman, 1976, 119, 125-126.

The stele of *wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Pentawer was found in the northern necropolis of Abydos, together with that of Ramessesesemperre (Cairo, TR 3/7/24/17), furthermore, according to Mariette, they came from the same workshop.⁷³⁹ This stele is dated to the 1st year of Merneptah, based on the cartouche in the lunette. The field of the stele is divided into two registers. In the upper one, Pentawer adores Osiris sitting on his throne and Isis is standing behind him, with a praise to Osiris above the owner. In the lower register, family members of Pentawer adore Horus: his wife, Isetnofret, a *ḥj-ḥw* ‘fan-bearer’ without any designation of kinship, possibly his son,⁷⁴⁰ Teri, his mother, Aurati, and his sister, Raqasha. All three women are designated by the title *šmꜥjj.t n Jmn* ‘chantress of Amun’. The name of the sister implies the foreign origin of the family,⁷⁴¹ however, the name of the father is not known. Mariette suggests that both Ramessesesemperre and Pentawer belonged to an Egyptian-Semitic group that lived in this area under Merneptah.⁷⁴² As for the two ‘royal *wb3s*’, however, this theory is not convincing enough, since Abydos was not a royal residence where these officials could have carried out their duty beside the ruler every day. One might rather see these stelae as ex-votos for Osiris residing here, or as cult objects belonging to their cenotaphs in the necropolis.

III.55. *Ramessesheru*

Date:	Merneptah (based on the cartouche on the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 3629
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj n nb t3.wj</i> <i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ʕ.wj m ʕḥ</i> <i>ʕ3 n ʕ.t ḥnk.t</i>

Ramessesheru is attested only on his stele, also from Abydos, now located in Paris (E 3629), and dated to the 1st year of Merneptah and based on the date and his cartouche in the lunette. In the field of the stele, the owner is depicted in a pose of adoration before the

⁷³⁹ Mariette, 188ob, 421.

⁷⁴⁰ Davies, 2014, 88.

⁷⁴¹ Schneider, 1992, 157-158.

⁷⁴² Mariette, 188ob, 421.

standing figure of Osiris. At the bottom of the object, three lines on inscription name the dedicator. One might assume that he had already served under the reign of Ramesses II as well, indicated by his basilophoric name, obviously adopted as a tribute to the ruler. His name also implies his foreign origin, which is supported by his cognomen appearing in the inscription: *R^c-ms-^rsw¹-[hrw dd n=f] Pn-^rHdr¹ [...]* ‘Ramesses[heru, ? called] Penhazuri [...]’.⁷⁴³ The name most likely means ‘the one of Hazor’ or ‘he of Hazor’, which supposedly refers to his hometown in north-eastern Canaan.⁷⁴⁴ It cannot be ascertained when and in what circumstances he came to Egypt and became a personal servant of the ruler. Besides the titles *wb3 nswt w^cb ˆ.wj n nb ʔ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands of the lord of the Two Lands’ and *wb3 nswt w^cb ˆ.wj m ˆh* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands in the palace’, he is also designated twice as *ˆ3 n ˆt hnk.t* ‘chief of the supplies magazine’⁷⁴⁵. This latter title specifies his responsibility for the palace stores. In contrast to Kitchen’s translation as ‘Master of the Department of (wine)-cellars’,⁷⁴⁶ I would suggest ‘chief of the supplies magazine’ as a translation for the title.⁷⁴⁷

III.56. *Paenrenenutet*

Date:	Merneptah (based on the date of the ostrakon)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Saqqara, Bubasteion I.21
Remains:	– tomb structure – ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25504
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt tpj</i> <i>wb3 nswt w^cb ˆ.wj</i> <i>wdpw</i>

The tomb of Paenrenenutet is located in the Bubasteion (I.21), a little further west to that of his colleague, Seth (I.13), discussed above.⁷⁴⁸ Remains of decoration appear on the tomb

⁷⁴³ Helck, 1958, 273-274; Schulman, 1986, 194-195. Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 80.

⁷⁴⁴ Sauneron – Yoyotte, 1950, 68; Schulman, 1986, 196; Kitchen, 2003b, 25; Davies, 2014, 88.

⁷⁴⁵ On the title of *ˆ3 n ˆt hnk.t*, see Gardiner, 1947, 22*; Zivie, 1976, 168, which indicates the existence of the title only from the Ramesside period.

⁷⁴⁶ Kitchen, 2003a, 80.

⁷⁴⁷ For the wine cellar the term *ˆt jrp* would be the proper choice, see Hannig, 2006, 136.

⁷⁴⁸ See on p. 147.

walls, and the sidewalls of the hall are inaccessible due to the masonry that was later constructed to stabilize the structure, just as in the case of the tomb of Seth.⁷⁴⁹ The central column inscription on the ceiling designates Paenrenenutet as *wb3 nswt tpj* ‘first royal *wb3*’ and *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’. Based on the ostracon (Cairo, CG 25504) on which he appeared probably in the same year as Ramessesemperre did,⁷⁵⁰ the activity of Paenrenenutet can be dated at least to the reign of Merneptah, with certainty around the years 7th and 8th, the events of which the ostracon records. This date coincides with Zivie’s estimate dating the tomb to the 19th–20th dynasty.⁷⁵¹ The beginning of the inscription on the ostracon is damaged, unfortunately, some lines might also have been lost, so it cannot be ascertained when and for what purpose the first mentioned visit took place, one of the members of which was *wdpw* Paenrenenutet. One might only assume, based on his title,⁷⁵² that his place of duty was in the north, either in Memphis or in Pi-Ramesse, and he took part in a special commission at the ruler’s behest, supposedly an inspection of his tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

III.57. Merneptahemperptah

Date:	Merneptah (based on the name of the owner)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Brussels, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, E 3076
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i>

Merneptahemperptah is known only from his round-topped limestone stele of unknown provenance, now located in Brussels (E 3076). Based on the basilophoric name, his activity could be dated to the reign of Merneptah. The stele depicts the owner in the posture of adoration before Ptah and a deity in the form of a serpent, supposedly Atum, based on the inscription above them.⁷⁵³ Merneptahemperptah is designated as *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’. The word *ꜥ.wj* ‘hands’ is omitted from the title, from which one could make the false conclusion that the designation of Merneptahemperp-

⁷⁴⁹ Zivie, 1998, 38.

⁷⁵⁰ For the discussion on Ramessesemperre, see p. 201.

⁷⁵¹ Zivie, 1998, 38.

⁷⁵² For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁷⁵³ Moje, 2007, 219. The god is also identified as Termuthis by Málek et al., 2012, 235.

tah as ‘royal *wb3*, wab-priest (of the statue) of Merneptah in the temple of Ptah’, Merneptahemhotep.⁷⁵⁴ Although Schulman recognizes his name as Merneptahemperptah, he notes that he is also named on the same monument as Merneptahemhotep, taking the epithet ‘beloved of Ptah’ as a second personal name of the owner.⁷⁵⁵ Besides his name and his single functional title, there is no further information on the family or the career of Merneptahemperptah.

III.58. Bay

Date:	Sety II (based on the cartouche on the ostrakon)
Genealogy:	Ka[...] ♂ ——— ? ♀ Bay ♂
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– graffito, West Theban, No. 1700 – ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25766
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>sš nswt</i>

Bay as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ is known from two remains. His graffito (West Theban, No. 1700) is located on the cliff face above the entrance to the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4) – which had not been there when the graffito was made, of course –, commemorating the visit of Bay in the Valley of the Kings. The inscription mentions the name of the father of Bay, however, only its beginning is legible as Ka[...]. Bay was presumably ordered to take part in the inspection of the royal tomb by Sety II (KV 15) based on his designation on his other remains, an ostrakon (Cairo, CG 25766) as *sš nswt wdpw nswt B3jj n nswt Sth mrj.n-Pth* ‘royal scribe and royal *wdpw*, Bay of king Sety II Merneptah’. Although the name is partly damaged, the reconstruction seems to leave no doubt. The authorship of the ostrakon is doubted as well since its purpose is not clear enough to draw unequivocal conclusions from its content,⁷⁵⁶ nevertheless, it might be supposed that Bay himself was the composer of the prayer for seeing the beauties of Thebes. Since

⁷⁵⁴ Málek et al., 2012, 235.

⁷⁵⁵ Schulman, 1986, 195.

⁷⁵⁶ Černý, 1966, 36; Posener, 1977; Kitchen, 1993a, 237.

it was found during the clearing of the tomb of Siptah, where it had been washed away by a flood later in time, Bay probably left the ostrakon in the Valley of the Kings as an ex-voto, possibly during the same visit when he made the graffito.⁷⁵⁷ An interesting point of the text of the ostrakon regarding Bay's career is the reference to his being a visitor to Thebes,⁷⁵⁸ which clearly implies that he predominantly carried out his duties in the northern part of the country, either in Memphis or in Pi-Ramesse. Bay must have borne the functional title *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' as well, however, since his remains were made during his particular mission by the commission of the king, it is not surprising that he was designated as *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*'.⁷⁵⁹

A common speculation among researchers is the question of the identity of the 'royal *wdpw*' Bay with the famous 'chancellor' Bay; some of them accept it as given,⁷⁶⁰ while others do not move beyond a supposition.⁷⁶¹ Nevertheless, this theory must be handled with caution, since there is no unequivocal evidence for the identification of the two persons apart from their having the same name, which, as Bierbrier notes, was common in the New Kingdom.⁷⁶² Since none of their titles coincides, the 'chancellor' Bay do not even mention the title *wb3 nswt* or *wdpw nswt* on either of his monuments referring to the earlier stage of his career, as is supposed by the hypothesis mentioned above, I very much doubt that the two persons would be identical until new evidence emerges to support this.

⁷⁵⁷ Davies, 2014, 249.

⁷⁵⁸ Posener, 1977, 389; Kitchen, 1993a; Davies, 2014, 249.

⁷⁵⁹ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁷⁶⁰ Helck, 1958, 355-356; Černý, 1966; Posener, 1977.

⁷⁶¹ Bierbrier, 2011, 19-20; Dodson, 2011; Davies, 2014, 249.

⁷⁶² Bierbrier, 2011, 20. For the examples, see Ranke, 1935, 89, nos. 14, 18-19.

FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY
– FROM RAMESES III TO RAMESES VII

III.59. *Ramessessamiiunu*

Date:	Ramesses III (based on the inscription of the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Pennsylvania, Penn Museum, E13625
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>ḥsjj ʕ3 n ntr nfr rꜥ nb</i> <i>mrw.tj n nb t3.wj</i>

The limestone stele fragment of *Ramessessamiiunu*, now located in Pennsylvania (E13625), was found in Mit Rahina, at the palace area of ancient Memphis. It is a lower part of a once presumably, round-topped votive stele. The field is divided into two registers, in the upper one, the king is standing on the right, facing three deities on the left. Schulman notes the fact that the figure of the king was reworked because of unknown reasons, in consequence of which his front leg became twice as wide as his rear one.⁷⁶³ Similar disproportional workmanship can be observed on the figure of the owner in the lower register, who is kneeling in the posture of adoration, with five columns of inscription before him. According to Schulman, the orthography of the adoration inscription is clearly Ramesside – nevertheless, he also notes the unusual errors in such a text –,⁷⁶⁴ and he suggests a possible date under Ramesses III based on references to his Horus name as well as his *nb.tj* name.⁷⁶⁵ Besides the only functional title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, two honorific titles appear as well, *ḥsjj ʕ3 n ntr nfr rꜥ nb* ‘favoured of the good god every day and *mrw.tj n nb t3.wj* ‘beloved of the lord of the Two Lands’, representing the close personal relationship of *Ramessessamiiunu* to the ruler. His basilophoric name might refer to his foreign origin, as Schulman assumes,⁷⁶⁶ however, nothing can be ascertained about his family background, nor is there any more information on his life or career.

⁷⁶³ Schulman, 1986, 189.

⁷⁶⁴ Schulman, 1986, 192.

⁷⁶⁵ Schulman, 1986, 191, notes c and e.

⁷⁶⁶ Schulman, 1986, 193–197.

and son also served as ‘royal *wḏpw*’.⁷⁷⁰ It is not known where Ptahemwia (II) was buried,⁷⁷¹ and for his northern place of duty one might only guess, based on the hypothetical Theban origin of his stele.

III.61. *Ramessesankherneheh*

Date:	Ramesses III (based on the cartouche on the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, area of Lake Geneva, private collection, inv. 353
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt n pr ḥd</i>

The only monument to Ramessesankherneheh known to us is a stele in a private collection in the area of Lake Geneva (inv. 353).⁷⁷² The workmanship is rather rough and Chappaz notes several palaeographic oddities.⁷⁷³ In the upper part of the stele, a scene represents the king presenting an offering to a cult statue – a colossus – of himself, Ramessesheqaiunu, great in victory. Behind Ramesses III, one of his sons, Ramessesmeriamun can be seen. The lower part of the stele contains seven lines of inscription dated to the 25th year of Ramesses III, and records a land donation of 50 aruras for his cult statue that was erected in Pi-Ramesse.⁷⁷⁴ The inscription names the Prince Ramessesmeriamun as the supervisor of the donation, and *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Ramessesankherneheh as the one who is responsible for providing for the cult of the statue. The place of the colossus in Pi-Ramesse might refer to Ramessesankherneheh’s place of duty at this royal residence as well. It is worth noting the last line of the text, in which there is another title after the name of the owner,

⁷⁷⁰ Besides them, there are two officials in the 18th dynasty who most likely were brothers, Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenutet Tjai. For discussions on them, see pp. 140. and 142, respectively.

⁷⁷¹ Staring counts Ptahemwia (II) among the officials who were buried in Saqqara, however, there is no factual evidence for this at all. Staring, 2015, 212, n. 20 (2).

⁷⁷² Chappaz had the opportunity to study the stele during a sale. Chappaz, 2005-7, 5.

⁷⁷³ Chappaz, 2005-7, 5-6, 10-11.

⁷⁷⁴ According to the inscription, the cult statue ‘is settled in the house of Amun of Ramessesheqaiunu’, which refers to the royal residence of Pi-Ramesse. See Chappaz, 2005-7, 6, n. 5, with further references.

wb3 nswt n pr ḥd ‘royal *wb3* of the treasury’.⁷⁷⁵ Here, in the case of Ramessesankherneheh, the title after his name obviously refers to his personal service in the provision of the colossus of the king – actually representing the king himself –, and since fulfilling this task required supervision over goods and supplies for the cult of the statue, both parts of the title make perfect sense. Interestingly, almost exactly one year earlier one of the colleagues of Ramessesankherneheh, Hori was involved in a case of donation for another cult statue of the same king in Heliopolis.⁷⁷⁶

III.62. *Pabes*

Date:	Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
Functional title:	<i>wdpw</i>

The Judicial Papyrus of Turin (Turin, Cat. 1875) is the official account of the trial of the conspirators in the plot against Ramesses III, generally known as the harem conspiracy. The date of the trial is not certain, although the text is introduced in the name of Ramesses III, it might also be assumed that his son, Ramesses IV had the procedure conducted in the name of his father.⁷⁷⁷ A total of eleven ‘butlers’ appear in the inscription, some of them are members of the judiciary, some of them are accused, and one of them is accused by a judge. Their designation is consequently *wdpw* without any qualification, nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that the ones acting in the judiciary were high ranking officials in light of the importance of the matter.⁷⁷⁸ The same, however, cannot be stated with certainty in the case of the *wdpws* among the accused. Although they obviously served in the royal harem, in contrast to Schulman’s note,⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁵ There are some examples of placing the name between the titles, however, the importance of this practice is not clear.

⁷⁷⁶ For the discussion on Hori, see p. 221.

⁷⁷⁷ For the discussion on the date of the trial, see de Buck, 1937, 152-152; Peden, 1994a, 196.

⁷⁷⁸ There are other examples where a person otherwise designated as *wb3 nswt* or *wdpw nswt*, appears in a document only as *wdpw*, see for instance Ramessesemperre on p. 201, Paenrenenutet on p. 209, Hori on p. 221, Nesamun on p. 242, or Neferkareemperamun on p. 244. In addition, see Schulman’s discussion, 1976, 123.

⁷⁷⁹ Schulman, 1976, 123.

the place of their service in itself does not necessarily indicate their designation as ‘royal *wdpws*’. This question must be left open until new evidence emerges to support or contradict the supposition.

At the beginning of the report, Ramesses III commissions twelve officials to examine the criminals, with five *wdpws* among them: Pabes, Qedendenna, Baalmeher, Pairsun and Djehutirekhnefer. Pabes was one of the judges in the examination of the first accused, among whom four former *wdpws* were listed. Mesedsure was found guilty of having been in collusion with one of the main conspirators, Paibakkamen as well as with the women in the harem. Warna, Paluka and Inini were guilty of having heard about the plot from Paibakkamen, but they concealed this and did not report it. Their punishment remained undefined. Interestingly, the last person on the list of the first accused was not set before the court of examination, as the others were, but before four ‘royal *wdpws*’, Qedendenna, Baalmeher, Pairsun and Djehutirekhnefer, the relevance of which is not known.

Nebdjefau appears among the second accused, because he was in collusion with Paibakkamen and his fellows. His punishment was to have to commit suicide.

The five-membered judiciary of the examination of the third accused consisted of the four aforementioned ‘royal *wdpws*’, Qedendenna, Baalmeher, Pairsun and Djehutirekhnefer, and a certain, otherwise not designated person, Merutusiasun. In all the four cases within this group of accused, it is clearly stated that the criminals were stood before the *wdpws* who found them guilty and made them commit suicide as a punishment. Since Merutusiasun is collectively addressed as *wdpw*, one might assume that he was a ‘royal *wdpw*’ as well, however, he is not known from any other source, and based only on this doubtful indication, it cannot be stated unequivocally. Hentuenimen, a former *wdpw* was one of the third accused, and guilty of having learned of the plot from the women, but then of concealing and omitting to report it. His punishment was also to have to commit suicide.

Among the fourth accused, there are former members of the judiciary, one of them is the ‘royal *wdpw*’ Pabes, because he had not acted upon the instructions given to him. As he was found guilty, he also had to commit suicide as a punishment.

Besides this factual report on the trial, there is other information on the ‘royal *wdpws*’ mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is worth saying a few words about their names. Half of them evidently refer to foreign origin, as the non-Egyptian names of Baalmeher, Qedendenna and Warna, the name of Paluka, ‘the Lukkan’, which contains a geographical element comprising the definite article *p3*, or Inini, who is explicitly called ‘the

Libyan'.⁷⁸⁰ Interestingly, there is no basilophoric name among them. The rest of them bore – at least seemingly – Egyptian names. One might suppose that all of them served under the reign of Ramesses III, and the four of them, members of the judiciary who had not been found guilty, also presumably remained in the service of Ramesses IV.

III.63. *Mesedsure*

Date:	Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
Functional title:	<i>wdpw</i>

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.64. *Warna*

Date:	Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
Functional title:	<i>wdpw</i>

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.65. *Paluka*

Date:	Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown

⁷⁸⁰ For the discussion on the names of foreign origin among the 'royal *wbʿs*', see Schulman, 1981, 194–196, as well as on p. 42. of the present work.

Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
Functional titles: *wdpw*
sš n pr ḥd

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.66. Inini

Date: Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy: unknown
Tomb: unknown
Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
Functional title: *wdpw*

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.67. Nebdjefau

Date: Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy: unknown
Tomb: unknown
Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
Functional title: *wdpw*

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.68. Hentuenimen

Date: Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
Genealogy: unknown
Tomb: unknown

Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
 Functional title: *wdpw*

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.69. Qedendenna

Date: Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
 Genealogy: unknown
 Tomb: unknown
 Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
 Functional title: *wdpw*

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.70. Baalmehar

Date: Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
 Genealogy: unknown
 Tomb: unknown
 Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875
 Functional title: *wdpw*

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.71. Pairsun

Date: Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)
 Genealogy: unknown
 Tomb: unknown
 Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875

Functional title: *wdpw*

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.72. Djehutirekhnefer

Date: Ramesses III/Ramesses IV (based on the date of the papyrus)

Genealogy: unknown

Tomb: unknown

Remains: – Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1875

Functional title: *wdpw*

For the discussion on his role, see the discussion on Pabes above on p. 214.

III.73. Hori

Date: Ramesses III – Ramesses IV (based on the cartouches on the remains)

Genealogy:

```
graph TD
    Ptahemwia["Ptahemwia (II) ♂"] --- Hathor["Hathor ♀"]
    Ptahemwia --- Hori["Hori ♂"]
    Hori --- Henutmire["Henutmire ♀"]
```

Tomb: Saqqara

Remains:

- tomb structure(?)
- stele, Memphis, 2882
- stele, London, British Museum, EA 588
- stele Deir el-Medina, No. 151
- ostrakon, Deir el-Medina, No. 45 (+ Ostrakon Berlin P.12651 + Ostrakon Vienna H.4.)
- papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1891
- ostrakon, Sydney, Nicholson Museum, R.97
- ostrakon Deir el-Medina, No. 2551
- stele, Neuchâtel, Musée d’Ethnographie, Eg. 428
- relief fragment (present location is not known)

Functional titles: *wb3*

wb3 nswt
wdpw
wdpw nswt
sš nswt

The ‘royal *wb3*’ and ‘royal *wdpw*’ Hori can be seen on several of his monuments⁷⁸¹ and can be dated with some certainty from the later period of the reign of Ramesses III until the very beginning of that of Ramesses IV at least. He and his father, Ptahemwia (II) are the only ones in this corpus who were in this sort of family relationship, and both of whom functioned in the position of ‘royal *wdpw*’.⁷⁸² Hori, based on the name of his father, originated from Memphis,⁷⁸³ while his mother, Hathor, was of Theban origin, as two of his monuments note this fact (stele, London, EA 588, and stele Deir el-Medina No. 151). His wife was a certain Henutmire, as they are represented on a stele in Neuchâtel (Eg. 428).⁷⁸⁴

The earliest securely dated mention of Hori is on a stele, now presumably located in a magazine in Saqqara (no. 2882), from the 24th regnal year of Ramesses III, found at the southern gate of the Memphite palace of Merneptah.⁷⁸⁵ The upper part of the stele and some lines of the inscription are missing,⁷⁸⁶ the remaining lower part contains sixteen lines of inscription. It is a sort of legal document giving an account of the donation of a cult statue of the king, as well as the list of persons and goods ordered to its cult service. Although the name of the king is not mentioned explicitly in the remaining part of the text, based on the name of the statue itself and on the high number of the regnal year, it could only be Ramesses III.⁷⁸⁷ The donator of the cult statue is Merneptah, priest of

⁷⁸¹ Janssen notes two monuments besides the ones being discussed here in details that belong to an individual also named Hori. In the case of the ostrakon CG 25295 it became clear that it belonged to another person, and the offering table from Deir el-Medina (43586) does not contain any titles, thus on account of the frequent occurrence of the name, the ownership is not proven at all. Janssen, 1963, 66, n. 6, 7. and 8.

⁷⁸² Besides them, there are two officials in the 18th dynasty who most likely were brothers, Neferrenpet (I) and Sarenutet Tjai. For discussions on them see pp. 140. and 142, respectively.

⁷⁸³ Málek, 1988, 133.

⁷⁸⁴ Schulman argues for the possibility of the foreign origin of Hori based on the Semitic name of the lady, Djimiro which appears on the offering table from Deir el-Medina (43586) mentioned above, however, based on the unproven ownership as well as the explicitly expressed Theban origin of the mother of Hori, this theory has not yet been substantiated. Schulman, 1990, 14, n. 1.

⁷⁸⁵ Schulman, 1963, 177.

⁷⁸⁶ For the reconstruction of the missing parts of the inscription, see Helck, 1966, 32-33.

⁷⁸⁷ Schulman, 1963, 182-183; Helck, 1966, 32.

the memorial temple of king Merneptah, who announces the fact of donation, introduces the people appointed to be priests and chantresses, and presents the list of goods in the presence of the great law-court of Heliopolis, one of the members of which is the *wb3* Hori. This is the only case in the entire corpus where a ‘royal *wb3*’ is designated only as *wb3*. Observing the sign group of the title, however, another interesting fact stands out, namely the reverse direction of the signs. Concerning this mistake, one might consider the omission of the sign *nswt* as a scribal error, not as an indication of a lower ranking position and/or title of the official. Interestingly, almost exactly a year later, one of the colleagues of Hori, Ramessesankherneheh was involved in a case of land donation for another cult statue of the same king in Pi-Ramesses.⁷⁸⁸

The next firmly dated source of Hori is a round-topped limestone stele, now located in London (EA 588), from the 1st or 2nd year of Ramesses IV. The date is based not only on the cartouches of the king, which were used only in his first two regnal years,⁷⁸⁹ but also on the presence of Inherkhau, ‘chief workman’ at Deir el-Medina, who is attested in this function from the 21st–22nd year of Ramesses III, when he followed his father in this position, until the 1st year of Ramesses IV, and in whose tomb – TT 359 – the stele was presumably found at Deir el-Medina.⁷⁹⁰ The field of the stele is divided into two registers, in the upper one, Hori is depicted standing before the ruler sitting on a throne with Maat standing behind him. The inscription above and behind Hori designates him as *wpwjtj* ‘messenger’ who came into the presence of the king, however, this label does not represent an official title⁷⁹¹ but expresses the function in which Hori acts on behalf of the king. The mission itself is revealed in the lower register where a kneeling figure can be seen in the posture of adoration with thirteen columns of inscription before and above him. This male is believed to be Inherkhau, to whom the king bestowed several commodities through his agent, Hori. The purpose of the bestowal remains unknown. Hori bears two functional titles here, besides *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, the usual title during particular missions,⁷⁹² the title *sš nswt* ‘royal scribe’ also appears, presumably referring to the duty he had to accomplish during the transportation and delivery of the commodities.

⁷⁸⁸ For the discussion on Ramessesankherneheh, see p. 215.

⁷⁸⁹ von Beckerath, 1999², 167–169; Cherpion – Corteggiani, 2010, 288.

⁷⁹⁰ Janssen, 1963, 64, 70; Bierbrier, 1982, 24.

⁷⁹¹ Valloggia counts Hori among the officials who bore the functional title *wpwjtj* ‘messenger’. Valloggia, 1976, 169. At the same time, he mistakenly dates the stele to the reign of Ramesses III, just as McDowell does. McDowell, 1999, 233.

⁷⁹² For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

A stele fragment found at Deir el-Medina, No. 151, shows a close similarity to the previously discussed object, both the posture of the figures and the position of the text are parallel to the composition of the upper register of the stele EA 588. Hori is designated by the same two functional titles, *sš nswt* 'royal scribe' and *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*', and in addition his affiliation appears in the same way. The cartouches of Ramesses IV also date the object to his first two regnal years.⁷⁹³ Due to its fragmentary state, the purpose of this stele, however, remains unknown.

Two documents render an account of events from the 2nd regnal year of Ramesses IV, only one month apart. The ostrakon DeM 45 describes the arrival of a delegation of high ranking officials to the Valley of the Kings on 17th of the 2nd month of akhet to select a site for constructing the tomb of the ruler. Besides the 'vizier' Neferrenpet, another 'royal *wdpw*' named Amenkhau is also a member of the delegation. Both of the officials are designated as *wdpw nswt*. They presumably stayed in Thebes at least until the end of the month, since the note on the 30th day refers to notables who rewarded the workforce. Although the inscription does not name the ruler explicitly, based on the individuals who appear in it, as well as parallels shown to the securely dated ostrakon DeM 44, he must have been Ramesses IV.⁷⁹⁴ The other document, a papyrus from Turin, Cat. 1891, gives an account of the visit of a delegation to Deir el-Medina on 28th of the 3rd month of akhet in order to increase the number of workmen to 120 (they had been 60 before). The delegation was slightly bigger than the one on the ostrakon DeM 45, this time besides the 'vizier' Neferrenpet and the 'royal *wdpw*' Hori, four other members were present: the 'overseer of the treasury' Montuemtaui, the 'deputy' Menna, and two further 'royal *wdpws*', Ramessesesetherwenemef and Atumnakht. Interestingly, Ramessesesetherwenemef is designated as *wdpw nswt*, while Hori and Atumnakht are designated simply as *wdpw*, furthermore, the three 'royal *wdpws*' did not follow each other directly but were separated by Montuemtaui and Menna. The usage of the two variations of the functional title 'royal *wdpw*' is most likely the result of some sort of scribal feature, rather than a reference to the ranking positions of the three officials, especially as Hori was designated as *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*' one month earlier and it is not reasonable to assume his dismissal.

The last remains that presumably provides detail about the activity of Hori is an ostrakon located in Sidney (R.97). Although the name itself is missing, only the functional title *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*' can partially be read, concerning the size of the lacuna into

⁷⁹³ Bruyère mistakenly dates the stele to the reign of Ramesses IX. Bruyère, 1952, 86.

⁷⁹⁴ Černý, 1936, 112.

which only a short name can be reconstructed, Hori seems to be the most likely candidate.⁷⁹⁵ This is supported by the person of the other *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, Amenkhau, with whom Hori also appears together in the delegation on the ostracon DeM 45. This time, the officials visited the Valley of the Kings to investigate a strike by workmen, who had stopped working because they had not received their provisions for a period. The officials decided in their favour. Although the date and the name of the ruler have not remained either, based on the persons of the high officials in the delegation, the incident must have been dated to the reign of Ramesses IV.⁷⁹⁶

The ostracon DeM 2551, found at the temporary village of the workmen on the ridge halfway between the Valley of the Kings and Deir el-Medina,⁷⁹⁷ must also have been linked to these visits by Hori on the west bank of Thebes. The limestone fragment depicts a sketch of the figure of a ruler with the name and title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ of Hori and part of the name of his father. The figure of Hori was once presumably presented after his name.

The burial of Hori was most likely in Saqqara, however, the tomb chapel located near the Teti pyramid which seems to be a candidate for this purpose, could also be that of a certain Nakhtamun, who happened to be *ḥrj sdmw.w n wb3 nswt* *Ḥrj* ‘overseer of the servants of the royal *wb3* Hori’. The stele of Nakhtamun, now located in Neuchâtel (Eg. 428), was found inside the chapel, and its position, as well as the inscription on its jambs, indicate the ownership of Nakhtamun rather than that of Hori, nevertheless, this question cannot be answered with certainty until new evidence emerges.⁷⁹⁸ Hori and his wife Henutmire appear in the lower register of the stele, where Nakhtamun presents an offering to them with his two sons and four daughters.⁷⁹⁹ A relief fragment found in the vicinity of the tomb chapel without a specific location of its provenance,⁸⁰⁰ however, definitely belongs to Hori, based on the four columns of inscription which contain praise of the *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, presumably whose kneeling figure is depicted on the right.

The functional titles of Hori appearing on his remains of different types also represent the regularity in the usage of the two variations of the titles ‘royal *wb3*’ and ‘royal *wdpw*’:⁸⁰¹ the documents rendering accounts of particular missions ordered by the king far from

⁷⁹⁵ Eyre does not offer any solution for the person of the official, but Kitchen convincingly reconstructs the text. Eyre, 1979, 81, n. e; Kitchen, 1983b, 151.

⁷⁹⁶ Helck dates the ostracon probably to the 16th year of Ramesses IX. See Helck, 2002, 514.

⁷⁹⁷ Bruyère, 1939, 362.

⁷⁹⁸ Málek, 1988, 131-132.

⁷⁹⁹ Málek, 1988, 128-129.

⁸⁰⁰ Málek, 1988, 130-131.

⁸⁰¹ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

his person and the royal residence designate him as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, while the ones in connection with his general representation as a court official identifies him as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’.

III.74. Amenkhau

Date:	Ramesses IV – Ramesses V (based on the date of the remains)
Genealogy:	Tekhy ♂ ——— ? ♀ Amenkhau ♂
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostracon, Deir el-Medina, No. 45 (+ Ostracon Berlin P.12651 + Ostracon Vienna H.4.) – ostracon, Sydney, Nicholson Museum, R.97 – ostracon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25311 – graffito, West Theban, No. 2576 – papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 2002
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

Despite the relatively high number of the remains of Amenkhau, hardly anything can be ascertained about him and his activities. He is attested with certainty from the 2nd year of Ramesses IV to the 1st year of Ramesses V at least. All of his sources are linked to the Theban region and with duties regarding the construction work of the tomb of the ruler. He acts together with his colleague Hori in two assignments, namely in singling out the place for constructing the tomb of Ramesses IV on 17th of the 2nd month of akhet in the 2nd year of the king (ostracon DeM 45), and – presumably at a later date – in the investigation of the strike by the workmen at Deir el-Medina, who had stopped working because they had not received their provisions for a period of time (ostracon Sidney, R.97).⁸⁰² An ostracon from the Valley of the Kings (Cairo, CG 25311) probably also mentions him as well as his colleague Atumnakht, however, their title has been lost due to the fragmentary state of the inscription. He left a graffito in the mountains of west of Thebes, possibly from the 6th year of Ramesses IV.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰² For a detailed discussion on the two cases, see discourse on Hori on p. 221.

⁸⁰³ Kitchen, 1983b, 148.

The last known activity of Amenkhau, recorded in a section of papyrus Turin, Cat. 2002, was on the 7th of the 2nd month of shemu in the 1st year of Ramesses V.⁸⁰⁴ The inscription relates the visit of some high officials inspecting the placing some pieces of burial equipment into a royal tomb, based on the very early date during the reign of Ramesses V, presumably into that of his predecessor, Ramesses IV. There are five *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpws*’ among the members of the delegation, the highest number acting together in one case according to the available sources. Apart from Amenkhau, Atumnakht, Ramessessethherwenemef, Sobekhotep and Parenakht were also present. Amenkhau had a special task during the visit: to oversee the craftsmen of Deir el-Medina during an uncertain stage of the work (perhaps polishing?), as well as being sent for alabaster-engravers who worked inside the tomb.⁸⁰⁵ The designation of the officials as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, which is the only known functional title of Amenkhau, fits their special commission ordered by the king.⁸⁰⁶

III.75. Atumnakht

Date:	Ramesses IV – Ramesses V (based on the date cartouches on the remains)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1891 – papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 2002 – ostracon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25311
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

Atumnakht is known from three sources, in all of which he appears as a member of the delegation of high ranking officials visiting the Valley of the Kings and Deir el-Medina concerning different matters regarding the construction of the royal tomb. In all three

⁸⁰⁴ Gutgesell as well as Schulman mistakenly dated the document to the reign of Ramesses IV. Gutgesell, 1983, 226; Schulman, 1986, 202. For a discussion on the date, see Helck, 2002, 18.

⁸⁰⁵ According to the personal communication of Dr Robert Demarée, another fragment, CP 18/009+005, also belongs to the pap. Turin, Cat. 2002, although its proper position is still unclear. This fragment mentions the ‘royal *wdpws*’ in connection with the alabaster shrine and the *mrw*-wood chest, however, due to its fragmentary state, their exact task is not clear. I would hereby like to thank Dr Demarée for his kind help, as he called my attention to this new fragment and provided me with his translation and notes on the relevant part of the papyrus.

⁸⁰⁶ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

cases, he acts together with his fellow ‘royal *wdpw*’ officials. The papyrus from Turin, Cat. 1891, gives an account of the visit of a delegation led by the ‘vizier’ Neferrenpet to Deir el-Medina on the 28th of the 3rd month of akhet of the 2nd year of Ramesses IV to increase the number of workmen to 120 (they had been 60 before). Besides Atumnakht, two other ‘royal *wdpws*’, Ramessesethherwenemef and Hori were also present. Interestingly, Ramessesethherwenemef is designated as *wdpw nswt*, while Hori and Atumnakht are identified simply as *wdpw*; furthermore, the three ‘royal *wdpws*’ did not follow each other directly but were separated by the ‘overseer of the treasury’ Montuemtaui, the ‘deputy’ Menna. The usage of the two variations of the functional title ‘royal *wdpw*’ is most probably the result of some sort of scribal feature, rather than a reference to the ranking positions of the three officials, especially as Hori was designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ in another document dated one month earlier (ostracon DeM 45) and it is not reasonable to assume his dismissal.⁸⁰⁷

The papyrus Turin, Cat. 2002 also renders an account of the visit by some high officials on 7th of the 2nd month of shemu in the 1st year of Ramesses V⁸⁰⁸ in order to inspect the placing of some pieces of burial equipment into a royal tomb, based on the very early date during the reign of Ramesses V, presumably into that of his predecessor, Ramesses IV. There are five *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpws*’ among the members of the delegation, the highest number acting together in one case, according to the available sources. Besides Atumnakht, Amenkhau, Ramessesethherwenemef, Sobekhotep and Parenakht were also present. The designation of the officials as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, which is the only known functional title of Atumnakht, fits their special commission ordered by the king.⁸⁰⁹

An ostracon from the Valley of the Kings (Cairo, CG 25311) probably also mentions him as well as his colleague Amenkhau, however, their title has been lost due to the fragmentary state of the inscription.

III.76. *Ramessesethherwenemef*

Date:	Ramesses IV – Ramesses V (based on the date cartouches on the remains)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown

⁸⁰⁷ For Hori’s discussion see p. 221.

⁸⁰⁸ Gutgesell as well as Schulman mistakenly dated the document to the reign of Ramesses IV. Gutgesell, 1983, 226; Schulman, 1986, 202. For a discussion on the date, see Helck, 2002, 18.

⁸⁰⁹ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

- Remains:
- papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1891
 - stele, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, APM 9114
 - stele, present location not known
 - stele, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38792
 - ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25565
 - graffito, West Theban, No. 790
 - ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25274
 - graffito, West Theban, No. 2056a
 - ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25277
 - ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25283
 - ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25309
 - ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25251
 - papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 2002
- Functional titles: *wdpw nswt*
sš nswt

Ramessesethherwenemef, or as he is named on several of his remains, Sethherwenemef,⁸¹⁰ can be dated with some certainty from the 2nd year of Ramesses IV until the 1st year of Ramesses V at least. He was of Theban origin, as one of his stelae, now in an unknown location, explicitly declares in its text. His close ties to Thebes is demonstrated by his other two stelae on which he presents an offering to Ptah and Amun-Re, respectively. All his other remains, papyri and ostraca, also come from the Theban area and relate to various aspects of the royal tomb's construction. Based on these facts, one might assume that he also carried out his duties in Thebes, however, there is nothing to support this idea.

The first mention of Ramessesethherwenemef⁸¹¹ is on papyrus in Turin, Cat. 1891, which renders an account of a delegation visiting Deir el-Medina on the 28th of the 3rd month of akhet of the 2nd year of Ramesses IV to increase the number of workmen to 120 (they had been 60 before). Besides Ramessesethherwenemef, designated as *wdpw*

⁸¹⁰ Schulman very much doubts that Sethherwenemef and Ramessesethherwenemef was one and the same person, however, the short period of Ramesses IV's reign from which most of the documents originate strongly imply this identity. Schulman argues against this theory, largely based on the inconsistencies in the use of the two name variants but another 'royal *wbʿ*', Ramessesashahebused must be noted who is also known as Ashahebused on his monument omitting the basiliforic prefix of his name. Since there is no evidence to substantiate the idea of the difference between the two individuals, it is reasonable to suppose that there was only one person behind the two names. Schulman, 1990, 17, n. 1.

⁸¹¹ Helck incorrectly mentions his name as Sethherkhepeshef, see Helck, 2002, 374.

nswt ‘royal *wdpw*’, two further ‘royal *wdpws*’, Hori and Atumnakht are also present, however, interestingly, they are identified simply as *wdpw*; also, the three ‘royal *wdpws*’ did not follow each other directly but were separated by the ‘overseer of the treasury’ Montuemtaui, the ‘deputy’ Menna. The usage of the two variations of the functional title ‘royal *wdpw*’ is most likely the result of some sort of scribal feature, rather than a reference to the ranking positions of the three officials, especially as Hori was designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ in another document dated one month earlier (ostracon DeM 45) and it is not reasonable to assume his dismissal.⁸¹²

As mentioned above, three stelae belonged to Ramessesethherwenemef, two of them (Amsterdam, APM 9114; Cairo, JE 38792) bore the cartouches of Ramesses IV, based on which they are dated after the 2nd year of the ruler.⁸¹³ The provenance of the round-topped limestone stele is now located in Amsterdam (APM 9114) is Medinet Habu.⁸¹⁴ In the field of the stele, the owner is making an offering to Ptah of the Valley of the Queens with an inscription above them in the lunette. The composition is very similar to that of another stele known of only a drawing of Salt,⁸¹⁵ otherwise, its present location is unknown. This similarity, as well as the depiction of Ramessesethherwenemef making an offering before Amun-Re, the ruler of Thebes in the field, might also imply the Theban origin of this stele.⁸¹⁶

Several ostraca and two graffiti from the 5th and 6th years of Ramesses IV also mention Ramessesethherwenemef rendering an account of his activity in connection with the construction of the royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Nevertheless, all the inscriptions are either too short or too fragmentary to conclude much about his duties during these missions, but they mention the workmen at Deir el-Medina who were rewarded, inspecting the work in progress at the tomb, and the ordering of two boxes from the workmen for an unknown purpose. His functional title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ correlates to the peculiarity of these assignments commissioned by the ruler.⁸¹⁷ His only other functional title is *sš nswt* ‘royal scribe’ mentioned once on the stele, the present location of which is not known.

⁸¹² For the discussion on Hori, see p. 221.

⁸¹³ van Haarlem, 1981, 67; von Beckerath, 1999², 167–169.

⁸¹⁴ Porter – Moss, 1964, 776; van Haarlem, 1981, 67.

⁸¹⁵ Málek – Smith, 1983, 43, fig. 2; Van Siclen III, 1987, 76, fig. 2.

⁸¹⁶ Málek – Smith, 1983, 43; Van Siclen III, 1987, 77. Van Siclen refers to a possible Delta origin of the object, based on Rifaud’s statement that he found it in Tell Basta, on the one hand, and on the other hand, on the fact that there were still intensive activities going on in the area during the 20th dynasty and, moreover, the settlement was home to several high ranking officials.

⁸¹⁷ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

The latest certain attestation of Ramessesethherwenemef is in a section of papyrus in Turin 2002, on the 7th of the 2nd month of shemu in the 1st year of Ramesses V.⁸¹⁸ The inscription relates the visit of some high officials inspecting the placing of some pieces of burial equipment into a royal tomb, based on the very early date during the reign of Ramesses V, presumably into that of his predecessor, Ramesses IV. There are five *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpws*’ among the members of the delegation, the highest number acting together in one case, according to the available sources. Apart from Ramessesethherwenemef, Amenkhau, Atumnakht, Sobekhotep and Parenakht were also present.

III.77. Sobekhotep

Date:	Ramesses IV – Ramesses V (based on the date of the remains)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, New Haven, Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, YPM ANT 266737 (Serabit el-Khadim, No. 302) – papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 2002
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd n nbw ḥd</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>hrj-sšt3 n ḥ šps</i> <i>hsjj=f mrj=f n jb n nb=f</i>

Sobekhotep was active in his office under the reign of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V for certain. Peden assumes that he may already have begun his career under Ramesses III,⁸¹⁹ which is possible given the length Ramesses IV’s reign, however, there is no evidence to substantiate this. Two sources allow us to render an account of his activities.

A round-topped sandstone stele from Serabit el-Khadim, now located in New Haven (YPM ANT 266737), commemorates the participation of Sobekhotep on his fourth expedition to the turquoise mines of Serabit el-Khadim. The stele is dated to the 3rd year,

⁸¹⁸ Gutgesell, as well as Schulman, mistakenly dated the document to the reign of Ramesses IV. Gutgesell, 1983, 226; Schulman, 1986, 202. For a discussion on the date, see Helck, 2002, 18. Eyre erroneously mentions his name as Sethherkhepeshef in his study on the ostrakon in Sydney, R.97, see Eyre, 1979, 81, n. e.

⁸¹⁹ Peden, 1994b, 28, n. 4.

however, it does not name the ruler. The figure of Sobekhotep in the posture of adoration is depicted in the field with six columns of inscription above and before him. He is designated as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ at the end of the text, however, from the fact that the object was made in connection with an expedition, a special mission at the behest of the king, one might expect the presence of the title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’.⁸²⁰ Nevertheless, the text clearly states that Sobekhotep was not ordered to participate in the expedition due to his function as a ‘royal *wb3*’, but due to his other duty as *jmj-r3 pr ḥd n nbw ḥd* ‘overseer of the treasuries of gold and silver’, an office related to the administering and procuring of commodities, such as metals and stones, for the needs of the state.⁸²¹ With his designation as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’, he supposedly intended to express his importance in the court and his close relationship with the ruler himself, with which intention the two honorific titles, *ḥrj-sšt3 n ḥ šps* ‘master of secrets of the august palace’ and *ḥsjj=f mrj=f n jb n nb=f* ‘his favoured and his beloved one of the heart of his lord’, perfectly coincide.

The last attestation to the presence of Ramesses IV at Serabit el-Khadim is from his 5th regnal year, when an expedition was undertaken in order to establish a cult chapel for him at the temple of Hathor at the site. A very fragmentary stele of a *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ also commemorates this event, however, the name of the official is omitted.⁸²² It is conceivable that this stele also belongs to Sobekhotep and relates his fifth expedition,⁸²³ however, this cannot be proven.

Sobekhotep is also mentioned in a section of papyrus in Turin, Cat. 2002, on the 7th of the 2nd month of shemu in the 1st year of Ramesses V.⁸²⁴ The inscription relates the visit of some high officials inspecting the placing of some pieces of burial equipment into a royal tomb, based on the very early date during the reign of Ramesses V, presumably into that of his predecessor, Ramesses IV. There were five *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*s’ among the members of the delegation, the highest number acting together in one case, according to the available sources. Apart from Sobekhotep, Ramessessethherwenemef, Amenkhau, Atumnakht and Parenakht were also present.

⁸²⁰ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁸²¹ Quirke, 2004, 25, 48; Bryan, 2006, 85-86; Grajetzki, 2013, 239, 245.

⁸²² Peden, 1994b, 28-29. For the discussion on the unknown ‘royal *wb3*’, see p. 235.

⁸²³ Schulman, 1986, 202.

⁸²⁴ Schulman mistakenly dated the document to the reign of Ramesses IV, see Schulman, 1986, 202; and Eyre incorrectly mentions his name as Sethherkhepeshef in his study on the ostrakon in Sydney, R.97, see Eyre, 1979, 81, n. e.

An additional piece of information on his career was that he was rewarded with the Gold of Honour,⁸²⁵ depicted around his neck on his stele, however, the reason for this reward is not known. There is no information on his family background or burial place.

III.78. *Aha(?)*

Date:	Ramesses IV (based on the date of the ostrakon)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostrakon, Deir el-Medina No. 46
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

The ostrakon No. 46 from Deir el-Medina contains a turnus list from the 2nd year of an unnamed ruler, who must have been Ramesses IV.⁸²⁶ The inscription also informs us of a disagreement between the leaders of the workmen and the ‘scribe’ Amennakht, who sent for the *wdpw* Aha(?) to negotiate. However, the title is not combined with the epithet *nswt*, and based on the nature of the matter there is little doubt that Aha(?) was a ‘royal *wdpw*’. Due to the fragmentary condition of the inscription no detail of the end of the case can be revealed. Nevertheless, an interesting addition is that the ‘scribe’ Amennakht sent a message directly to Aha(?) asking for his intervention. It cannot be ascertained, however, if the ‘royal *wdpw*’ had the authority to make decisions and intervene in a matter like this, or he was allowed to act only on the orders of the ruler.

Helck reconstructs the name of the official as Sety,⁸²⁷ however, based on the remains of the hieratic signs, the reconstruction of the reading by Černý as Aha is more convincing.⁸²⁸ Málek does not believe in the existence of this person, however, it is not entirely clear from his note if he doubts the existence of the individual himself or that of a *wdpw* ‘butler’ named Aha.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁵ Binder, 2008, 250, 339.

⁸²⁶ Černý, 1935a, 13; Helck, 2002, 372–374.

⁸²⁷ Helck, 2002, 374.

⁸²⁸ Černý, 1935a, pl. 38.

⁸²⁹ Málek, 1988, 134, n. 38.

III.79. *Nakhtamun*

Date:	Ramesses IV (based on the cartouche on the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– rock-stele, Wadi Hammamat No. 12 – ostrakon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25580
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>ḥj-ḥw</i>

There is scant information on Nakhtamun, but he was certainly in office under the reign of Ramesses IV, according to his only firmly dated monument, a rock-stele (No. 12) at Wadi Hammamat. The inscription commemorates an expedition in the 3rd year of the ruler in order to acquire stone for the Place of Truth. The leader of the expedition was the ‘high priest of Amun’ and ‘overseer of work’ Ramessesnakht, in whose company – among some other high ranking officials – there were two *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3s*’, Nakhtamun and his colleague, Usermaatresekhper. The usage of the title *wb3 nswt* here is not the one that one would expect in a report on an expedition, and it is rather *wdpw nswt* that usually appears in these sort of special missions.⁸³⁰ A possible explanation could be the position of the two officials in the assignment, the intensity of their active participation in it, namely that they do not function as active leaders but – as the phrasing of the text implies – they ‘only’ accompany the leader in the mission, possibly as agents of the ruler in the role of observers. On his other remains,⁸³¹ on an ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings (CG 25580),⁸³² Nakhtamun is designated as *ḥj-ḥw* ‘royal fan-bearer’ as well as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, which title fits in with his responsibility to deliver supplies to the workmen in Deir el-Medina in a delegation together with the ‘mayor’ Amenmose and the ‘vizier’ Neferrenpet. Although there is no date on the ostrakon, based on the identity of the persons appearing on it the object can be dated to the reign of Ramesses IV.

⁸³⁰ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁸³¹ Schulman, Málek and Peden assign a third object to Nakhtamun as well, a stele now located in Toronto (910.35.5), however, it is more likely that it belongs to another ‘royal *wdpw*’, Parenakht, for a discussion on whom see p. 238. Schulman, 1986, 201; Málek, 1988, 135; Peden, 1994b, 60.

⁸³² Černý, 1930b, 29.

III.80. *Usermaatresekhheper*

Date:	Ramesses IV (based on the cartouche on the stele)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Wadi Hammamat No. 12
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

The only remains of which Usermaatresekhheper is known is a rock-stele (No. 12) at Wadi Hammamat, dated to the reign of Ramesses IV. The inscription commemorates an expedition in the 3rd year of the ruler in order to acquire stone for the Place of Truth. The leader of the expedition was the ‘high priest of Amun’ and ‘overseer of work’ Ramessesnakht, in whose company – among some other high ranking officials – there were two *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*s’, Usermaatresekhheper and his colleague, Nakhtamun. The usage of the title *wb3 nswt* here is not the one that one would expect in a report on an expedition, and it is rather *wdpw nswt* that usually appears in these sort of special missions.⁸³³ A possible explanation could be the position of the two officials in the assignment, the intensity of their active participation in it, namely that they do not function as active leaders but – as the phrasing of the text implies, – they ‘only’ accompany the leader in the mission, possibly as agents of the ruler in the role of observers.

III.81. *Unknown 4*

Date:	Ramesses IV
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– stele, Serabit el-Khadim, No. 304
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

Hardly anything has remained on a free-standing, round-topped stele in Serabit el-Khadim (No. 304), except some signs that refer to the 4th year of a ruler, most likely Ramesses IV,⁸³⁴ as well as a *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ whose name has also been lost. Since

⁸³³ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁸³⁴ Kitchen, 1983b, 29; Schulman, 1986, 202.

Sobekhotep is the only ‘royal *wb3*’ whose activity is attested on the Sinai under the reign of Ramesses IV, it might be reasonable to assume that this stele also belongs to him and relates another of his expeditions,⁸³⁵ however, this cannot be proven.

III.82. *Heqamaatreneh*

Date:	Ramesses IV (based on the name of Heqamaatreneh)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	Saqqara
Remains:	– tomb structure
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj</i> <i>[wb3 nswt?] tpj n hm=f</i> <i>[wb3 nswt?] tpj n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb</i> <i>jmj-r3 ꜥhnw.tj n nb t3.wj</i>

Even if there is not much information on Heqamaatreneh, his burial place can firmly be identified in the necropolis of Saqqara, at the south-eastern corner of the mortuary temple of Teti.⁸³⁶ Although there is no reference among the remains for the date of his activity, based on his name which contains the prenomen of Ramesses IV, he must have been in office under his reign at least. According to the plan of the remaining parts, the tomb chapel might have had an open peristyle court with columns, at the western side of which were a central chapel and two side chapels.⁸³⁷ The plan, as well as the decorative scheme, correspond to the large tomb chapels of the reign of Ramesses II in the necropolis.⁸³⁸ Besides the lower part of the wall of the south-western corner of the tomb chapel, only column fragments and stone blocks without context have remained from the limestone superstructure, having been mixed with other blocks that originate from other tomb chapels in the vicinity. The surviving parts of the wall show offering scenes, while the door-jambs and doorway thicknesses are occupied by the name and titles of the owner possibly once belonging to offering formulae. The two clearly identifiable functional titles of Heqamaatreneh are *wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj* ‘royal *wb3* of the lord of the Two Lands’ and *jmj-r3 ꜥhnw.tj n nb t3.wj* ‘chamberlain of the lord of the Two Lands’. In

⁸³⁵ Schulman, 1986, 202.

⁸³⁶ Málek, 1985, 48, and 60, Fig. 10.

⁸³⁷ Málek, 1985, 51, Fig. 1.

⁸³⁸ Málek, 1985, 52–56.

addition, there are several mentions of two titles of which only the latter part has remained and which could be reconstructed as [*wb3 nswt*] *tpj n hm=f* ‘first royal *wb3* of the lord of His Majesty’ and [*wb3 nswt*] *tpj n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb* ‘royal *wb3* of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health’, based on the title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ already known.⁸³⁹ At the same time, the reconstruction of the missing part as *whmw nswt* ‘royal herald’ might also be possible, since it is also frequently attested with the attribute *tpj* ‘first’.⁸⁴⁰ As for the family of Heqamaatrenehheh, there is no definite record of the identity of his wife or his son, nevertheless, Málek presumes that *šmꜥjj.t n Jmn* ‘chantress of Amun’ Setyemmesut and *hrj-jhw* ‘stable master’ Pensekhmet, the names of whom were on stone blocks found in the chapel, might be candidates for these positions.⁸⁴¹ It must be noted, however, that because of the uncertain provenance of the blocks, these relationships cannot yet be proven.

III.83. Nefersunu

Date:	Ramesses IV – Ramesses V(?) (based on the individuals appearing on the ostrakon)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostrakon, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P 12286
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

The only source for the activity of *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Nefersunu is an ostrakon from Deir el-Medina, now located in Berlin (P 12286), dated to either to the reign of Ramesses IV or to the 1st year of Ramesses V, based on the ‘vizier’ Neferrenpet and the ‘high priest of Amun’ Ramessesnakht, who also appear in the inscription. The fourth person mentioned on the ostrakon is another *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Parenakht. However, the inscription is too fragmentary to fully reveal the mission of the delegation, the only thing which can be confirmed is that it is linked to performing a water libation in devotion to one or more previous kings.

⁸³⁹ Málek, 1985, 49.

⁸⁴⁰ Taylor, 2001, 104-105; Al-Ayedi, 2006, 260-261. It must be noted, however, that the form with the possessive *n pr-ꜥ3* ‘of the Pharaoh’ is not attested to among the examples referred in the two studies.

⁸⁴¹ Málek, 1985, 50.

III.84. *Parenakht*

Date:	Ramesses IV – Ramesses V (based on the date of the remains)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostracon, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P 12286 – papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 2002 – stele, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 910.35.5
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>sš nswt</i>

Parenakht must have been in office under the reign of Ramesses IV as well as Ramesses V, at least in his 1st year, based on the date of two of his remains. The ostracon from Deir el-Medina, now located in Berlin (P 12286), can be dated to this period based on the presence of the ‘vizier’ Neferrenpet and the ‘high priest of Amun’ Ramessesnakht in the inscription. The fourth person mentioned on the ostracon is another *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Nefersunu. The inscription renders an account of a visit by a delegation of high ranking officials, the assignment of whom is not entirely clear due to the fragmentary condition of the text. The only thing which can be confirmed is that it is linked to performing a water libation in devotion to one or more previous kings.

Another mention of Parenakht is in a section of papyrus Turin, Cat. 2002, on 7th of the 2nd month of shemu in the 1st year of Ramesses V.⁸⁴² The inscription describes the visit of some high officials in inspecting the placing some pieces of burial equipment into a royal tomb, based on the very early date during the reign of Ramesses V, presumably into that of his predecessor, Ramesses IV. There were five *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpws*’ among the members of the delegation, the highest number acting together in one case according to the available sources. Besides Parenakht, Sobekhotep, Ramessessethherwenemef, Amenkhau and Atumnakht were also present.

A fragment of a stele in Toronto (Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 910.35.5) most likely belongs to Parenakht as well. Although the object in its present state preserved only the middle of the stele with the owner offering before Ptah in the field and remains of columns of inscription above them, a photograph from the excavation in the Valley of the

⁸⁴² Schulman mistakenly dated the document to the reign of Ramesses IV, see Schulman, 1986, 202; and Eyre incorrectly mentions his name as Sethherkhepeshef in his study on the ostracon in Sydney, R.97, see Eyre, 1979, 81, n. e.

Kings during 1905/1906 shows a more complete state of it.⁸⁴³ The lower right and the upper left edges were lost somewhere between its discovery and its acquisition by the museum. Schulman, Málek and Peden assign the stele to Nakhtamun,⁸⁴⁴ however, in the photograph the name of the owner is more visible and does not support their assumption, but makes Parenakht a potential candidate for the ownership.

Peden suggests that Parenakht also appears on the ostrakon CG 25311 together with Amenkhau and Atumnakht, without any title, however, there is no indication of his presence in the text.⁸⁴⁵

Parenakht is designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ on all of his remains, which in the cases of the ostrakon and the papyrus coincides, and in the case of the stele assumes his participation in a particular mission ordered by the ruler.⁸⁴⁶ His only other functional title is *sš nswt* ‘royal scribe’, which appears on his stele.

III.85. *Nebmaatreper-?*

Date:	Ramesses V / Ramesses VI / Ramesses VII (based on the date of the ostrakon)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostrakon, Valley of the Kings, BTdK 659
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

An ostrakon (BTdK 659) found in one of the huts of the workmen in the Valley of the Kings mentions *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Nebmaatreper-? and reports on his visit to inspect the work on the royal tomb with his colleague, another *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, Kar. The text also informs us that the two officials performed a water libation in devotion to the king. Unfortunately, the inscription gives only the 2nd year as a date of the visit, but not the name of the ruler himself. According to Dorn, Ramesses V, Ramesses VI and Ramesses VII might be the candidates, most likely Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII.⁸⁴⁷ As for the name of Nebmaatreper-?, Dorn notes that all the recognizable elements of

⁸⁴³ Reeves, 1984, 234, pl. 34c.

⁸⁴⁴ Schulman, 1986, 201; Málek, 1988, 135; Peden, 1994b, 60.

⁸⁴⁵ Peden, 1994b, 59. The only possible explanation for Peden’s assumption is that he misread the last word of the ostrakon *p3 hr* [...] ‘the tomb [...]’ as *P3-r*‘[...].’

⁸⁴⁶ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁸⁴⁷ Dorn, 2011, 411.

the name give the reading Nebmaarterpernebre, however, this name has no parallel. He speculates on the intention of writing Nebmaatrempernebre as well, however, does not give a final version for the reading of the name.⁸⁴⁸ He also notes that water libations in devotion to kings were carried out in the Valley of the Kings regularly, but it is difficult to say where and to what extent they were carried out.⁸⁴⁹ The functional title *wdpw nswt* of the two officials is the usual one of the ‘royal *wdpws*’ during special missions on the orders of the king.⁸⁵⁰

III.86. *Kar*

Date:	Ramesses V / Ramesses VI / Ramesses VII (based on the date of the ostrakon)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostrakon, Valley of the Kings, BTdK 659
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

An ostrakon (BTdK 659) found in one of the huts of the workmen in the Valley of the Kings mentions *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Kar and relates his visit to inspect the work on the royal tomb with his colleague, another *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, Nebmaatreper-?, in whose description the object was already discussed. The text also informs us that the two officials performed a water libation in devotion to a king. Unfortunately, the inscription gives only the 2nd year as a date of the visit, but not the name of the ruler himself. According to Dorn, Ramesses V, Ramesses VI and Ramesses VII might be the candidates, most likely Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII.⁸⁵¹ Dorn notes that water libations in devotion to kings were carried out in the Valley of the Kings regularly, but it is difficult to say where and to what extent.⁸⁵² The functional title *wdpw nswt* of the two

⁸⁴⁸ Dorn, 2011, 411, n. a. He also mentions another ‘royal *wdpw*’ with the similar name, a certain Nebmaatresekhper-? appearing on the ostrakon ANAsh.Mus.H.O.616 (= ex O. Gardiner 616) in Oxford, but who is not attested in other sources, unfortunately, see below on p. 250.

⁸⁴⁹ Dorn, 2011, 411, n. d.

⁸⁵⁰ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁸⁵¹ Dorn, 2011, 411.

⁸⁵² Dorn, 2011, 411, n. d.

officials is the usual one of the ‘royal *wdpws*’ during special missions on the orders of the king.⁸⁵³

III.87. Qedren

Date:	Ramesses VI (based on the cartouche on the papyrus)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 237
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

The papyrus No. 237 located in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is the only source about *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Qedren. It is dated to the 3rd year of Ramesses VI, and contains an accounting journal, as well as reports on the visit of high ranking officials to Thebes. However, the purpose of their visit cannot clearly be understood without the contexts of the events, nevertheless, Qedren was sent to a particular assignment by the ruler himself, as his functional title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ implies.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵³ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁸⁵⁴ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH DYNASTY
– FROM RAMESSES IX TO RAMESSES XI

III.88. Ramessesnefer[...]

Date:	Ramesses IX?
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostracon, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 25247
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

The ostracon CG 25247 in Cairo gives a supply account of painting materials for the workmen of Deir el-Medina. In addition, the inscription mentions the visit of *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Ramessesnefer[...] on the day the decoration of the door-jambes for the royal tomb was completed. The particular purpose of the visit is not revealed from the inscription. The ostracon records the events of the 4th year, however, the name of the ruler is not written. While Kitchen and Gutgesell – the latter quite uncertainly – dates the ostracon to the reign of Ramesses IV, Helck prefers a later date under the reign of Ramesses IX arguing that events of the 4th year of Ramesses IV are known quite well.⁸⁵⁵

III.89. Nesamun

Date:	Ramesses IX (based on the cartouches on the remains)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1881 – rewarding scene of Amenhotep, Karnak – papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10054 – papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10221 (Papyrus Abbott) – papyrus, Brussels, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, E 6857 (Papyrus Leopold II – Amherst) – papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 212 + 2083/173/179/175/181/183a/b + 1945 + 2073/145 + 2082/172 + 2076/154,155 + 2082/177 + 2083/178

⁸⁵⁵ Gutgesell, 1983, 293; Kitchen, 1989, 334–335; Helck, 2002, 475.

Functional titles: *wb3 nswt*
wb3 nswt n pr-ꜥ3
wdpw nswt
wdpw
wdpw n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb
jmj-r3 pr ḥd
jmj-r3 pr ḥd n pr ꜥ3
sš pr-ꜥ3
sš n pr-ꜥ3
sš n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb
ꜥ3 n pr n pr dw3.t-ntr ꜥnh-tj n Jmn-Rꜥ nswt ntr.w

Nesamun is attested in several documents in an eleven-year interval under the reign of Ramesses IX. His first appearance is in the 7th year, on a papyrus (Turin, Cat. 1881) which contains sundry notes from the life of the workers of the Theban necropolis. Among other things, according to the document the workmen of Deir el-Medina received supplies four times from Nesamun within a year. Apart from this, he never appears alone again in the sources but together with one or two of his colleagues as well as other high ranking officials. Three years later, in the 10th regnal year, he plays an important role in the rewarding of the ‘high priest of Amun-Re’ Amenhotep, together with his two colleagues, *jmj-r3 pr ḥd n pr-ꜥ3 wb3 nswt* ‘overseer of the treasury of the Pharaoh, royal *wb3*’ Amenhotep and *wb3 nswt whmw n pr-ꜥ3* ‘royal *wb3*, herald of the Pharaoh’ Neferkareemperamun, as they present the rewards of the ruler to the ‘high priest’ Amenhotep, the scene of which is recorded on the outer face of the eastern wall between the seventh and eighth pylons in Karnak. The next assignment of Nesamun in the 16th regnal year is his participation in examining the tomb robberies in which he fulfils a judicial duty, together with the above mentioned Neferkareemperamun as well as the ‘vizier’ Khaemwaset. The last source mentions him a year later, in the 17th regnal year, regarding seemingly different matters. During his tomb inspection in the Valley of the Queens, together with the ‘vizier’ Khaemwaset again, the plundering of the tomb of ‘king’s mother and king’s wife’ Iset (the wife of Ramesses III, QW 51) is revealed. On the same day, Nesamun brought the ‘chief workman’ Nekhemmut to book for the workmen not being present at the tomb and therefore, he withdrew some of their provisions. Two days later Nesamun, the ‘vizier’ and the ‘high priest’ – who are not named in the text this time – visit the tomb of the king

where they are informed by the complaints of the workmen that they had not received their provisions for a period of time. The officials decided in their favour.

Nesamun is designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ in all but one source, as expected in cases of special assignments carried out on the orders of the ruler.⁸⁵⁶ The only source where he appears with the functional title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ is the scene of Amenhotep being rewarded in Karnak. Although the explanation for the usage of this title here is not entirely clear, it might be linked to the fact that in this case, Nesamun takes part in a ceremonial event as a courtier and not as a particular agent of the king in an administrative matter. Another phenomenon worthy of note is the appearance of the functional titles both before and after the names. The titles *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ and *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ consequently stand before the name of Nesamun, while all his other titles follow his name: variations of the title *sš nswt n pr-3* ‘royal scribe of the Pharaoh’ appear in all cases, either alone, or together with *3 n pr n pr dw3.t-ntr 3nh-tj n Jmn-R 3 nswt ntr:w* ‘steward of the estate of the Divine Adoratrix, may she live!, of Amun-Re, king of the gods’ and *jmj-r3 pr hd* ‘overseer of the treasury’, alternately in the particular documents. There are some examples of placing the name between the titles, however, the importance of this practice is not clear.⁸⁵⁷

III.90. Neferkareemperamun

Date:	Ramesses IX (based on the cartouches on the remains)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– rewarding scene of Amenhotep, Karnak – papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10054 – papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10221 (Papyrus Abbott) – papyrus, Brussels, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, E 6857 (Papyrus Leopold II – Amherst)
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt n pr-3</i> <i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>wdpw</i>

⁸⁵⁶ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

⁸⁵⁷ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

whmw n pr-ʕ3
whmw n pr-ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb

Neferkareemperamun appears in all but two documents in which Nesamun does. They took part in the rewarding ceremony of the ‘high priest of Amun-Re’ Amenhotep recorded on the outer face of the eastern wall between the seventh and eighth pylons in Karnak, and worked together in the examination of the tomb robberies in the Theban necropolis related on the papyri located in London (EA 10054, EA 10221) and Brussels (E 6857).⁸⁵⁸ As for the functional titles of Neferkareemperamun, the same conclusions can be drawn regarding both the usage of the variations of the functional titles ‘royal *wb3*’ as well as ‘royal *wdpw*’ and the distribution of his titles before and after his name: the only source where he appears with the functional title *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ is the rewarding scene of Amenhotep in Karnak, otherwise he is designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’;⁸⁵⁹ these titles consequently stand before his name, while his other title *whmw n pr-ʕ3* ‘herald of the Pharaoh’ always follows his name.

III.91. Amenhotep

Date:	Ramesses IX (based on the cartouches on the remains)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	probably at Thebes
Remains:	– rewarding scene of Amenhotep, Karnak – papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1932 + 1939 – funerary cone DM 101(?)
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj</i> <i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd n pr ʕ3</i>

Amenhotep is the third ‘royal *wb3*’ who took part in the rewarding ceremony of the ‘high priest of Amun-Re’ Amenhotep recorded on the outer face of the eastern wall between the

⁸⁵⁸ For the details of the documents, see the discussion on Nesamun on p. 242.

⁸⁵⁹ For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

seventh and eighth pylons in Karnak together with two of his colleagues, Nesamun and Neferkareemperamun in the 10th year of Ramesses IX.⁸⁶⁰ His other functional title *jmj-r3 pr ḥd n pr ʕ3* ‘overseer of the treasury of the Pharaoh’, which appears in the inscription, indicates his participation not only in court life but in the royal administration as well. In addition, he is attested only in one other document, a papyrus now in Turin (Cat. 1932 + 1939) which contains lists of supplies for the workmen of Deir el-Medina. Unfortunately, the date of the relevant part is missing, however, based on other events of the inscription dated to the 19th year of Ramesses IX and to the 2nd year of Ramesses X, as well as the order of the sections written on the two sides of the papyrus, indicate a date for the undated section to the 1st year of Ramesses X.⁸⁶¹ Amenhotep is mentioned in the introduction of a list of workmen’s names under his authority and the ‘high priest of Amun-Re’, most of whose names are missing, probably also that of Amenhotep.

The burial place of ‘royal *wb3*’ Amenhotep might have been in the Theban necropolis, if the funerary cone DM 101, the owner of which is a *wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’ Amenhotep, is indeed ascribed to him. As for the usage of the variations of the functional title ‘royal *wb3*’ and ‘royal *wdpw*’, the same conclusion can be drawn as in the cases of two of his colleagues mentioned above: he is designated as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ in the scene of the ceremonial event of rewarding Amenhotep in Karnak as well as on his funerary cone, at the same time, he is designated as *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ in the document recording administrative assignments ordered by the ruler.⁸⁶²

III.92. Pareherwenemef

Date:	Ramesses X(?) (based on the date of the graffito)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– graffito, West Theban, No. 1860a
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

The only source of the activity of *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Pareherwenemef is a West Theban graffito (No. 1860a) from the 8th year of an unnamed king. Bierbrier proposes

⁸⁶⁰ For the details of the documents, see the discussion on Nesamun on p. 242.

⁸⁶¹ Gutgesell, 1983, 149; Helck, 2002, 539.

⁸⁶² For further discussion on the usage of the two titles, see p. 91.

that the graffito be dated to the reign of Ramesses X,⁸⁶³ however, Hornung states that year 8 for Ramesses X is quite uncertain but he does not support his argument.⁸⁶⁴ According to Peden, who accepts the date proposed by Bierbrier, it appears to be the latest known graffito providing evidence for the presence of high ranking officials visiting the Valley of the Kings in the 20th dynasty.⁸⁶⁵ The graffito commemorates the closing of the tomb of an unnamed king by a five-member delegation of three dignitaries and two workmen from Deir el-Medina, with Pareherwenemef among them.

III.93. Paser

Date:	Ramesses XI (based on the cartouche on the papyrus)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 2018
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i> <i>ḳj-srjj.t ḥr wnmj nswt</i>

The only source in which Paser appears is a papyrus in Turin (Cat. 2018) from the 8th year of Ramesses XI reporting on an issuing of grain to the workmen of Deir el-Medina by him and ‘overseer of the granary’ Hori. Besides *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, Paser is also designated as *jmj-r3 pr ḥd* ‘overseer of the treasury’ and *ḳj-srjj.t ḥr wnmj nswt* ‘standard-bearer on the right of the king’ in the document, which imply his place of duty not only in the highest circles of the royal court but in the state administration and in the military sphere as well.

⁸⁶³ Bierbrier, 1972, 199; Bierbrier, 1975, 251.

⁸⁶⁴ Hornung, 2006, 217.

⁸⁶⁵ Peden, 2001, 199.

III.94. *Menmaatrenakht*

Date:	Ramesses XI (based on the date of the documents)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, Turin, from a journal relating to the Theban necropolis – papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10052 – papyrus, Liverpool, National Museums Liverpool, M11162 (Papyrus Mayer A) – papyrus, Geneva, Musée d’Art et d’Histoire, D 191 – papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10383 (Pap. de Burgh)
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb</i> <i>jmj-r3 šnw.tj</i>

Menmaatrenakht is mainly known from the documents dealing with the tomb robberies under the reign of Ramesses XI (London, EA 10052, EA 10383 (Pap. de Burgh); Liverpool, M11162 (Papyrus Mayer A)). He took part in the investigation in the 1st and 2nd years of the *whm mswt* with ‘vizier’ *Nebmaatrenakht* along with two of his colleagues, *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ *Ines* and *Pameriamun*, and participated in the interrogation of the suspects. In addition, his first attestation is in a journal relating to the Theban necropolis from the 17th year of Ramesses XI⁸⁶⁶ where he also acts together with a ‘vizier’, this time *Wennefer*, in giving orders regarding the tasks of the workmen at the royal tomb. Interestingly, *Menmaatrenakht* is primarily identified as *jmj-r3 pr-ḥd* ‘overseer of the treasury’ or *jmj-r3 pr-ḥd n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb* ‘overseer of the treasury of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health’ as well as *jmj-r3 šnw.tj* ‘overseer of the double granary’ in the sources, while his title *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ appears only on two occasions. Based on this fact, whereas he definitely was an important member of the royal court and the royal household as a personal attendant of the king, his main place of duty was in the royal as well as the state administration bearing two of the highest titles in these areas.

⁸⁶⁶ Gardiner, 1948, 64; Helck, 1958, 417.

III.95. Ines

Date:	Ramesses XI (based on the date of the documents)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10052 – papyrus, Liverpool, National Museums Liverpool, M11162 (Papyrus Mayer A) – papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10383 (Pap. de Burgh) – papyrus, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1896
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>wdpw n pr ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>ʕ3 n pr</i> <i>ʕj-ḥw n pr ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb</i>

The first attestation of Ines is also from the 17th year of Ramesses XI, just as in the case of Menmaatrenakht discussed above. He was mentioned in a letter sent by the king to the ‘viceroy of Nubia’ Panehsy regarding the dispatch of *ʕ3 n pr* ‘steward’⁸⁶⁷ and *wdpw n pr-ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb* ‘butler of the pharaoh, life, prosperity, health’ Ines to execute his behests (Turin, Cat. 1896). The ruler orders Panehsy to cooperate with Ines to carry out his orders concerning the transportation of a portable shrine, as well as some sort of raw materials for his craftsmen. Ines is also a member of the judiciary that examined the tomb robberies in the 1st and 2nd years of the *whm mswt* under Ramesses XI together with ‘vizier’ Nebmaatrenakht, as well as two of his colleagues, *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Menmaatrenakht and Pameriamun, who participated in the interrogation of the suspects (London, EA 10052, EA 10383 (Pap. de Burgh); Liverpool, M11162 (Papyrus Mayer A)). Besides *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, he is also designated as *jmj-r3 pr* ‘steward’ and *ʕj-ḥw n pr-ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb* ‘fan bearer of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health’ in these documents, in which the latter title consequently appears after his name.

⁸⁶⁷ Helck notes that the title *jmj-r3 pr* ‘steward’ occurs in the form of *ʕ3 n pr* ‘steward’ when no name is given or it does not immediately follow the title. Helck, 1958, 401.

III.96. *Pameriamun*

Date:	Ramesses XI (based on the date of the documents)
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– papyrus, London, British Museum, EA 10052 – papyrus, Liverpool, National Museums Liverpool, M11162 (Papyrus Mayer A)
Functional titles:	<i>wdpw nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>sš n pr ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb</i>

Pameriamun is known only from two documents on the examinations of the tomb robberies in the 1st year of the *whm mswt* under Ramesses XI where he acts together with ‘vizier’ Nebmaatrenakht as well as two of his colleagues, *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Menmaatrenakht and Ines (London, EA 10052; Liverpool, M11162 (Papyrus Mayer A)). Besides *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’, he is also designated as *jmj-r3 pr* ‘steward’ and *sš n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb* ‘scribe of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health’ in these documents in which the latter title consequently appears after his name.

III.97. *Nebmaatresekhper-?*

Date:	20 th dynasty
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– ostrakon, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ANAsh.Mus.H.O.616 (= ex O. Gardiner 616)
Functional title:	<i>wdpw nswt</i>

An undated ostrakon mentions the name of *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ Nebmaatresekhper-?, the reading of the latter part of whose name is problematic, just as that of the text in the second line, according to information provided by Dr Demarée.⁸⁶⁸ Based on his basiliforic

⁸⁶⁸ I would hereby like to thank Prof. Andreas Dorn and Dr Robert Demarée, who provided me with information on the ostrakon.

name, he might have been active during the reign of Ramesses VI, however, nothing else supports this supposition.

NEW KINGDOM

III.98. *Unknown 3*

Date:	New Kingdom
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	unknown
Remains:	– statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 906
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i>

A block statue, now located in Cairo (CG 906), dated to the New Kingdom belongs to a *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* ‘royal *wb3* clean of hands’. The head, the feet and the pedestal of the statue are missing, just like the name of the official in the inscription, a *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formula, on the front of his legs. Nothing can be ascertained either about the provenance of the object or about the owner whom it depicts.

III.99. *Isiu*

Date:	New Kingdom
Genealogy:	? ♂ ——— Nebhnedjemit ♀ Isiu ♂
Tomb:	most likely at Thebes
Remains:	– canopic jars
Functional title:	<i>wb3 n nswt</i>

Four canopic jars of *wb3 n nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Isiu dated to the New Kingdom were found in a pit at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the vicinity of the tomb of Hapuseneb (TT 67), however, the exact location of the pit cannot be determined.⁸⁶⁹ Unfortunately, apart from the

⁸⁶⁹ Collins, 1976, 36.

name of his mother, probably Nebhersedjemit, nothing else can be ascertained about either of the owner of the canopic jars or about the owner of the sepulchre.

III.100. Meriremetjef

Date:	New Kingdom
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely at Thebes
Remains:	– funerary cone DM 452
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>
Honorific titles:	<i>hrd n k3p</i> <i>hsjj n Jmn</i>

The only remains which belong to *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ Meriremetjef is his funerary cone (DM 452) from the New Kingdom from the Theban necropolis where his burial place must have been.⁸⁷⁰ Two honorific titles also appear on the object, *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the kap’ and *hsjj n Jmn* ‘favoured of Amun’. The first refers to his growing up in a royal palace, the latter implies his connection to Thebes, maybe in some respect to the Amun precinct as well.

III.101. Nebseni

Date:	New Kingdom
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely at Thebes
Remains:	– funerary cone DM 373
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

Nebseni is also attested only on his funerary cone (DM 373), which indicates that his burial place was in Thebes. He is designated on the object as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and he must have been active during the New Kingdom.

⁸⁷⁰ According to Zenihiro, his tomb is probably at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Zenihiro, 2009, 192.

III.102. *Rau*

Date:	New Kingdom
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely at Thebes
Remains:	– funerary cone DM 277 – funerary cone DM 510
Functional titles:	<i>wb3 nswt</i> <i>jmj-r3 s.t n ʕ.t t</i>

Two types of funerary cones (DM 277, DM 510) imply that the burial place of Rau was located in Thebes and dated to the New Kingdom.⁸⁷¹ Zenihiro gives the name as Nerau, however, the *n* which he counts as the beginning of his name rather belongs to the word *nswt* on cone DM 277, moreover, there is no *n* which could form part of the name on cone DM 510, thus it is more reasonable to determine the name as Rau. Although he appears as *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ only on cone DM 277, while on cone DM 510 he is identified as *jmj-r3 s.t n ʕ.t t* ‘overseer of the storeroom of the bread chamber’, based on the rare occurrence of the name,⁸⁷² it might be assumed that both cone types belonged to the same person. The two functional titles indicate that he carried out his duties in the royal household, in the private service of the king.

III.103. *Senemnetjer*

Date:	New Kingdom
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely at Thebes
Remains:	– funerary cone DM 278 – funerary cone DM 279
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

Senemnetjer is also attested on two types of funerary cone (DM 278, DM 279), which differ from each other only in the design of their matrix, and while the inscription is the

⁸⁷¹ According to Zenihiro, his tomb is probably on Khokha. Zenihiro, 2009, 130, 200.

⁸⁷² Ranke, 1935, 216.

same, the functional title is *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ on both of them. Based on these objects the tomb of Senemnetjer must have been in Thebes, and dated to the New Kingdom.

III.104. *Satre*

Date:	New Kingdom
Genealogy:	unknown
Tomb:	most likely at Thebes
Remains:	– funerary cone DM 567
Functional title:	<i>wb3 nswt</i>

The only remains of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ *Satre*⁸⁷³ is a funerary cone (DM 567) from the New Kingdom from Thebes, which also indicates that his burial place was in the necropolis there.

⁸⁷³ Interestingly, the name is attested only as a female one in Ranke, 1935, 283, 290.

Conclusion

The representatives of individuals bearing the functional titles ‘royal *wb3*’ and ‘royal *wdpw*’ are continuously attested during almost the entirety of the New Kingdom, to be precise from the reign of Thutmose II until the reign of Ramesses XI, except for the short turbulent period at the end of the 19th dynasty. It is obvious from the sources that the activity of the officials was not restricted to the reign of only one ruler. They were not necessarily dismissed from their positions upon the accession of a new ruler, on the contrary, the new monarch might have utilised the advantage of relying on the high ranking officials to ensure the smooth process of the administrative matters of the country as well as of his own household. Considering the fact that more than one official bore the title and seemingly was in the same position at the same time, the supposition seems to be logical that some sort of hierarchical structure must have existed within these individuals. Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence for such a structure from the 18th dynasty and there is only a slightly more certain indication for some kind of ranking among the officials from the Ramesside period, namely an extended form of the title as *wb3 nswt tpj* ‘first royal *wb3*’. This version of the title is attested for a short period only, from the reign of Sety I until the reign of Ramesses IV.

The available sources reveal only limited information about the personal background of the ‘royal *wb3*s’ and ‘royal *wdpw*s’ such as their family relationships or place of origin. Data concerning family members of the officials are mentioned more often from the 18th dynasty, while during the later period of the New Kingdom the available personal details of these individuals are rare. Based on the pieces of evidence, it also became obvious that the offices of *wb3 nswt* ‘royal *wb3*’ and *wdpw nswt* ‘royal *wdpw*’ was neither hereditary nor prevalent in certain families. On the occasions when titles are mentioned with the

names of the family members, the titles are not important ones (Table 6.), which fact implies that the officials did not originate from the higher social class but rather from the middle one. There are no explicit references as to how they got into higher social circles and became prominent members of the royal court. Besides, there are only a few (auto)biographical inscriptions in which the owner mentions the stages of his official advancement in detail or conclusions can be drawn based on its content, which do not provide with information regarding this question either. Nevertheless, some possibilities emerge as an answer based on observing the titles held by certain officials as well as their relationship with the ruler.

The close and intimate relationship between the ruler and the 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' is unambiguous and undoubted. It is generally accepted, that the intimate relationship between the ruler and the 'royal *wb3*' was based on the nature of the service which the official occupied at the royal household around the person of the king as his personal servant, which service required these officials' loyalty and the ability to keep things secret. At the same time, a sort of interdependence can be observed as it was not only the officials who depended on the power of the ruler, but the ruler himself was dependent on the individuals with whom he had surrounded himself, since they ensured his safety, thus their reliability was extremely important. Nevertheless, the background in regard to choosing certain individuals for this position of trust remains unclear. The idea that many 'royal *wb3s*' during the 18th dynasty were former pages who had grown up together with the king in one of the royal palaces and later held the honorific title *hrd n k3p* 'child of the kap' seems plausible, however, there are only seven individuals in the present corpus of 'royal *wb3s*' who bore this title. Other titles connected to the military sphere can also shed some light on the source of confidential relationship with the ruler since 'royal *wb3s*' frequently attended their lords on his military campaigns either as an actual participant or in the entourage of the ruler.

Foreigners played an active role in the administration of the Egyptian state during the New Kingdom, particularly during the Ramesside period and they can be found among the representatives of 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' as well. However, indications for foreign ethnicity other than the basiliphoric name itself, which is generally accepted as an indicator automatically referring to a certain individual being of a non-Egyptian origin or entering Egypt as a hostage, are available only in the case of officials under the reign of Ramesses II and Merneptah. Unfortunately, there are no references to when or in what circumstances these officials came to Egypt and became personal servants of the ruler. Schulman speculated in regard to the socio-political background of the increasing

number of 'royal *wb3s*' of foreign origin during the Ramesside era that it was because the king either mistrusted or could not rely on the native members of the upper echelons. He sees the Amarna period as a turning point in this respect.

It is reasonable to surmise that the officials serving the ruler as *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*' – and also as *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*' – essentially belonged to a certain royal palace which was their main place of function. Apart from the actual whereabouts of the ruler, a certain number of these officials might have resided and maintained their duties in each royal residence. However, the original sources do not provide much information regarding this question. One is able to draw conclusions concerning the place of function of these officials only in some cases based on their titles, the contents of their monuments or their textual sources indicating a southern or a northern residence. The geographical distribution of the burial places of 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' does not serve as an adequate base of information regarding the place of function of the officials in itself. While during the late 18th dynasty and the Ramesside period the two places, the functional and the burial one, seem to coincide since both of them are in the northern region, the tendency to construct the sepulchres either in Thebes or in the Memphite necropolis – even at Amarna –, was in accordance with the general burial customs of high ranking officials based on religious ideology related to the king and the kingship during the period of the whole New Kingdom, rather than with personal needs and considerations.

As for their functional role, 'royal *wb3s*' and 'royal *wdpws*' primarily belonged to the royal household and palace administration as personal attendants of the ruler either in the royal palace or on his journeys within the country or abroad. Being responsible for the personal service of the king, 'royal *wb3s*' were in charge of ensuring and inspecting the provision of food and drink as well as other deliveries of the palace, overseeing the state and the procedures of the magazines of the royal palace, and also supervising the conditions on the royal estates. These duties were mainly the characteristics of the 18th dynasty and represented in the depictions in the tombs of the officials. In addition, the textual sources and the functional titles of these persons reveal that in addition to the management of the living areas of the ruler in the palace, they also took part in the state administration at the highest level as well as in matters of religious.

From the early 19th dynasty onwards, they no longer merely administered the personal needs of the ruler in the royal palace but their extended range of duties led to their widespread participation in various assignments far from the palace as the personal representatives of the ruler and as increasingly influential figures of the royal court. Such special commissions were different matters regarding the cult statues of the ruler, min-

ing and quarrying expeditions, inspections concerning the working progress of royal tombs and dealing with various affairs of the workmen at Deir el-Medina, as well as acting as members of the judiciary in legal matters. In these cases the officials are usually identified as 'royal *wdpws*' instead of 'royal *wb3s*'. The reason in the background of this obvious change in the nature of the duties and the widening of the responsibilities of the officials between the 18th and the 19th dynasties might be explained by Schulman's theory concerning the lurch of the reliance of the king in the native members of the upper echelons. The ruler needed his own trusted men to be loyal exclusively and unquestionably to him, as far as could be possible at least, thus his choice for one of the officials performing the most confidential service around him seems to be reasonable.

Previous studies did not make a clear distinction between the two titles – *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* – in meaning and sometimes even in transliteration, but merged both of them under the entry of *wb3 nswt*, however, it seems that differences in the functional features and the usage of the two titles depended on the quality and context in which the titleholder was represented. On the monuments – primarily those of funerary, votive and offering context – which represent the official in his position as a courtier, or in his function as a personal attendant in the entourage and service of the ruler within the royal household and royal administration, the individual is designated by the title *wb3 nswt* 'royal *wb3*'. At the same time, in sources which render an account of a particular mission, a special assignment ordered by the king with the participation of the official far from the person of the ruler and from the royal court, the person was designated as *wdpw nswt* 'royal *wdpw*'. As for the translation of the titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt*, it is rather difficult to find proper solutions, which both reflect their wide-ranging official activities and at the same time, do not generate a gap regarding the relationship between the original functional occupation and the title of the high ranking officials. The continuity between the two stages is clearly represented in the tomb depictions of the officials and it is not negligible in spite of the obvious functional changes, especially in the case of the title *wdpw nswt*. The usual translations for *wb3* and *wb3 nswt* are 'butler' and 'royal butler' seems to be more or less suitable for demonstrating the original function of the occupation, as well as for expressing the new scope of duties in which these officials acted as a personal servant in the royal household as well as the royal administration. In the case of the title *wdpw nswt*, however, the situation is more complicated, the usual translation of *wdpw* as a 'cupbearer' cannot be applied in the case of the official title *wdpw nswt* since this latter one has no connection with any sort of duties regarding the service or preparation of food or drink. An *wdpw nswt* acted as a personal representative of the

ruler in particular assignments in various respects. From this perspective, a new translation such as 'royal representative', 'royal agent', 'royal delegate' or 'royal commissioner' might be applicable, however, it might also be confusing in respect to other titles with a similar meaning, for instance *ꜥ, jdnw* or *rwdw* as well as in respect to the scientific tradition. For the revision of and for changing the tradition of the translation of the two functional titles, *wb3* and *wdpw* as 'butler' and 'cupbearer' respectively, a comprehensive study of their textual and iconographical appearances from the whole pharaonic period would be required, and new proposals could be made for a more appropriate translation for both the functional and the official titles reflecting the duties of their representatives. Until more adequate solutions can be found regarding the translations of both titles, the usage of their forms 'royal *wb3*' and 'royal *wdpw*' seems to be convenient.

Due to the wide range of diversity of functional titles as well as the fact that there are only a few of them which were borne by more than one or two officials, it is rather difficult to give a definite picture about the position, activity and connections with the fellow officials of 'royal *wb3*s' and 'royal *wdpw*s' within the royal court as well as the administrative system. Further similar prosopographical research would be required concerning other representatives of the most common functional titles held by these officials to reveal more detailed information about the areas mentioned above.

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Appendix

1. TITLES OF OFFICIALS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

1.1. *wb3 nswt and wdpw nswt titles of the officials*

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titelholder
<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>	Hori
<i>wb3 n nswt</i>		royal <i>wb3</i>	Djehuti (I), Neferperet, Hesinetjeref, Isiu
<i>wb3 n nswt</i>	<i>M3^c.t-k3-R^c</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> of Hatshepsut	Djehuti (I)
<i>wb3 nswt</i>		royal <i>wb3</i>	Djehuti (I), Neferperet, Wah, Djehutimes, Suemniut, Maaninakhtef, Iuti, Maaninakhtef, Heqanakht, Sennefer, Neferrenpet (I), Sarenenutet Tjaii, Setau, Seth, Parennefer, Ipu, Paatenemheb, Pay, Kasa, Nebnefer, Horemheb, Unknown 5, Hesiefsheemsunesu, Hesinetjeref, Ramessesashahebused, Tjai Ta, Nebmerutef, Ramessesmen, Suner, Sety, Atumemtaneb, Ramessesnakht, Ramessesesemperre, Ramessesamiiunu, Ramessesankherneheh, Sobekhotep, Hori, Nakhtamun, Usermaatresekhper, Unknown 4, Nesamun, Neferkareemperamun, Amenhotep, Meriremetjef, Nebseni, Rau, Senemnetjer, Satre
<i>wb3 nswt</i>	<i>n pr-^c3</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> of the Pharaoh	Nesamun, Neferkareemperamun
<i>wb3 nswt</i>	<i>n pr h^d</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> of the treasury	Ramessesankherneheh
<i>wb3 nswt</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> of the lord of the Two Lands	Wenefdjedsen, Ramessesuserpehti, Ramessesemperre, Heqamaatreneheh
<i>wb3 nswt</i>	<i>n hm.t nswt wr.t</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> of the great royal wife	Paatenemheb
<i>wb3 n nswt w^cb^c.wj</i>		royal <i>wb3</i> clean of hands	Djehuti (I), Qenamun, Neferperet, Maaninakhtef, Hesinetjeref
<i>wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj</i>		royal <i>wb3</i> clean of hands	Qenamun, Neferperet, Montuiui, Suemniut, Neferweben, Maaninakhtef, Heqanakht, Neferrenpet (I), Sarenenutet Tjaii, Seth, Parennefer, Ptahemwia (I), Ipay, Ipu, Paatenemheb, Qema, Pay, Nensemekhetef, Djehuti (II), Ptahpatener, Hesiefsheemsunesu, Para[...], Unknown 1, Sethherwenemef, Tjai Ta, Nebmerutef, Ianefer, Sety, Atumemtaneb, Ramessesnakht, Ramessesuserpehti, Pentawer, Paenrenenutet, Merneptahemprtah, Amenhotep, Unknown 3
<i>wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj</i>	<i>m^ch</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> clean of hands in the palace	Ramessesheru

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titelholder
<i>wb3 nswt w^cb ϵ.wj</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> clean of hands of the lord of the Two Lands	Ipu, Ramessesesemperre, Ramessessheru
<i>wb3 nswt w^cb ϵ.wj</i>	<i>n ntr nfr Mn- hpr-R^c</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> clean of hands of the good god, Thotmes III	Qenamun
<i>wb3 nswt w^cb ϵ.wj</i>	<i>n hm=f</i>	royal <i>wb3</i> clean of hands of His Majesty	Parennefer
<i>wb3 nswt tpj</i>		first royal <i>wb3</i>	Tjai Ta (?) / Nebmerutef (?), Paenrenenutet
<i>wb3 nswt tpj</i>	<i>n pr-ϵ3 ϵnh wd3 snb</i>	first royal <i>wb3</i> of the Pharaoh, L.P.H.	Heqamaatrenehch
<i>wb3 nswt tpj</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	first royal <i>wb3</i> of the lord of the Two Lands	Atumemtaneb, Ramessesnakht, Ramessesesemperre
<i>wb3 nswt tpj</i>	<i>n hm=f</i>	first royal <i>wb3</i> of His Majesty	Wenefdjedsen, Ramessesesemperre, Heqamaatrenehch
<i>wb3 nswt tpj</i>	<i>n hm=f ϵnh wd3 snb</i>	first royal <i>wb3</i> of His Majesty, L.P.H.	Ramessesashahebused
<i>wdpw</i>		<i>wdpw</i>	Ramessesesemperre, Paenrenenutet, Pabes, Mesedsure, Warna, Paluka, Inini, Nebdjefau, Hentuenimen, Qedendenna, Baalmeher, Pairsun, Djehutirekhnefer, Hori, Nesamun, Neferkareemperamun, Ines
<i>wdpw</i>	<i>m stp-s3 ϵnh wd3 snb</i>	<i>wdpw</i> in the palace, life, prosperity, health	Nebamun
<i>wdpw</i>	<i>n pr-ϵ3 ϵnh wd3 snb</i>	<i>wdpw</i> of the pharaoh, life, prosperity, health	Maatmen, Nesamun
<i>wdpw nswt</i>		royal <i>wdpw</i>	Nakhuempaaton, Djehutiherhesetef, Ramessesashahebused, Bay, Maatmen, Ptahemwia (II), Sobekhotep, Hori, Kar, Nakhtamun, Amenkhau, Ramessessetherwenemef, Atumnakht, Nefersunu, Aha(?), Parenakht, Nebmaatreper-?, Ramessesnefer[...], Qedren, Nesamun, Neferkareemperamun, Pareherwenemef, Pameriamun, Paser, Menmaatrenakht, Ines, Nebmaatresekheper-?
<i>wdpw nswt</i>	<i>n hm=f</i>	royal <i>wdpw</i> of His Majesty	Ramessesashahebused

1.2. Ranking titles of the officials

Title	Translation	Titleholder
<i>jrj-p^ct</i>	member of the elite	Montuiui
<i>jrj-p^ct h3tj-ϵ</i>	member of the elite, foremost of action	Nebamun, Djehuti (I), Suemniut, Maaninakhtef, Seth, Parennefer, Ptahemwia (I)
<i>htmtj-bjtj</i>	royal sealer	Djehuti (I), Montuiui, Suemniut, Parennefer, Ptahemwia (I)
<i>smr-w^c.tj</i>	sole friend	Djehuti (I), Montuiui, Suemniut, Seth, Ptahemwia (I)

1.3. Administrative functional titles of the officials

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>3h.wt n nb t3.wj</i>	overseer of the arable lands of the king	Maaninakhtef
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>jp.t nswt</i>	overseer of the the royal apartments	Hesinetjeref
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>jh.w n nfr nfr ʕnh wd3 snb</i>	overseer of the cattle of the good god, life, prosperity, health	Maaninakhtef
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>ʕrrjj.t/rwj.t</i>	overseer of the gateway/ the ruit	Wah
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>ʕhʕ.w nb.w n nswt</i>	overseer of all royal boats	Nebamun
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>ʕhʕ.w nswt</i>	overseer of the royal boats	Suemniut
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>ʕhʕ.w n nswt</i>	overseer of the royal boats	Nebamun
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>mr.t nb.t n.t nswt</i>	overseer of the servants of the king	Maaninakhtef
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>npyw (nbyw?)</i>	overseer of the <i>npjw</i> (goldsmith?)	Wah
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>hm.wt nb.t n.t nswt</i>	overseer of all the craftsmen of the king	Parennefer
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>hsb.w t n.w Šmʕw Mhw</i>	overseer of the counter of bread of Upper and Lower Egypt	Maaninakhtef
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>h3 n nswt</i>	overseer of the royal office	Nebamun
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>htm.t</i>	overseer of the sealed things	Sety
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>sh.tjw</i>	overseer of the peasants	Maaninakhtef
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>šnʕw n nswt</i>	overseer of the storehouse of the king	Nebamun
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>šnw.tj</i>	overseer of the double granary	Qenamun, Maaninakhtef, Menmaatrenakht
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>šnw.tj n nswt r Šmʕw Mhw</i>	overseer of the double granary of the king in Upper and Lower Egypt	Maaninakhtef
<i>jmj-r3</i>	<i>k3.t</i>	overseer of work	Sety
<i>jmj-r3</i>	[...]	steward/overseer of [...]	Nebamun, Seth
<i>jmj-r3 ʕhnwtj</i>		chamberlain	Qema
<i>jmj-r3 ʕhnwtj</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	chamberlain of the lord of the Two Lands	Horemheb, Heqamaatreneh
<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>		steward	Maaninakhtef, Sennefer, Neferrenpet (I), Ipay, Sety, Pameriamun, Ines
<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>	<i>n hm.t nswt</i>	steward of the royal wife	Nebamun
<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>	<i>n hm.t nswt Nbtw mʕ.t-hrw</i>	steward of the royal wife, Nebtu, justified	Nebamun

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>	<i>n Šmꜥw Mḥw</i>	steward of Upper and Lower Egypt	Sety
<i>jmj-r3 pr wr</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	high steward of the lord of the Two Lands	Sethherwenemef
<i>jmj-r3 pr wr</i>	<i>n nswt</i>	high steward of the king	Maaninakhtef, Sennefer
<i>jmj-r3 pr nb n nswt</i>		steward of every estate of the king	Maaninakhtef
<i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i>		overseer of the treasury	Sety, Nesamun, Amenhotep, Menmaatrenakht, Paser
<i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i>	<i>n pr-ꜥ3</i>	overseer of the treasury of the Pharaoh	Nesamun, Amenhotep
<i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i>	<i>n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb</i>	overseer of the treasury of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health	Menmaatrenakht
<i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	overseer of the treasury of the lord of the Two Lands	Sety
<i>jmj-r3 pr ḥd n nbw ḥd</i>		overseer of the treasuries of gold and silver	Sobekhotep
<i>jmj-r3 mšꜥ</i>		general	Sety
<i>jmj-r3 s.t</i>	<i>n ꜥ.t t</i>	overseer of the storeroom of the bread chamber	Rau
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>		attendant of the lord of the Two Lands	Hesinetjeref
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>	<i>m s.t nb.t ḥnd.n.f</i>	attendant of the lord of the Two Lands in every place wherever he goes	Parennefer
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>	<i>ḥr ḥ3s.t rsj.t</i>	attendant of the lord of the Two Lands in the southern land	Qenamun
<i>jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj</i>	<i>tm m tšj grḥ mj hrw</i>	attendant of the lord of the Two Lands who is never absent by night or day	Suemniut
<i>ꜥ3 n ꜥ.t n nb t3.wj</i>		chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands	Neferrenpet (I), Unknown 5, Ramessesnakht
<i>ꜥ3 n ꜥ.t ḥnq.t</i>		chief of beer chamber	Ramessesemperre
<i>ꜥ3 n ꜥ.t ḥnk.t</i>		chief of the supplies magazine	Iuti, Ramessesemperre, Ramessesheru
<i>ꜥ3 n ꜥ.t ḥnk.t</i>	<i>pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wd3 snb</i>	chief of the supplies magazine of the Pharaoh, L.P.H.	Ramessesemperre
<i>ꜥ3 n pr</i>		steward	Ines
<i>ꜥ3 [...] nswt</i>		chief [...] of the king	Parennefer
<i>wpwt nswt n ḥ3s.wt nb.wt</i>		royal envoy to every foreign land	Ramessesashahebused, Atumemtaneb
<i>wr swnw</i>		great physician	Tjai Ta, Nebmerutef (?)
<i>wr swnw</i>	<i>m ꜥḥ nswt</i>	great physician in the royal palace	Tjai Ta

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>wr swnw</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	great physician of the lord of the Two Lands	Nebmerutef
<i>whmw</i>	<i>n pr-ꜥ3</i>	herald of the Pharaoh	Neferkareemperamun
<i>whmw</i>	<i>n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wꜣꜥ3 snb</i>	herald of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health	Neferkareemperamun
<i>whmw</i>	<i>n nfr:t</i>	herald of the beauties(?)	Qenamun
<i>whmw nswt</i>		royal herald	Djehuti (I)
<i>whmw nswt tpj</i>	<i>n hm=f</i>	first royal herald of His Majesty	Ramesesemperre
<i>b3k n jp.t nswt</i>		servant of the royal apartments	Montuiui
<i>rwꜥw</i>		agent	Paatenemheb
<i>h3tj-ꜥ n Mn-nfr</i>		mayor of Memphis	Qenamun
<i>hm nswt n tj sw m jnpw</i>		servant of the king when he was young	Parennefer
<i>hrj wj3 n nswt</i>		chief of the royal barque	Nebamun
<i>hrj jrj-ꜥ3</i>		main doorkeeper	Pay
<i>hrj jrj-ꜥ3</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	main doorkeeper of the lord of the Two Lands	Pay
<i>hrj-jhw</i>		stable master	Suemniut
<i>hrj-jhw</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	stable master of the lord of the Two Lands	Suemniut
<i>hrj-pꜥ.t qnj</i>		valiant troop commander	Ramesesashahebused
<i>hrj šms n hm=f</i>		chief of bodyguards of His Majesty	Ramesesashahebused
<i>sš</i>	<i>pr-ꜥ3</i>	scribe of the Pharaoh	Nesamun
<i>sš</i>	<i>n pr-ꜥ3</i>	scribe of the Pharaoh	Nesamun
<i>sš</i>	<i>n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wꜣꜥ3 snb</i>	scribe of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health	Nesamun, Pameriamun
<i>sš</i>	<i>n ꜥ.t hnk.t pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wꜣꜥ3 snb</i>	scribe of the supplies magazine of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health	Ramesesnakht
<i>sš</i>	<i>n pr hꜥd</i>	scribe of the treasury	Paluka
<i>sš</i>	[...]	scribe [...]	Qenamun
<i>sš nswt</i>		royal scribe	Ipay, Nebnefer, Sethherwenemef, Tjai Ta, Nebmerutef, Sety, Bay, Ptahemwia (II), Hori, Ramesses-sethherwenemef, Parenakht
<i>sš nswt</i>	<i>m3ꜥ</i>	true royal scribe	Ipay
<i>sš nswt</i>	<i>n mr=f</i>	his beloved royal scribe	Sety
<i>šmsw</i>	<i>nb rww.t=f</i>	follower of the lord on his journeys	Hesinetjeref

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>šmsw</i>	<i>nb rww.t=f hr h3s.wt rsj.t mħj.t</i>	follower of the lord on his journeys to the southern and northern lands	Heqanakht
<i>šmsw</i>	<i>nb=f tj sw m jnpw</i>	follower of his lord while he was young	Ptahemwia (I)
<i>šmsw nswt</i>		follower of the king	Djehuti (I), Suemniut
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>r nmtt=f hr h3s.wt rsj.t mħj.t</i>	follower of the king on all his exploits in the southern and northern foreign lands	Suemniut
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>rww.t=f</i>	follower of the king on his journey	Djehuti (I)
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>ħr mw hr t3</i>	follower of the king on water and on land	Suemniut
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>ħr h3s.t nb.t</i>	follower of the king in every foreign land	Djehuti (I), Neferperet
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	<i>ħr h3s.wt nb.wt</i>	follower of the king in every foreign land	Djehuti (I)
<i>šmsw nswt</i>	[...]	follower of the king [...]	Suemniut
<i>Ḳj-pd.t</i>		bow-bearer	Wah
<i>Ḳj-ħw</i>		fan-bearer	Ramessesashahebused, Nakhtamun
<i>Ḳj-ħw</i>	<i>n pr-ʕ3 ʕnh wd3 snb</i>	fan-bearer of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health	Ines
<i>Ḳj-ħw</i>	<i>ħr wnmj nswt</i>	fan-bearer on the right of the king	Hesinetjeref, Tjai Ta, Sety, Ramessesemperre
<i>Ḳj-ħw</i>	<i>ħr wnmj n nswt</i>	fan-bearer on the right of the king	Ramessesuserpehti
<i>Ḳj-srjj.t</i>		standard-bearer	Suemniut
<i>Ḳj-srjj.t</i>	<i>ħr wnmj nswt</i>	standard-bearer on the right of the king	Paser
[...] ʕ3		great [...]	Djehuti (I)
[...] <i>nb t3.wj</i>		[...] the lord of the Two Lands	Seth
[...] <i>r3 n Hr m pr=f</i>		[...] mouth of Horus in his palace	Parennefer

1.4. Religious functional titles of the officials

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
ꜥ3 n pr n pr dw3.t-ntr ꜥnh-tj n Jmn-Rꜥ nswt ntr:w		steward of the estate of the Divine Adoratrix, may she live, of Amun-Re, king of the gods	Nesamun
jmj-r3	jh.w n Jmn	overseer of the cattle of Amun	Suemniut
jmj-r3	k3.t nb.t n.t nswt m pr Jtn	overseer of all the works of the king in the temple of Aton	Parennefer
jmj-r3	dhr.w n Jmn	overseer of the leathers of Amun	Maaninakhtef
jmj-r3 pr n Mnꜥw nb W3st		steward of Montu, lord of Thebes	Maaninakhtef
jmj-r3 hm.w ntr	n Pth-hntj-Tnnt	overseer of the prophets of Ptah, Foremost-of-Tjenenet	Sennefer
jmj-r3 hm.w ntr	n Mnw nb Jpw	overseer of the prophets of Min, lord of Achmim	Sennefer
jmj-r3 hm.w ntr	n ntr:w nb.w	overseer of the prophets of every god	Parennefer
jmj-r3 hm.w ntr	[...]	overseer of the prophets [...]	Parennefer
jrj-ꜥ.t n Jmn		head of the magazine of Amun	Qenamun
jrj-ꜥ.t n pr Wrt-hk3w		keeper of the storehouse of the temple of Werethekau	Sarenenutet Tjau
jhꜥj		sistrum player	Neferrenpet (I)
jt mrj-ntr		father of the beloved god	Suemniut
ꜥ3 n wꜥb.w		chief of the wab-priests	Sarenenutet Tjau
ꜥ3 n wꜥb.w	n Wrt-hk3w	chief of the wab-priests of Werethekau	Sarenenutet Tjau
wꜥb		wab-priest	Ptahpatener
wꜥb	n Jmn	wab-priest of Amun	Qenamun
wꜥb ꜥ.wj	jr:f hss.wt wdnw n Jmn f3j ꜥh m Jp.t-s.wt hr-tp ꜥ.w:s nswt-bjtj Mn-hpr-Rꜥ m hr.t n.t rꜥ nb	the one clean of hands when he performs the rites and the sacrifice to Amun and carries the brazier in Karnak on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thotmes III daily	Djehuti (I)
wꜥb ꜥ.wj	jr:f hss.wt n.t Jmn Jp.t-s.wt	the one clean of hands when he performs the rites to Amun in Karnak	Djehuti (I)
wꜥb ꜥ.wj	jr:f hss.wt qꜥh:fꜥ=f r s.t wr:t	the one clean of hands when he performs the rites and when he bends his arm at the great throne	Djehuti (I)

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>wꜥb ꜥ.wj</i>	<i>jrr ḥss.wt</i>	the one clean of hands when he performs the rites	Djehuti (I)
<i>wdn</i>		offerer	Djehuti (I)
<i>wdn</i>	<i>n ntr:w nb.w</i>	offerer of all the gods	Suemniut
<i>wdn n Jmn</i>		offerer of Amun	Djehuti (I), Suemniut
<i>wdn n Jmn</i>	<i>jr ḥss.wt=f</i>	offerer of Amun who performs his rites	Djehuti (I)
<i>wdn n Jmn</i>	<i>m Jp.t-s.wt ḥr-tp ꜥ.w.s nswt-bjtj M3ꜥ.t-k3-Rꜥ ḥh.tj d.t</i>	offerer of Amun in Karnak on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hatshepsut, who lives forever	Djehuti (I)
<i>wdn n Jmn</i>	<i>n nswt-bjtj ꜥ3-ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ n psd.t Jp.t-s.wt n ntr:w dsr:t jmnt.t</i>	offerer of Amun, of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thotmes I, of the Ennead in Karnak, of gods in the western necropolis	Djehuti (I)
<i>wdn n Jmn-Rꜥ</i>		offerer of Amun-Re	Djehuti (I)
<i>ḥꜣj ꜥḥ n nb ntr:w</i>		who carries the brazier of the lord of the gods	Djehuti (I)
<i>ḥm ntr</i>		prophet	Ptahpatener, Nebmerutef
<i>ḥm ntr</i>	<i>n Ḥr-m-ḥb</i>	prophet of Horemheb	Ptahpatener
<i>ḥm ntr tpj n Jmn m Ḥnt-nfr</i>		high priest of Amun in Khenet-nefer	Sennefer
<i>ḥrj-ḥbt n Ḥr-m-ḥb</i>		lector priest of Horemheb	Ptahpatener
<i>smnh mnw=f m pr Jtn</i>		who sets his monuments in the temple of Aton	Parennefer
<i>sšmw-ḥb</i>	<i>m Jp.t-s.wt</i>	leader of the festival in Karnak	Djehuti (I)
<i>sšmw-ḥb</i>	<i>n Jmn</i>	leader of the festival of Amun	Suemniut
<i>sšmw-ḥb</i>	<i>n Pth</i>	leader of the festival of Ptah	Sennefer
<i>sšmw-ḥb</i>	<i>n nswt ntr:w</i>	leader of the festival of the king of the gods	Djehuti (I)

1.5. Honoric titles of the officials

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>jmj-jb</i>	<i>n nswt n wn-m³</i>	true favourite of the king	Djehuti (I)
<i>jmj-jb</i>	<i>n ntr nfr</i>	favourite of the good god	Djehuti (I), Suemniut
<i>jr hss.t jmj-ḥ</i>		who does which is praised by the dweller of the palace (i.e. the king)	Suemniut
<i>jr hss.t jmj-ḥ</i>	<i>m hr.t hrw n.t rḥ nb</i>	who does which is praised by the dweller of the palace (i.e. the king) in the course of every day	Suemniut
<i>ḥ n ntr nfr</i>		agent of the good god	Hegnakht
<i>ḥ3 m sḥ=f</i>		great in his dignity	Parennefer
<i>ḥ3 mr.t</i>		well-beloved	Suemniut
<i>ḥ q r ḥ pr hr ḥs.wt</i>		who enters the palace and leaves in favour	Parennefer
<i>ḥ q hr nfr.t r bw hr nswt hr ḥnh nb ntr.w</i>		who enters with favourable words to the place where the king is and with provision of the lord of the gods	Djehuti (I)
<i>wḥ jqr</i>		the uniquely excellent one	Atumemtanab
<i>wḥ wb3 n=fjb</i>		one to whom the heart has been opened	Suemniut
<i>wḥ mnḥ</i>	<i>wb3 n=fjb</i>	the excellent one to whom the heart has been opened	Suemniut
<i>wḥ mnḥ</i>	<i>n ntr nfr</i>	the excellent one of the good god	Suemniut
<i>wḥ mnḥ-jb n nb t3.wj</i>		one loyal to the lord of the Two Lands	Djehuti (I)
<i>wḥ n nswt m s.t wḥ [...]tw</i>		the only one for the king in the place of [...]	Parennefer
<i>wḥ tkn m ḥḥ.w ntr</i>		the one who is near to the body of the god	Parennefer
<i>wr m j3w.t=f</i>		who is important in his office	Parennefer
<i>wr m ḥ</i>		who is important in the palace	Ptahemwia (I)
<i>mn ḥs.wt</i>		stable in favour	Suemniut
<i>mn ḥs.wt</i>	<i>m stp-s3</i>	stable in favour in the palace	Suemniut
<i>mnḥ n nb=f</i>		excellent of his lord	Montuiui
<i>mnḥ-jb n nb t3.wj</i>		loyal to the lord of the Two Lands	Djehuti (I)
<i>mrjj nb=f</i>		whom his lord loves	Seth, Ptahemwia (I)
<i>mrw.tj n nb t3.wj</i>		beloved of the lord of the Two Lands	Ptahemwia (I), Ramessessamiiunu

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>mr=f</i>		his beloved	Ipay
<i>mrr nb t3.wj hr bj.t=f</i>		beloved of the lord of the Two Lands because of his character	Paatenemheb
<i>mr.t ntr</i>		beloved of the god	Parennefer
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	confidant of the lord of the Two Lands	Maaninakhtef
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>n ntr nfr</i>	confidant of the good god	Parennefer
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>n nswt</i>	confidant of the king	Parennefer
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>n nswt m mrjj=f</i>	confidant of the king as his beloved	Suemniut
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>n nswt m [...]</i>	confidant of the king in/as [...]	Parennefer
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>n drdr=f?</i>	confidant of his ???	Djehuti (I)
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>nb=f</i>	confidant of his lord	Suemniut
<i>mh-jb</i>	<i>ntr nfr</i>	confidant of the good god	Djehuti (I)
<i>mh-jb mnḥ</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	excellent confidant of the lord of the Two Lands	Nebamun, Qenamun
<i>mh-jb mnḥ</i>	<i>n ntr nfr</i>	excellent confidant of the good god	Suemniut
<i>mtj m3^c jb</i>		truly reliable of disposition	Atumemtaneb
<i>hrrw jtjj hr shr=f</i>		with whose designs the sovereign is content	Suemniut
<i>hrrw nswt hr tpt-r3=f</i>		with whose utterance the sovereign is content	Suemniut
<i>hrj-sšt3</i>	<i>n ʕḥ šps</i>	master of secrets of the august palace	Sobekhotep
<i>hrj-sšt3</i>	<i>n W3d.tj</i>	master of secrets of the two cobra goddesses	Ptahemwia (I)
<i>hsjj</i>	<i>mrjj nb t3.wj</i>	favoured and beloved of the lord of the Two Lands	Parennefer
<i>hsjj</i>	<i>n Jmn</i>	favoured of Amun	Meriremetjef
<i>hsjj</i>	<i>n nb=f</i>	favoured of his lord	Parennefer
<i>hsjj</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	favoured of the lord of the Two Lands	Seth
<i>hsjj</i>	<i>n nswt</i>	favoured of the king	Nebamun
<i>hsjj</i>	<i>n ntr nfr</i>	favoured of the good god	Nebamun, Djehuti (I), Qenamun, Neferperet, Montuiui, Suemniut, Maaninakhtef, Parennefer, Paatenemheb
<i>hsjj</i>	<i>r pr:f m ḥ.t</i>	favoured from when he was born	Parennefer
<i>hsjj ʕ3</i>	<i>n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr:w</i>	greatly favoured of Amun-Re, king of the gods	Ptahemwia (I)

Basic title	Title extension	Translation	Titleholder
<i>hsjj ʕ3</i>	<i>n nb t3.wj</i>	greatly favoured of the lord of the Two Lands	Parennefer
<i>hsjj ʕ3</i>	<i>n ntr nfr</i>	greatly favoured of the good god	Ptahemwia (I), Paatenemheb, Nebnefer, Nebmerutef
<i>hsjj ʕ3</i>	<i>n ntr nfr rʕ nb</i>	greatly favoured of the good god every day	Ramessessamiunu
<i>hsjj=f mrjj=f n jb n nb=f</i>		his favoured and his beloved one of the heart of his lord	Sobekhotep
<i>hrp rs tp</i>	<i>jwtj wn=f</i>	vigilant watcher, who has no fault	Nebamun
<i>hrp rs tp</i>	<i>šw m gbj</i>	vigilant watcher, who is short of weakness	Nebamun
<i>hrd n k3p</i>		child of the kap	Djehuti (I), Neferperet, Iuti, Maaninakhtef, Setau, Hesinetjeref, Meriremetjef
<i>sʕ3.n sw nb t3.wj</i>		the lord of the Two Lands made him great	Suemniut
<i>sprr m t3 r-dr=f</i>		who has been made renowned through the entire land	Ptahemwia (I)
<i>sr m ḥ3t rhy.t</i>		who is at the head of the people	Parennefer
<i>shtp jb n nb=f</i>		who pleases his lord	Atumemtaneb
<i>shntj jqr st sbq=f</i>		whose excellence has advanced in his position	Suemniut
<i>kʕw qnj n nb t3.wj</i>		the valiant despoiler of the lord of the Two Lands	Suemniut
[...] 3.t r 3.t		[... from] imet o time	Parennefer
[...] n nb [...]		[...] of the lord [...]	Parennefer
[...] n ntr nfr		[...] of the good god	Parennefer
[...] n.t nb t3.wj		... of the lord of the Two Lands	Djehuti (I)
[...] ḥ.t		?	Suemniut
[...] Šmʕw Mḥw		[...] Upper and Lower Egypt	Parennefer

2. OCCURRENCES OF THE WORDS *wb3* AND *wdpw* ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF SOURCES

	Tomb	Funerary cone	Sarcophagus	Statue	Stele	Temple wall	Canopic jar
Nebamun	<i>wdpw</i>						
Djehuti (I)	<i>wb3</i>	<i>wb3</i>					
Qenamun		<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>			
Neferperet		<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>			
Wah	<i>wb3</i>						
Djehutimes	<i>wb3</i>	<i>wb3</i>					
Montuiui	<i>wb3</i>						
Suemniut	<i>wb3</i>	<i>wb3</i>					
Neferweben	?						
Maaninakhtef		<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>	<i>wb3</i>		
Iuti					<i>wb3</i>		
Heqanakht					<i>wb3</i>		
Sennefer				<i>wb3</i>			
Neferrenpet (I)	<i>wb3</i>	<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>			
Sarenenutet Tjau	<i>wb3</i>			<i>wb3</i>			
Setau					<i>wb3</i>		
Seth					<i>wb3</i>		
Parennefer	<i>wb3</i>						
Nakhuempaaton	<i>wdpw</i>						
Ptahemwia (I)	<i>wb3</i>						
Ipay							
Ipu					<i>wb3</i>		
Pay					<i>wb3</i>		
Paatenemheb	<i>wb3</i>				<i>wb3</i>		
Qema	<i>wb3</i>						
Nensemekhetef	<i>wb3</i>						
Kasa					<i>wb3</i>		
Nebnefer							
Djehuti (II)	<i>wb3</i>						
Ptahpatener					<i>wb3</i>		
Horemheb					<i>wb3</i>		

	Tomb	Funerary cone	Sarcophagus	Statue	Stele	Temple wall	Canopic jar
Unknown 5					<i>wb3</i>		
Hesiefshemsunesu							
Hesinetjeref		<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>			
Para[...]				?			
Unknown 1				<i>wb3</i>			
Unknown 2	?						
Djehutiherhesetef							
Ramessesashahebused					<i>wb3</i> , <i>wdpw</i>		
Sethherwenemef	<i>wb3</i>						
Tjai Ta	<i>wb3</i>				<i>wb3</i>		
Nebmerutef							
Neferrenpet (II)							
Ramessesmen					<i>wb3</i>		
Ianefer	<i>wb3</i>						
Suner	<i>wb3</i>						
Wenefdjedsen	<i>wb3</i>						
Sety				<i>wb3</i>			
Atumemtaneb							
Maatmen							
Ramessesnakht	<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>				
Ramessesuserpehti				<i>wb3</i>			
Ramessesemperre	<i>wb3</i>				<i>wb3</i>		
Pentawer					<i>wb3</i>		
Ramessesheru					<i>wb3</i>		
Paenrenenutet	<i>wb3</i>						
Merneptahemperptah					<i>wb3</i>		
Bay							
Ramessessamiiunu					<i>wb3</i>		
Ptahemwia (II)					<i>wdpw</i>		
Ramessesankherneheh					<i>wb3</i>		
Pabes							
Mesedsure							
Warna							
Paluka							
Inini							

	Tomb	Funerary cone	Sarcophagus	Statue	Stele	Temple wall	Canopic jar
Nebdjefau							
Hentuenimen							
Qedendenna							
Baalmeher							
Pairsun							
Djehutirekhnefer							
Hori	<i>wb3</i>				<i>wb3</i> , <i>wdpw</i>		
Amenkhau							
Atumnakht							
Ramessessethherwenemef					<i>wdpw</i>		
Sobekhotep					<i>wb3</i>		
Aha(?)							
Nakhtamun					<i>wb3</i>		
Usermaatreseheper					<i>wb3</i>		
Unknown 4					<i>wb3</i>		
Hegamaatrenehch	<i>wb3</i>						
Nefersunu							
Parenakht					<i>wdpw</i>		
Kar							
Nebmaatreper-?							
Qedren							
Nesamun						<i>wb3</i>	
Neferkareemperamun						<i>wb3</i>	
Amenhotep		<i>wb3</i>				<i>wb3</i>	
Pareherwenemef							
Paser							
Menmaatrenakht							
Ines							
Pameriamun							
Nebmaatresekeheper-?							
Unknown 3				<i>wb3</i>			
Isiu							<i>wb3</i>
Meriremetjef		<i>wb3</i>					
Nebseny		<i>wb3</i>					
Rau		<i>wb3</i>					
Senemnetjer		<i>wb3</i>					
Sare		<i>wb3</i>					

	Tomb	Funerary cone	Sarcophagus	Statue	Stele	Temple wall	Canopic jar
Horemheb					<i>wb3</i>		
Unknown 5					<i>wb3</i>		
Hesiefshemsunesu							
Hesinetjeref		<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>			
Para[...]				?			
Unknown 1				<i>wb3</i>			
Unknown 2	?						
Djehutiherhesetef							
Ramessesashahebused					<i>wb3</i> , <i>wdpw</i>		
Sethherwenemef	<i>wb3</i>						
Tjai Ta	<i>wb3</i>				<i>wb3</i>		
Nebmerutef							
Neferrenpet (II)							
Ramessesmen					<i>wb3</i>		
Ianefer	<i>wb3</i>						
Suner	<i>wb3</i>						
Wenefdjedsen	<i>wb3</i>						
Sety				<i>wb3</i>			
Atumemtaneb							
Maatmen							
Ramessesnakht	<i>wb3</i>		<i>wb3</i>				
Ramessesuserpehti				<i>wb3</i>			
Ramessesemperre	<i>wb3</i>				<i>wb3</i>		
Pentawer					<i>wb3</i>		
Ramessesheru					<i>wb3</i>		
Paenrenenutet	<i>wb3</i>						
Merneptahemperptah					<i>wb3</i>		
Bay							
Ramessessamiiunu					<i>wb3</i>		
Ptahemwia (II)					<i>wdpw</i>		
Ramessesankherneheh					<i>wb3</i>		
Pabes							
Mesedsure							
Warna							
Paluka							
Inini							

3. 'ROYAL *wb3s*' AND 'ROYAL *wdpws*' UNDER RULERS

[illegible]

Pharaoh	Year	Event
Sety I	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses II	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
	3	First Year Festival
	4	First Year Festival
	5	First Year Festival
	6	First Year Festival
	7	First Year Festival
	8	First Year Festival
	9	First Year Festival
	10	First Year Festival
Merneptah	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Scty II	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Amenmesse	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Siptah	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Tawosret	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Sethnakhte	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses III	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses IV	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses V	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses VI	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses VII	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses VIII	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses IX	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses X	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival
Ramesses XI	1	Coronation
	2	First Year Festival

	Thutmose II	Hatshepsut	Thutmose III	Amenhotep II	Thutmose IV	Amenhotep III	Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten	Smenkhkare/ Nefernefruaten	Tutankhamun	Ay	Horemheb	Ramesses I
Atumnakht												
Ramessesethherwenemef												
Sobekhotep												
Aha(?)												
Nakhtamun												
Usermaatresekhper												
Unknown 4												
Hegamaatrenehch												
Nefersunu												
Parinakht												
Kar												
Nebmaatreper-?												
Qedren												
Ramessesnefer[...]												
Nesamun												
Neferkareemperamun												
Amenhotep												
Parerherwenemef												
Paser												
Menmaatrenakht												
Ines												
Pameriamun												
Nebmaatresekhper-?												
Unknown 3			●	-----								
Isiu			●	-----								
Meriremetjef			●	-----								
Nebseni			●	-----								
Rau			●	-----								
Senemnetjer			●	-----								
Satre			●	-----								

Textual sources

Explanations of signs

[] encloses damaged sections restored by the present writer

() encloses sections supplied by the present writer for clarity and omissions

(?) indicates uncertain readings and translations of words or phrases

[...] indicates that less than one sign-group had been lost in the hieroglyphic text

[... ...] indicates more than one sign-group had been lost

Note on the translation

The texts are translated by the author, unless otherwise indicated. In cases of translations by other authors, the original translations of the titles *wb3 nswt* and *wdpw nswt* are kept with indications of the Egyptian form in brackets.

1. FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH DYNASTY – FROM THUTMOSE II TO THUTMOSE IV

[1] Nebamun

Thutmose II – Thutmose III

[1.1] Theban Tomb 24

False door – outside of the tomb

Outer right jamb

¹h_{tp}-dj-nswt [n Jnpw] nb R3-sBw dj.f prr:t nb.t hr ¹wdh_w=f mw Bw rnpw.t nb.t ¹nfr:t¹ [...] jrp ¹jr_t¹ [... ...]

An offering which the king gives [to Anubis], lord of Rosetau, that he may grant everything what comes forth on his offering table, (such as) water, air, all sorts of good fresh plants, [...] wine, milk, [... ...]

Outer left jamb

¹*hṭp*¹-*dj-nswt* <*n*> *Hr-3hṭj* [... ...] *dw3.t* [...] *tph.t ssn(?) snṯr n r3.w-¹pr.w¹* [...] *jtn* [... ...]

An offering which the king gives <to> Re-Harakhti, [... ...] underworld [...] wellspring, smelling incense of the temples [... ...]

Middle right jamb

[*hṭp*]-*dj-nswt* [*n Hwt-Hr*] *nb.t Jwn.t nb.t* [...] [*dj.s*] ¹*jrt.t¹* *pr.t hnt=s hnk.t pr(.t) hr* [*wdhw=s(?)*] [... ...]

[An offering] which the king gives [to Hathor], lady of Dendara, [...] [that she may grant] milk which comes forth in front of her, offering gift which comes forth [on her offering table (?)] [... ...]

Middle left jamb

hṭp-dj-nswt <*n*> *Wsjr nṯr ʕ3 hq3 d.t* [... ...] *wr n 5 dj.f pr.t-hrw t3 hnq.t k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t snṯr md.t h.t nb.t nfr.t wʕb.t hnk.t ¹rnp.w¹* [... ...]

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, the great god, ruler of infinity, [... ...] Greatest of the Five, that he may grant an invocation offering of bread, beer, cattle, birds, alabaster, clothing, incense, oil, all sorts of good and pure things, offering gift, fresh plants, [... ...]

Inner right jamb

jm3hjj-hr Jmstj Wsjr jmj-r3 pr n [*hm.t nswt Nbtw m3ʕ.t-hrw*] [... ...]

The one honoured by Imsety, the Osiris, steward of [the royal wife, Nebtu, justified] [... ...]

Inner left jamb

jm3hjj-hr Hʕpj Wsjr jmj-r3 h3 n nswt jmj-r3 [... ...]

The one honoured by Hapy, the Osiris, overseer of office of the king, overseer of [... ...]

Tableau

Above Osiris

[...] [*nṯr*] *nfr nb t3-dsr* [... ...]

[...] the good [god], lord of the sacred land, [... ...]

Above the wife

hm.t=f mr.t=f n s.t jb=f nb.t pr Rs.tj

His favourite beloved wife, lady of the house, Resti.

Above Nebamun

jmj-r3 [... ...]

Overseer of [... ...]

Inscriptions on the inner side of the doorjambs of the tomb

On the right

jm3hjj-hr Wsjr wr [... ...] Wnn-nfr ntr 3 hq3 nb T3-wr nb.t pr Rs-tj m3^c.t-hrw

The one honoured by Osiris, great [... ...], Wenennefer, the great god, ruler, lord of the Thinite nomos, (and) the lady of the house, Resti, justified.

On the left

jm3hjj-hr Hr-jmj-p.t ntr 3 Wsjr jmj-r3 3 h^c.w n nswt Nb-Jmn m3^c-hrw nb t3-dsr nb.t pr Rs-tj m3^c.t-hrw

The one honoured by Horus, who is in the sky, the great god, Osiris overseer of the royal boats, Nebamun, justified, (as well as) by the lord of the sacred land, (and) the lady of the house, Resti, justified.

Inscriptions in the four registers on the west wall of the tomb

htp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-hntj-jmntjw Wnn-nfr pr m Nwn dj.f pr.t-hrw k3.w 3pd.w h.t nb.t ndm.t rd.t prr.t hr h3w.t n.t ntr pn n k3 n wdpw m stp-s3 3 nh wd3 snb Nb[-Jmn] m3^c-hrw jr.n Ttj-rsw m3^c-hrw ms.n nb.t pr Jpw m3^c.t-hrw hm.t=f nb.t pr Rs-tj m3^c-hrw

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, Wenennefer, who comes out of Nun, that they may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, all sorts of sweet (and) luscious things, which come out on the offering table of this god, to the ka of the butler in the palace, life, prosperity, health, Nebamun, justified, son of Tetiresu, justified, born of the lady of the house, Ipu, justified, (and) his wife, lady of the house, Resti, justified.

Inscriptions in the first register with Abydos pilgrimage

Inscription above the first barque

hd m htp r 3bdw m hb 3 n Wsjr jj.t jm m3^c-hrw jn jmj-r3 h3 n nswt Nb[-Jmn] m3^c-hrw sn.t=f nb.t pr Rs-tj m3^c.t-hrw

Sailing north in peace to Abydos to the great festival of Osiris and returning from there justified, by the overseer of the royal office, Nebamun, justified, (and) his sister, lady of the house, Resti, justified.

Common inscription above the other barques

jj m ḥtp m 3bdw jn jmj-r3 šn^cw n nswt Nb-Jmn m3^c-hrw

Returning in peace from Abydos by the overseer of the storehouse of the king, Nebamun, justified.

Inscriptions in the second register with the transportation of the mummy

sḅ.t tknw r hr:t-nṯr jj m ḥtp rmt P rmt Dp rmt Hw.t-jh.t

Dragging the tekenu to the necropolis, come in peace, people of Pe, people of Dep, and people of Hut-ihet.

Inscriptions in the third register with the purification of the mummy

*dd mdw jn Wsjr Nb-Jmn ^cbw=k ^cbw Hr ts-phr Stš Dḥwtj Dwn-^cnwj Wsjr Nb-Jmn šsp.n.k
tp=k j^cb n=k qs.w=k*

Words spoken by Osiris Nebamun, your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa, that of Seth, of Thoth and of Dunanui. Osiris Nebamun, you received your head and your bones are united.

*dd mdw jn Wsjr [Nb-Jmn] ^cbw=k ^cbw Hr ts-phr Stš Dḥwtj Dwn-^cnwj Wsjr Nb-Jmn šsp.n.k
tp=k j^cb n=k qs.w=k hrw Gb*

Words spoken by Osiris [Nebamun], your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa, that of Seth, of Thoth and of Dunanui. 'Osiris Nebamun, you have received your head and your bones have been united', said Geb.

Inscriptions on the left wall of the niche on the north wall

(1) ^cbw ^cb.t sp 4 hjj n (2) Wsjr-Nb[-Jmn] ^cbw=k ^cbw Hr (3) ts-phr ^cbw=k <^cbw> Stš [ts-phr]
(4) ^cbw=k ^cbw Dḥwtj ts-phr ¹^cbw=k¹ [... ...]

(1) Purify what is to be pure 4 times (?), hail to (2) Osiris-Nebamun, your purification is the purification of Horus (3) and vice versa, your purification is <the purification> of Seth [and vice versa,] (4) your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa, your purification [... ...]

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr ḥq3 d.t* (2) *Jnpw-ḥntj<-jmntjw> jmj.wt nb t3-dsr* (3) *dj.sn prt-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t <sntr ḥr> sd.t md.t ḥ.t nb.t* (4) *nfr.t wʿb.t ḥnk.t rnp.wt nb.t* (5) *ssn ʿḳw n mhj.t* (6) *swr mw ḥr ʿb3b3.t¹* (7) *<n> Jtrw jw m ḥrt-ntr* (8) *nn šnʿ.f ḥr ʿsb3¹* (9) *nb n jmnt.t n k3 n mh-jb mnḥ* (10) *n nb t3.wj ḥsjj n ntr nfr* [...]

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, ruler of infinity, (2) Anubis, Foremost-of<-the-Westerners>, Who is in the Place of Embalming, lord of the sacred land, (3) that they may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, alabaster, clothing, <incense on> the fire, ointment, all sorts of (4) good and pure things, offering gift, all plants, (5) breathing the north wind, (6) drinking of water at the watering place (7) by the Nile, returning from the necropolis (8) without restraining him at any the gates (9) of the West, to the ka of the excellent confidant (10) of the lord of the Two Lands, favoured of the good god [...]

Four registers on the east wall, with an offering formula above

[*ḥtp-dj-nswt n*] [...] *mn.tj m njw.t=k jp.t t3.wj m rn=sn jp.t s.wt ḥft-ḥr=k ʿ3.t nrw djdj.t snd=s ḥ3=k ḥ3=k dj.f ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t wʿb.t prr.t ḥr ḥ3w.t=f m ḥr.t-ḥrw n.t rʿ nb n k3 n ḥrp rs tp jwttj wn=f jmj-r3 ʿhʿ.w n nswt Nb[-Jmn] m3ʿ-ḥrw*

[An offering which the king gives <to>] [...] stable in your town, who counts the Two Lands according to their names, who counts the places in your presence, great of fear who places her dread far behind you, that he may grant all sorts of good and pure things which come out on his offering table daily to the ka of the vigilant watcher, who has no fault, overseer of the royal boats, Nebamun, justified.

Inscription in the in the fourth register

šḥmh-jb m3 bw nfr m3 jnw n t3 Mḥw jn jmj-r3 ʿhʿ.w n nswt [Nb-Jmn] sn.t=f mr.t=f nb.t pr Rs-tj

Rejoicement, observing nice things, viewing of *jnw* of Lower Egypt by the overseer of the royal boats, [Nebamun], (and) his beloved sister, lady of the house, Resti.

Inscriptions on the stele on the south wall of the tomb

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> [Jmn-Rʿ qm3.w] wnn.t nswt nhḥ nb d.t jtjj ḥq3 psd.t <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-jmntjw [... ...] <n> [Jnpw]* (2) *nb R3-sḳw <n> ntr.w n.w p3w.t tp.t šrjjj.w p.t t3 t3-dsr <n> nb.w špss.w k3.w dḳ.w ḥw.w ḥtp.w [... ...] [dj.sn]* (3) *sw3d ʿb3¹ m bw nb nfr wʿb ḥ3.t m p.t pr.t m t3 srd Ḥʿpj ḥr s3 Gbb ḥnk.t ʿrnp.t¹ [... ...] [hnm s.t=f m nb-](4)ʿnh sm3 t3 m ḥr.t jmnt.t mn m wd3 tp t3 nn sk.t d.t d.t n k3 n jrj-pʿt ḥ3tj-ʿ ḥsjj n nswt Nb-Jmn m3ʿ-ḥrw jr:n Ttj-rs.w*

m3^c-hrw ms.n (5) *nb.t pr Jpw m3^c.t-hrw hpr m b3 n^hjj k3 šm.f m t mw Bw jr.t hprw m bnw
 'mn.t¹ [... ...]* (6) *šsp.k sn.w prj m-b3h 3wt-¹c¹ n nb t3-dsr n k3 n jmj-r3 pr n hm.t nswt Nbtw
 [m3^c.t-hrw] [... ...]* [swtwt.k m-] (7) *m jrj hnms.k m šmsw-Hr prj.k h3.k nn hn^hn=k nn šn^c=k
 [hr sb3 n dw3.t wn.tw n=k 3.wj 3h.t sn n=k q3r.wt]* (8) *'ds.w¹=sn hnm.k wsh.t n.t m3^c.tj wšd
 tw ntr jmj=s jr.k hms [m-hnw jmh.t wstn.k m njw.t n.t H^cpj 3w jb=k m]* (9) *'sk3.t¹=k m šdw=k
 n sh.t-B3rw hpr hr.t=k m jr.t.n.k jw n=k šmw m 'w3hj.t¹ [... ...]* (10) *[...] ntr hpr n=k pr.t
 m hrw nwj.t m grh r js=k st n=k jr.t Hr jm r wbn.t [šw hr šnb.t=k] [... ...]* (11) *mj šhrw=k
 n wnn tp t3 dg.k R^c m 3h.t n.t p.t 'sgmh.k¹ [Jmn] [...]* [sbj.k nh^h m ndm-] (12) *'jb m¹ hsw.t ntr
 jmj=k rdj.tw n=k jr.tj=k(j) r m33 n^h.wj=k(j) r sdm dd.wt r3=k hr mdw.t [rd.wj=k(j) hr šm.t
 phr n=k 3.wj=k(j) rmn.wj=k(j)]* (13) *rwd jwf=k ndm mt.w=k hntš.k m 3.wt=k nb.t w3h.tw
 n=k t mw hr 'db3.wj tnw tp tr n n^h¹ [...]* (14) *jr.tj[.fj] m-h^ht hrw n sm3 t3 rdj.w n=f 3h.wt
 mnmn.wt sqbb qm3 m hm.w hm.wt j3m-jb.f stj.f n=j [mw] [... ...]* (15) *s3=f dd s3=f m w^c n
 w^c n tm=f msbb hr nb=f n^h b3=j ntrj 3h=j mn^h rn=j m r3 n rmt prj [...]* (16) *hft hrw hnm.j
 sntr n r3.w-pr.w šms.j ntr jmj njw.t=j r dsrw r 3h.t jmnt.t pr.tw n=j hr n^h ntr pn htp m 3h.t=f
 'whm.n¹ n(=j)* (17) *nb=j hsw.t nswt-bjtj 3-hpr-n-R^c m3^c-hrw rdj.n.f wj jmj-r3 h3 n nswt whm.n
 n=j nb=j hsw.t nswt-bjtj Mn-hpr-R^c dj n^h s^c3.n.j* (18) *wj r wn.j r-h3t rdj.n.f wj m jmj-r3 pr n
 hm.t nswt Nbtw m3^c(.t)-hrw whm.n n=j nb=j hsw.t nswt-bjtj Mn-hpr-R^c* (19) *dj n^h rdj.n.f wj
 r jmj-r3 n^h.w nb.w n nswt n jw sp hsj=j n gm.tw wn=j n hpr.j m snnw* (20) *bt3 jw ph.n.j jm3hw
 jw=j m hsw.t n.t hr nswt sdm.w jr=f tn ntjw m* (21) *hpr dd.t.n(.j) nn 'grg¹ jm j n^h.w wnnj.w
 wr.w rmt tpj.w-t3 hm.w ntr w^c.b w hrj.w-hb d3d3.t n.t Jp.t-s.wt* (22) *sš.w nb sšp gstj šs3 hr m
 mdw-ntr h^s=tn R^c nb nh^h Jmn p3wtj t3.wj [swd.tn n] hrd.w=tn mj dd.tn* (23) *htp-dj-nswt 1000
 m t 1000 m hnq.t 100.000 m bw nb nfr:t w^c.b [n^h ntr jm] n k3 n jmj-r3 pr [n hm.t nswt Nb-]
 'Jmn¹ m3^c-hrw rh ntr 3 hq3 d.t*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to>Amun-Re, creator of what exists, king of eternity, lord of infinity, sovereign, ruler of the Ennead, to Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, [... ...] to Anubis, (2) lord of Rosetau, to the gods of the primeval age, who fashioned the sky, the earth and the sacred land, lords of splendid things, provision, nourishment, victuals, offering gift, [... ...] [that they may grant] (3) the offering stone being abundant in all sorts of good and pure things, which came down, which came out of the earth, which was grown by Hapy on the back of Geb, fresh offering [... ...] [taking his place in the coffin,] (4) being buried in a western tomb, continuance in good health on the earth without the destruction of the body forever, for the ka of the member of the elite, foremost in action⁸⁷⁴, favoured of the king, Nebamun, justified, son of Tetiresu, justified, born of (5) the lady of the house, Ipu, justified.

⁸⁷⁴ The translation of the two titles is based on Grajetzki, 2009, 5.

Being a living ba, he gains the right to receive bread, water and air, being transformed into a phoenix and a swallow [... ...] (6) You receive offering bread which comes out in front, the gift of lord of the sacred land to the ka of the steward of the royal wife Nebtu [justified] [... ...] You take a walk (7) below, make friends with the followers of Horus, you may go out and come back without holding up and detaining at the gate of the underworld. The doors of the horizon open up for you, the latches unfold for you (8) by themselves, you enter into the hall of judgement (lit. two Maats), the god who is inside greets you, you may settle down in the underworld, you may go out from the town of Hapi, you may rejoice at (9) your field-lands on your estate on the Field of Iaru. May your sustenance arise what you have grown, may the harvest be abundant for you, [... ...] (10) god, you may come forth by day and go back to the tomb at night, may the eye of Horus give light there for you until the sun rises above your chest [... ...], (11) like your intention of being on the earth. You may behold Re on the horizon of the sky, you may catch sight of Amun [...] you may spend the eternity in joy, (12) in the favour of the god who lives in you. May your eyes be given (back) to you to see, your ears to hear what is said. May your mouth speak, may your legs walk and may your hands and your arms serve you, (13) be your flesh firm, be your vessels well, rejoice at all parts of your body. One will offer to you bread and water on the altars at each 'Beginning of the Season' festival of living (?) [...] (14) what is made (?) on the day of the funeral, who is given fields and cattle, refreshed and provided with male and female slaves, who is benevolent and pours some water for me [... ...] (15) his son, one of his sons says to the other not to stop caring for his lord. My ba may live, my akh may be godlike, my name may be excellent in the mouth of the people, I may come out [...] (16) by day, I may smell incense in the temples, I may follow the god, who lives in my town, to Deir el-Bahari, to the western horizon, one comes out to me with a bouquet of this god resting on his horizon.

My lord repeated for me (17) the favours of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Aakhperrenre**, justified, (as) he appointed me to **overseer of the royal office**. My lord repeated for me the favours of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre**, given life, (18) (as) he elevated me higher than I had been before, he appointed me to **steward of the royal wife, Nebtu**, justified. My lord repeated for me the favours of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre**, (19) given life, (as) he appointed me to **overseer of all royal boats**.

No fault of mine came out, one does not find mistake in me, I was not involved (20) in any crime, I became old in honour, (as) I was in the favour of the king. Listen, you who (21) exist, to what I tell, there is no falsehood in it. O, living ones, existing ones, aged ones, people,

who live on the earth, prophets, wab-priests, lector priests, assembly of Karnak, (22) every scribe who holds a board and is familiar with the word of the god, praise you Re, lord of eternity, and Amun, the primeval god of the Two Lands, and you pass it to your children as you are saying: (23) 'An offering which the king gives of 1,000 loaves of bread, 1,000 jugs of beer, 100,000 of all sorts of good and pure things, on what the god lives, to the ka of steward of the royal wife, Nebamun, justified, before the great god, ruler of eternity.'

Three lines of inscriptions on the ceiling

On the south side

[*hṭp-dj-nswt n*] *Jnpw-hntj-sh-ntr tpj dw=f nb Tnnt s3 mrj=f Wnn-nfr dj.f 1000 m prt-hrw k3.w 3pd.w Bw ndm n mhj.t swr mw hr b3b3.t <n> Jtrw n k3 n jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c Nb[-Jmn] m3^c-hrw jr.n Ttj-rs.w ms.n nb.t pr ^rJpw¹*

[An offering which the king gives to] Anubis, foremost of the divine chapel, Who is on his Mountain, lord of Tjenenet, his beloved son, Wenennefer, that they may grant 1,000 invocation offerings of cattle, birds, sweet breeze of the north wind, drinking of water at the watering place <by> the Nile, to the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, Nebamun, justified, son of Tetiresu, born of the lady of the house, Ipu.

In the middle

hṭp-dj-nswt <n> R^c-Hr[-3hṭj] [...] nb.t smjj.t Jnpw nb R3-sṭw [...] jtr.t šm^c.t jtr.t mh.t dj.sn b3 n p.t h3.t n t3 hsf(!) D<w>3.t hnm tpḥ.t qrs.t nfr:t m-ht j3w qbḥ jrp jrṯt dbḥt-hṭp nb.w pr m-b3ḥ<=sn> n k3 n jmj-r3 h3 n nswt Nb[-Jmn] m3^c-hrw hr Wsjr

An offering which the king gives <to> Re-Harakhti, [...], the lady of the desert, Anubis, lord of Rosetau, [...], chapels of the south and chapels of the north, that they may grant the soul to the sky, the corpse to the earth, approaching the Netherworld, uniting with the tomb, nice burial after getting old, libation, wine, milk, all requests for offerings, which come out in front <of them>, to the ka of the overseer of the royal office, Nebamun, justified before Osiris.

On the north side

hṭp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr hq3 nb nhḥ ntr ^c3 nb 3bdw dj.f prt-hrw k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t sntr sš3.t hnk.t rnpw.t ḥ.t nb.t ndm.t rd.t prr:t nb.t hr h3w.t n ntr pn m tp-tr ḥpr m [hrt-hrw] n.t r^c nb n k3 n jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c jmj-r3 pr⁸⁷⁵ n hm.t nswt Nbtw m3^c(.t)-hrw Nb[-Jmn] m3^c-hrw hr ntr ^c3 hq3 d.t

⁸⁷⁵ The *h3* in the title must have been a mistake of Bouriant during copying the inscription. Sethe, 1927, 152.

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, ruler (and) lord of eternity, great god, lord of Abydos, that he may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, alabaster, clothing, incense, ointment, offering gift, plants, all sorts of sweet (and) luscious things, everything what comes out on the offering table of this god on the first day of the year and [every day] after that to the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, steward of the royal wife, Nebtu, justified, Nebamun, justified before the great god, ruler of infinity.

Titles of Nebamun according to the inscriptions in his tomb

In his first office (under Thutmose II)

jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c ḥrp rs tp šw m gbj jmj-r3 ḥ3 n nswt Nb-[Jmn] m3^c-ḥrw ḥr Wsjr

Member of the elite, foremost of action, vigilant watcher, who is short of weakness, overseer of the royal office, Nebamun, justified in front of Osiris.

Text edition:

Bouriant, U. "Petits monuments et petits textes. Recueillis en Égypte." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 9, 1887, 95-99.

Sethe, K. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Band 1-4, Heft 1-16. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1927-1930, 145-153. – stele, receiving produces

Hermann, A. *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 11. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1940, 16-17, Anm. 143, 177. – stele

Translation:

Sethe, K. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1914, 71-74. – stele, receiving produces

Kampp, F. *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. Vol. I. Theben 13. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1996, 209-210. – false-door

Assmann, J. *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*. Band 2: *Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches*. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg, 2005, 245-248. – stele

Publication:

Bouriant, U. "Petits monuments et petits textes. Recueillis en Égypte." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 9, 1887, 95-99.

- Davies, N. de G. *Five Theban Tombs*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1913, 1-6.
- Wreszinski, W. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Teil I. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1923, 97b, 125, 126.
- Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 1: *Private Tombs*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1960, 41-42.
- Kampp, F. *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. Vol. I. Theben 13. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1996, 209-210.

[1.2] Funerary cone DM 188

jmj-r3 pr n hm.t nswt jmj-r3 h3 n nswt hrj wj3 n nswt Nb-Jmn m3^c-hrw

Steward of the king's wife, overseer of the royal office, chief of the royal barque, Nebamun, justified.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 105.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/188>

General literature about the owner:

- Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 270.
- Gnirs, A. M. "Coping with the Army: the Military and the State in the New Kingdom." In Moreno García, J. C. (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 104, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2013, 652.

[2] Djehuti (I)

Hatshepsut – Thutmose III

[2.1] Theban Tomb 110

Hall, south-east wall, right side

Text above Djehuti

(1) *wr?* [...] *s.t¹ sqbbwj dsrt m c^b* (2) *W3st w^cb.t¹ n nswt¹* [...] *n r^c nb jr.t?¹ nh^t* (3) [...] *wb3 n* (4) *[nswt¹] [...] [Dhwtj] m3^c-hrw dd.f¹ dd* [...] *wb3* (5) [...] *s.t¹ sqbbwj¹* [...] *jw* (6) [...] *nb t3.wj s3q=tn s3 wr.t* (7) [...] *n f* [...] *dj.k tn ntr pw ntf^cnh tp t3 hs.f tn m-h^t d.t*

A visit [?] to the department of the still-rooms, both of Josret and Thebes, the laboratory [?] for the king's ablution, the daily preparations [?] compounded of [by] the cup-bearer of the king [Tehuti], justified⁸⁷⁶. He speaks thus: 'O waiters the department of the sill-rooms[?] the lord of the Two Lands. Keep alert and watch well He is a god though he lives on earth, and he will reward you in the eternity to come'.⁸⁷⁷

Hall, north-east wall, right side, Djehuti makes offering to the gods

Text around the figure of Djehuti

(1) [... ...] nb t3.wj [...] r [...] (2) [... ...]w m ht [...] ntr (3) h3wt? [...]f m hr:t-hrw n.t r^c nb (4) hr-tp nh wd3 snb nswt-bjtj Mn-hpr-R^c 'dsr?' nb jr:t-'jh.t' (5) hh m rnp.wt hr jr:t 'hb' nb (6) [... ...] (7) ??r [...] nb.t m-dd 'b3k' 3h n nb[=f] (8) 'mdd' w3t Hr smnh-sw mh [...] n nb=f (9) jm=f jrj 'hsst' n ntr nfr wdn 'n' [Jmn] f3j (10) 'h n nb [ntr:w?] 'whmw' nswt Dhwtj m3^c-hrw nb 'jm3h' (11) jr.n Psdj-jrj ms.n nb.t pr 'Kkw' (12) wd3-jb=k 'b? nfr R^c[-Jmn nb] 'ns. wt' t3.wj m rn.w=k nb (13) m s.t=k nb.t m p.t t3 (14) m? djdj n=k nswt Mn-hpr-R^c [... ...] as daily dues on behalf of the life, happiness, and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre**^c, ... millions of years in celebrating various festivals, a servant serviceable to [his] lord, loyal to Horus, his benefactor, by whom the granaries [?] of his lord were filled, one who did the will of the good god, the offerer of [Amūn], who carries the brazier of the Lord [of the gods], the royal chamberlain, Tehuti, possessor of final favour, begotten of Pesedi-er-khi [?], born of the house mistress, Keku[?] [He says] 'May thy heart be pleased (at) receiving[?] good things, O Rē [-Amūn, lord of the] thrones of the Two Lands, in all thy names and in all thy seats in heaven and earth, and with what the king **Menkheperre**^c has given to thee'.⁸⁷⁸

Hall, north-east wall, left side, upper register, offering scene

Text above the sem-priest

(1) jr:t htp-dj-nswt dj? [... ...] 'Gb prt-hrw' k3.w [3pd.w] t (2) rnpw.t md.t h.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) w^cb(.t) pr:t m-b3h [...] (3) [... ...]

Making an offering, the gift of the king, and an offering, the gift of Geb, and offering-at-the-summons incense⁸⁷⁹ and ointment, everything good and pure which has gone up before ⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁶ Complemented by the author.

⁸⁷⁷ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 285, pl. 44b.

⁸⁷⁸ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 284, pl. 43b.

⁸⁷⁹ Suggestion for the translation: 'fresh plants'.

⁸⁸⁰ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 284, pl. 44e.

Text above the men and the woman

(1) *jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c jmj-jb [n]* (2) *ntr nfr šmsw nswt rww.t=f smr-w^c.tj* (3) *mnḥ-jb n nb t3.wj wdn [n Jmn-R^c]* (4) *f3j ḥ n nb [ntr.w]* (5) *wḥmw nswt mrj=f Dḥwtj m3^c-ḥrw* (6) *jt=f s3b Psdj-ḥjrj¹* (7) *mw.t=f mrj(.t)=f n.t s.t* (8) *jb=f nb.t pr Ḳwjj¹ m3^c-ḥrw*

The Seigneur, confidant of the good god, equerry of the king on his journeys, singularly efficient for the lord of the Two Lands, the offerer [of Amon-Rē^c], the royal chamberlain who carries the brazier of the lord of the [gods], royal herald, his beloved,⁸⁸¹ Tehuti, justified⁸⁸². His father, the official Pesedi-er-khi [?] His mother, the object of his affection, the house-mistress Keku, justified^{883 884}

Hall, north-east wall, left side, lower register, offering scene

Text above the couple

(1) [... ..]t [...] (2) *w^cb.t¹(?) m Ḳnkt-^cnḥ¹(?) r^c nb* (3) *wb3 [n] nswt w^cb ḥ.wj wdn* (4) *[n Jmn-R^c] [...] n.t nb t3.wj* (5) *wḥmw¹ nswt Dḥwtj m3^c-ḥrw* (6) *ḥm.t=f mr.t[=f] nb.t pr B3kt* in the temple Henket-onekh daily, the cup-bearer of the king, one pure of fingers, the offerer [of Amen-Rē^c] of the lord of the Two Lands, the royal chamberlain [?], Tehuti. His beloved wife, the house-mistress Beket.⁸⁸⁵

Hall, north-west wall, Hatshepsut under a canopy with Djehuti standing in front of her
Text above the scene

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn-R^c nb ḥ^c.w t3.wj dj.f 3ḥ wsr m3^c-ḥrw¹ jw sr ḥr¹ ḥsw.t ḥnswt¹ phwj nn m qrs.t nfr:t n k3 n jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c [...] ḥ3 f3j ḥ n nb ntr(.w) Dḥwtj¹

A ritual offering of Amen-Rē^c, lord of the thrones of the two lands, that he may give spirituality, success and (final) acquittal, prolonged old age in royal favour and the end thereof, propitious burial. For the ka of the Seigneur, the great ...,⁸⁸⁶ who carries the brazier of the Lord of the gods, Tehuti.⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸¹ Davies' suggestion here is 'whom he loves', referring to the good god whose brazier Djehuti carries, however, he takes no notice of the previous term 'royal herald', although it is quite clear in the text. In this case the possessive suffix =f refers to the king. Davies, 1932, 285.

⁸⁸² Complemented by the author.

⁸⁸³ Complemented by the author.

⁸⁸⁴ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 284, pl. 44e.

⁸⁸⁵ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 285, pl. 43e.

⁸⁸⁶ Suggestion for the translation: the great [...].

⁸⁸⁷ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 281, pl. 35, 41, 44a.

Text above Djehuti

(1) *hrp ḥtp.t ṣhp.t dfβ.w pr.t*¹ (2) *m-b3ḥ ṛnb*¹ [...] *ṛnb ḥ^c.w*¹ *t3.wj ṛr šrj*¹ *nfr.t* (3) *nswt-bjtj* [*M3^c.t-k3.R^c*] *jn wdn n ṛJmn Dḥwtj*¹ *sm3^c m3^c.t nb.t m ṛpr Jmn*¹ *s^cr rnpw.t* (4) *nb.t jmj t3 pn ḥ3t š.w n.w mr.w nswt ṛm sšn.w*¹ [...] *ṛnhb.wt*¹ *jsw rrm.wt ṛ^cntjw*¹ (5) *w^cd n.w Pwnt stj š3 ph ḥrr.t nb.t ṛw^cb.t*¹ *jmj t3 nṛ 3w.t-jb snb jm=sn ṛm3^c.t*¹ *nb.t n nswt ṛnṛ.w*¹ (6) *r fnd s3.t=f mr.t=f Ḥ3t-špswt hnmt-Jmn ṛnh d.t* [...] *stjn wb3 nswt w^cb ṛwj jrr ṛhss.wt*¹ [...] [...] [*Dḥwtj*] *ṛm3^c-ḥrw*¹

Dedication of offerings and delivery of dainties which have gone up before the lord [lord of the] thrones of the Two Lands, for (his) fair scion, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [**Maker^c**], by offerer of [Amūn], Tehuti. Oblation of all manner of offerings in the temple [of Amūn] and the presentation of various flowers native to this land, the pick of the pools of the marshlands of the king, namely lotuses and lotus-buds, reeds and fruit of mandrake [?], fresh balsam of Punet, the scent of water [?]⁸⁸⁸ – plants and blossoms varied and pure, native to the land of the gods and in which is joy and health, all that has been dedicated to the King of the [Gods], towards the nostril of his beloved daughter, Hat[shepsut-Chnemmet]-Amūn, who lives for ever, by the aforesaid royal cup-bearer, clean of hands, who ever does the pleasure [Tehuti].⁸⁸⁹

Hall, south-west wall, left side, Thutmose III under a canopy with Djehuti standing in front of him

Text above Djehuti

(1) [*ḥtp-dj-nswt n?*] [...] *nb* [...] *Šm^cw Mḥw ḥr-tp ṛnh wd3 snb* (2) *ṛnswt-bjtj*¹ *Mn-ḥpr-R^c ṛnh* [*d.t*] [*šmsw*¹ *nswt ḥr ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t [wb3] ṛnswt*¹ (3) [*Dḥwtj*] *dd.f [n] k3=ṛk*¹ *ṛnh ṛn*¹ *jt=ṛk*¹ [*Jmn nb ḥ^c.w*] *t3.wj dj.f [n=ṛk*¹ *ṛnh w3s jr:t ḥḥ m* (4) [*rnp.wt*] [...] *dj.f*¹ [*n=ṛk*¹ *qnt ṛnh*¹ *r t3.w nb.w ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t mj-qd=s ḥr* [...] *=k ṛsn.tw*¹ *tp.t* [...] *-tj nb* [...] *-tj mj R^c*

[A ritual offering to Amūn and] the lords [?] of south and north Egypt on behalf of the life, happiness, and health of the king of [Upper] and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre^c**, who lives [for ever]. The follower [?] of the king throughout all foreign lands, the royal [cup-bearer], Tehuti [, says ‘For] thy ka! A bouquet [?] of thy father [Amūn, Lord of the thrones of the] Two Lands, that he may grant thee life and prosperity and the passing of millions (of years) in May he give thee valour and victory over all lands, all foreign countries in the entirety being under thy [sandals], and may his supreme ureus encircle thee[?] [living] like Rē^c.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁸ The scent of the marshland, cf. Erman – Grapow, 1971, WB IV, 399, 8.

⁸⁸⁹ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 281, pls. 35, 41, 44a.

⁸⁹⁰ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 283, pl. 43c.

Hall, south-west wall, right side, false-door

Outer lintel and jamb, right

hṭp-dj-nswt <n> *ʿJmn¹-R^c nswt nṯr:w dj.f prt-hrw k3(.w) 3pd(.w) t h.t nb.t nfr:t w^cb.t n k3 n jrj-p^ct ʿh3tj-^c wb3¹ n ʿnswt w^cb¹ ʿ.wj wdn n ʿJmn¹ Dḥwtj m3^c-hrw*

An offering which the king gives <to> Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, bread, all sorts of good and pure things to the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, royal *wb3* clean of hands, offerer of Amun, Djehuti, justified.

Outer lintel and jamb, left

hṭp-dj-nswt <n> *ʿJmn¹-R^c nb h^c.w t3.wj dj.f šsp snw pr m-b3h=f n k3 n jrj-p^ct ʿh3tj-^c jmj-jb n nṯr nfr wdn n ʿJmn¹-R^c Dḥwtj m3^c-hrw*

An offering which the king gives <to> Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, that he may grant acceptance of offering bread, which comes out before him to the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, confident of the good god, offerer of Amun-Re, Djehuti, justified.

Middle lintel and jamb, right

hṭp-dj-nswt <n> *Skr-Wsjr nb štjj.t dj.f ssn.t ʿBw ndm n ʿmhj.t¹ n k3 n wdn ʿn Jmn¹ jr ḥss.(w) t=f Dḥwtj m3^c-hrw*

An offering which the king gives <to> Sokar-Osiris, lord of the shetjit, that he may grant breathing the sweet breeze of the north wind to the ka of the offerer of Amun, who performs his rites, Djehuti, justified.

Middle lintel and jamb, left

hṭp-dj-nswt <n> *Wsjr nb ʿnh ḥq3 d.t dj.f 3h wsr m3^c-ʿhrw¹ n [k3] n f3j ʿh n nb nṯr:w Dḥwtj m3^c-hrw*

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, lord of life, ruler of infinity, that he may grant transfiguration, strength and justification to [the ka] of the carrier of the brazier of the king of the gods, Djehuti, justified.

Inner lintel and jamb, right

jm3ḥjj-hr Jnpw jmj-wt mh-jb nṯr nfr Dḥwtj m3^c-hrw

The one honoured by Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming, the confidant of the good god, Djehuti, justified.

Inner lintel and jamb, left

jm3hjj-ḥr Jnpw tpj-dw=f šmsw nswt Dḥwtj m3^c-ḥrw

The one honoured by Anubis, Who is on his Mountain, the follower of the king, Djehuti, justified.

Stele on the south wall of the transverse hall

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn nb ns.wt t3.wj R^c-Ḥr-3ḥtj Pth^c 3 rsj jnb=f Skr nb štjj.t Wsjr nb R3-sBw Jnpw-ḥntj-ḥw.t-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥr tp.t* (2) *s.t nswt-btj M3^c.t-k3-R^c nḥ d.t dj.sn 1000 m pr:t-ḥrw 1000 m t 1000 m ḥnq.t 1000 m k3.w 1000 m 3pd.w 1000 m šs 1000 m mnḥ.t 1000 m sntr* (3) *1000 m md.t 1000 m ḥtp 1000 m df3w 1000 m ḥnk.t nb.t 1000 m rnpw.t nb.t 1000 m ḥ.t nb.t nfr:t w^cb.t 1000 m ḥ.t nb.t nfr:t* (4) *bnr:t djdj p.t qm3.jjt t3 jnn.t H^cpj m tḫ.t=f ssn.t tḫw ndm n mhj.t swrj* (5) *ḥr b3b3.t Jtrw sšm.t-^c m ḥpr.w ^cš3.w šm sh.t-J3rw ḥr ndbw=s wnḥw w^cbw m p3q.t jfd m ḥd.t* (6) *sdm wrḥ tp.t m ḥb n p.t m3 Jtn m prj=f m 3ḥ.t p.t šsp snw ḥr ḥ3jj.t n.t nb ḥ.t wnn m-m šms.w m M3nw pr:t r p.t wb3* (7) *dw3.t nn jwd ḥn^c sb3.w ḥpr m b3^c nḥjj jḥ jr:f shn ḥr mnw šsp.f šw.t n.t nh.t=f sndm.f r q^cḥ n mr=f* (8) [...] *b [...] n m ḥw.t=f [...] ^c.t [...] ḥ3.t mn-tj n ḥ3ḥ3.n.s nb-^cnḥ ḥtp.n.f s.t=f swt sp sn n m-ḥt [...] m [...] jpw* (9) *qrs.t nfr.t jj.s m ḥtp 70 ḥrw=k km m w^cb.t dj-tj ḥr šfdjj.t m pr ḥtp stt sB-tj ḥr k3.w w3d.w wp w3.wt m jrtt* (10) *r pḥ.t.k r r3 js=k ms.w ms.w=k twt m-qd w^c rmm.sn m jb mrr wp r3=k jn ḥrj-ḥb.t w^cb=k jn* (11) *sm mh3.n n=k Ḥr r3=k sš.n.f n=k jr.tj=k nḥ.wj=k ḥ^cw[=k] qs=k tm jr.t=k šdj.tw* (12) *m-dj=k n wn-m3^c ḥ3tj=k n wnn=k tp t3 jj-tj m qm3=k jmj-ḥ^ct mj ḥrw ms.n.tw.f jm=f ms.tw n=k s3 mr=k smr.w* (13) *ḥr jr.t s3-t3^c q m t3 n djdj nswt m db3.t n.t jmj-wr.t sbj.tw n=k mj tpj-^c jw n=k mww m hnw* (14) *ḥsw.t ntr n mr.n.f n sk.t n d.t d.t n k3 n šmsw nswt ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t jmj-jb n ntr nfr sšmw-ḥb n [nswt ntr.w] w^cb^c wj jr:f ḥss.wt wdnw n [Jmn]* (15) *f3j ḥ m Jp.t-s.wt ḥr-tp^c w.s nswt-btj Mn-ḥpr-R^c m ḥr:t-ḥrw n.t r^c nb wḥmw nswt Dḥwtj w^c mnḥ-jb n nb t3.wj tm mhj ḥr sp rdjj m ḥr=f wdn [n Jmn Dḥwtj]*

A ritual offering [to Amūn], Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands; (to) Rē^c-Ḥarakhti; (to) Ptaḥ, to the great one, south of his wall; (to) Sokaris, lord of the closed shrine; (to) Osiris, lord of Rosetjau; (to) Anubis, president of the sanctuary; (to) Ḥat-ḥor, regent of the necropolis; (to) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Ma-ke-rē^c] who lives for ever, that they may grant thousands of meals-at-the-summons, of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, bags, and strips of linen, incense, unguents, offerings, delicacies, oblations, green things of various sorts, everything good and pure, everything good and sweet, such as heaven yields, earth creates, and the Nile brings out of his cavern, respiration of the sweet airs of the north wind, draughts at the watering-place of river, existence under various forms, wanderings throughout of the fields of Ialu, putting on of clean

clothes, finest sheets, or white linen, the use of cosmetics and unction with fine oil at a celestial festival [?], the sight of the orb of the sun when it arises on the horizon of heaven, the reception of cakes (offered) on the altar of the Lord of Beauty, a place among the followers (of the sun-god) in Manu, ascension to heaven and admission to the under-world, without being netted [?] along with the stars, the assumption of the form of a living bird-soul. May it settle on its trees and take advantage of the shadow of its sycamores. May it perch on the apex of the pyramid-tomb, may its statue [?] be abiding [?] in its House of the Shadow [?], the mummy durable and the sarcophagus not lacking to it, so that it rests in its abode Fair burial comes in peace (when) thy seventy days are completed in thy house of embalmment. Thou art placed on a bier and drawn by young cattle. May the ways be opened by (sprinkled) milk, until thou reachest the entrance of thy chapel. May the children of thy children be collected in an unbroken circle, and weep in affectionate mood. May thy mouth be opened (ritually) by the lector and thy purification be performed by the *sem*-priest. May Horus adjust thy mouth; may he open for thee thine eyes, thy ears, thy members, thy bones, so that thy natural functions are complete. May the spells which spiritualize be read for thee and a ritual offering be made for thee, thy heart being with thee in sooth, the heart of thy earthly existence, and thou come in thy former person as on the day on which thou wast born. May there be marshalled for thee thy beloved son and the comrades, performing the benediction of the ground and the burial of that which the king has proffered in the vault of the West. May there be a delivery (of gifts) for thee as (for) the ancestors. May the progenitors come to thee with chants and may the favours of the god to one he loves not com to an end for ever and ever.

For the ka of one who attended the king through every land, the confidant of the good god, leader of the festival of the [King of the gods], one clean of hands when he performs the approved rites and the sacrifice to [Amūn] and carries the brazier in Karnak for a benison on the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kheper-rē^c, daily, the herald of the king, Teḥuti, one singularly efficient for the Lord of the Two Lands, who was not negligent when he was made responsible for anything, the offerer of [Amūn, Teḥuti].⁸⁹¹

Stele on the north wall of the transverse hall

(1) *ḥtp-ṛdj¹-nswt <n> [Jmn] nb nswt t3.wj ṛR^c-Ḥr¹-3ḥtj Wsjr-ḥntj-jmntj Pth-Skr nb štjj.t Jnpw-ḥntj-ḥw.t-ntr ṛpsd.t¹ n.t Jp.t-sw.t ṛntr.w¹* (2) *jmj-ḥr.t-ntr <dj.sn> 1000 m pr.t-ḥrw ṛk3.w¹ 3pd.w 1000 m šs 1000 m mnḥ.t 1000 m sntr 1000 (m) sš3.t 1000 m ḥtp.t df3w 1000 m ḥ.t nb.t*

⁸⁹¹ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 288-289, pls. 37, 38, 40.

nfr:t w^cb.t (3) djdj.t p.t jnn.t H^cpj m t^ph.t=f rd.t hr-s3 s3tw swrj mw hnm mhj.t ¹ssn.t¹ sntr n r3.w-pr.w wb3 (4) dw3.t hnm t^ph.t šsp snw pr hr h3jj.t m-b3h nb ntr:w b3h jm jr:w hss.wt m htp.t pr:t ¹hr¹ h3jj.wt=f m hr:t-hrw n.t ¹r^c nb ¹n k3 n¹ (5) jrj-p^ct h3jt-^c htmjtj-bjtj smr-w^c.tj ^cq hr nfr:t r bw hr nswt hr ^cnh nb [ntr:w] dd.w n=f jm.t ¹h3jtj w^cb ^c.wj¹ jr:f¹ hss.wt¹ [n.t Jmn] (6) Jp.t-s.wt s^ch [jqr] ^cpr s3r:t jmj-jb n wb3 n=f jb hntj-st m pr-nswt nsjw r tnw wnw.t [rh s.t] rd.wj (7) hr hndw špsj h3p h.t m s.t sgrj ¹sdm mdw ntr nfr jtj¹ ^c.w.s jr:f¹ mhr bj3.t qbh¹ r3 ¹m-b3h¹ (8) h3m ¹rmn¹ dmj tb.t jqr nb qd r-gs ntr w3h gr ¹d3j srf3ms¹-jb pw hr-h3tj grh-jb (9) šw m dndn-jb mdw r wšb jwjt w^cr:f rdj hn=f m s.t kjj tm dd bsw hr (10) rmt tmm-r3 hr m3.t jr:tj=fj ndr tp-rd dd n=f mh m hp n rdj m-hr=f twr hr ^cnh ntrw sw (11) s3q sw hr dm ¹rn¹ n ¹nb¹ wdn n [Jmn] m Jp.t-s.wt hr-tp ^c.w.s nswt-bjtj [M3^c.t-k3-R^c ^cnh.tj] d.t D^hwij m3^c-hrw d^cr (12) nrj sr n jj.t wh^c-jb m gmh n m-hr ^crq m sf k3 dw3w ¹hmww-jb m hpr:tj.sj¹ smj hrw (13) n jr sw wb3-hr m 3h.t hr=s šs3 m sp n tp-hsb jn drw jm3.t mrw.t wr hsw.t m-qb wr:w ¹sšmw¹-hb m Jp.t-s.wt (14) w^cb ¹c.wj jr:f¹ hss.wt q^ch.f^c=fr s.t wr:t ¹wdn n¹ [Jmn] n ¹nswt-bjtj¹ ^c3-hpr-k3-R^c n psd.t Jp.t-¹s.wt¹ (15) n ¹ntr:w¹ dsr:t ¹jmnt.t¹ wb3 n nswt [M3^c.t-k3-R^c] ¹D^hwij dd.f¹ jt.n(j) m ¹twr¹ hn^c mtrij pr.n(j) mjn hr gr qbb(16)-¹jb mtr pw jb=j ds=j¹ n q3 n ^cb^c m grg w^c z 2 z 3 hr=tw wn.hr:j m-h3tj.w m3^ctj (17) pw m hrj-jb qnb.t w3d pw kjj mjtj=j nfr sšm hr ntr wdn n Jmn D^hwij dd.f jnk js w^c n wn.t hr hw=f (18) mnj-jb n smnh-sw n 3h z n g3j.j sw n 3r:j hwr m jr:t=f n hm.j mdw.t mdw hr jšt=f (19) n jr:j mn

A ritual offering to [Amūn], Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands; (to) Rē^c-Harakhti; (to) Osiris Khentamentiū; (to) Ptaḥ-Sokaris, lord of the closed shrine; (to) Anubis, president of the sanctuary; (to) the divine company of Karnak; (to) the gods who reside in the necropolis, thousands of meals-at-the-summons, bags of linen,⁸⁹² strips of linen, incense, unguents, offerings and delicacies, everything good and pure, everything good and sweet, all that heaven gives, that the Nile brings from its cavern, and that grows on the surface of the land, draughts of water, respiration of the north wind, inhaling of the temple incense, admission to the under-world, occupation of the burial shaft, reception of the food which has been offered on altars in the Presence and on which the Lord of the gods feasts, and the due performance of offerings which go up on his altars in daily rite, for the ka of the Seigneur, Chancellor of the North, select Companion, who enters with gifts⁸⁹³ to the king's chamber and with a bouquet⁸⁹⁴ of the Lord of the [gods], one to whom the secrets of the heart are spoken, pure of face⁸⁹⁵ and hands when he performs the rites [of Amūn] in Karnak, one decorated and equipped with understanding, the close friend of such as open

⁸⁹² See Davies, 1932, 287, n. 1.

⁸⁹³ Suggestion for the translation: 'with favourable words', see Hannig, 2006, 433.

⁸⁹⁴ Or 'victuals', see Davies, 1932, 287, n. 3. Also a suggestion for the translation: 'provision'.

⁸⁹⁵ Supposedly, the word 'face' does not appear in the text.

the heart to him, one advanced of place in the palace, who is hourly called for, knowing the order of precedence on (the steps of) the august dais, veiling his thought in a situation that calls for silence, obeying the orders of the good god, the Sovereign (L.P.H!), when he takes exceptional measures (for the land), calm of speech in the presence, bowing the arm and touching the (royal) sandal, a model of good disposition when in presence of the god, maintaining silence and suppressing hot temper, (yet) joyous, content, and complacent, free of irascibility, a spoken guarantee without evasion and making its word good on another occasion, not telling secrets in public, exactly describing all that his eyes have seen, holding fast to any regulation that may have been commanded to him and mastering the principles of what has been put in his charge, dispensing with the oath of a witness on his side but relying on the mention of the name of the monarch, the offerer [of Amūn] in Karnak on behalf of the life, happiness, and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Ma-ke-rē^c] who lives for ever, Teḥuti. (He says) 'I inquired into the time and announced what was impending, showing discernment when I surveyed the future,⁸⁹⁶ comprehending yesterday and meditating on the morrow, skilled in what will happen, announcing the day for a celebration, experienced in what is profitable, acute in cases of exact computation, going to the fullest extreme in charm and kindness, rich in favour among the elders, taking the lead [?] in the festival of Karnak, one pure of hands when performed rites and when he bent the arm⁸⁹⁷ at the great throne, the offerer of Amūn, of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ā-kheper-ke-rē^c, of the company of the gods of Karnak, and of the gods of Josret of the West, who offered the cup to the King [Ma-ke-rē^c], Teḥuti. He says: 'I spent (my life) in reverence and uprightness and I departed (life) this day in silence and calmness, (as) my own heart is witness. He who boasts the false statements of one, two (or) three men is not upright. Let men say, "I shall be among the foremost"; "He was just among the magistrates"; "One like me did well, a man excellent in conduct towards the god". (But) the offerer of Amūn, Teḥuti, says, "Now I was an exceptional man and without his like, who benefited his benefactor. No man was wretched (if only) I did not despise him; for I did not evict the poor man from his property or disregard the pleadings made about his case, that I might make monument [?]"'.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁶ Davies, 1932, 287. In my opinion, 1st person singular is not reasonable, since the verbs are in infinitive form and they are not followed by 1st person singular suffix. General subject is rather acceptable and fits better to the whole concept of this self-praising part of the text. Suggestion for the translation: "One who investigates the cycles of the years, who foretells before it comes, capable of foreseeing what is going to come, ...".

⁸⁹⁷ The 'arm' has a 3rd person singular male suffix, so literally it 'he bent his arm'.

⁸⁹⁸ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 287-288, pls. 36, 38, 39.

Inner doorway

Text on the jambs

Outer right jamb

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jnpw nb [... ...] rwd w.t nb ḥnh qrs.t n jmj-jb n nswt n wn-m3^c wdn Dḥwtj
 An offering which the king gives <to> Anubis, lord of [... who makes?] the bangade enduring, lord of life, (that he may grant) burial for the true confidant of the king, the offerer, Djehuti.

Outer left jamb

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> ṚWp-w3wt¹ Šm^cw [...] t3.wj dj.f[...] Ṛwdn n Jmn w3.t¹ nfr:t hnm.f ntr 3³ wb3 nswt Dḥwtj

An offering which the king gives <to> Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, [...] the Two Lands, that he may grant that the offerer of Amun [pass] the good routes that he may unite with the great god, the royal wb3, Djehuti.

Middle right jamb

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> R^c-Hr-3ḥtj [... ...] tp [...] n Ṛmh-jb¹ n Ṛdrdr=f?¹ [...]b[...] Dḥwtj
 An offering which the king gives <to> Re-Harakhti, [... ...] to the confidant of his ???, [...], Djehuti.

Middle left jamb

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> ṚWsjr¹ wpt t3.wj dj.f prt-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w hnm 3ḥ.t? jmj.t nhḥ sm3 t3 m ḥsw.t nswt n wdn n Jmn Dḥwtj

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, who reconciles the Two Lands that he may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, unite with the horizon in eternity, interment in the favour of the king to the offerer of Amun, Djehuti.

Inner right jamb

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jtm nb t3.wj Jwnw [... ...]

An offering which the king gives <to> Atum, lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis [... ...]

Inner left jamb

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> [Jmn] nb ns.wt t3.wj [...] ssn ḫw [ndm n] Ṛmhj.t¹ ḥtp m df3.t n didj.f n wb3 nswt Dḥwtj

An offering which the king gives <to> [Amun], lord of the thrones of the Two Lands,

[... ...] breathing the sweet breeze of the north wind, an offering of nourishment of what he is giving to the royal *wb3*, Djehuti.

Text on the lintel

Right

(1) *Bḥdtj ntr ʕ3 s3b šwt nb p.t dj.f ʕnh w3s* (2) *ʕnh <n> ntr nfr nb t3.wj nb jr.t-jḥt nswt-bjtj Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ mrj Jtm nb Jwnw* (3) *ʕnh s3 n ḥ.t=f mr=[f] nb ʕ3wt-jb¹ Dḥwtj-msjw ḥq3-m3ʕ.t mrj Rʕ-Hr-3ḥtj*

(1) Behdeti, the great god, the colourful feathered, lord of the sky, he may grant life, dominion (2) and life (to) the good god, lord of the Two Lands, lord of the rituals, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre**, beloved of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, (3) life (to) the son of his body, [his] beloved, lord of the joy, **Djehutimes**, ruler of the truth, beloved of Re-Harakhti.

Left

(1) *Bḥdtj ntr ʕ3 s3b šwt nb p.t dj.f ʕnh w3s* (2) *ʕnh ntr nfr nb t3.wj nb jr.t-jḥt nswt-bjtj Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ mrj Jmn-Rʕ nswt ntr.w* (3) *ʕnh s3 n ḥ.t=f mr=f nb 3wt-jb Dḥwtj-msjw nfr-ḥprw mrj Wsjr ḥr [...]*

(1) Behdeti, the great god, the colourful feathered, lord of the sky, he may grant life, dominion (2) and life (to) the good god, lord of the Two Lands, lord of the rituals, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre**, beloved of Amun-Re king of the gods, (3) life (to) the son of his body, his beloved, lord of the joy, **Djehutimes**, fair in manifestation, beloved of Osiris [...].

Passage, north wall

Above the figure of Djehuti

(1) *m33 [... ...]* (2) [... ...] (3) [... ʕw ʕh ḥrd (4) [n] k3p [... ...] s [...]jjw (5) ḥd [...] sn [...]w [...] (6) [... ʕgr.t?¹ [whmw/wb3] nswt Dḥwtj

Looking at the bounty [?] child of the secluded apartments ... royal herald/butler, Djehuti.⁸⁹⁹

Passage, south wall

Above the figure of Djehuti

(1) *Wsjr [... ...]* (2) *Wsjr [... ...]* (3) *Wsjr [... ...]* (4) *dd [... ...]* (5) *j3w [... ...]* (6) *m jgr.t [...]j[...] [wb3]*

⁸⁹⁹ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 289, pl. 44d, the title is the translation of the author.

nswt (7) ṛwᶜb ᶜ.wj¹ ḥsjj¹ [n] ntr nfr [šmsw] nswt (8) ṛrww.t¹[=f] [...] Dhwtj dd.f nfrw (9) [...] nb
[... ...] Nb¹-Jmn¹ (10) [...] Nb¹-Jmn¹

(1) Osiris [... ...] (2) Osiris [... ...] (3) Osiris [... ...] (4) say [... ...] (5) praise [... ...] (6) in
the necropolis [...] royal [butler] (7) pure of hands, beloved [of] the good god, [follower]
of the king (8) on [his] journey, [...] Djehuti, he says, (9) [...] every/lord? [... ...] Neba-
mun(?) (10) [...] Nebamun(?).

Lintel to the third chamber

jm³hjj-ḥr Wsjr ntr ʕ³ wḥmw nswt Dhwtj [m³ᶜ]-ḥrw

One favoured by Osiris the great god, the royal chamberlain, Tehuti.⁹⁰⁰

Text edition:

Davies, N. de G. "Tehuti: Owner of Tomb 110 at Thebes." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1932, 279-290.

Hermann, A. *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 11. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1940, 29, 68, 76, Anm. 25, 177, *31-35. – stelae

Publication:

Davies, N. de G. "Tehuti: Owner of Tomb 110 at Thebes." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1932, 279-290.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis. Part 1: Private Tombs*. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1960, 227.

Kampp, F. *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. Vol. I. Theben 13. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1996, 390-392.

[2.2] Funerary cone DM 47

jm³hjj-ḥr Wsjr wb³ nswt Dhwtj m³ᶜ-ḥrw ḥr ntr ʕ³

The one honoured by Osiris, the royal wb³ Djehuti, justified, in front of the great god.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 63.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/188>

⁹⁰⁰ Translation is after Davies, 1932, 290, pl. 44f.

General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 269.

Shirley, J. J. – Schenk, W. "TT 110 Epigraphy and Research Field School: training Egyptian antiquities officials in recording and investigative methodologies." *Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt* 210, 2017, 6-7.

[3] Qenamun

Thutmose III

[3.1] Stelophor statue⁹⁰¹

Inscription on the front of the stele from left to right

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jnpw jmj-wt j b3 ḥtp m-ḥt šsp wnḥw jrj rwd=f⁹⁰² n wḥmw n nfr:t Qn-Jmn m3^c-ḥrw

A boon which the king gives to Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming. O, Soul be peaceful after receiving the crown(?) which belongs to the tomb. He, who flourishes the house of the speaker of Neferut, Ken-Amun-justified.

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr dj.f pr b3 m ḥr:t-ntr r m^ch^c.t=f n.t djdj? šsp=f ḥtpt ḥtp=f ḥr=s n jrj-^c.t n Jmn Qn-Jmn m3^c-ḥrw

A boon which the king gives to Osiris. May he cause the spirit go out from the necropolis and to go to the tomb and [may it receive] the offerings on the altar of the head of the magazine of Amun,⁹⁰³ of Amun, Ken-Amun-justified.

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn nb ns.wt t3.wj <dj.f> pr:t-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w m Jp.t-sw.t ḥr wdhw n ntr šps n w^cb n Jmn Qn-Jmn m3^c-ḥrw

A boon which the king gives to Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Invocation-offering consisting of bread, beer, ox and fowl in Karnak on the offering-table of this august god for the wab-priest of Amun, Ken-Amun-justified.

⁹⁰¹ Translation is after Barakat, 1983.

⁹⁰² As the translation is quite obscure regarding the hieroglyphs, I suggest the following translation: „An offering which the king gives to Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming. O, ba, be pleased after receiving the wreath of his tomb, for the herald of beauties(?), Qenamun, justified.”

⁹⁰³ Barakat translates the title as door-keeper of Amun, however, as it is clearly recognizably *jrj-^c.t n Jmn* – head of the magazine of Amun, see also Gessler-Löhr, 1997, 35.

*ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jtm nb Jwnw <dj.f> šs mnḥ.t sš3.t rnp.wt ḥnk.t sntr rnp.wt nb.t n jrj-rd.wj
n nb t3.wj ḥr ḥ3s.t rsj.t jmj-r3 šnw.tj Qn-Jmn m3^c-ḥrw*

A boon which the king gives to Atum, Lord of Heliopolis. Garment⁹⁰⁴, unguent, incense and all sorts of fresh plants for the follower of the Lord of the Two Lands to the Southern Country, the Overseer of the Granaries, Ken-Amun-justified.

*ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Pth-Skr dj.f pr.t m t3 m3n Jtn snm ḥ.t ḥr wdḥw n ḥ3tj-^c n Mn-nfr Qn-Jmn
m3^c-ḥrw*

A boon which the king gives to Ptah-Sokaris. May he cause going from the earth to see the sun and to eat thing on the offering-table for the Mayor of Memphis, Ken-Amun-justified.

*ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> ṚDḥwtj¹ [... ...] jrt? 3ḥ [... ...] sš [... ...] Ṛmḥ-jb¹ [mnḥ] n nb t3.wj Qn-Jmn
m3^c-ḥrw*

A boon which the king gives to [Thoth], the beneficent [...], the Scribe [... the truthful one] of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ken-Amun-justified.

Inscription on the sides of the stele

*jm3ḥjj m Jp.t-sw.t [wb3⁹⁰⁵] nswt w^cb^c .wj n ntr nfr Mn-ḥpr-R^c [Q]n-Jmn dd n=f R3k3 m3^c-ḥrw
Honoured in Karnak, the king's [butler], the pure hands of the good God Menkheperre,
Amun, he, who was called Ir-K'-justified.*

Text edition:

Barakat, A. el-A. "A New Statue of Ken-Amun." *Études et travaux* 12, 1983, 85-91.

Van Siclen III, C. C. "Tuthmosid Varia." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 7, 1991, 156-159.

Gessler-Löhr, B. "Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-zeit II. Gräber der Bürgermeister von Memphis." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 77, 1997, 34-36.

Translation:

Barakat, A. el-A. "A New Statue of Ken-Amun." *Études et travaux* 12, 1983, 85-91.

Van Siclen III, C. C. "Tuthmosid Varia." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 7, 1991, 156-157. – inscription on the sides of the stele

⁹⁰⁴ Barakat omitted alabaster from the translation standing before garment.

⁹⁰⁵ For the amendment, see Van Siclen, 1991, 156.

[3.2] Funerary cone DM 23

wb3 n nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj mh-jb mnḥ n nb t3.wj ḥsjj <n> nṯr nfr Qn-Jmn ḥm.t=f mr.t=f nb.t pr Jmn-ḥtp m3ꜥ.t-ḥrw

The royal *wb3* clean of hands, the excellent confidant of the lord of the Two Lands, favoured <of> the good god, Qenamun, (and) his beloved wife, lady of the house, Amenhotep, justified.

Translation:

Van Siclen III, C. C. "Tuthmosid Varia." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 7, 1991, 158.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 55.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/23>

General literature about the owner:

Málek, J. "The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38, 1987, 135, n. 72.

Gessler-Löhr, B. "Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-zeit II. Gräber der Bürgermeister von Memphis." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 77, 1997, 34-36.

Bryan, B. M. "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III." In Cline, E. H. – O'Connor, D. (eds.): *Thutmose III. A New Biography*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006, 95, 101.

[4] Neferperet

Thutmose III

[4.1] Stelophor statue, Cairo, CG 42121

In the upper register

In front of the king

(1) *nṯr nfr n-wn-m3ꜥ? qn? mk t3 m ḥpš=f (2) nswt-bjtj Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ (3) dj ꜥnh (4) nb t3.wj*

(1) The truly(?) good god, the powerful one(?), who protects the land with his strength, (2) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre**, (3) given life, lord of the Two Lands.

In front of the queen

(1) *jr.t-p^ct wr.t-ḥsw.t šms.t sn=s ntr nfr mrjj.t nb t3.wj m3.n.s* (2) *ḥm.t-nswt wr.t Mr(j).t-R^c Ḥ3.t-šps.wt* (3) *ṛnh.tj mj R^c*

(1) Member of the elite, who is in great favour, who follows her brother, the good god, beloved of the lord of the Two Lands whom she saw, (2) the great royal wife, Meritre Hatshepsut, (3) live as Re!

In the lower register

On the right

(1) *rdj.t j3w n nb t3.wj sn-t3 n nswt qn ntr pn nfr ḥrp* (2) *rs tp ptpt.n ḥpš=f psd.t-pd.t šḥm jb* (3) *m-s3 ph sw jnj dr:w tkk* (4) *t3š=f jn wb3 n nswt w^cb ṛ.wj* (5) *Nfr-pr.t m3^c-ḥrw*

(1) Giving praise to the lord of the Two Lands, veneration to the strong king, this good god, (2) vigilant watcher, whose strong arm smites the Nine Bows, who is stout-hearted (3) in following the invader, reaching the borders and attacking (4) his frontier by the royal *wb3* pure of hands (5) Neferperet, justified.

On the left

(1) *j3w n ḥm.t nswt wr.t nb.t ḥsw.t m-(2)ḥnt ṛh (n) wsh.t n.t ḥm.wt nswt* (3) *tm tš r-gs nb t3.wj jn wb3 nswt* (4) *Nfr-prt m3^c-ḥrw*

(1) Praising to the great royal wife, the most favoured lady (2) in the court palace of the royal wives, (3) who is not separated from the side the lord of the Two Lands by the royal *wb3* (4) Neferperet, justified.

On the left side of the stele

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> k3 nswt Mn-ḥpr-R^c ḥntj Ḥnkt-ṛnh dj.f ssn.t t3w=f ndm pr ḥnt=f n k3 n wb3 n nswt ḥrd n k3p Nfr-prt

An offering which the king gives <to> the ka of the king **Menkheperre**, foremost of Heneketankh that he may grant breath of his sweet air (and) which comes out before him to the ka of the royal *wb3*, child of the kap, Neferperet, justified.

On the right side of the stele

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> ṛJmn¹ ḥrj-jb Ḥnkt-ṛnh dj.f ṛnh wd3 snb spd-ḥr m-b3ḥ nb t3.wj n k3 n šmsw nswt ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t ḥsjj n ntr nfr wb3 n nswt Nfr-prt

An offering which the king gives <to> Amon, who is inside Heneketankh that he may grant life, prosperity, health and acuteness in front of the lord of the Two Lands to the ka of the follower of the king in every foreign land, favoured of the good god, the royal *wb3*, Neferperet.

On the back-pillar of the statue

(1) *jn.n wb3 nswt* (2) *Nfr-prt jst sw* (3) *m šms.wt hm=f* (4) *hr h3s.t Rtnw jh.w n D3hj* (5) *jd.t 4 jd.t n.t Kmt 2* (6) *k3 1 dmd 7 hsmn mhr* (7) *r rdj.t st r hw.t n.t hh.w* (8) *m rnp.wt Hnkt-ḥnh sn=f* (9) [*Jmn-*]*m-mh-jb m sʿw=(10)sn s3=f Dsr-k3-Rʿ r* (11) *f3j.t mhr wnn.sn* (12) *r-ht=j m p3jj=j hrw* (13) *n ḥnh ʿq hr=s jmj-r3 rwjj.t* (14) *Nb-snj jj hr=s sš nswt* (15) *Jmn-ms ddd.wt m hm n stp(-s3)* (16) *ḥnh wd3 snb jw=w r-ht=k m hrw=(17)k n ḥnh jr m-ht j3w n=k* (18) *jmjj jw=w m s3 n s3 jwʿw* (19) *n jwʿw m rdj st r-hnw jmj-r3 jh.w* (20) *jr jw.tj.fj nb r md.t m rdj ʿsdm¹.tw* (21) *n.sn m h3 nb n nswt m rdj th.tw* (22) *r jr.t h.t nb(.t)*

(1) What the royal *wb3* (2) Neferperet has brought while he was (3) in the campaigns of His Majesty (4) in the country of *Rtnw*: cattle of *Dhy*, (5) 4 cows; 2 cows of Egypt; (6) 1 bull; total: 7; a bronze milk-jar; (7) in order to give them to the Temple of Millions (8) of Years Endowed with Life. His brother (9) Amenmehib is their guardian; (10) his son Djeserkare is to (11) carry the milk-jars. They are (12) under my authority during my day (13) of life. The overseer of the gate Nebseny enters on account of it; (14) the king's scribe Amenmose comes on account of it. (15) What is said in the Residence (16) l.p.h.: 'They are under your authority during your day (17) of life. After your own old age, (18) they will go from son to son; from heir (19) to heir. Do not give them to the stable of an overseer of cattle. (20) As for anyone who will come to argue: do not let one listen (21) to them in any office of the king; do not let one encroach (22) upon the doing of anything.'⁹⁰⁶

Text edition:

Legrain, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 42001-42138. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. Vol I. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1906a, 69-71, pl. lxxi

Legrain, G. *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire*. *Monuments de la XVII^e et de la XVIII^e dynastie*. Société anonyme des arts graphiques, Geneva, 1908, 92-94, No. 170.

Sethe, K. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Band 1-4, Heft 1-16. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1927-1930, 602-603, 1019-1021.

⁹⁰⁶ Translation is after Haring, 1997, 146.

Translation:

- Haring, B. J. J. *Divine households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 12. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leuven, 1997, 145-147. – back-pillar of the statue
- Althoff, E. B. *Kronen und Kopfputz von Königsfrauen im Neuen Reich*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 49. Gebrüder Gerstenberg, Hildesheim, 2009, 149. – text before the queen

Publication:

- Legrain, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 42001-42138. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. Vol I. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1906a, 69-71, pl. lxxi
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- Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. II: *Theban Temples*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1972, 144-145.
- Bryan, B. M. – Hornung, E. (eds.) *The Quest for Immortality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2002, 91-92.
- <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck432>

Other literature:

- Legrain, G. "Notes d'inspection." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 7, 1906b, 185, 187.
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- Leclant, J. *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la Ville*. Bibliothèque d'Études 35. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1961, 41.

[4.2] Funerary cone DM 213

Wsjr wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj Nfr-prt m3^c-hrw

Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands Neferperet, justified.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 111-112.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/213>

General literature about the owner:

Bryan, B. M. "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III." In Cline, E. H. – O'Connor, D. (eds.): *Thutmose III. A New Biography*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006, 88-89, 95-97, 113.

[5] Wah

Thutmose III (?) – Amenhotep II (?)

[5.1] Theban Tomb 22

(1) *n k3 n wb3 nswt w^cb* (2) *ʕ.wj ʕq* (3) *hsw pr mrw* (4) *hr jr.t hss.t nb=f* (5) *m hr.t-hrw n.t r^c nb W^h* (6) *m3^c-hrw hr ntr nfr* (7) *sn.t=f mr.t=f n s.t jb* (8) *=f hsw n.t Hw.t-Hr* (9) *hkr.t nswt nb.t pr* [... ...]

To the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands, who enters favoured, who goes out beloved, in order to do what is favoured of his lord, Wah, justified, before the good god, (and) his favourite beloved wife, favourite of Hathor, 'royal ornament'⁹⁰⁷, lady of the house, [... ...].

Stele

Left side of the frame, above

(1) *hṭp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr* (2) *hq3 d.t dj.f qbḥ* (3) *jrp jrr.t ḥnq.t* (4) *rnp.wt ʕssn¹ Bw* (5) *ndm n mhj.t* (6) [... ...]

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, (2) ruler of infinity, that he may grant cool water, (3) vine, milk, offerings, (4) fresh plants, breathing the (5) sweet breeze of the north wind [... ...]

⁹⁰⁷ It actually designates a courtier. For more on the title, see Drenkhahn, 1976.

Right side of the frame, above

(1) [... ...] (2) [... ...] (3) *nswt ntr:w dj.f h.t nb.t* (4) *nfr:t w^cb.t prr:t* (5) *m-b3h hrw nb m hr:t-hrw* (6) *n.t r^c nb n k3 n sš* (7) [... ...] (8) *hm.t=f mr:t=f n* [... ...] (9) [... ...]

(1) [... ...] (2) [... ...] (3) king of the gods that he may grant all sorts of (4) good and pure things, which come out (5) before (him) daily, (6) to the ka of the scribe (7) [... ...] (8) his beloved wife [... ...] (9) [... ...]

Left side of the frame, down, damaged wall above the woman

(1) *mw.t=f* [... ...] (2) *nb.t jm3h* [...]

(1) His mother [... ...], (2) lady of the [...]

Text edition:

Mond, R. "Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903-1904."

Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte 6, 1905, 75. – first line of inscription

Hermann, A. *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 11. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1940, 37, 69, 94, Taf. 3c, 5*-6*. – stele

Publication:

Mond, R. "Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903-1904."

Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte 6, 1905, 75.

MacKay, E. "Report of the Excavations and Other Work Carried Out in the Necropolis of Thebes for the Department of Antiquities by Robert Mond, Esq., of Combe Bank, Sevenoaks, Kent, England, During the Year Beginning on March 9th, 1913." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 14, 1914, 89.

Wreszinski, W. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Teil I. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1923, 40, 62, 68, 76a,b, 121a,b, 122.

Baud, M. *Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine (au temps du Nouvel Empire)*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 63. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1935, 79-83, figs. 32-33, pl. iv

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 1: *Private Tombs*. Griffiths Institut, Oxford, 1960, 37-38.

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General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 67, 270.

Bryan, B. M. "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III." In Cline, E. H. – O'Connor, D. (eds.): *Thutmose III. A New Biography*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006, 88.

[6] Djehutimes

Thutmose III (?) – Amenhotep II (?)

[6.1] Theban Tomb 205

(1) *jr.t ḥtp-dj-nswt m ḥ.t nb.t* ^r*w^cb.t¹* [... ...]*t p.t* (2) *qm3.t t3 jnn.t* (3) *H^cpj n tph.t=f* (4) *n k3 n wb3 nswt* (5) *Dḥwtj-ms*

(1) Making an offering which the king gives with all sorts of pure things [...] the sky, (2) what the earth produces, what the Nile brings forth (3) from its well-spring (4) to the ka of the royal *wb3* (5) Djehutimes.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 1: *Private Tombs*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1960, 305.

Kampp, F. *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. Vol. I. Theben 13. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1996, 491.

[6.2] Funerary cone DM 350

wb3 nswt Dḥwtj-ms

The royal *wb3* Djehutimes.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 151.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/350>

General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 270.

Manuelian, P. *Der Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 26. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1987, 134.

[7] Montuiui

Thutmose III – Amenhotep II

[7.1] Theban Tomb 172

Stele from the tomb

(1) [*hṭp-dj-nswt n Jmn-R^c-Hr-ḥtj b3 ḥnh*] *ṛwbn¹ m nbw [shd] t3.wj m ṛstwt=f¹* (2) [*Wsjr-ḥntj-jmntjw nb nhḥ hq3 dt dj*] *ṛsn¹ [prt-hrw t ḥnq.t k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t sntr md.t] ḥ.t nb.t nfr.(t) w^cb.t ḥnkt rnpw.t nb.t* (3) [... ...] [*n k3 n jrj-p^ct⁹⁰⁸ ḥtmjtj-bjtj*] *smr-w^c.tj ṛmnḥ¹ n ṛnb¹=f ḥsjj n ntr nfr* (4) [*wb3 nswt w^cb ḥwj Mntw-jj-wj*] *dd.f ṛjnk¹ [s^cḥ 3ḥ n nb=f] b3k n jp.t nswt jw šms.[n.]j* (5) *ṛnswt-bjtj¹ ṛMn-ḥpr¹-R^c [hr ḥ3s.t] ṛnb.t¹ m nhn n [...]⁹⁰⁹ j [... ḥpr.n.(j) m ḥnw* (6) [... ...] *ṛs^cnh¹ [... n [... ṛjqr-kwj¹ [... ...] nb ḥpr-kw(j) m* (7) [... ...] *n ḥrw tp ḥ dw3.j [... ...] ṛsp¹ n ṛqnn¹=f jr nswt* (8) [... ḥrw [... ...] *3.wt ḥ [... ...] ṛjtn¹ t3.w nb.w s33 m rh* (9) [... ...] *nn ṛdr-^c1 n ṛqnn¹=f [m33].n.tw pḥtjj=f [hr] ṛnhṭ.w¹ n* (10) [*ḥwj=f] ṛḥ^cw¹ ḥr ṛwrrjjt=f¹ [ntr nfr qnj] prj-^c nn jr n=f snw nn ṛḥ3s.t¹ ṛth n=f¹⁹¹⁰* (11) [... ...] *w šm.n.f [... ...] ḥns.n.f ṛdw.w¹ d3j.n.f ṛjtrw¹ pḥr-wr* (12) [... ...] *nb t3.wj d3j.n.f [r ḥ3s.t] ṛKrjj¹ jw=j m šms. wt=f nn wn* (13) [... ...] *wt=f hr [... ...] ṛprj¹ ḥ3w w^cw jr sw m fdqw* (14) [*pr.n.j ḥr ḥsw.t nb t3.wj sw3d [... ...] ṛhr¹ rd.wj s3=f smsw pr ṛḥnt=f¹ [ḥ^c.]n.f* (15) *ṛtwṭ nswt=f¹ [... ...] j ntr pr m ntr ṛsmn¹.n R^c ns.t=f rh.n.f jr.f nb ṛq3b¹* (16) *ṛnhṭ.w jt.w=f¹ [snj.]n.f tp-^cw wr ḥsw.t sw3d ḥpr.t hr [... r ḥsw.t hr* (17) *ḥ3.t ṛdj-kwj m-m smr:w=f¹ ṛshnt-kw(j) ṛm-m¹ [sr:w=f] j3w.t nb.t n.t pr-nswt ḥnh wd3 [snb]* (18) *ṛrdj-kwj¹ ḥr s.t-hr dw3.j ntr n ḥsw ṛnswt¹ [... ...] m ḥnw ṛḥ^cw¹ n ṛR^c1 rnp.wt Jtm*

An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re-Ḥarakhty, the living soul who shines like gold and who illumines the Two Lands with the rays of his eyes, and to Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, lord of everlastingness and ruler of eternity, that they may grant invocation offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, clothing, alabaster, incense, oil,

⁹⁰⁸ Helck also translates *ḥ3tj-^c* after *jrj-p^ct*, see Helck, 1961, 111, although it cannot be seen in the hieroglyphic text, see Helck, 1955-1958, 1466.

⁹⁰⁹ Shirley restores here “22” as the age of Montuiui. Shirley, 2011, 303, n. 63.

⁹¹⁰ The text says *tm pḥ n=f*, but for the transcription *th n=f*, see Cumming, 1984, 160, n. 1467.6.

all good and pure things, offerings (of) all (kinds of) plants to the ka of the prince, seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole companion devoted to his lord, praised one of the good god, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*) with pure hands, Mentiwy.

He says; I was a dignitary serviceable to his lord, a servant of the royal throne⁹¹¹. I accompanied the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Menkheperre** in every foreign land as a youth I grew up in the palace I was excellent having become a of the attendants of the palace praised his deed of bravery. With regard to the king like the sun's disc of all lands/who is wise in knowledge with no limit to his bravery. Men beheld his strength through the might of his two arms when he had appeared in his chariot, the good god, the valiant and active one (who is) without one created equal to him and who has no foreign land able to attack him He went he traversed the mountains and crossed the Euphrates lord of the Two Lands. He crossed over to the land of Kurja whilst I was in his following. There was no the battlefield, one who fought alone and yet was everywhere at once. It was with the favour of the lord of the Two Lands that I went out flourishing at the feet (of) his eldest son who issued from him when he appeared, the image of the king a god come forth from a god, whose throne Rē' has established. He knows he would act as lord, doubling the victories of his fathers. He has surpassed the ancestors, being great of favour, fortunate in respect of that which had happened to (him with regard to) favours of former times.

I was placed among his courtiers and was advanced among his officials, all the offices of the palace, LPH, having been placed under my authority. I thank god for the favour of the king in the residence, the lifetime of Rē', and the years of Atum.⁹¹²

Left of the stele, upper left side of the frame

(1) *ms rnpw.t* (2) *nb.t n Wsjr* [... ...]

(1) Bringing all sorts of fresh plants (2) to Osiris [... ...]

Text edition:

Hermann, A. *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Ägyptologische Forschungen

11. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1940, 28, 37, 68ff, 17*, 40*-41*, Taf. 3b.

Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 17-22. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*.

IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1955-1958, 1466-1468.

⁹¹¹ Hannig, 2006, 44, Privaträume.

⁹¹² Translation is after Cumming, 1984, 158-160.

Translation:

- Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1961b, 111-112.
- Cumming, B. *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*. Vol. 2. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1984, 158-160.

Publication:

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- Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 1: *Private Tombs*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1960, 279-280.
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- Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 270.
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- Bryan, B. M. *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore – London, 1991, 258.
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- Shirley, J. J. "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere." In Bar, S. – Kahn, D. – Shirley, J. J. (eds.): *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*. Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2011, 303-306.

[8] Suemniut

Thutmose III – Amenhotep II

[8.1] Theban Tomb 92⁹¹³Suemniut supervises provisions⁹¹⁴

(1) *m3 ʿbw-r3 n* (2) *p3 ʿswrj n hnw¹* (3) *jrr.w hr pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb ʿpr¹* (4) *m h.t nb.t nfr:t r sd3jj-hr n nb t3.wj* (5) *shmh-jb n ntr nfr jn jrj-pʿt h3tj-ʿ wʿ* (6) *wb3 n=f jb jr hss.t jmj-ʿh* (7) *m hr.t-hrw n.t rʿ nb wb3 nswt wʿb ʿ.wj Sw-m-njw.t m3ʿ-hrw*

Inspection of provisions⁹¹⁵ for the drink supply of the Residence which is carried out on behalf of the Pharaoh, LPH, it being provisioned with all (kinds of) good things to refresh the lord of the Two Lands and to delight the good god, by the prince and count, the unique one in whom men confide, who does that which is praised within the palace⁹¹⁶ in the course of every day, the butler of the king, with pure hands, Suemnut, justified.

Suemniut oversees work in the kitchen and cellar

(1) *m3 bw-nfr n pr nswt dsr:t j3t.t* (2) *jn jrj-pʿt h3tj-ʿ* (3) *htmtj-bjtj smr-wʿ.tj šmsw nswt r nmtt=f ʿhr¹* (4) *h3s.wt rsj.t mhj.t wʿ mnḥ* (5) *wb3 n=f jb ʿmn¹* (6) *hsw.t ʿ3 mr:t wb3 nswt wʿb ʿ.wj ʿwdn¹* (7) *[n Jmn Sw-]m-ʿnjw.t¹ m3ʿ-hrw*

Inspecting the good things in the royal palace, milky ale, by the prince and count, seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole companion, the king’s escort on all his expeditions in the southern and northern foreign lands, the unique and excellent one in whom confide, firm of favour and well-beloved, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*) with pure hands, the offerer of Amun, Suemnut, justified.

Suemniut receives people who bear food

(1) *wd3* (2) *jn jrj-pʿt* (3) *h3tj-ʿ šmsw ʿnswt¹ hr mw hr t3* (4) *kfʿw ʿqnj¹ n nb t3.wj [šmsw] nswt ʿBj-ʿ[srjj.t ...] ʿnswt¹ [... ...]* (5) *h.t Sw-m-njw.t m3ʿ-hrw*

⁹¹³ Translation is after Cumming, 1984, 144-147.

⁹¹⁴ Cumming, 1984, 147, n. 1449.2.

⁹¹⁵ Cumming, 1984, 147, n. 1449.5.

⁹¹⁶ Based on the original text, the following translation is suggested: ‘who does which is praised by the dweller of the palace (i.e. the king) in the course of every day’.

Departure by the prince and count, the escort of the king on water and on land, the valiant despoiler⁹¹⁷ of the lord of the Two Lands, fan bearer of the king⁹¹⁸ of the body, Suemnut, justified.

m3 ḥ.t [nb.t nfr:t w^cb.t n štp] (6) jb sbj ṽsmw¹ jr:w r pr-^c3 ṽnh w^d3 snb ṽwndw⁹¹⁹ [... ...]

Inspection of all the good end pure things which please the heart, and sending vegetables which have been cultivated for Pharaoh, LPH cattle

Suemniut and his wife at a feast

(1) ṽshmh^m1[-jb (2) šsp] ṽ3w.t¹ (3) [m3 bw] (4) ṽnfr¹ ṽjn¹ jrj-p^ct (5) ḥ3tj-^c šhtnj ṽjqr¹ (6) st sbq=f (7) mn ḥsw.t m (8) stp-s3 (9) hrrw jtjj (10) ṽhr¹ shr=f ṽšmsw nswt [... ...]

Amusing (oneself), receiving gifts and beholding pleasant things by the prince and count, whose excellence has advanced in his position, who is firm in favour with the palace, he with whose designs the sovereign is content, the royal escort

The wife's speech

sn.t=fmr[.t]=f T3-wr:t dd.s k3=k ṽjt¹(=j) swr thj jr hrw nfr p3 wb3 ḥsj

His 'sister', his beloved, Tawert, she says: For your ka, father. Drink to intoxication and spend a holiday, O praiseworthy butler!

The speech of a brewer

šsp bw-nfr n k3 (n) Jmn-R^c ssnb=k p3-ḥq3 qnj rdj.k n=f ḥb.w-sd rdj.k wn ṽwb3¹ nswt ṽSw-m-njw.t¹ m ḥs.t n.t ntr nfr

Receiving good things for the ka of Amun. May you preserve the valiant ruler, and may you grant Sed-festivals to him. May you (also) let the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), Suemnut, be in the favour of the good god.

Suemniut is shown with statues, fans, vessels and sandals etc. piled up before him

(1) ms jnw s^c.r:t (2) rnpwt ḥ.t nb.t nfr:t n (3) pḥww m ṽssn.w¹ (4) ḥnj.w ṽnhb.wt¹ (5) ṽpr.t¹ nb.t ṽqm3¹ [ḥr ^cḥ] (6) jn jrj-p^ct ṽḥ3tj-^c1 [mh-jb mnḥ] (7) n ntr nfr wb3 nsw w^cb [ṽ.wj wdn⁹²⁰] (8) n ntr:w nb.w Sw[-m-njw.t m3^c-ḥrw]

⁹¹⁷ Because of the negative meaning of despoiler, suggestion for the translation: 'valiant pillager' or 'valiant warrior', however, in the latter case the meaning of acquiring booty is not emphasized.

⁹¹⁸ Suggested translation based on the reconstruction of the titles: 'follower of the king, standard-bearer'.

⁹¹⁹ Reconstruction of Helck, 1961, 103.

⁹²⁰ Cumming, 1984, 209, 1451,14.

Bringing tribute and presenting plants from among all the good produce of the marshes, comprising lotus flowers, rushes and lotus buds, all that comes forth and is thrown onto the brazier by the prince and count, the excellent confidant of the good god, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*) with pure hands, offerer⁹²¹ of all the gods, Suemnut, justified.

The parents receive offerings

sm3 ht. nb.t nfr:t w^cb.t hnkt pr:t hr h3wt m hr:t-hrw n.t r^c-nb n k3 n h3tj-^c n Nfrwsj jmj-r3 hm.w ntr n Dhwtj nb Hmnw J3mw-nfr m3^c-hrw

Partaking (of) all good and pure things, the offerings which are issued on the offering table in the course of every day, for the ka of the mayor of Neferusy and superintendent of the prophets of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, Iamnūfer, justified.

His wife is called

nb.t pr šm^cjj.t n Dhwtj Mrjt

The lady of the house, and chantress of Thoth, Meryt.

Titles of Suemniut as seen in his tomb

(1) *jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c mh-jb n nswt m mrjj=f⁹²² s^c3.n [sw]* (2) *nb t3.wj hrrw nswt* (3) *hr tpt-r3=f^c sšmw-¹hb* (4) *[n Jmn] jmj-r3^c h^c.w¹* (5) *nswt hrj-jhw* (6) *n nb t3.wj Sw-m-njw.t m3^c-hrw*
 Prince and count, the true confidant of the king, his beloved, whom the lord of the Two Lands had aggrandized with whose utterance the king is content, master of ceremonies of Amun, superintendent of the barque of the king and stable master of the lord of the Two Lands, Suemnut.

jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c jt mrj-ntr w^c [mnh] n ntr nfr mh-jb nb=f hsjj n ntr nfr jrj-^crd.wj¹ n nb t3.wj tm m tšj grh mj hrw jmj-jb n [ntr] nfr wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj [jr] hss.t jmj-^ch⁹²³ Sw-m-njw.t m3^c-hrw
 Prince and count, father and beloved of the god, the unique and excellent one belonging to the god, confidant of his lord, praised one of the good god, attendant of the lord of the Two Lands who is never absent by night or day, favourite of the good god, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*) with pure hands who does that which is praised in the palace, Suemnut, justified.

⁹²¹ Cumming translates it as "superintendent of the prophet of all the gods", but according to Helck's emendation it is more likely "offerer". Cumming, 1984, 209, 1451,14.

⁹²² Based on the original text, the following translation is suggested: „the confidant of the king as his beloved”.

⁹²³ For the suggested translation see note 916.

Text edition:

Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 17-22. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums. IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1955-1958, 1449-1452.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1961b, 103-104.

Cumming, B. *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*. Vol. 2. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1984, 144-147.

Publication:

Wreszinski, W. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Teil I. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1923, 29a-c, 31a-b, 259, 294-297.

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Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis. Part 1: Private Tombs*. Griffiths Institut, Oxford, 1960, 187-189.

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Kampp, F. *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. Vol. I. Theben 13. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1996, 350-351.

Bryan, B. M. "Painting Techniques and Artisan Organization in the Tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92." In Davies, W. V. (ed.): *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*. British Museum Press, London, 2001, 63-72.

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Hermann, A. *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 11. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York, 1940, 20, 98.

[8.2] Lintel, Cairo, JE 27840

Above Osiris

(1) *Wsjr-ḥntj-(2)jmnt.t*

Osiris, Foremost of the West

Above the couple

(1) *rdj.t j3w* (2) *n Wsjr sn-(3)t3 n Wnn-nfr* (4) *jn wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj* (5) *Sw-m-njw.t* (6) *sn.t=f*
šm^cjj.t n Jmn (7) *Jwnjj m3^c.t-hrw*

Giving praise to Osiris, veneration to Wenennefer by the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*) clean of hands Suemniut, (and) his sister, chantress of Amun, Iuny, justified.

[8.3] Funerary cone DM 143

jm3hjj-hr Wsjr jmj-r3 jh.w n Jmn Sw-m-njw.t m3^c-hrw

The one honoured by Osiris, overseer of the cattle of Amun Suemniut, justified.

[8.4] Funerary cone DM 156

jm3hjj-hr Wsjr wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj Sw-m-njw.t m3^c-hrw

The one honoured by Osiris, royal *wb3* clean of hands Suemniut, justified.

[8.5] Funerary cone DM 163

jm3hjj-hr Wsjr hrj-jhw Sw-m-njw.t m3^c-hrw

The one honoured by Osiris, stable master Suemniut, justified.

[8.6] Funerary cone DM 181

jm3hjj-hr Wsjr tj srjj.t Sw-m-njw.t m3^c-hrw

The one honoured by Osiris, standard-bearer Suemniut, justified.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1961b, 104.

Cumming, B. *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*. Vol. 2. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1984, 147.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Recueil de cones funéraires*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 8. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1893a, 283, 308, 332, Nr. 123-4.

Zenihhiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihhiro, Tokyo, 2009, 92, 95-96, 98, 103.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/143>

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/156>

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/163>

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/181>

[8.7] Graffito on Sehel⁹²⁴

Sw-m-njw.t s3 n ḥ3tj-ꜥ Nfr-wsj jmj-r3 ḥm.w ntr n Dḥwtj nb Ḥmnw Bmw-nfr m3ꜥ-ḥrw

Suemnut, son of the mayor of Neferusy and superintendent of the prophets of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, Iamnūfer, justified.

Text edition:

Morgan, J. de – Bouriant, U. – Legrain, G. – Jéquier, G. – Barsanti, A. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. Haute Égypte. Tome premier. De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombo*. Adolphe Holzhausen, Vienne, 1894, 103.

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Kees, H. *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 1. Brill, Leiden – Köln, 1953, 53.

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 269-270.

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Helck, W. *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 14. Georg Olms, Hildesheim, 1964, 62-63.

Manuelian, P. *Der Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 26. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1987, 110, 130.

⁹²⁴ Translation is after Cumming, 1984, 147.

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- Bryan, B. M. "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III." In Cline, E. H. – O'Connor, D. (eds.): *Thutmose III. A New Biography*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006, 93, 101, 106.
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[9] Neferweben

ca. Amenhotep II

There is no available inscription of him.

Publication:

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[10] Maaninakhtef

Amenhotep II

[10.1] Block statue, Paris, E 12926⁹²⁵

Front of the statue

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn nb ns.wt t3.wj* (2) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn-R^c-K3-mw.t=f* (3) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> R^c-Ḥr-3ḥtj* (4) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jtm nb t3.wj Jwnw* (5) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Mw.t nb.t p.t* (6) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Mnṯw ḥr-jb W3st* (7) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr ḥq3 d.t* (8) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jnpw nb R3-sṯw* (9) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> k3 nswt ʿ3-ḥpr.w-R^c <dj.sn>* (10) *pṛt-ḥrw k3.w ʿpd.w šs mnḥ.t jrt.t sš3.t ḥnkt rnpw.t nb.t ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t ssnt Ḃw* (11) *m ʿntjw snṯr swr m spt ḥr b3b3.t n k3 n* (12) *jmj-r3 pr wr n nswt M33-nḥt=f* (13) *jmj-r3 šnw.tj n nswt r Šm^cw Mḥw M33-nḥt=f* (14) *jmj-r3 3ḥ.wt n nb t3.wj M33-nḥt=f* (15) *jmj-r3 dḥr.w n Jmn M33-nḥt=f* (16) *jmj-r3 pr n Mnṯw nb W3s.t M33-nḥt=f* (17) *jmj-r3 jḥ.w n nṯr nfr ʿnḥ wḏ3 snb M33-nḥt=f* (18) *jmj-r3 šḥ.tjw M33-nḥt=f* (19) *jmj-r3 mrt nb.t n.t nswt M33-nḥt=f* (20) *jmj-r3 pr nb n nswt wb3 nswt M33-nḥt=f*

An offering which the king gives to Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.

An offering which the king gives to Amun-Rē', Kamutef.

An offering which the king gives to Rē'-Ḥarakhty.

An offering which the king gives to Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan.

An offering which the king gives to Mut, lady of the heaven.

An offering which the king gives to Month, dwelling in Thebes.

An offering which the king gives to Osiris, ruler of eternity.

An offering which the king gives to Anubis, lord of the necropolis.

An offering which the king gives to the ka of 'Akheperurē', (that they may grant) invocation offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, clothing, alabaster, milk, oil, offerings, all (kinds of) plants and all good and pure things, (also) to inhale the scent of myrrh and incense, and to drink from the shore at the eddy, to the ka of the high steward of the king, Maanakhtef, the superintendent of the granaries of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maanakhtef, superintendent of the arable lands of the lord of the Two Lands, Maanakhtef, superintendent of the animal hides of Amun, Maanakhtef, steward of Month, lord of Thebes, Maanakhtef, superintendent of the cattle of the good god, LPH, Maanakhtef, superintendent of the fish and bird catchers, Maanakhtef, superintendent of all the servants of the king, Maanakhtef and steward of every estate of the king and royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), Maanakhtef.

⁹²⁵ Translation is after Cumming, 1984, 170-171.

Right side of the statue

(21) *wb3 nswt* *M33-nht=f dd.f hwt wr.t n.t Mntw* (22) [*hft-hr*] *n nb=s rdj.t rwd twt pn n wb3 nswt* (23) *ᵀM33¹-nht=f m hnw wsh.t hbjj.t ssn.f* (24) [*m*] *ᵀntjjw¹ sntr hr sdt pnq.f mw m ntf h3wt hr* (25) *s3tw n wsh.t wnm.f ntjw hr ˢ.wj wˢb.w m shp n* (26) *hᵀp-ntr m33.n.f Jtn dw3jj.t m pr n sbb nhḥ* (27) *šms.f ntr=f phr:f ˢh.t=f m hb=f n dw pf dsr mj jr.t n ᵀhsj.w¹ tp t3*

The royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), Maanakhtef, he says:

O great house of Month of its lord, you may make firm this image of the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), Maanakhtef within the festival hall, that he may draw water when besprinkling the floor of the hall, that he may eat that which is in the hands of the priests from among the remains of the divine offerings, that he may behold the sun's disc in his house for passing eternity, that he may follow his god and that he may walk around his palace during his festival of this holy mountain as is done for a praised one when upon earth.

Left side of the statue

(28) *j Dḃj j wr hntj prw-hrw* (29) *ᵀrdj¹ [t] hnq.t n Pth rdj t n wb3 nswt* (30) *M33-nḥ[t=f] m3ˢ-hrw rdj hnq.t n jˢw=f hnd m-ˢb* (31) *ᵀs3šr.t¹ j mhntj n sh.t-J3rw jn wb3 nswt* (32) *M33-ᵀnht=f¹ r nw-n t r wˢrt=k mj jtf wr* (33) *sbj m dp.t-ntr n k3 n jrj-pˢt h3tj-ˢ mh-jb n nb t3.wj* (34) *ᵀhsjj¹ [n ntr nfr] wb3 nswt M33-nht=f m3ˢ-hrw*

O god of sustenance who is pre-eminent in the upper houses, who gives bread and beer to Ptah, gives bread and beer to the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), Maanakhtef, justified.

Give beer for his breakfast, a shin of beef and cake of *sšrt*-grain. O ferryman of the Field of Reeds, conduct the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), Maanakhtef, to this bread (and) to your desert plateau, like the great father who travels in the divine boat; for the ka of the prince and count, confidant of the lord of the Two Lands, praised one of the good god, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), Maanakhtef, justified.

Text edition:

Drioton, É. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamud* (1926). *Les inscriptions*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1927, 49-51.

Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 17-22. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1955-1958, 1482-1484.

Translation:

Drioton, É. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamud* (1926). *Les inscriptions*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1927, 49-51.

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- Desroches Noblecourt, C. – Vercoutter, J. *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Égypte 1880-1980. A l'occasion du Centenaire de l'École du Caire (IFAO)*. École du Caire/Musée du Louvre, Le Caire – Paris, 1981, 222-223.
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Other literature:

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Gessler-Löhr, B. "Zur Datierung einiger königlicher Truchsesse unter Amenophis III." In Eggebrecht, A. – Schmitz, B. (Hrsg.): *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath: zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 30. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1990, 53-57.

[10.2] Stele, Leiden, H.III.T.1 (V 93)

Text above the sitting man on the left

- (1) *ṛwb3 nswt1* [*wᶜb ᶜ.wj jmj-r3*] *pr* (2) *ṛM33.n.j-nḥt(3)=f1*
 (1) The royal *wb3* clean of hands, steward, (2) Maaninakhtef.

Text above the standing man

- (1) *jr.t ḥtp-dj-nswt wᶜb wᶜb n k3=k* (2) *jn sšmw-ḥb n Wsjr* (3) *ṛsš nswt1* [*P3-sr*]
 (1) Making a very pure offering which the king gives to your ka (2) by the leader of the festival of Osiris, (3) royal scribe, Paser.

Text above the sitting couple on the right

- (1) *pr.r.t nb.t* (2) *ḥr wdḥw ṛn Wsjr1* (3) *ṛWnn-nfr n k3(4)=tn wᶜb wᶜb rᶜ nb n k3 n1* (5) *jm3ḥjj*
ṛBgnjj (6) *ḥm.t=f Tjnt-Mn-nfr* (7) *m3ᶜ.t-ḥrw1*
 (1) Everything what comes out (2) on the offering table of Osiris (3) Wenennefer for your ka (4) very pure every day to the ka of (5) the honoured Begeni (6) (and) his wife, Tinetmennefer, (7) justified.

Inscription below with cryptographic writing in the lines 7-10

- (1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-ṛḥntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw1 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr Hr-nd-jt=f prt-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t sntr md.t qbb* (2) *jr.p jr.t t ḥnk.t ṛrnp.wt nb.t ssn.t Bw1 m ṛᶜntjw jp d.t=f1 m33 sdm ṛš3s1 ḥr t3* (3) *r pr=f ṛtp-t3 jr.t ḥpr.w r mrr=f1 r s.t ḥtp jb=f jm pr n=f sn k3 t ṛm1 ḥw.t-ᶜ3.t m(4)-b3ḥ nb ṛd.t1 ntr=f ṛ3ḥ=f m ḥr.t-ntr ᶜnh b3=f rwd ḥ3.t=f dd.f1 m-ᶜ jm3ḥ.w* (5) *wnm.f šns swr:f ds ḥr ḥ3jj.t n(t) Wnn-nfr dm.tw rn=f1 rᶜ nb ṛqᶜḥ.tw1 n=f dr.t nn* (6) *3bw ṛn=f1 jr.t ṛḥss.t r r31 n js=f ts.tw ṛw3d r šnb.t=f shb1 pr:f ṛr-ḥ3* (7) *šms.f ḥntj-jmntjw m ḥb=f n w3g swᶜb.f sw m š shp ḥrd ḥᶜ.w=f1 jm jnk smr n kjj* (8) *ṛmjtj=f mrjj nb=f ḥrp mrjj jrj.w nb(.w) pr-nswt sr mrr 3ḥ n jtjj prjj m-ḥ3t=f ᶜq js* (9) *m-ḥt=f m-ḥnw ᶜḥ jr.tj n nswt t3.wj jnk bnr ṛmr.wt1 shṫp nswt-bjtj m mr=f prj.t m r3=f k3.t* (10) *ns Pth ds=f ᶜnh.wj Hr m m3ᶜ.t jb n nswt ḥ3tj n bjtj wb3 nswt M33.n.j-nḥt=f sn=f1 sš nswt Bgnjj ḥm.t=f Tjnt-Mn-nfr* (11) *ṛsš nswt m3ᶜ1 mrjj=f sšmw-ḥb n ṛWsjr1* [*P3-sr*] *s3 wᶜb n ḥ3t n Pth Tnr ms.n š3.t-Rᶜ*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, Isis, the great, mother of the god, (and) Hornedjitef, that they may grant invocation offering of cattle, birds, alabaster, clothing, incense, cool oil, (2) wine, milk, offering gift, all sorts of fresh plants, breathing the scent from myrrh, recovering his senses, seeing, hearing, travelling on the earth (3) to his house in this world, taking shape for his beloved on his resting place there, they come out to him, cattle (and) bread in the great temple (4) in front of the lord of infinity, his god, his akh-spirit in the necropolis, his ba lives, his corpse is enduring, he is persistent among the honoured ones, (5) he eats offering cake, he drinks beer from the altar of Wenennefer, his name is pronounced every day, offerings are made to him which never (6) end for him, the cult is performed at the entrance of the tomb, the papyrus (garland?) is bound on his chest to make it festive, he goes out, (7) he follows Foremost of the Westerners on his wag-festival (where?) he purifies him in the water in which his body rejuvenates. I am a friend, there is no one (8) like me (lit. him), beloved of his lord, beloved leader of all stewards of the royal house, affectionate official, helpful for the sovereign, coming out in front of him and also (9) going behind him in the palace, the two eyes of the king of the Two Lands. I am beloved by all, who makes the king of Upper and Lower Egypt satisfied by what he loved, what comes out of his mouth is the idea of (10) language of Ptah himself, ears of Horus in reality, heart of the king of Upper Egypt and heart of the king of Lower Egypt, **the royal** **wb3** Maaninakhtef, his brother, the royal scribe Begeni, (and) his wife Tinetmennefer, (11) the royal scribe, his truly beloved, leader of the festival of Osiris, Paser, son of the wab-priest of Ptah, who goes at the front, Tener, born of Satre.

Text edition:

Lieblein, J. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques: en ordre généalogique et alphabétique*. Christiania, Leipzig, 1871, 276.

Lieblein, J. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques: en ordre généalogique et alphabétique. Supplément*. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1892, 973.

Drioton, É. "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1, 1933, 23-30.

Translation:

Drioton, É. "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1, 1933, 23-30.

Publication:

- Leemans, C. *Descriptions raisonnées des monuments égyptiens de Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas*. H. W. Hazenberg, Leiden, 1840, 290.
- Boeser, P. A. A. *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: Egyptische afdeeling*. Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken, Leiden, 1907, 56.
- Boeser, P. A. A. *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*. Band 6. *Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches 3. Stelen*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1913, 9, Tf. 19.
- Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 262.

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[10.3] Funerary cone DM 8

jm3hjj-hr Wsjr jmj-r3 šnw.tj jmj-r3 ḥsb.w t n.w Šmꜥw Mḥw ḥrd n k3p wb3 n nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj M33.n.j-nḥt=f m3ꜥ-hrw

The one honoured by Osiris, overseer of the double granary, overseer of the counter of bread of Upper and Lower Egypt, child of the kap, royal *wb3* clean of hands, Maani-nakhtef, justified.

Text edition:

- Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 17-22. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1955-1958, 1484.

Translation:

- Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1961b, 120.
- Cumming, B. *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*. Vol. 2. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1984, 172.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 50.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/8>

General literature about the owner:

Kees, H. *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 1. Brill, Leiden – Köln, 1953, 78.

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 103-104, 272, 367, 481-482.

Manuelian, P. *Der Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 26. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1987, 130, 150.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

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[11] Iuti

Thutmose IV

[11.1] Stele, Cairo, JE 72268

Above the sphinx

mr.t Hr-(m-)ḥt

Beloved of Horemakhet.

In front of the king

(1) *ntr nfr Mn-ḥpr.w-R^c* (2) *s3 R^c Dhwtj-msjw ḥ^cj-ḥ^c.w* (3) *dj ḥnh d.t* (4) *ḥnh mj R^c* (5) *d.t*

(1) The good god, **Menkheperure**, (2) son of Re, **Djehutimes**, shining in appearances,

(3) given life forever, (4) live like Re forever.

Text in front of the man

(1) *wb3 nswt hrd n k3p Jwtj* (2) *wb3 nswt ḥ3 n ḥ.t ḥnk.t*

(1) Royal *wb3*, child of the kap, Iuti, (2) royal *wb3*, chief of the supplies magazine.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁶ Al-Ayedi translates this title as 'chief royal butler in the kitchen of the palace', see Al-Ayedi, 2006, 227, however, I prefer the translation above based on Hannig, 2006, 136.

Text edition:

Zivie, C. M. *Giza au deuxième millénaire*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 70. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1976, 166-168.

Translation:

Zivie, C. M. *Giza au deuxième millénaire*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 70. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1976, 166-168.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. (1974) *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: *Memphis*. Part 1: *Abû Rawâsh to Abûşîr*, Oxford, 43.

Zivie, C. M. *Giza au deuxième millénaire*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 70. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1976, 166-168.

Other literature:

Hassan, S. *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets. Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations*. Government Press, Cairo, 1953, 81, Fig. 66.

Gessler-Löhr, B. "Zur Datierung einiger königlicher Truchsesse unter Amenophis III." In Eggebrecht, A. – Schmitz, B. (Hrsg.): *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath: zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 30. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1990, 73.

General literature about the owner:

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Middle of the 18th dynasty – Amenhotep III and Akhenaten**[12] Heqanakht**

Amenhotep III

[12.1] Stele, Leiden, AP.19

Upper register

Above Osiris

Wsjr-ḥntj-jmntjw ntr wsr

Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the powerful god.

Behind the throne of Osiris

sn.t=fmr(.t)=f nb.t pr S3(.t)-R^c

His sister, his beloved one, lady of the house, Satre.

Above and in front of the two officials

*wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj ʕ n ntr nfr šmsw nb rww.t=f ḥr ḥ3s(.wt) rsj.t mḥj.t Ḥq3-nḥtw*The royal *wb3* clean of hands, agent of the good god, follower of the lord on his journeys to the southern and northern lands, Heqanakht.*jdnw n ʕ.t ḥnq.t P3-jmrd*

Deputy of the beer chamber, Paimred.

Lower register

In front of the sitting figures

*wb3 nswt Ḥq3-nḥtw*The royal *wb3*, Heqanakht.

In front of the standing man

jr:n jdnw n ʕ.t ḥnq.t P3-jmrd

Performed by the deputy of the beer chamber, Paimred.

Above the standing woman

sn.t=f nb.t pr Nb(.t)-nh.t

His sister, lady of the house, Nebetnehet.

Text at the bottom

(1) *htp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-jmnt.t Pth-Skr-Wsjr Wp-w3wt-Šmꜥw Wp-w3wt-(2)Mḥw Jnpw
 ??? dj.sn pr.t-ḥrw 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t snṯr šs3.t qbḥw jrp ḥ.t nb.t nfr(.t) wꜥb(.t) n k3 n (3) jdnw n
 ꜥ.t ḥnq.t P3-jmrd ms nb.t R3-3j m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost-of-the-West, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Wepwawet of the South, Wepwawet of the North, Anubis ??? that they may give an invocation offering of birds, alabaster, clothing, incense, ointment, libation, wine, all sorts of good and pure things, to the ka of the deputy of the beer chamber, Paimred, son of the lady of the house, Rai, justified.

Text edition:

Lieblein, J. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques: en ordre généalogique et alphabétique*. Christiania, Leipzig, 1871, 274.

Lieblein, J. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques: en ordre généalogique et alphabétique. Supplément*. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1892, 972.

Publication:

Leemans, C. *Descriptions raisonnée des monuments égyptiens de Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas*. H. W. Hazenberg, Leiden, 1840, 280.

Boeser, P. A. A. *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: Egyptische afdeeling*. Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken, Leiden, 1907, 55.

Boeser, P. A. A. *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*. Band 6. *Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches 3. Stelen*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1913, 5.

Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 100. <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=AP+19>

Other literature:

Bresciani, E. "La stele Cat. 1908 del Museo Civico di Bologna e gli altri monumenti del primo araldo del re, scriba del re, scriba dell'esercito e scriba delle reclute, Senu." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 37, 1981, 94, n. 13.

[13] Sennefer

Amenhotep III

[13.1] Sistophor statue, Berlin, ÄM 21595

Right shoulder

wb3 nswt Sn-nfr

The royal *wb3*, Sennefer.

Left shoulder

jmj-r3 pr Sn-nfr

The steward, Sennefer.

Right leg

dj.s wr:t nfr:t n jmj-r3 pr Sn-nfr

May she grant good old age for the steward, Sennefer.

Front of the statue

B3st.t nb.t B3s.t

Bastet, lady of Bubastis.

Left leg

dj.s ḥꜥw nfr m pr nswt n jmj-r3 pr Sn-nfr

May she grant good lifetime in the palace for the steward, Sennefer.

Back pillar

(1) *jmj-r3 ḥm.w ntr n Pth-ḥntj-Tnnt Sn-nfr* (2) *m3ꜥ-ḥrw* (3) *jmj-r3 pr wr n nswt wb3 nswt Sn-nfr* (4) *m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

(1) Overseer of the prophets of Ptah, Foremost-of-Tjenenet, Sennefer, (2) justified. (3) High steward of the king, royal *wb3*, Sennefer, (4) justified.

On the right on the base

jmj-r3 ḥm.w ntr n Mnw nb Jpw jmj-r3 pr Sn-nfr

Overseer of the prophets of Min, lord of Achmim, the steward, Sennefer.

On the left on the base

hm ntr tpj n Jmn m Hnt-nfr Sn-nfr

High priest of Amun in Khenetnefer, Sennefer.

On the front on the base

sšmw-hb n Pth Sn-nfr

Leader of the festival of Ptah, Sennefer.

Text edition:

Roeder, G. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Band 2. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1924, 398.

Publication:

Schulz, R. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“*. Band 1-2. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1992, 80-81, Taf. 6c

Other literature:

Gardiner, A. H. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. Vol. II. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1947, 121.

Vandier, J. *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne*. Tome III: *Les grandes époques la statuaire*. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 1958, 452, n. 12, 454, n. 2.

Clère, J. J. "Propos sur un corpus des statues sistophore égyptiennes." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 96, 1970, 2, n. 4.

Gessler-Löhr, B. "Zur Datierung einiger königlicher Truchsesse unter Amenophis III." In Eggebrecht, A. – Schmitz, B. (Hrsg.): *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath: zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 30. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1990, 58, 71-73.

General literature about the owner:

Kees, H. *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 1. Brill, Leiden – Köln, 1953, 109-110, 324.

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 374, 488.

Zivie, A. “Aper-el et ses voisins: considérations sur les tombes rupestres de la XVIII^e dynastie à Saqqarah.” In Zivie, A. (éd.): *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire. Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions. Actes du Colloque International CNRS, Paris, 9 au 11 octobre 1986*. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 1988, 108.

Zivie, A. “Seth, échanson royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara.” In van Dijk, J. (ed.): *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*. Styx, Groningen, 1997, 379-380.

[14] Neferrenpet (I)

Amenhotep III

[14.1] Relief fragment, Boston, MFA 1972.651

See below by Sarenenutet T'jau on p. 395.

[14.2] Statue, Paris, E 14241

Inscription on the back pillar

(1) [*h̄tp*]-*dj-nswt* <*n*> [*Jmn-R*^c] *h̄nt dsr:t H̄w.t-Hr hr-tp smjj.t dj.sn d̄3.t [r]* (2) *Jp.t-sw t r ʿṯ.t¹ h̄.t r^c nb prj m t̄3 r m̄3 Jmn m h̄b=f nfr n jn.t šsp* (3) *w^cb mn̄h.t h̄n^c wr.w b^ch̄ jm m p̄3 psd̄.t n k̄3 n wb̄3 nswt⁹²⁷ jmj-r̄3 pr Nfr-rnpt m̄3^c-h̄rw*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Amun-Re, at the front of Deir el-Bahari (and) Hathor, who is at the head of the mountain that they may grant sailing (2) Karnak to arrange things every day, going out to the earth and seeing Amun on his Beautiful Feast of the Valley, receiving (3) wab-cloth together with the great ones, being well-supplied there with the Ennead to the ka of royal *wb̄3*, the steward, Neferrenpet, justified.

Inscription on the front of the statue

On the cloth

(1) *pr̄r:t nb.t hr wd̄h̄w n H̄w.t-Hr* (2) *nb.t hr-tp smjj.t n k̄3 n wb̄3 nswt w^cb* (3) *ʿ.wj ʿ3 n ʿ.t n nb t̄3.wj jmj-r̄3 pr* (4) *Nfr-rnpt m̄3^c-h̄rw dd.f jnk jh̄ij* (5) *n h̄nw.t=j wh̄mw n nb.t m̄3^c(.t) s^cr* (6) *sp̄r:t hr-nb n nbw r-h̄nw pr=s* (7) *ʿ.wj w^cb hr h̄nk n nb(.t) m̄3^c.t* (8) *mn̄j.t m-b̄3h̄ psd̄.t n k̄3 n (Nfr-rnpt)⁹²⁸*

⁹²⁷ Moret transcribes it as *wh̄mw*, Boreux transcribes it as *wb̄3 nswt*. For lack of seeing the original inscription, I accept the latter since *wh̄mw* does not appear among the titles of Neferrenpet anywhere else, whereas *wb̄3 nswt* does appear several times.

⁹²⁸ Boreux transcribes here the name of the owner as well, see Boreux, 1933, 24, in contrast to Moret and Helck who finish the transcription with *n k̄3 n*, see Moret, 1919, 164, and Helck, 1955-1958, Urk.

(1) All that comes out on the offering table of Hathor, (2) the lady at the head of the mountain, to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of (3) hands, chief of the magazine of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, (4) Neferrenpet, justified. He says: 'I am a musician priest (5) of my mistress, a herald of the lady of truth, who presents (6) the petition of every person to the Golden One inside her sanctuary, (7) (my) hands are pure to offer (8) the menat in front of the Ennead, to the ka of (Neferrenpet).

On the left

(1) *šsp snw m dbḥ.t-ḥtp ḥr wdḥw n* (2) *ḥr-tp n jn.t n k3 n wb3 nswt wḥb ʿ.wj* (3) *ʿ3 n ʿ.t n nb t3.wj jmj-r3 pr Nfr-rnpt m3ʿ-ḥrw*

(1) Receiving offering bread as an offering meal on the offering table of (2) the head of the valley to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands, (3) chief of the magazine of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, Neferrenpet, justified.

Around the basin

(1) *šsp k3 bḥw m ḥnk(.t) ḥr.t-ḥrw n.t rʿ nb* (2) *šsp ʿq.w pr m-b3ḥ ḥr ḥnw.t p.t nb.t t3.wj* (3) *jn wb3 nswt wḥb ʿ.wj ʿ3 n ʿ.t n nb t3.wj jmj-r3 pr Nfr-rnpt m3ʿ-ḥrw*

(1) Receiving abundant provision as offering gift daily, (2) receiving nourishment that comes out in front of the mistress of the sky, lady of the Two Lands (3) by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, Neferrenpet, justified.

On the left side of the pedestal

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> psd.t ḥr.t-jb dsr.t dj.sn jw ms(.w)=f mn m s.t=f ḥ.t=sn smn tp t3 rn=f wnn m j3w m-s3 d.t sp sn n k3 n wb3 nswt jmj-r3 pr Nfr-rnpt m3ʿ-ḥrw

An offering which the king gives <to> the Ennead who are in the necropolis that they may grant that his children remain in his place, their property should be firm on the earth, his name should exist in the praise further on forever and ever to the ka of the royal *wb3*, the steward, Neferrenpet, justified.

On the right side of the pedestal

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-jmntjw dj.f ḥtp b3=f m wsh.t tn m bw nb mr.n.f m ḥpr.w mr.n.f m-m nb.w Jwnw m-s3 d.t n k3 n wb3 nswt wḥb ʿ.wj jmj-r3 pr Nfr-rnpt m3ʿ-ḥrw

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners that he may grant to rest his ba in this courtyard, in every place he wishes, in every form he wishes, among the lords of Heliopolis further on forever to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands, the steward, Neferrenpet, justified.

Text edition:

- Moret, A. "Monuments égyptiens de la collection du comte de Saint-Ferriol." *Revue Égyptologique, Nouvelle Série* I, 1919, 163-166.
- Boreux, C. "La statue du «serviteur royal» Nofirronpit (Musés du Louvre)." *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation Eugène Piot* 33. Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1933, 11-26.
- Drioton, É. "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1, 1933, 20-22.
- Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 17-22. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*. IV. Abteilung. J. C. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1955-1958, 1856.

Translation:

- Moret, A. "Monuments égyptiens de la collection du comte de Saint-Ferriol." *Revue Égyptologique, Nouvelle Série* I, 1919, 163-166.
- Boreux, C. "La statue du «serviteur royal» Nofirronpit (Musés du Louvre)." *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation Eugène Piot* 33. Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1933, 11-26.

Publication:

- Moret, A. "Monuments égyptiens de la collection du comte de Saint-Ferriol." *Revue Égyptologique, Nouvelle Série* I, 1919, 163-166.
- Boreux, C. "La statue du «serviteur royal» Nofirronpit (Musés du Louvre)." *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation Eugène Piot* 33. Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1933, 11-26.
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- Hornemann, B. *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*. Vol. II. Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1957, 401.

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Clère, J. J. "Propos sur un corpus des statues sistophore égyptiennes." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 96, 1970, 1-4.

[14.3] Funerary cone DM 335?

wb3 nswt Nfr-rnpt

Royal *wb3* Neferrenpet.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 146.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/335>

[15] Sarenenutet Tjau

Amenhotep III

[15.1] Block statue, London, BM EA 1459

Inscription on the front

(1) *wb3 nswt T3wj dd.f jnk jhij* (2) *n Hw.t-Hr sdm spr.t* (3) *šrj.t nb.t ntj rm ntj grg* (4) *Hw.t-Hr jmj sgnn hr wp.t=j srm* (5) *r r3=j t hnq.t n 1 wdn.tn1* (6) *jmj snw m-b3h<=>j> k3 dd n Hw.t-Hr sdm.n.s n whm.t n k3=f jw wfb hm ntr n k3 nswt 1nh [...]*

The Royal Butler, Tjau, he says 'I am the *jhy*⁹²⁹ [.....] of Hathor, who listens to the petitions of every young girl who weeps and who trusts in Hathor. Place perfumed oil upon my forehead, and beer for my mouth, bread and beer from what you offer, place offerings in front of (me); then I shall speak to Hathor, (for) she has listened to what is repeated.' For his *ka*, who is pure (?), the priest of the living royal *ka* [...].⁹³⁰

Inscription on the left side

(1) *rdj.t j3w n Hw.t-Hr sn-t3 n hr-tp W3s.t nb(.t) Dsrw* (2) *jn wb3 nswt wfb 1.wj 13 n wfb(.w) n Wr.t-hk3w T3wj m31-hrw* (3) *dd.f jnd-hr t3-jh.t n nbw nfr.t hr 1š3* (4) *jwn wfb.t m p.t ntj=s Hw.t-Hr hr-tp R1 wn* (5) *jr.tj hd.w K3š hnwt wr(.t) Pwnt hnm.t nfr.t n* (6) *mhj.t hnwt t3w ndm jw n=t mht.t m t3w rsj.t m špj wsr* (7) *jw3.w 3pd.w sntr m31 m r3-pr=t jr Pth js.t* (8) *m 11.wj=fj*

⁹²⁹ Pinch, 1993, 333, n. 1. This can be translated as 'sistrum-player' or 'musician' (Schott, 1950, 81f; Barucq – Daumas, 1980, 438), but it is a specific religious title whose bearers could be of high rank. It occurs on another intermediary statue of a royal *wb3*, Neferrenpet (I), see on p. 379.

⁹³⁰ Translation is after Pinch, 1993, 333.

jr mshn¹ n jb[=t] dj šsp snw n wnn m-b3h<=t> df3.w (9) n r3-pr=t ʿq pr ʿ.wj wʿb m tp Dsrw jmn W3s.t n k3 n wb3 nswt T3wj

Giving praise to Hathor, veneration to the one at the top of Thebes, lady of Deir el-Bahari by the royal *wb3* pure of hands, chief of the wab-priests of Werethekau, Tjaui, justified. He says: 'Hail to the Golden Cow, the beautiful one with many colours, the only one in the sky, she is, Hathor, who is on the forehead of Re, (whose) eyes punish Kush, the great mistress of Punt, the fair spring of the north wind, mistress of the sweet air. The north comes to you as a breeze, the south as dashes of oars, carrying longhorn cattle, birds, incense to offer in your temple. May Ptah make the chamber with his two hands, make a resting place for your heart. Let (me), receiving the offering bread that is in front of you and the nourishment that is in your temple, enter and come out with pure hands on the top of Djaseru west of Thebes, to the ka of the royal *wb3*, Tjaui.

Inscription on the right side

(1) Wsjr wb3 nswt T3wj m3ʿ-hrw dj.tw n=k t 4 m Ddw ʿt¹ 8 m 3bdw (2) t 12 m W-pqr dj.tw n=k rd.wj=k r šmj hpd=k r hmsj (3) dbʿ.w=k r šsp h.t djdj.t n=k nb.t wnm.k psn pr (4) m rsw.t bj.t pr hr bd3 dj.tw n=k jb=k n mw.t=k h3tj(5)=k n wnn=k tpj-t3 wnm.k nhn.w sdb.k (6) b3jj jsbnbn.k hr hnk.t (7) dj n=k ntr.w ntjw jm sšm.sn nfr mj jr.tw (8) n ntr nb n ntr.t nb.t n Wsjr wb3 nswt T3wj m3ʿ-hrw

Osiris royal *wb3* Tjaui, justified, may 4 loaves of bread be given to you in Busiris, 8 loaves of bread in Abydos, 12 loaves of bread in U-Poqer, may your feet be given to you to walk, your backside to sit, your fingers to receive all the things which are given to you. May you eat *psn*-bread which comes out in the morning (lit. at awakening) and flat bread which comes out of the bread mould, may your *jb*-heart, which belongs to your mother, be given to you, and your *h3tj*-heart that you had on the earth. May you eat *nhn.w*-bread, may you consume malt, may you lie in bed. May the gods, who are there, be granted to you, they lead (you) well as they do to every god and to every goddess, and to Osiris royal *wb3* Tjaui, justified.

Inscription on the back

(1) htp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn-Rʿ Wrt-hq3w dj.sn t Bw mw ʿntjw n wb3 nswt (2) T3wj m3ʿ-hrw dj.w.n Rʿ 3h m p.t n wb3 nswt T3wj dj.w.n Gb (3) wsr m t3 n wb3 nswt T3wj dj.w<.n> Jtm qrs.t nfr.t n wb3 nswt T3wj (4) dj.w<.n> Wsjr m3ʿ-hrw n wb3 nswt T3wj jr.n H3t ms.n nb.t pr (5) Rj m3ʿ.t-hrw

An offering which the king gives <to> Amun-Re and Werethekau that they may grant bread, breath, water, myrrh to the royal *wb3*, Tjaiui, justified. May Re grant entering to the sky to the royal *wb3*, Tjaiui. May Geb grant strength on the earth to the royal *wb3*, Tjaiui. May Atum grant beautiful burial to the royal *wb3*, Tjaiui. May Osiris grant justification to the royal *wb3*, Tjaiui, son of Hat, born of the lady of the house, Ri, justified.

Text edition:

Clère, J. J. *Les chauves d'Hathor*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 63. Peeters, Leuven, 1995, 200-207.

Translation:

Naville, E. *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Part III. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1913, 7-8, pl. IX A, a-c

Barucq, A. – Dumas, F. *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne*. Cerf, Paris, 1980, 437-439.

Schott, S. *Altägyptische Liebeslieder: mit Märchen und Liebesgeschichten*. Artemis Verlag, Zurich, 1950, 81.

Hermann, A. *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1959, 110.

Pinch, G. *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1993, 172, 333-334.

Clère, J. J. *Les chauves d'Hathor*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 63. Peeters, Leuven, 1995, 204-205.

Assmann, J. *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*. Band 2: *Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabschriften des Neuen Reiches*. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg, 2005, 329-330.

Publication:

Naville, E. *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Part III. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1913, 7-8, pl. IX A, a-c

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. II: *Theban Temples*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1972, 395.

Clère, J. J. *Les chauves d'Hathor*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 63. Peeters, Leuven, 1995, 200-207.

Other literature:

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In Eggebrecht, A. – Schmitz, B. (Hrsg.): *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath: zum 70. Geburt-*

stag am 19. Februar 1990. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 30. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1990, 60-70.

Pinch, G. *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1993, 172, 333-334.

[15.2] Block statue, Cairo, CG 632

On the places between the hands and the shoulders

At right

wb3 nswt S3[-rnn-wtt]

The royal *wb3*, Sa[renenutet],

At left

(1) dd (n=)f T3[wj] (2) m3^c-hrw hr ntr 3

Called Tja[wi], justified in front of the great god.

At the neck

j3w R^c-Hr-3htj

Praise to Re-Harakhti.

At the front of the statue

(1) j3w R^c-Hr-3htj hft wbn=f m 3h.t j3bt.t (2) n p.t dd mdw jn wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw dd n=f (3) T3wj m3^c-hrw dd.f jnd-hr=k R^c m wbn=k T¹tm¹ (4) m htp=k nfr h^c.k psd.k hr T¹psd¹ mw.t=k h^c[-tj m]⁹³¹ (5) T¹nswt¹ psd.t jrjj M3^c.t njnj n-hr=k nm.n.k⁹³² (6) hr.t p.t jb=k 3wj. w mr nh3.wj b^ch m rn[...] (7) [...] n=k hftj=k hr T¹hsq¹ tp=f[...]nk 3w=f(?) s[...] (8) n sd.t h3.t=f m tm wnn T¹m^cnd.t¹ [m m3^cw]⁹³³ (9) nfr mskt.t sk.n.s [ph.s ...] (10) [...]kw[...] (11) [...] (12) [...]jw[...]jw rh.k (13) [...] T¹ntj¹? [...]T¹fmw.t¹

(1) Praise to Re-Harakhti at his rising on the eastern horizon (2) of the sky! Words spoken by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Sarenenutet, justified, called (3) Tjau, justified. He said: 'Hail to you, Re in your rising, Atum (4) in your beautiful setting. You appear, you shine upon the back of your mother, appearing as (5) the king of the Ennead. Maat greets you, you travel (6) through the sky with wide-opened heart, the lake of knives floods in the name(?) [...] (7) [...] to you, your enemy has fallen, his head has been cut off, [...]??? his death(?) [...] (8) firing his corpse completely, the *M^cnd.t*-barque is in favourable [wind,]

⁹³¹ Complemented after Assmann, 1983, XX, A4.

⁹³² *k* is emended after Assmann, 1983, XX, A7.

⁹³³ Complemented after Assmann, 1983, XX, A11.

(9) the Msktt-barque destroyed the one who had [attacked it.] (10) [... ..] ??? [... ..]
 (11) [... ..] (12) [... ..] you are acquainted (13) [... ..] who(?) [... ..] mother/Mut(?)'.

At the right side of the statue with the figure of a kneeling, raised handed man in the middle

(1) *j3w R^c-Hr-3htj htp.f m n^h m 3h.t¹ jmnt.t¹ [n p.t dd mdw jn?]* (2) *wb3 nswt w^cb^c wj S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw dd n=f T3wj m3^c-hrw* (3) *dd.f jnd-hr=k R^c htp.k m n^h hnm.n.k* (4) *m 3h.t n.t p.t jw=k h^c-tj m-gs jmntj m Jtm* (5) *jm mšrw jw-tj m šhm¹=k nn¹* (6) *rqj.k hq3.n.k hr:t m R^c s3h(7).k p.tj=kj m ndm-jb m hsr.n.k* (8) *h3tj¹ šnj.t h3.n.k⁹³⁴* (9) *m-h.t mw.t=k Nwnt jt=k¹ Nwn¹ [hr]⁹³⁵* (10) *jr.t njnj ntr:w¹ M3nw¹ m hnw jmj [dw3.t]* (11) *m h^cw.t¹ m3.sn nb=sn [pd]* (12) *nmt.t¹ Jmn-R^c nb¹ tmw¹ [...]*h^c.k? wn[...]* m [...]* (13) *hsj.w=k m [...].s.w hm=k r^c nb wb3 nswt w^cb^c wj* (14) *jrj-^c.t n pr¹ Wrt¹-hk3w S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw dd n=f T3wj¹* (15) *m3^c-hrw jr:n s3b H3t m3^c-hrw ms.n nb.t pr Rj [m3^c.t-hrw]*

(1) Praise to Re-Harakhti (as) he sets on the western horizon [of the sky! Words spoken by(?)] (2) the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Sarenenutet, justified, called T'jauī, justified. (3) He said: 'Hail to you, Re (as) you set alive, after you have been united (4) with the horizon of the sky. You appear on the west side as Atum (5) in the evening, coming in your power without (6) anyone defying you after you have ruled the sky with Re. You reach (7) your two skies in happiness after you have driven away (8) clouds and storms. As you descended (9) into the womb of your mother Naunet, your father Nun (10) greeted you. The gods of the Western Mountain are in jubilation, the dwellers of the underworld (11) are rejoicing when they see their far-striding lord, (12) Amun-Re, the lord of the mankind. [...] ??? [...] (13) your favours(?) as/in [...] your servant every day, the royal *wb3* clean of hands, (14) keeper of the storehouse of the house of Werethekau, Sarenenutet, justified, called 'T'jauī, (15) justified, son of the sab, Hat, justified, born of the lady of the house, Ri, [justified]'.

At the back of the statue

(1) *dd mdw jn wb3 nswt w^cb^c wj S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw dd n=f T3wj m3^c-hrw* (2) *dd jn=tn rmt wnnjj n^h.w tpj-t3 ntj m hpr jnk* (3) *s^ch n sdm.n.f m3^ctjj n tp.t-r^c=f? šw m jsf.t* (4) *hsw ntr hr gr qbb jmj(5)=tn jr.tj=f hr m33 sqd hr ??? m-b3h* (6) *[...]*t^c? jnk [...]* h3t hm hr wd3t* (7) *n3 [...]* T3wj m3^c-hrw (8) *H3t s3[... .. Wrt-]hk3w* (9) *[... ..] jrj-^c.t n pr [Wrt-]* (10) *hk3w T3wj [...]* hr-jb štjj.t (11) *n m3^c-hrw T3wj [... ..] hr.t-ntr [...]* (12) *q3j? ??? [... ..] T3wj [...]* (13) *Dhwtj*

⁹³⁴ *k* is emended after Assmann, 1983, XXII, B10.

⁹³⁵ Complemented after Assmann, 1983, XXII, B11.

ḥr-tp mh3.t s[...] nfr [... ...] šwt [...] nt [...] (14) [...] ṛm3^c-ḥrw¹ jnk [... ...]w nḥm [...] (15) ph j3w [... ...] wn w^cb ^c.wj jr:f (16) qsn.t r [... ... n] k3 n T3wj nb jm3ḥ

(1) Words spoken by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Sarenenutet, justified, called Tjaiui, justified, (2) said by you, people who are living on the earth, who exist, I am (3) an honourable dead, who heard the truth of his utterance(?) and devoid of falsehood, (4) favoured of the god, silent and moderate. Give (5) his two eyes for seeing, open out(?) ??? in front, (6) [...] ??? I am [...] before the Majesty possessing the udjat-eye, (8) [...] Tjaiui, justified, Hat, [...] Weret]hekau, (9) [...] keeper of the storehouse of the house of Werethekau, (10) Tjaiui [...] in the tomb (11) of the justified (one), Tjaiui [...] the necropolis [...] (12) [...] ??? [...] Tjaiui [...] (13) Djehuti, who has authority over the balance, [...] ??? [...] (14) [...] justified, I am [...] poor [...] (15) getting old [...] being clean of hands, who makes (16) misfortune(?) [...] to] the ka of Tjaiui, lord of veneration.

At the left side of the statue with the figure of a kneeling, raised handed man in the middle

(1) rdj.t j3w n Wsjr sn-t3 n Wnn-nfr ṛjn¹ [wb3] nswt (2) S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-ḥrw dd n=f T3wj m3^c-ḥrw dd.f (3) j3w n=k hntj-jmnt.t nb 3bdw ḥr-jb ṛT3-wr¹ (4) sms.w n Gb šffj.t=f wr:t [...] (5) [...] šw.tj nfr ḥd.t snsn sm3jj.t Nbtj m ḥ3t=f [...]sns? m-ḥr (6) tp=f q3j ḥr j3.t=f r ntr:w jr n=f mdḥ m mr (7) Wnn-nfr nb d.t dj n=f ḥq3.t [...]m (8) hnt Nnj-nswt wr:f3wj m t3 (9) jr:tj=fj jtjj ḥ^c m Jnb-ḥd dsr:w? (10) m R3—st3w ntr ntr:t m-dd šmsw ntrj? (11) m-ḥ3t b3 ^cnḥ m Ḥpš dj.t [...] šms (12) sw3š j nfrw ḥm=k dw3 [...]w m ṛrn=k¹ (13) pw m s.t=k nb(.t) nfr:t s[...]ṛ[...] (14) rn=k nb.w mj ^c3=k r ntr:w jn wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj ṛT3wj¹ (15) m3^c-ḥrw jr:n s3b Jmn-m-ḥ3t ms.n nb.t pr Rj [m3^c.t-ḥrw]

(1) Giving praise to Osiris, veneration to Wenennefer by the royal *wb3* (2) Sarenenutet, justified, called Tjaiui, justified. He says: (3) 'Praise to you, Foremost of the West, lord of Abydos in the middle of Thinis, (4) whose majesty was brought by Geb, the crown [...] (5) the nice shuti-crown and the white crown conjoining the union of the Two Ladies on his forehead [...] on the front?, (6) his head has raised higher on the standard than the gods, making the headband for him with love, (7) Wenennefer, lord of the infinity, is the one who gave him the rulership [...] at (8) the head of Herakleopolis, his greatness is spreading in the land, (9) the two eyes of the sovereign(?) appear in Inebhedj and being sacred? (10) in Rosetjau, god and goddess as divine follower (11) at the front of the living ba in Khepesh, make [...] present(?) (12) paying honour to, oh, the beauty of your Majesty, praise [...] what as your name is, (13) in every nice places of yours [...] (14) all of your

names like your greatness from the gods, by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Tjaiu, justified, son of the sab, Amenemhat, born of the lady of the house, Ri, justified’.

Text edition:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil II. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1925, 180-183, pl. 116.

Translation:

Assmann, J. *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik* I. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 19. Bruno Hessling, Berlin, 1969, 228-230, 263, 376.

Publication:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil II. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1925, 180-183, pl. 116.

Hornemann, B. *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*. Vol. III. Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1957, 634.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. II: *Theban Temples*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1972, 259.

Other literature:

Vandier, J. *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne*. Tome III: *Les grandes époques la statuaire*. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 1958, 473-474.

[15.3] Relief fragment, Boston, MFA 1972.651⁹³⁶

Front of the relief

First register

Above the first figure

wb3 nswt T3wj m3^c-hrw

The royal *wb3*, Tjaiu, justified.

⁹³⁶ Translation is after Simpson, 1973a, 68-82.

Second register

Above the two main figures on the left

(1) *h3j mh mh.w sp sn* (2) *p3 htp ntr n t3 ntr:t* (3) *ssnb n p3 hq3 nfr* (4) *dj.s sw n=n r nhh* (5) *jn wb3 nswt 3 n wcb(.w) n* (6) *Wrt-hk3w T3wj m3c-hrw*

Measuring in full. How well filled is the divine offering of the goddess! May she make the good ruler healthy and give him to us forever, says the royal cup-bearer (*wb3 nswt*), the chief of the priests of Weret-Hekau, Tja-wy, the vindicated.

Above the field-hands

(1) *jj.t hr 3nh n Wrt-hk3w n wb3 nswt* (2) *3 n wcb(.w) T3wj hs.n tw Mrt-(3)[sgr] 1c1 m-hnw=s m3 [...]*

Coming with garlands for Weret-Hekau by the royal cup-bearer (*wb3 nswt*), the chief of priests Tja-wy. May Meres[ger?] praise you [-----] standing inside it and viewing [-----].

h3 h3w.w

The grain-measurers measure.

Third register

Above the seated members on the right

(1) *hms.t m sh n* (2) *ndm-jb? r šsp 3.t nfr:t* (3) *jn wb3 nswt wcb 3.wj* (4) *T3wj m3c-hrw* (5) *jt=f mr=f* (6) *H3t m3c-hrw* (7) *mw.t=f mr:t=f* (8) *Nfrt-jrjj m3c.t-hrw*

Sitting in a pavilion of pleasure to partake of a pleasant moment by the royal cup-bearer (*wb3 nswt*), clean of hands, Tja-wy, the vindicated, his beloved father Hat, the vindicated, and his beloved mother, Nefretiry the vindicated.

Above the serving girl in the centre

(1) *k3=k jr hrw nfr p3-qbb* (2) *hsjj [n Jmn?] m pr=k nfr n* (3) *ndm-jb m dj n=k Wrt-hk3w* (4) *sn.t=f n mw.t=f* (5) *Mrjj(.t)-Pth m3c.t-hrw*

To your ka. Celebrate a holiday, O calm one, praised [of Amun] in your goodly house of pleasure which Weret-Hekau has given to you. His maternal sister Meryet-Ptah, the vindicated.

Above the serving girl in the lower register on the left

wb3y.t [Jmn-]hr-mk.t.f

The serving girl [Amun?]-her-meketef.

Fourth register

Above the seated figures on the right

(1) *wb3 nswt ʕ3 n ʕ.t n* (2) [*Jmn?/...*] ⁹³⁷ (3) *Nfr-rnpt m3^c-hrw* (4) *sn.t=f nb.t pr* (5) [...] (6) *sn.t n mw.t=f* (7) *P3-wrt m3^c.t-hrw?*

The royal cup-bearer (*wb3 nswt*), the chief of the chamber of [-----], Nefer-renpet, the vindicated, his sister, the house-mistress [-----]ia, and the sister of his mother, Ta⁹³⁸-weret.

Above the man in the centre

(1) *jn s3 n sn=f* (2) *sš Wsr-h3t*

By the son of his brother, the scribe User-hat.

Above the deceased on the left

(1) [...] *jt=f* (2) *mw.t=f jn* (3) *wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj* (4) *T3wj* (5) *m3^c-hrw*

[...] with his father and his mother, by the royal cup-bearer (*wb3 nswt*), clean of hands, Tja-wy, the vindicated.

Fifth register

Above the seated deceased on the right

(1) *m33 jnw* (2) *nb n sh.t jr.t* (3) ??? (4) [...] (5) [...] (6) [...] (7) [*ʕ3 n w^cb(.w)*] (8) *ʿWrt-hk3w¹* (9) *ʿT3wj¹*

Viewing all the products of the fields, making [census, by the royal cup-bearer, clean of hands, chief of the weeb-priests of Weret-Hekau, Tja-wy].

Above the figure in the centre

sš H3tj

The scribe Hati.

In the upper register on the left

In front of the first man

hrw=f

His dependents.

⁹³⁷ The titles *ʕ3 n ʕ.t n nb t3.wj* 'chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands' and *jmj-r3 pr* 'steward' can be identified here from other remains of Neferrenpet (I).

⁹³⁸ It is rather a *p3* sign on the relief.

Above the bowing man

H3wt

Khawet

H^cj

Khay

Above the man behind the seated deceased

Nht-Mntw

Nakht-Montu

In the lower register on the left

Above the offering bearers

šm.t w3h.n sdr:n hr h.t=n

Going, that we may offer, as we lie down upon our belly.

Above the seated deceased

wb3 nswt T3wj

The royal *wb3*, Tjauī.

Above the man behind him

W^cw

Wau

Back of the relief

(1) [...] *ʿjj.t¹ nb.t hr ʿwdhw¹=sn ʿn¹ r^c nb ?r* [...] (2) [...] *hb wr tpj-rnp.t smd.t* [...] (3) [...] *nb hb spj d3 Skr* [...] (4) [...] *dd nb šsp.t jtrw nb ʿjhhjj¹* (5) [...] *m3^c-hrw dd.fj sš nb w^cb nb hrj-hb nb ʿrq m mdw-ntr* (6) [...] *jr tn ʿh^c nfr w3h tp t3 hr šms ntr=tn* [...] (7) [...] *mj dd.tn htp-dj-nswt 1000 m t hnq.t 1000 m k3.w 3pd.w 1000 m htp.t* [...] (8) [...] *jr rmt nb.t jmj-r3 k3.t nb.t hr:t-ntr nb jrrjj nb.t* (9) [...] *ʿjs¹* [...] *nn qrs.tw.f hr jmnt.t wnn.f m hbd n* (10) [...] *tw js hr=ʿf¹ nn wn h3.f r nšm.t nn m3.n.f ʿntr¹* [...] (11) [...] *sw Hntj-jmntjw Wnn-nfr hr nt jr.n.j m m3^c.t nn m* [...] (12) [...] *jnk mtr m3^c jqr nb qd w3h-jb qbb srf šw m grg jnk ʿhsjj?¹* (13) [...] *jm=f.jn.n.j ʿjnr=f¹ m R3-3w* [...] *wn?* [...] (14) [...] *dj.tw.j m js=j jr.n.j hr ʿjmnt.t¹* [...] (15) [...] *hnm.j sntr ʿšsp.j¹* [...]

[...] all what comes out on their offering table every day [...] the great festival, the festival of the first day of the year, the half month festival, [...] every [...], festival of living on, crossing Sokar [...], every festival of the djed, every festival of receiving the river, the jubilee festival.⁹³⁹

O all scribes, all weeb-priests, and all lector-priests skilled in the hieroglyphs, [– may the god] cause you to spend a goodly lifetime, enduring upon the earth, in the following of your god [-----] [----] according as you shall recite a royal offering [consisting of] a thousand loaves of bread and jugs of beer, a thousand cattle and fowl, a thousand offerings. As for any men, any overseers of work, and any necropolis workers who shall undertake any work [in this tomb -----] to make a tomb for another man, he shall not be buried in the West, and he shall be in the displeasure of [the gods ----], his tomb over [him?], he shall not go down to the Neshmet-barque, he shall not see the god [-----] [--- --] Khenty-amentiu and Wennofre shall [abandon] him. For I have acted in truth not in [falsehood ----] [-----] I am a true and excellent witness, possessor of [a good] character, enduring of heart, calm of temper, free from falsehood, I am praised of [-----]. [-----] I brought its [the tomb's] stone from Ro-au [-----] that it might be [-----] I was placed in my tomb which I made on the West [-----] [-----] that I might inhale the incense and receive [offerings -----].

Translation:

Simpson, W. K. "A Relief of the Royal Cup-bearer Tja-wy." *Boston Museum Bulletin* 71, 1973a, 68-82.

Publication:

Simpson, W. K. "A Relief of the Royal Cup-bearer Tja-wy." *Boston Museum Bulletin* 71, 1973a, 68-82.

Simpson, W. K. "Acquisitions of Sculpture and Relief of the New Kingdom in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Seventy-Fourth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America." *American Journal of Archaeology* 77, 1973b, 228.

Simpson, W. K. *A Table of Offerings. 17 Years of Acquisitions of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1987, 42.

Kozloff, A. P. – Bryan, B. M. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and His World*. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1992, 284-285.

⁹³⁹ Lines 1-5 are translated by the author.

[15.4] Offering table (Cairo, JE 27987+ Pennsylvania, Penn Mus.
29-87-474+Luxor fragment)

Inscriptions on the top

Frame inscription

(1) [... .. *wn n=*] *k pt wn n=k t3 Wsjr S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw wn n=k w3.t m hrt-ntr pr:k* ¹*ḥq.k hn^c*

(2) ¹*R^c* *wsn.n.k* ¹*mj nb.w nhḥ šsp* ¹*[.k snw m djdj n=k Pth]*⁹⁴⁰

(1) [... ..] the sky [is open for] you, the earth is open for you, Osiris Sarenenutet, justified, a path is opened for you in the necropolis, you go out and ¹you enter with¹ (2) ¹Re¹, you travel freely ¹like the Lords of Eternity¹ you receive [offering bread as Ptah grants to you... ..]

Around the right basin

(1) *qbḥ=k jpn Wsjr T3wj* (2) *m3^c-hrw pr.w hr s3[=k pr.w hr Hr jw.n(j)]*⁹⁴¹ (3) *jn.n(j) n=k jr:t Hr* ¹*qb* ¹*[jb=k hr=s]*

These your cool waters, O, Osiris Sarenenutet, justified – have come from your son, have come from Horus. I have come having gotten Horus's eye, that your heart may become cool [with it;]⁹⁴²

Around the left basin

(1) *r^c n jrp n Wsjr T3wj* (2) *m3^c-hrw qbḥw=k jpn [jrp]* ¹*wr* ¹*[pr.w m Nwt]*⁹⁴³ (3) *jn.n n=k st wr:k jm* ¹*hr* ¹*[ntr:w]*

(1) Chapter for the wine of Osiris Tjauī, (2) justified, this yours libation (of) abundant [wine coming out of the Nun], (3) it is brought to you and you are great there ¹near¹ [the gods]

Front side (Face A after Clère)

Above the persons at the right bottom corner (from left to right)

sn.t=f nb.t pr B3k.t

His sister, lady of the house, Baket

sn=f Hjj N3jj

His brother, Hy. Nai.

⁹⁴⁰ Amendment is after Clère, 1981, 216.

⁹⁴¹ Amendment is after Clère, 1981, 219.

⁹⁴² PT 32, translation is after Allen, 2005, 19.

⁹⁴³ Amendment is after Clère, 1981, 219.

sn.t=f Mrjj(.t)-Pth m3^c-hrw

His sister, Meriptah, justified.

sn.t=f Nfirt-jrjj m3^c-hrw

His sister, Nefertiri, justified.

sn.t=f H3t-nfrw

His sister, Hatneferu.

sn=f sdm-^cs n t3 ntr:t Pth-mj

His brother, servant of the goddess, Ptahmi.

sn=f sdm-^cs n t3 [ntr:t(?) ...]

His brother, servant of the [goddess(?) ...]

Main inscription

(1) [... ...].w hr S3(2)[-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw] wr:w pr m (3) [... ...] r ntr:t nb.t (4) [... ...] qb jb=k jm (5) [... ...] r jm=f n wr [... ... sj sj hn^c k3]=f sj Hr hn^c k3=(7)[f sj Sts hn^c k3=f sj Dhwtj hn^c k3=f sj ntr hn^c k3=f sj Wsjt hn^c k3=f sj] Hntj-jr:tj hn^c k3=f (8) [... ...] m3^c-hrw dj.w k3=k m-ht=k h3 Wsjr S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw dd n=f (9) [T3wj] m3^c-hrw rdj.n(j) n=k k3=k m-ht=k h3 Wsjr wb3 nswt S3-Rnnwtt (10) [... ... S3-Rn]nwtt dd n=f T3wj rdj.n(j) n=k jr:t Hr htm (11) [... ... r^c n jn.t jb n] 3h n=f wp r^c=f rdj.t shm=f m htp-ntr Wsjr S3-Rnnwtt (12) [... ...] s.t=f mj jn.tw jb n Hr jn mw.t=f Jst mj jn.tw jb n s.t=f (13) [... ...] ??? wd pn jr:n Hr n jt=f Wsjr ^c3.f jm 3h.f jm wsr:f (14) [... ...] r Wsjr wb3 nswt <w^cb> ^c.wj S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-hrw dd n=f T3wj m3^c-hrw ^c3=f jm 3h=f[jm] ^rwsr¹ (15) [... ... Wsjr-]hntj-jmntjw 1000=k m t 1000=k m hnq.t 1000=k m k3.w 1000=k m 3pd.w 1000=k m sntr 1000=k m qbh.w 1000=k m ht nb.t [...] (16) [... ...] H^cpj m Pth qnbtj=f ssn.t Bw ndm n mhyt n Wsjr T3wj m3^c-hrw hftj.w=k hr nn wn[...] (17) [... ...] wd t nhnj w^cb n=k m jrp jw n=k jb=k n wnn m3^c h3tj n wn.k tp-t3 dj.tw:f m [...] (18) [... ...] 3bdw wnm=k t hr wdhw n R^c swr:k mw hr b3b3.t h[...] (19) [... ...] n phwj n3 shjtjw w^c.k wd.w r s3.k jr[...] (20) [... ...] dj Pth m sfh Hw:t-Hr h3j n=k [...] (21) [... ...] m r^c n h3t(j) wr:w shm=k jm ntrj=k jm qb [...] ^rd.t¹ [...] (22) [... ...] prj m hnm.t w^cb wj3 prj m h^cj ntr nb-r-dr [...] hntjw? ??? ^rdjdj¹ [...] ⁹⁴⁴ (23) [... ...] ??? tpj-t3=k ??? [...] (24) [... ...] shm d3.k jm=f r Jwnw [... ...]

⁹⁴⁴ Lines 11-21 has a parallel in the tomb of Rekhmire, see Davies, 1943, pl. LXXXVI.

(1) [...] by Sa(2)[renenutet, justified] the great ones who come out from (3) [...] to all of the goddesses (4) [...] be your heart calm there [...] into it/inside of the great [...] Someone has gone with his ka: Horus has gone with his ka; Seth has gone with his ka; Thoth has gone with his ka; the god has gone with his ka; Osiris has gone with his ka; Eyes-Forward has gone with his ka: you too have gone with your ka. (8) [...] justified, may your ka be given after you. Oh, Osiris Sarenenutet, justified, called (9) [Tjau, ...] justified, I have given you your ka after you. Oh, Osiris royal *wb3* Sarenenutet (10) [...] Saren]enutet, called Tjau, I have given you Horus's eye: provide⁹⁴⁵ (11) [...] Chapter to bring the heart to a] spirit for you, open his mouth and make him have power over divine offerings, Osiris Sarenenutet (12) [...] his place, like getting the heart of Horus by his mother Isis, like getting the heart of his place.⁹⁴⁶ (13) [...] ??? this command that Horus has made to his father, Osiris, may he be great there, may he be a spirit there, may he be strong (14) [...] to Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands Sarenenutet, justified, called Tjau, justified, may he be great there, may he be a spirit [there], may [he be] strong (15) [...] Osiris,] Foremost of the Westerners your thousand of bread, your thousand of beer, your thousand of cattle, your thousand of fowl, your thousand of incense, your thousand of libation, your thousand of everything [...] (16) [...] Hapi with Ptah, his magistrate(?), breathing the sweet breeze of the north wind to Osiris Tjau, justified, your enemies may be fallen and not being [...] (17) [...] allot pure hierakonpolitian bread for you with wine which is for you. There is your heart of being true for you (as well as) the heart of your living on the earth, it is given in [...] (18) [...] Abydos, you may consume bread from the offering table of Re, you may drink water at the watering place [...] (19) [...] the hinder parts of cattle you chew, it is commanded that you may be satisfied [...] (20) [...] give Ptah with the offerings(?) of Hathor descending down for you [...] (21) [...] ...] in the mouth of the foremost of the great ones, your power is there, you are divine there, pouring a libation [...] forever [...] (22) [...] coming out from the pure well, the sacred bark that ascends(?) as the god, the Lord of All appear in glory [...] ??? [...] (23) [...] ??? you are a living one ??? (24) [...] fane you cross in it to Heliopolis [... ..]

In front of the upper figure on the left side

sdm-ꜥꜥ T3wj p3 nds(?)

The servant, Tjau, the younger.

⁹⁴⁵ Lines 6-10 = PT 25, translation is after Allen, 2005, 19.

⁹⁴⁶ Lines 12 = PT 595, translation is after Allen, 2005, 218.

In front of the lower figure on the left side

T3wj p3 wr

Tjauī, the older.

Back side (Face B after Clère)

Main inscription

(1) [... ..] *m hntj jtr.t nhm* (2) [... ..] *m ʕ.t jm<=f> hf[ʕ...]* *wb3 [nswt T3wj] m3ʕ-hrw wrt.t m* [... ..] (3) [... ..] *dbʕ.wj=f sʕb.f Wsjr S3-Rnnwtt m3ʕ-hrw m š s3b sfh.f k3 n* [... ..] (4) [... ..] *d.t=f m nw hr rmn.wj rʕ prf m 3h.t šsp.f psd* [... ..] (5) [... ..] *hw.t ʕ3.t jr.w n=f ʕrrjj.wt=f ts.f n=f hm3tt sšm Wsjr S3-Rnnwtt m3ʕ-hrw* (6) [... ..] *hn.f jmj.w 3h.t sqd.f jmj.w qbh.w mnḥ* (7) [... ..] *T3wj m3ʕ-hrw hntj spr k3=f rʕ n sntr dd md.wt d sd.t* (8) [... ..] *wbn sntr jj st.k r Wsjr T3wj m3ʕ-hrw sntr* (9) [... ..] *jj st Wsjr T3wj m3ʕ-hrw pn ntr.w <jj> st S3-Rnnwtt m3ʕ-hrw* (10) [... ..] *hnʕ=tn ntr.w wnn.tn hnʕ ʕ3 n wʕb(.w) n Wr.t-ḥk3w T3wj m3ʕ-hrw ntr.w ʕnh* (11) [... ..] *ʕhnʕ¹=tn ntr.w ʕnh.tn hnʕ wb3 nswt T3wj ntr.w mr.tn ʕT3wj¹* (12) [... ..] *ntr.w mr sw ntr.w jj p3q jj p3d pr m m3s.t Hr* (13) [... ..] *jj šw.jw pr Wsjr wb3 nswt T3wj m3ʕ-hrw hr mn.tj Jst hf.d Wsjr* (14) *wb3 nswt ʕS3-Rnnwtt¹* [... ..] *Nb.t-ḥw.t ndr.f jt=f Wsjr S3-Rnnwtt m3ʕ-hrw Jtm ʕ n Wsjr T3wj m3ʕ-hrw* (15) *sjp.f Wsjr* [... ..] *ntr.w sp.f sbqjw s33jw j.ḥmw-sk mw.t Wsjr wb3 nswt T3wj* (16) *m3ʕ-hrw Jpjj jmj ʕmnd¹* [... ..] *d3.f sw Wsjr wb3 nswt T3wj m3ʕ-hrw dpj rʕ=f snq T3wj m3ʕ-hrw jrt.t* (17) *jptw ḥd.t šsp.t bnj.t* [... ..] *j.šm wb3 nswt T3wj m3ʕ-hrw jm=f nn jb Wsjr T3wj m3ʕ-hrw jm=f* [... ..] (18) *nn ḥqr Wsjr wb3 nswt ʕS3-Rnnwtt¹* [... ..] *d.t dd mdw h3* [... ..] *hr=tn bj.k.w m ḥw.wt=tn h3 Wsjr ʕT3wj¹* (19) *m3ʕ-hrw mʕrq=f r ʕph=f¹* [... ..] *S3-Rnnwtt m3ʕ-hrw r drw 3h.t w3h.n* [... ..] (20) *T3wj m3ʕ-hrw ʕmsd.t=f¹* [... ..] *ʕsksk¹ jm qrr.t=f jm rd ntr.w Jwnw* [... ..] (21) *ʕWsjr S3-Rnnwtt¹* [... ..] *ʕT3wj¹ m3ʕ-hrw rʕ Jwnw=k m Wjsr T3wj* [... ..] (22) *ʕrʕ¹ mw.t* [... ..] *ʕS3-Rnnwtt¹ m3ʕ-hrw Jwnwt jt n* [... ..] *T3wj m3ʕ-hrw ds=f Jwnw* (23) *msjj.f m ʕJwnw¹* [... ..] *nfr tm jwt snnw.f*

(1) [... ..] to the fore of the shrine, [...] will take away (2) [... ..] as a limb [... the royal] butler [Tjauī,] justified, the crown of [...] (3) [... ..] his two fingers, cleanse Osiris Sarenutet, justified, in the Jackal Lake, and release the ka of [...] (4) [... ..] his body with that which is on the Sun's shoulders, who comes out in the Akhet, which he receives when [the Two Lands] shine [...] (5) [... ..] the Big Enclosure. His portals will act for him, he ties the (Red Crown's) coil on for him, and Osiris Sarenutet, justified (6) [... ..] He will cross to the Marshes of Reeds] with those in the Akhet rowing him and those in the Cool Waters sailing him. [...] functional, (7) [... ..] 'Tjauī,¹ justified, will become truly foremost, and his ka will reach him. Recitation. The fire has been set, (8) [... ..] Your scent has come to Osiris Tjauī, justified, incense, (9) [... ..] has come to this Osiris Tjauī,

justified, gods; Sarenenutet, justified (10) [...] shall be with you, gods; you shall be with the chief of the wab-priests of Werethekau, Tjaiu, justified, gods. [...] shall live with you, gods; you shall live with the royal *wb3*, Tjaiu, gods. Tjaiu [...] shall desire you, (12) gods; desire him, gods. The wafer has come, the cap that comes from Horus's knee has come: (13) [...] the ascender [has come.] Unis will go up on Isis's thighs, Osiris the royal *wb3*, Sarenenutet [...] will climb on (14) Nephthys's [thighs.] The father of Osiris Sarenenutet, justified, Atum will take the arm of Osiris Tjaiu, justified, (15) and allot Osiris [...] gods who are wise and experienced, the Imperishable Stars. The mother of the royal *wb3*, Tjaiu, justified, Ipy, give [...] breast (16) [...] Osiris royal *wb3*, Tjaiu, justified, may transport it to his mouth and Tjaiu, justified, may suck the milk (17) that white, dazzling, sweet milk [...] in which the royal *wb3*, Tjaiu, justified, goes, Osiris royal *wb3*, Tjaiu, justified, will not thirst in it, [...] (18) Osiris royal *wb3*, 'Sarenenutet' will not hunger in it [...] forever.⁹⁴⁷ Recitation. Oh, [...] to you, falcons, in your enclosures, Oh, Osiris 'Tjaiu', (19) justified, with his bent tail, [...] Sarenenutet, justified, will get to the Akhet's limits, [...] Tjaiu, justified, having laid down his (usual) tailed kilt⁹⁴⁸ [...] (20) [...] you Digger in his cavern, you impediment!⁹⁴⁹ Heliopolitan [...] gods; [...] (21) 'Osiris Sarenenutet' [...] Tjaiu, justified, Sun: your Heliopolitan is in Osiris Tjaiu [...] (22) Sun. The mother [...] Sarenenutet, justified, the father of [...] and Tjaiu, justified, himself is a Heliopolitan, (23) born in 'Heliopolis' [...] Nefer-tem without peer,⁹⁵⁰

Above the upper figure on the right

'*sn=f Pth*'[-*mj*... ...]

'His brother, Pth'[*mi*... ...]

Above the lower figure on the right

[... ...] *sw* ???

[... ...] ???

Left short side (Face C after Clère)

(1) *jw^cw* [...] *njs.f*(2) *r=k hr* '*d.t*' [...] *ntr:w* (3) *n wnn* [...] *jmj njw.t=f*[*n*] *wn n=f*(4) *3.wj htm.t* [...] *k3 3* [*hr*] *pr m* (5) *Jwnw jw* [...] ??? *dd mdw jn.t 3h r šbw*(6)=*f*'*j^cn*' [...

⁹⁴⁷ Lines 1-18 = PT 268-269, translation is after Allen, 2005, 49.

⁹⁴⁸ Lines 19-20 = PT 275, translation is after Allen, 2005, 52.

⁹⁴⁹ Line 20 = PT 276, translation is after Allen, 2005, 52.

⁹⁵⁰ Lines 20-23 = PT 307, translation is after Allen, 2005, 58.

...] ??? *Wsjr T3wj m3^c-hrw jn jw=k m p.t jn jw=k m t3 mj (7) pr b3[-tj 3h-tj] shm-tj sd3-tj jnn. tw rd.wj=k m33=k pr=k pn qd.n(.j) n=k j3.t s^ch^c.n(.j) n=k Hnm hr (8) snb.t[=f wn] n=k 3. wj j^cnw.sn wn n=k 3.wj qbh^w s3.w mj nd-hr jt=f 3h s3 n (9) [jt=f 3h] ¹jt¹ n s3=f prjj=sn(?) pw ipp.k tp-^c.wj D^hwtj jp.f sn n Jhssf shm sh (10) [Hntj-jmtjw] snw=k m wsh.t šbw=k m nm.t ntr hms.k hr hndw=k hntj=k (11) [j3jj.t... ...] wnwn n=k t3 dj j(?) ^ch^c n=k mr sqr n=k rd.wj d3 m (12) [n=k 3.wj] ??? mnj.wt wr.wt ??? .sn n=k hnmm.t*

(1) heir [... ...] to call (2) to you about ¹the body¹ [... ...] gods, (3) [he] will not [... ...] of his town, (4) and the door of provisioning will [not] be opened to him. [... ...] big-faced bull who comes from (5) Heliopolis. [...] come⁹⁵¹ [...] ??? Recitation. Bringing a spirit to (6) its food. Hail to [... ...] ???, Osiris Tjaiui, justified. Are you in the sky or are you on the earth? Come (7) and go being a ba, [being a spirit,] being powerful, being dead(?) (lit. departed). It is brought <to> your feet that you may see this house of yours, that I have built up for you, the mound that I have raised up for you, Khnum is upon (8) [its] rampart, the doors [open] to you, they greet (you as) being open for you, the doors of the libation are opened for you, the sons are as protectors of their (lit. his) father, the son is useful for (9) [his father,] the father [is useful] for his son. This is their birth.(?) You are examined before Thot, who examines them for Ikhesesef, the powerful one(?) of the hall, (10) [and Khentiimentiu.] Your offering-bread is in the Broad Hall, your food-offerings are in the slaughter-house of the god, you sit on your throne, [old-aged are] in front of you (11) passing by the earth for you, producing libation trough for you, stamping feet for you, extending (12) [arms towards you,] ??? the great mourning-post(?), they ??? for you the sun-folk.⁹⁵²

Above the sitting figure

wb3 nswt w^cb 3.wj T3wj

The royal *wb3* clean of hands, Tjaiui.

Text edition:

Clère, J. J. “La table d’offrandes de l’échanson royal Sa-Rénénoutet surnommé Tchaouy.”

Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 81,1, 1981, 213-234.

Daressy, G. “Stèle de la XIX^e dynastie avec textes du livre des pyramides.” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 16, 1916, 57-60.

⁹⁵¹ Lines 1-5 = PT 307, translation is after Allen, 2005, 58.

⁹⁵² Lines 5-12 = CT 902, it has a parallel in the tomb of Rekhmire, see Davies, 1943, pl. XCVI,2.

Translation:

Clère, J. J. “La table d’offrandes de l’échanson royal Sa-Rénénoutet surnommé Tchaouy.”
Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 81,1, 1981, 213-234.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. V: *Upper Egypt: Sites*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1962, 93.

<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/237053>

<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/24251/lot/15/?category=results&length=90&page=1>

Other literature:

Silverman, D. P. “Coffin Text Spell 902 and its Later Usages in the New Kingdom.” in *L’Égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches*. Tome I. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 1982, 68-70.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on. An Addendum.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 65, 1990, 19.

[15.5] Brick, London, Petrie Mus. UC69964

A. *wb3* *ᵛnswt* *S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-ḥrw* *ᵛnb* *jm3ḥ*

The royal *wb3*, Sarenenutet, justified, lord of veneration.

B. *wb3* *ᵛnswt* *S3-Rnnwtt m3^c-ḥrw nb jm3ḥ*

The royal *wb3*, Sarenenutet, justified, lord of veneration.

C. [*wb3 nswt S3-Rnnwtt*] [*dd*] *n=f* [*T3wj*]

The royal *wb3*, Sarenenutet, called Tjauī.

Publication, text edition and translation:

Mekawy Ouda, A. M. “New Light on S3-Rnnwtt, T3wy, ‘the Royal Cup Bearer’ (UC69964).”

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 101, 2015, 359-365.

[15.6] Brick, Berlin, ÄM 15704

A. [...] *wb3 nswt S3-Rnnwtt wḥm ʿnh*

The royal *wb3*, Sarenenutet, renewing life.

B. *wb3 nswt T3wj wḥm ʿnh*

sn. w=f [...]

The royal *wb3*, Tjaui, renewing life.

His brothers [...]

C. [...] ⁹⁵³*Rʿ wb3 nswt ʿ3 n wʿb.w n Wrt-ḥk3w S3-Rnnwtt*

[...] clean of hands, the royal *wb3*, chief of the wab-priests of Werethekau, Sarenenutet.

Text edition:

Roeder, G. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Band 2. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1924, 217.

Mekawy Ouda, A. M. “New Light on S3-Rnnwtt, T3wy, ‘the Royal Cup Bearer’ (UC69964).” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 101, 2015, 359-365.

Publication and translation:

Mekawy Ouda, A. M. “New Light on S3-Rnnwtt, T3wy, ‘the Royal Cup Bearer’ (UC69964).” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 101, 2015, 359-365.

[15.7] Brick, Pennsylvania, Penn Mus. 29-86-717

There is no available picture of the object.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 2: *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1964, 906.

<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/145963>

⁹⁵³ Mekawy Ouda reconstructs these signs as *wʿb ʿwj*, however, it makes no sense as this epithet always stands after the title *wb3 nswt* and not in front of it. Roeder’s reconstruction as *Rʿ* is more convincing here. Roeder, 1924, 217; Mekawy Ouda, 2015, 361.

[15.8] Shabti*shd wb3 nswt T3wj*The illumined one, the royal *wb3*, Tjauī.

Publication:

Mariette, A. – Maspero, G. *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*. F. Vieweg, Paris, 1889, 10, pl. 36e.

[16] Setau

Amenhotep III

[16.1] Stele, Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet 849-1-338

In front of Osiris

(1) Wsjr-ḥntj-jmnt.t ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw

(1) Osiris, Foremost of the West, great god, lord of Abydos.

Above the couple on the right

(2) ḥtp-dj-nswt¹ <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-ḥmnt.t¹ (3) ntr¹ ʿ3 ḥq3 d.t¹ dj.f 3ḥ wsr ḏf3.w¹ (4) šps rn nfr m m3ʿ-ḥrw n k3 n (5) wb3¹ nswt ḥrd n k3p Ḥntw¹ (6) sn.t=f nb.t pr Ḥnwt-wr(t) (7) m3ʿ(ḥrw)

(2) An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost of the West, (3) great god, ruler of eternity, that he may grant becoming akh-spirit, being powerful, having precious provisions, (4) good reputation as a justified one, to the ka of (5) the royal *wb3*, child of the *kap*, Setau, (6) (and) his sister, lady of the house, Henutweret, (7) justified.

At the bottom of the stele⁹⁵⁴

(8) n k3 n wb3 nswt ḥrd n k3p (9) St3w¹ (10) m3ʿ-ḥrw ḥr¹ ntr ʿ3 (11) sn.t=f mr.t=f nb.t pr ??? (12) Ḥnwt-wrt m3ʿ(ḥrw) (13) Mdt-nḥt (14) s3 ??? (15) s3.t=s Njj3 (16) s3.t=s Twjj (17) n k3 n Wsjr (18) Jpnjj m3ʿ-ḥrw (19) sn.t=f mr.t=f nb.t pr (20) Kjj3 m3ʿ-ḥrw (21) s3.t n s3.t(=s) Njwjj

⁹⁵⁴ The numbers of the columns follow those of the drawing of Barbotin, 1995, 54. The order of the six columns on the left start from the middle to the left, those on the right also start from the middle to the right, besides, the last seven columns on the right are written retrograde.

(8) To the ka of the royal *wb3*, child of the kap, (9) Setau, (10) justified by the great god, (11) (and) his beloved sister, lady of the house, ???, (12) Henutweret, justified, (13) Medet-nakht. (14) son ???, (15) her daughter, Nia, (16) her daughter, Tui, (17) to the ka of Osiris (18) Ipeni, justified, (19) his beloved sister, lady of the house, (20) Kia, justified, (21) daughter of her daughter, Niui.

Translation:

Devéria, T. *Mémoires et Fragments I*. Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1896, 231-232.

Barbotin, C. *Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence: collection égyptienne*. Khéops, Aix-en-Provence, 1995, 52-55.

Publication:

Devéria, T. *Mémoires et Fragments I*. Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1896, 231-232.

Barbotin, C. *Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence: collection égyptienne*. Khéops, Aix-en-Provence, 1995, 52-55.

Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 221-222.

[17] Seth

Amenhotep III – Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (?)

[17.1] Stele, Saqqara

Inscription on the frame

On the left

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> R^c-Hr-3ḥtj nb p.t ḥq3 t3.wj dj.f m33 jtn n R^c nb ḥ^cw ṛwd3 ḥnm n=f ḥs.t n k3¹
[n] ṛjrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj Sth¹ [whm] ^cnh

An offering which the king gives <to> Re-Harakhti, lord of the sky, sovereign of the Two Lands, that he may grant seeing the disc of Re, lord of the uninjured body, giving him favour, to the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Seth, renewing life.

On the right

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-jmntjw ntr ʿ3 ḥq3 d.t dj.f prr.t nb.t ḥr wdḥw n nb R3-st3w n k3 n wb3 nswt ḥs3j n nb t3.wj Stḥ wḥm ʿnh

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, ruler of infinity, that he may grant everything what comes out on the offering table of lord of Rosetau, to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands, favoured of the lord of the Two Lands, Seth, renewing life.

Inscription in the lunette

Above Re-Harakhti

(1) rsj.t j3w n Rʿ nb p.t (2) sn-t3 n Hr-3ḥtj dj.f (3) wnn tp-t3 m šms.wt (4) [...] =f ḥr ḥsw.t=f n rʿ nb n k3 n ??? (5) mrj nb=f St

(1) Giving praise to Re, lord of the sky, (2) veneration to Harakhti, that he may grant (3) living on the earth in following his (4) [...] with his favour every day, to the ka of ???, (5) whom his lord loves, Set.

Above Osiris

(1) rsj.t j3w n ḥntj-jmnt.t (2) sn-t3 n Wnn-nfr dj.f pr.t-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w t.w (3) šs mnḥ.t sntr šs3.t ʿnh.t ntr jm=sn n k3 n (4) wb3 nswt Stš

(1) Giving praise to Foremost-of-the-West, (2) veneration to Wenennefer, that he may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, breads, (3) alabaster, clothing, incense, ointment, on what the god lives, to the ka of (4) the royal *wb3*, Setesh.

Publication:

Zivie, A. "Seth, échançon royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara." In van Dijk, J. (ed.): *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*. Styx, Groningen, 1997, 373-382.

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Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 576.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[18] Parennefer

Amenhotep III (?) – Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten

[18.1] Theban Tomb 188

Inscription on the lintel above the entrance

Left side

In front of Re-Harakhti

(1) *R^c-Hr-3htj ntr* (2) *ʿ3* (3) *nb p.t*

(1) Re-Harakhti, (2) the great god, (3) lord of the sky.

In front of, above and behind the adoring figure

(1) *rdj.t j3w n R^c-Hr-3htj sn-t3 n k3-nswt nb h^c.w nb t3.wj* (2) [*Nrf-hprw-*]*R^c [w^c-n-R^c] jn wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj hsjj n nb=f* (3) *ʿP3-rn-nfr m3^c-hrw¹* (4) *dd.f ʿrdj htp.k¹ s.t m3^c.t* (5) *hr m33 jtn tp dw3w m 3h.t j3bt.t ʿn.t p.t¹*

(1) Giving praise to Re-Harakhti, veneration to the royal ka, lord of the thrones, lord of the Two Lands, (2) **Neferkheperure Uaenre** by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, favoured of his lord, (3) Parennefer, justified. (4) He says: 'May you be pleased on the place of truth (5) with seeing the sun at early morning on the eastern horizon of the sky!'

Right side

In front of Re-Harakhti

(1) *R^c-Hr-3htj ntr ʿ3* (2) *hrj-jb [...]* (3) *s[...]*

(1) Re-Harakhti, the great god, (2) in [...].

(1) *rdj.t* 'j3w¹ (2) *n R^c-Hr-3htj sn[-t3 n]* [...] (3) *n htp=k m* (4) *nh jn w^c jqr* '3h¹ [...] (5) *n ntr nfr* (6) *s^c* (7) *nb t3.wj* (8) *hr bj.t=f Wsjr* 'P3-rn-nfr m3^c-hrw¹

(1) Praising (2) to Re-Harakhti, veneration [to] [...] (3) of your peace in (4) life by the distinguished one, who is useful [...] (5) for the good god, (6) who was made great (7) by the lord of the Two Lands (8) because of his character, Osiris Parennefer, justified.

Inscriptions on the jambs of the entrance door

jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c mr.t ntr 'htmtj¹-bjtj ^c3 [...] *nswt w^c tkn m h^c.w ntr hsjj r pr:f m h.t jmj-r3 hm.wt nb.t n.t nswt wb3 nswt ...*

Member of the elite, foremost of action, beloved of the god, royal sealer, chief [...] of the king, the one who is near to the body of the god, favoured from when he was born, overseer of all the craftsmen of the king, the royal *wb3* ...

jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c w^c n nswt m s.t w^c [...] 'tw¹ ^cq r ^ch pr hr hsw.t jmj-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nswt m pr Jtn ...

Member of the elite, foremost of action, the only one for the king in the place of [...], who enters the palace and leaves in favour, overseer of all the works of the king in the temple of Aton ...

jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c wr m j3w.t=f^c3 m 's^ch=f¹ [sr m?] h3t rhy.t mh-jb n nswt smnh mnw=f m pr Jtn ...

Member of the elite, foremost of action, who is important in his office, great in his dignity, who is at the head of the people, the confidant of the king, who sets his monuments in the temple of Aton ...

[...] *3.t r 3.t m* [...] *Šm^cw Mh^w jmj-r3 hm.w ntr* [...]

[... from] time to time [...] Upper and Lower Egypt, overseer of the prophets [...]

[...] *t hnd.n.f mh-jb n nswt m* [...]

[...] he went, the confidant of the king in/as [...]

Inscription on the eastern wall-thickness

j3w <n> R^c-Hr-3htj nh h^c m 3h.t m rn=f m šw ntj m jtn R^c-Hr-3htj nh [...] n h^c m 3h.t m rn=f m šw ntj m jtn nsw<-bjtj?> [Nrf-hprw-]R^c [w^c-n-R^c] dj nh jn wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj [P3-rn-nfr m3^c-hrw] dd.f jnd-hr=k wbn.k m 3h.t shd.n.k šnw n Jtn nfrw hr t3.w nb.w jr.t nb(.t) gmh.sn jm=k rs.sn hft psd.k ^c.wj=sn jhj n k3=k ntk ntr qm3 h^cw=sn nh.sn st.wt=k hr t3 jr.sn hnw [...]

ṛmj¹ jrj.j ḥknw n ḥr=k ṛnfr ḥrd?¹ n ḥc m 3ḥ.t [...] ṛrnp.wt¹ n ḥtp-nṯr pr:t m[-b3ḥ n k3 n?] jrj-p^ct
ḥ3tj-^c s^c3.n nswt ḥr bj.t=f[...]

Praise to living Re-Harakhti, who rejoices on the horizon in his name as the sunlight which is in the sun disc, (and) to living Re-Harakhti [...] who rejoices on the horizon in his name as the sunlight which is in the sun disc, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Neferkheperure Uaenre**, given life, by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Parennefer, justified. He says: 'Greetings to you/Be greeted (when) you rise on the horizon and you enlightened the circuit of Aton, beauty is on all lands, every eye glances at your form, they awake when you shine, their hands rejoice at your ka, as you are the god who creates their bodies and so they live, (when) your rays (fall) on to the earth, they make jubilation, [...] as I give praise to your nice face, child(?) of rejoice on the horizon [...], fresh plants for the offering gift of the god which comes out in [front to the ka of?] the member of the elite, foremost of action, who was made great by the lord of the Two Lands because of his character, [...]

Inscription on the ceiling (original hieroglyphic inscription is not available)

Ho, Osiris, the royal cup-bearer, ...P....all his limbs thriving....!⁹⁵⁵

....offerings which have gone up in the Presence on the altar of....⁹⁵⁶

Inscription on the eastern side of the south wall

jtn cḥ wr jmj-ḥb-sd nb p.t t3 šḥd t3.wj

Great living orb, who is in the sed festival, lord of the sky and the earth, who illuminates the Two Lands.

Inscription on the east side of the southern wall

In front of the king

dd [...] n *wb3 nswt* [...]w n jt=j nṯrj? [...] ṛ3btjw¹ [...] ḥr tb.tj[=j?]

[...] said to the royal *wb3*, [...] to my divine father(?) [...] the east of [...] under [my(?)] feet.

Lower scene in front of the throne, above Parennefer

(1) *wb3 nswt* ṛP3-rn-nfr¹ dd.f ntk p3 (2) šrj nfr r p3 Jtn (3) dj.f n ḥḥ m ḥb.w-sd d.t m [...]ṛjb¹

⁹⁵⁵ Translation is after Davies, 1923, 138.

⁹⁵⁶ Translation is after Davies, 1923, 145.

(1) The royal *wb3*, Parennefer, he says: (2) 'You are a good child of Aton, (3) may he grant millions of jubilees forever in [...]'.

Above the upper bowing figure behind Parennefer (original hieroglyphic inscription is not available)

Laudation to the king and payment of homage to Wa'nrē' by....P. He says 'Hail to thee, ruler of the nine bows. Thy father, (the Aten), has [set] thee eternally on the seat (?) [of the living] like Rē' ⁹⁵⁷

Above the lower bowing figure behind Parennefer (original hieroglyphic inscription is not available)

Laudation to the good god, homage to the ruler of Thebes by the.... [P. He says] 'Hail to thee, [child of] the living Aten, Wa'nrē', one without his peer, who formed me and fostered me. Grant that the people of my city (?) may say 'How happy (?)....⁹⁵⁸

Upper scene in front of the throne, above the servant

ntr nfr p3 mrj [...] *w p3 hq3*

The good god, the beloved [...] the ruler.

Above Parennefer (original hieroglyphic inscription is not available)

The royal cup-bearer and chamberlain, the favourite of Wa'nrē', the steward and superintendent of the granary (?), stands before Wa'nrē' (?) and is rewarded....⁹⁵⁹

Inscription on the west side of the southern wall

Above the first figure of Parennefer

(1) *dd mdw n k3=k nh n jt=k* (2) [...] (3) *hs.f tw mr.f tw sw3h.f* (4) *tw dj.f n=k nh dd w3s hr:w* (5) *hftj=k m mth m nh* (6) *jn wb3 nswt w'b wj* [...] *n ntr nfr* (7) *P3-rn-nfr*¹

(1) Words spoken for your ka, bouquet for your father, (2) [...] (3) he may favour you, he may love you, he may make you endure, (4) he may give to you life, stability, dominion, (5) your enemies are fallen in death and in life, (6) by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, [...] of the good god, Parennefer.

⁹⁵⁷ Translation is after Davies, 1923, 139.

⁹⁵⁸ Translation is after Davies, 1923, 139.

⁹⁵⁹ Translation is after Davies, 1923, 139.

Above the second figure of Parennefer

(1) *ṛdd mdw n¹ k3=k ʕnh n jt=k* (2) [...] (3) *hs.f tw mr.f tw sw3h.f* (4) *tw dj.f n=k ʕnh wd3 hr.w*
 (5) *hftj=k m mth m ʕnh* (6) *jn wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* [...] *n nb* [...] (7) [*P3-rn-nfr*]

(1) Words spoken for your ka, bouquet for your father, (2) [...] (3) he may favour you, he may love you, he may make you endure, (4) he may give to you life, prosperity, health, (5) your enemies are fallen in death and in life, (6) by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, [...] of the lord [...], [Parennefer].

Above the third figure of Parennefer

(1) *dd mdw n k3=k ʕnh n jt=k* (2) [...] (3) *hs.f tw mr.f tw sw3h.f* (columns 4-5 cannot be seen in the photo) (6) *jn wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj* (the rest cannot be seen in the photo)

(1) Words spoken for your ka, bouquet for your father, (2) [...] (3) he may favour you, he may love you, he may make you endure, (the rest cannot be seen in the photo), (6) by the royal *wb3* clean of hands, (the rest cannot be seen in the photo)

Inscription on the left door frame on the entrance to the axial corridor

On the lintel above the adoring Parennefer (original hieroglyphic inscription is not available)

Laudation of [Osiris, obeisance] to Onnufer by the cupbearer and chamberlain, the steward (?) [P.]. He says 'Hail to thee, king of the living! I have come to thee and laud thy beauty and revere thy majesty [for ever and] ever.'⁹⁶⁰

On the left jamb

hṭp-dj-nswt <n> ṛJnpw jmj-wt¹ dj.f rwd h3.t m hr:t-ntr b3 hṭp m hw.t=f rʕ nb n k3 n jrj-pʕt
h3tj-ʕ jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj m s.t nb.t hnd.n.f wb3 nswt ...

An offering which the king gives <to> Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming that he may grant endurance (of) the corpse in the necropolis (and) the ba rests in his house every day for the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, the attendant of the lord of the Two Lands in every place wherever he goes, the royal *wb3*, ...

[...] *ṛwʕ¹ jqr mtj hrw hr pr.w n r3=f ...*

[...] the distinguished one, accurate one, one is content with what comes out of his mouth

...

⁹⁶⁰ Translation is after Davies, 1923, 141.

[...] ^{r3} n Hr m pr=f hsjj ³ n nb t3.wj wb3 nswt ...

[...] mouth of Horus in his palace, the greatly favoured of the lord of the Two Lands, the royal wb3 ...

Inscription on the east side of the northern wall (from left to right)

In front of the king

jmj hr=k n htp-ntr n p3 Jtn

Give heed to of the divine offerings of Aton!

In front of Parennefer

(1) *wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj [P3-rn-nfr]* (2) *dj hr m-b3h nb t3.wj ^rhr:t-hrw¹ n.t r^c nb*

(1) The royal wb3 clean of hands, [Parennefer], (2) who is given order in front of the lord of the Two Lands every day.

Above Parennefer

(1) *wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj hsjj mrj nb t3.wj [P3-rn-nfr] dd.f jr p3* (2) *R^c sw rh.w p3 hnwtj ntj hr rd.t hr=f n htp-^rntr¹ hr jr p3 hnwtj* (3) *ntj n hr rd.t ^rhr=f n htp-ntr¹ n p3 Jtn hr rdj.f sw m-dr: t=k p3* (4) *wnn h3.tw b3k.j.t n ntr nb m ^rjp.t¹ h3.tw n p3 Jtn m wbn hq3.wt*

(1) The royal wb3 clean of hands, favoured and beloved of the lord of the Two Lands, [Parennefer], (2) he says: 'As for Re, he, who knows the servant who attends to the divine offerings and as for the servant (3) who does not attend to the divine offerings of Aton, he gives it into your hand, the one (4) who measures the revenues of corn for each god with the oi-pe-measure, he measures for Aton with overflowing hekats.'

In the uppermost register of measuring grain

Above the scribe

dd.f nfrw [...] ^rn jr.n.f rwd¹ nn rmt r ^cnh

He says: 'Good [...] what he does is not successful(?), no man would live'.

In the lower scene of measuring vintage products

[...] *tn n s.t ^r3¹? s* [...] *jw? tw? r dd n=tn jn sw jn 3* [...] *rf nrj hr sw* [...]

[...] you of the place [...] ??? to say to you: 'Bring it!', bring ??? time/return of the year under(?) it/him(?) [...]

In the upper register of the upper scene of measuring vintage products

Above Parennefer

(1) *ṛmh¹-jb n ṛntr¹ nfr* [...] [*wb3 nswt*] (2) *ṛwᶜb ᶜ.wj¹* [...] (3) *ḏḏ.f n* [...] (4) ??? [...] (5) *s* [...]

(6) [...] (7) [...] (8) [...] *ṛm³¹?* [...]

(1) Confidant of the good god, [...] [the royal *wb3*] (2) clean of hands, [...] (3) he says to [... ..]

Inscription on the west side of the northern wall

Behind the king

ms ṛnnp.wt¹ [nb.t] nfr:t wᶜb.t n Rᶜ-Hr-3ḥtj ḥᶜ (m 3ḥ.t) m rn=f m šw ṛntj¹ [m] ṛJtn¹ [...] nb t3.wj mrr ntr nswt-bjtj [Nrf-]ṛḥprw¹-Rᶜ [wᶜ-n-Rᶜ] [...] ṛp.t gn.wt¹=k [...] tp t3 [...] ṛn r¹ jmj[-jb?] n Hr [...] wb3 [nswt] wᶜb ᶜ.wj jmj-r3 ḥm.w ntr n ntr.w nb(.w) ṛP3-rn¹-nfr m3ᶜ-ḥrw

Offering of all sorts of good and pure flowers to Re-Harakhti, who rejoices (on the horizon) in his name as the sunlight which is in the sun disc, [...] lord of the Two Lands, beloved of the god, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Nefer]kheperure [Uaenre,] [...] the sky your annals [...] on the earth [...] in the heart of Horus [...] the royal *wb3* clean of hands, overseer of the prophets of every god, Parennefer, justified.

Inscription on the western wall

In front of Parennefer in the upper offering scene (Urk. IV, 1996)

ms rnp.wt nb.t nfr:t wᶜb.t ḥ3w nb ndm-stj m [...]jj n.t rᶜ nb wᶜb sp sn hr ṛᶜ.wj¹ b3=k [...] [wb3] nswt [...]n ḥsjj mrj nb t3.wj

Offerings of all sorts of good and pure flowers, all sorts of fragrant herbs in [...] daily very pure from the hands of your servant, the royal [*wb3?*] [...] favoured and beloved of the lord of the Two Lands.

Behind the large figure of a man in the lower offering scene

[...] *ṛk3 ḥm¹?* [...] *n nn hn.twf* [...] *rḥ dj* [...] *n jᶜ jb=f*

[...] who does not listen to him [...] to know who gives [...] to his rejoice.

Inscription on the north side of the pillar

Above the man

(1) [...] *jrtt ṛhnᶜ¹ mn* [...] (2) *bj3.t Šmᶜw dw3/sb3?* [...] (3) *Qjs shkr m* [...] (4) [...] *qbḥw hr=f šd r* [...] (5) *dj.f* [...] *jn jrj-pᶜt [ḥ3tj-ᶜ]* [...]

(1) [...] milk with [...] (2) gritstone(?) of Upper Egypt [...] (3) Kush adorned with [...] (4) [...] cold water on it removing(?) [...] (5) he may grant [...] by the member of the elite, [foremost of action,] [...]

Text edition:

Davies, N. de G. "Akhenaten at Thebes." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9, 1923, 136-145.

Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 17-22. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums*.

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Translation:

Davies, N. de G. "Akhenaten at Thebes." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9, 1923, 136-145.

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[18.2] Tomb Amarna Nr. 7

Inscriptions on the façade

On the left side of the entrance

Upper register, above the second girl

(1) [... ..] *ms.n* [...] (2) [... ..] *ʕnh(.tj) d.t nhḥ*

(1) [... ..] born of [...] (2) [... ..] may she live forever and ever.

Upper register, above the third girl

[... ..] *ʕnh=s-n[-p3-Jtn]* [... ..]

[... ..] Ankhesen[paaton] [... ..]

On the right side of the entrance

Behind the figure of the lady

s3.t ʕnswt¹ n h.t=f mr.t=f Mr.t-Jtn ms.n [...] *sw* [...] [*ʕnh*] *d.t nhḥ*

Royal daughter of his body, his beloved, Meritaton, born of [...] [may she live] forever and ever

Above the second girl in the lower register

(1) [*s3.t*] *ʕnswt¹* [*n h.t=f?*] (2) *ʕnh=s-n-p3-Jtn* (3) *ms.n* (4) [... ..] (5) [...] *ʕnh-tj* (6) *d.t nhḥ*

(1) Royal [daughter of his body], (2) Ankhesenpaaton, (3) born of (4) [... ..] (5) [...] may she live forever and ever.

Inscriptions on the north thickness of the entrance door

At right of the sun disc

[... ..] *ʕjb Jtn m 3h.t-Jtn¹*

[... ..] of Aton in Akhetaton.

In front of the king

(1) *ʕnswt-bjtj¹* [... ..] *ʕnb t3.wj¹ Nfr-hpr.w-Rʕ wʕ-n-Rʕ dj ʕnh ʕd.t nhḥ¹* (2) *s3 Rʕ* [... ..]

(1) King of Upper and Lower Egypt [... ..] lord of the Two Lands, **Neferkheperure Uaenre**, may he live forever and ever. (2) Son of Re, [... ..]

Above the children in the upper register

(1) [... ..] *mr.t=f ʕMr.t¹ Jtn* [...] (2) [... ..] *mr.t=f Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn Nfr-tj-tj ʕnh-tj d.t nhḥ* (3) [... ..] *tj? ʕnh-tj ʕd.t¹ nhḥ*

(1) [... ..] his beloved, Meritaton, (2) [... ..] his beloved, Neferneferuaton Nefertiti, [may she live forever] and ever, (3) [... ..] may she live forever and ever.

Above the children in the lower register

(1) *s3.t nswt n h.t=f mr.t=f Mr.t-Jtn* (2) *ms.n hm.t nswt wr.t* (3) *Nfr-nfr:w-Jtn Nfr^f-tj-tj¹ [ʕnh-tj d.t] ʕnh^h* (4) *ʕs3.t nswt¹ [n h.t=f] ʕmr.t=f¹ ʕnh=s-n-*(5) *p3-Jtn ʕms.n¹ hm.t nswt* (6) *wr.t [Nfr-nfr:w-Jtn Nfr-tj-tj] ʕnh(.tj) d.t nh^h*

(1) Royal daughter of his body, his beloved, Meritaton, (2) born of the great royal wife, (3) Neferneferuaton Nefertiti, [may she live forever] and ever, (4) royal daughter [of his body], his beloved, Ankhesenpaaton, (5) born of the great royal wife, (6) [Neferneferuaton Nefertiti], may she live forever and ever.

Inscription on the south thickness of the entrance door

(1) *rdj.t j3w <n> ʕp3¹ [Jtn] ʕnh shd?¹ t3 nb m nfrw=f wbn ʕnh¹ hr nb k3 nswt ʕnh m m3^c.t nb t3.wj* (2) *Nfr-hpr:w-R^c w^c-n-R^c ʕdj ʕnh jr š3jj¹ shpr rnn.t nb qrs.t djdj j3w nb ʕh^cw wsr:w¹ hrw ʕw3d.w¹=f* (3) *ʕnh¹.tw snb.tw ʕn m33=k rs.tw¹ [dw3.] ʕtw¹ p3jj=k hr nfr dj.f ʕh^c nfr hr ʕšms nswt¹ ndm-jb ʕršw.t* (4) *r^c¹ nb ph nn m qrs.t nfr:t ʕm hsw.t n ntr nfr¹ [ʕq pr:t] ʕm pr nswt¹ h^cw hnm m ʕhsw.t djdj¹=f ʕn k3¹ n hsjj n* (5) *ʕntr¹ nfr hm nswt n tj sw m ʕjnpw wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj¹ [... ...] [P3-rn-] ʕnfr whm ʕnh dd¹.f dj.k ʕh^c¹=k n s3=ʕk mr(6)=k¹ nb t3.wj [Nfr-hpr:w-] R^c [w^c-n-R^c] mtn.k sw ʕm¹ [... ...] ʕhb-sd st.wt¹=k m ʕnh w3s ʕhr¹ (7) rnpw ʕh^c¹[=f] ʕr^c¹ nb [... ...] n ʕnh^h m 3h.t-Jtn hr shtp¹ k3(8)=k m-mnt dj.k ʕn=j¹ j[... ...] ʕhsw.t nswt šms k3=f r^c nb ʕh^c(w) nfr¹ (9) hr m33 nb t3.wj nn jr (10) 3b.w (11) m (12) nfrw=f (13) n k3 n wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj ʕP3-rn-nfr¹ [m3^c-hrw]*

(1) Giving praise to the living [Aton], who enlightens every land with his beauty, who shines so that all people can live, to the royal ka, who lives in truth, lord of the Two Lands, (2) **Neferkheperure Uaenre**, given life, who determines destiny, who creates wealth, lord of the burial, who guarantees old age, lord of the lifetime, one is wealthy on the day of his success. (3) One lives and is healthy when seeing you, when one wakes up, [praises] your beautiful face, that he may grant fair lifetime in the following of the king, happiness and joy (4) every day, achieving this nice burial in the favour of the good god, [entering and leaving] the palace, and the body is provided with the favours of his grace, to the ka of the favoured of (5) the good god, servant of the king when he was young, the royal *wb3* clean of hands, [... ...] [Paren]nefer, renewing life, he says: 'May you grant your lifetime to your beloved son, (6) lord of the Two Lands, [**Neferkheperu**]**re** [**Uaenre**], may you present him with [... ...] sed-festival, may your rays full of life and stability (7) rejuvenate [his] body every day, [... ...] for eternity in Akhetaton to please your ka (8) every day, may you grant me [... ...] favour of the king, following his ka every day, a

beautiful lifetime (9) in seeing the lord of the Two Lands (10) ceaselessly (11) in (12) his beauty, (13) to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Parennefer, justified'.

Inscription on the southern side of the west wall

(x) [... ...] (1) [*nb.t*] *pr ḥsḳj.t n ḥm.t nswt wr.t*¹ (2) [... *dd.s* [...]] (3) [... ...] (4) [... ...] (5) [... *jm n=f* [...]] (6) [... ...] (7) [... [*Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn*] *Nfr-tj-tj? ḥh-tj d.t nḥḥ*¹ (8) [... *r nḥḥ* [...]] (x) [... ...] (1) [lady] of the house, favoured of the royal wife (2) [... say [...]] (3) [... ...] (4) [... ...] (5) [... grant him [...]] (6) [... ...] (7) [... [*Neferneferuaton*] Nefertiti, may she live forever and ever, (8) [... for eternity [...]].

Inscriptions on the northern side of the west wall

Above and behind the royal couple on the left

(1) *Rḥ-Hr-3ḥtj ḥḥ m 3ḥ.t m rn=f m šw n tj m jtn dj ḥh d.t nḥḥ* (2) *Jtn ḥh wr jmj-ḥb-sd nb šnn(.t)* (3) *nb jtn nb p.t nb t3 m pr Jtn* (4) *m 3ḥ.t-Jtn* (5) *ḥm.t nswt wr.t* (6) *mr.t=f ḥnw.t* (7) *Šmḥw Mḥw nb.t t3.wj Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn Nfr-tj-tj ḥh-tj d.t nḥḥ*

(1) Re-Harakhti, who rejoices on the horizon in his name as the sunlight which is in the sun disc, who gives life forever and ever. (2) Great living orb, who is in the sed festival, lord of (3) everything that the sun circles, lord of the sky, lord of the earth in the temple of Aton (4) in Akhetaton. (5) The great royal wife, (6) his beloved, mistress (7) of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lady of the Two Lands, Neferneferuaton Nefertiti, live forever and ever.

Above the royal couple on the right

(1) *Rḥ-Hr-3ḥtj ḥḥ m 3ḥ.t m rn=f m šw ntj m jtn dj ḥh d.t nḥḥ* (2) *Jtn ḥh wr jmj-ḥb-sd* (3) *nb šnn(.t) nb jtn nb p.t nb t3 m pr Jtn* (4) *m 3ḥ.t-Jtn* (5) *nswt bjtj nb t3.wj Nrf-ḥprw-Rḥ wḥ-n-Rḥ s3 Rḥ nb ḥḥ.w 3ḥ-n-Jtn*

(1) Re-Harakhti, who rejoices on the horizon in his name as the sunlight which is in the sun disc, who gives life forever and ever. (2) Great living orb, who is in the sed festival, (3) lord of everything that the sun circles, lord of the sun disc, lord of the sky, lord of the earth in the temple of Aton (4) in Akhetaton. (5) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, **Neferkheperure Uaenre**, son of Re, lord of the crowns, **Akhenaten**.

In front of the first royal child on the left

s3.t nswt n ḥ.t=f mr.t=f Mr.t-Jtn ms n ḥm.t nswt wr.t Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn Nfr-tj-tj¹ ḥh-tj d.t nḥḥ
Royal daughter of his body, his beloved, Meritaton, born of the great royal wife, Neferneferuaton Nefertiti, may she live forever and ever.

Above the second royal child on the left

(1) *s3.t nswt n h.t=f mr.t=f* (2) *f Mk.t-Jtn* (3) *ms.n hm.t nswt wr.t mr.t=f* (4) *Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn Nfr-tj-tj nḥ-tj d.t nḥh*

(1) Royal daughter of his body, his beloved, (2) Meketaton, (3) born of the great royal wife, his beloved, (4) Neferneferuaton Nefertiti, may she live forever and ever.

Above the third royal child on the left

(1) *s3.t nswt n h.t=f mr.t=f nḥ=s-n-p3*-(2) *Jtn ms.n hm.t nswt wr.t* (3) [*Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn Nfr-tj-tj nḥ*]-*tj [d.t] nḥh*

(1) Royal daughter of his body, his beloved, Ankhesenpaaton, (2) born of the great royal wife, (3) [Neferneferuaton Nefertiti, may she live forever] and ever.

Above the figure behind the royal children on the left

(1) *sn.t n hm.t nswt wr.t Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn Nfr-tj-tj* (2) *nḥ-tj d.t nḥh* (3) *Mw.t-ndm.t*

(1) Sister of the great royal wife, Neferneferuaton Nefertiti, (2) may she live forever and ever, (3) Mutnedjmet.

Inscription at the entrance to the second room on the north wall

[...] *n k3 n wb3 nswt wʿb ʿ.wj n hm=f* [*P3-rn-nfr*] [...]

[...] to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands of His Majesty, [Parennefer] [...]

Inscriptions on the east wall

Above the baldachin

(1) *ʿRʿ-Hr-3ḥtj ḥʿ m 3ḥ.t m rn=f m šw ntj m jtn* (2) *djʿ1 [ʿnḥ] ʿd.t nḥh* (3) *Jtn ʿnḥ wrʿ1* (4) [*jmj-*] *ḥb-sd nb* (5) *ʿšnn(.t)ʿ1 nb jtn nb p.t* (6) [*nb t3*] *m* (7) [*pr*] *ʿJtnʿ1* (8) [*m*] *3ḥ.t-ʿJtnʿ1*

(1) Re-Harakhti, who rejoices on the horizon in his name as the sunlight which is in the sun disc, (2) who gives [life] forever and ever. (3) Great living orb, (4) [who is in] the sed festival, (5) lord of everything that the sun circles, lord of the sun disc, lord of the sky, (6) [lord of the earth] in (7) [the temple] of Aton (8) [in] Akhetaton.

Above the king

(1) *ʿnswt-bjtj ʿnḥ m m3ʿ.tʿ1 nb ʿt3.wjʿ1* [*Nrf-ḥprw-Rʿ wʿ-n-Rʿ*] (2) *s3 Rʿ ʿnḥ m m3ʿ.t nb ḥʿ.w* [*3ḥ-n-Jtn*]

(1) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives in truth, lord of the Two Lands, [**Neferkheperure Uaenre**,] (2) son of Re, who lives in truth, lord of the crowns, [**Akhenaten**].

Above the figures in front of the king

(1) $\text{ṛdd.f}^1 \text{mnw } m \text{ ḥḥ } n \text{ rnp.wt } [\dots] p3 \text{ ṣrj } wbḥ \text{ } n \text{ } ^1p3 \text{ Jtn}^1 \text{ rnpw.k } n=n [\dots \dots]$ (2) $jw=k \text{ } ^1psd. \text{ } ^1tj \text{ } m \text{ } p3 \text{ } wbḥ.jjw \text{ } n \text{ } p3 \text{ } Jtn \text{ } ^c nḥ \text{ } jw=k \text{ } ḥr \text{ } m33 \text{ } n3jj=f \text{ } st.wt \text{ } ^c n [\dots \dots]$ (3) $[\dots] q3b \text{ } n=k \text{ } ḥsb? \text{ } ḥb.w-sd \text{ } sw3d.f \text{ } n=k \text{ } t3 \text{ } nb \text{ } dj.f \text{ } n=k [\dots] r \text{ } jr:t \text{ } n \text{ } jb=k [\dots] \text{ } ^1n^1 [\dots]$ (4) $[\dots] \text{ } ^1n^1 [\dots] \text{ } ^1s^c nḥ^1 \text{ } ḥ3tj [\dots] \text{ } ^1n^1 [\dots]$
 $p3 \text{ } w^c-n-r^c \text{ } mrr \text{ } ^1sw^1 \text{ } p3 \text{ } Jtn [\dots]$

(1) He says: 'You who persist in millions of years, [...] the shining child of Aton, may you rejuvenate for us [... ...] (2) you shine as the light of the living Aton and you see beautiful his rays. [... ...] (3) [...] [may he] multiply for you the hebsed festivals, may he flourish for you the whole land, may he prepare for you [...] to do according to(?) your wish [... ...] (4) [...] revive the heart [...] **Uaenre** whom Aton loves [...]

Text edition:

Daressy, G. "Tombeaux et stèles-limites de Hagi-Qandil." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 15, 1893b, 37.

Bouriant, U. *Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Egypte. Tome premier. Les tombes de Khouitatonou*. Vol. I. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 8,1. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1903, 123-127, pls. LXII-LXV

Davies, N. de G. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. Part VI. *Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Aj*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 18. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1908, 1-6, pls. II-X

Hari, R. *Repertoire onomastique amarnien*. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 4. Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel/Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève, Geneva, 1976, Nr. 100.

Translation:

Davies, N. de G. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. Part VI. *Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Aj*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 18. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1908, 1-6, pls. II-X

Publication:

Bouriant, U. *Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Egypte. Tome premier. Les tombes de Khouitatonou*. Vol. I. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 8,1. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1903, 123-127, pls. LXII-LXV

- Davies, N. de G. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. Part VI. *Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Aj*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 18. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1908, 1-6, pls. II-X
- Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1968, 219-221.

General literature about the owner:

- Binder, S. *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*. The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies 8. Aris & Phillips, Oxford, 2008, 302-303.
- Raven, M. J. “What the Butler Saw: the Life and Times of Ptahemwia, Royal Butler at Memphis.” In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 587.

[19] Nakhuempaaton

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten

[19.1] Relief fragment, London, Petrie Mus. UCo77⁹⁶¹

(1) [...] *nfr n p3 wꜥ n Rꜥ n k3 n* (2) *wdpw nswt Nḥw-m-p3-(3)Jtn*

(1) [...] good [...] of the sole one of Rēꜥ. For the ka of (2) the royal butler (*wdpw nswt*) Nekhuempaaten.

Text edition:

- Pendlebury, J. D. S. *The city of Akhenaten III. The central city and the official quarters, the excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the seasons 1926-1927 and 1931-1936*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1951, 233, pl. 108.
- Hari, R. *Repertoire onomastique amarnien*. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 4. Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel/Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève, Geneva, 1976, 197.
- Stewart, H. M. *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, Part 1: The New Kingdom*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1976, 19, pl. 10.2.

⁹⁶¹ Translation is after Stewart, 1976, 19.

Translation:

Stewart, H. M. *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, Part 1: *The New Kingdom*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1976, 19, pl. 10.2.

Publication:

Pendlebury, J. D. S. *The city of Akhenaten III. The central city and the official quarters. the excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the seasons 1926-1927 and 1931-1936*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1951, 233, pl. 108.

Stewart, H. M. *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, Part 1: *The New Kingdom*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1976, 19, pl. 10.2.

[20] Ptahemwia (I)

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten – Tutankhamun

[20.1] Tomb Saqqara

North door-jamb on the west side of the eastern gateway, all the four columns

[... ...] *n k3 n wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj Pth-m-wj3 m3ꜥ-hrw*

[... ...] to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ptahemwia, justified.

Inspection scene

In the upper register

[... ...] *ꜥms. ꜥn t3jj=k jh.t*

[... ...] your cow gave birth

Between the escorts

hrj šmsw=f md3jj

The commander of the medjai escort

Above the figure of the wife of Ptahemwia

(1) *sn.t=f mr.t=f n* (2) *s.t jb=f šmꜥjj.t n* (3) *Jmn wꜥb.t ꜥ.wj* (4) *hsjj.t ꜥ3.t n* (5) *nb t3.wj nb.t pr* (6) *Mj3*

(1) His favourite (2) beloved sister, chantress of (3) Amun clean of hands, (4) the greatly favoured of (5) the lord of the Two Lands, lady of the house, (6) Mia.

Above the figure of Ptahemwia

(1) *ḥsꜣꜣ n nṯr nfr mrw.tj* (2) *n nb t3.wj ḥtmtj-bꜣtj smr-wꜥ.tj wr* (3) *m ꜥḥ mrj* (4) *nb=f* (5) *wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj* (6) *Pṯḥ-m-wj3 m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

(1) The greatly favoured of the good god, beloved (2) of the lord of the Two Lands, royal sealer, sole friend, (3) who is important in the palace, whom (4) his lord loves, (5) the royal *wb3* clean of hands, (6) Ptahemwia, justified.

Scene of relatives

In front of the squatting lady

(1) *sn.t=f nb.t pr* (2) *Jꜣꜣꜣ*

(1) His sister, lady of the house, (2) Ipy.

In front of the two boys

s3[=f] [...] ḥmw-p3-šms=f

[His] son [...] khemupashemsef.

Column panel

(1) [...] *3ḥ=k wsr nṯrj b3=k m3ꜥ-ḥrw=k* (2) [...] *ṯWsjr.1 wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj mrw.tj n nb t3.wj* (3) [...] *[šmsw] nb=f tj sw m jnpw* (4) [...] *Jmn-m-wj3*

(1) [...] your strong and godly spirit(?), your ba, your justification, (2) [...] the Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands, beloved of the lord of the Two Lands, (3) [...] [follower of] his lord while he was young, (4) [...] Amunemwia.

Text edition:

Raven, M. J. “What the Butler Saw: the Life and Times of Ptahemwia, Royal Butler at Memphis.” In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 583-591.

Publication:

Raven, M. J. – Van Walsem, R. – Aston, B. G. – Horáčková, L. – Warner, N. “Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2007: The Tomb of Ptahemwia.” *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 40, 2007, 19-28.

Raven, M. J. – Hays H. M. – Lacher, C. – Duistermaat, K. – Regulski, I. – Aston, B. G. – Horáčková, L. – Warner, N. “Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at

Saqqara, Season 2008: The Tomb of Ptahemwia.” *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 41, 2009, 5-30.

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[20.2] Pilaster, Bologna, EG 1891

(1) *dd mdw jn jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c htmtj-bjtj smr-w^c.tj sprr m t3 r-dr=f hrj-sšt3 n W3d.tj wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj Pth-m-wj3 m3^c-hrw (2) m dw3.f R^c m wbn=f dd.fjj-tj m jtn h^c m 3h.t spd-tj wp.n.(3) k nhh psd.t hr rdj m j3w⁹⁶² n ^cnh.sn m m33 st.wt dhn.s(n) hr t3 m (4) hsfw=k m3.sn wsrw hm=k ^cnh wd3 snb m shm špsjj ^c3 jrww? dd.sn n=k (5) hft h^c.k ^c.wj=sn h3m n b3w=k jj.wj sp sn nb ntr:w Jtm R^c-Hr-3htj ms wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj Pth-m-wj3 m3^c-hrw ^c3 nb j3bt.t n Mn-nfr*

(1) Words spoken by the member of the elite, foremost of action, royal sealer, sole friend, who has been made renowned through the entire land, master of secrets of the two cobra goddesses, royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ptahemwia, justified, (2) as he adores Re at his rising, he says: “You are coming as the sun disc that appears on the horizon, you are effective, you revealed (3) eternity. The Ennead give praise for their living as seeing (your) rays, they touch the earth with their forehead in (4) your nearness when they see the power of your majesty, life, prosperity, health, as august Power, great in forms(?). They say to you (5) when you appear, their arms are bent in front of your power: ‘Welcome, welcome, lord of the gods, Atum Re-Harakhti, indeed!’ The royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ptahemwia, justified, great lord on the east of Memphis.”

Text edition:

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 171-173.

Raven, M. J. “What the Butler Saw: the Life and Times of Ptahemwia, Royal Butler at Memphis.” In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year* 2015. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 583-591.

Translation:

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 171-173.

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⁹⁶² It seems to be mistakenly written instead of *hr rsj.t j3w*.

Publication:

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Saggio filologico per l'apprendimento della lingua e scrittura egiziana e la interpretazione delle iscrizioni geroglifiche che si leggono sui monumenti del Museo Civico di Bologna*. Monti, Bologna, 1877, pp. 80-81, pl. X [2].

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Raven, M. J. "What the Butler Saw: the Life and Times of Ptahemwia, Royal Butler at Memphis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 583-591.

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[20.3] Doorjamb, Cairo, JE 8383

(1) ¹h_{tp}¹[-dj-nswt] <n> Hr-3htj ntr šps ʿnh m m³ʿ. t dj. k wnn rwdw=k špsjj m-b³h ʿ nb nh_h ʿq pr m hr.t-ntr nn šnʿ hr sb₃.w n(w) dw₃.t n k₃ n jrj-p^ʿt h₃tj-ʿ wb₃ nswt w^ʿb ʿ.wj Pth-m-wj₃ m³ʿ-hrw (2) ¹h_{tp}¹[-dj-nswt] <n> Jnpw hntj-sh-ntr dj.f qbh_w jrp jr_t.t šsp snw prj m-b³h qbh_w htp. t m-b³h=k n k₃ n jrj-p^ʿt h₃tj-ʿ wb₃ nswt w^ʿb ʿ.wj Pth-m-wj₃ m³ʿ-hrw (3) ¹h_{tp}¹[-dj-nswt]

<n> Hr-ḥntj-htj Wsjr ḥr-jb Km-wr dj.k wnn šms n ḥnw m ḥb=f n phr jnb.w sq3.f m-b3ḥ R^c
n k3 n jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c wb3 nswt w^cb ˁ.wj Pth-m-wj3 m3^c-ḥrw

(1) An offering [which the king gives] <to> Harakhti, the noble god, who lives in truth, that you may grant being at your splendid stairway in front of the agent of the lord of eternity, entering and coming forth from the necropolis, not holding back at the gates of the netherworld for the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ptahemwia, justified. (2) An offering [which the king gives] <to> Anubis, who is in front of the divine tent, that he may grant libation of wine and milk, to receive offering bread in the presence, libation and offering in front of you for the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ptahemwia, justified. (3) An offering [which the king gives] <to> Horus-Khentikheti and Osiris, who dwells in Athribis, that you may grant being in the following of the henu-barque in his feast of going around the walls while he is exalted in front of Re for the ka of the member of the elite, foremost of action, royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ptahemwia, justified.

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- Raven, M. J. "What the Butler Saw: the Life and Times of Ptahemwia, Royal Butler at Memphis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 583-591.
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Late 18th dynasty – from Tutankhamun to Horemheb

[21] Ipay

Tutankhamun

[21.1] Mud brick stamps

Wsjr sš nswt Jp3jj m3^c-hrw

Osiris, royal scribe, Ipay, justified.

sš nswt m3^c mr=f wb3 nswt w^cb 3.wj Jp3jj m3^c-hrw

The true royal scribe, his beloved, royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ipay, justified.

[21.2] Stele

No hieroglyphic source is available.

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[22] Ipu

Tutankhamun/late 18th dynasty

[22.1] Stele, Leiden, AP.9 (V 12)

Above Inpu on the left

Jnpw jmj-wt mrj sp3t jmnt.t nb R3-st3w

Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming, beloved of the western necropolis, lord of Rosetau.

Above Inpu on the right

Jnpw jmj-wt nb t3 dsr ntr 3 hntj-jmnt.t

Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalming, lord of the sacred land, the great god, Foremost of the West.

Frame text on the left

*h̄tp-dj-nswt <n> ʿPtḥ¹-Skr nb p.t ʿdj.f¹ ʿnh¹ ʿnfr¹ h̄nm m h̄sw.t jpw m šmsw.t m js.t mskt.t m 3h.w
šps pr <m>⁹⁶³ b3 r m33 R^c t̄nw wbn.f m 3h.t=f n k3 n wb3 nswt w^cb ʿ.wj Wsjr Jjpw m3^c-h̄rw*

An offering which the king gives <to> Ptah-Sokar, lord of heaven, that he may grant good life provided with these favours, <being> as a follower among the crew of the *Mskt.t*-barque, (being) as a noble spirit, coming forth as a ba to see Re every time he rises on his horizon, to the ka of the royal *wb3*, clean of hands, Osiris Ipu, justified.

Frame text on the right

*j3w n k3=k Wsjr-wnn-nfr-h̄ntj-jmnt.t dj.f prr.t nb.t h̄r wdḥw=f m mw t h̄nq.t h̄.t nb.t nfr(.t)
w^cb(.t) m h̄tp prj m-b3h̄ nb ʿnh ??? b3 m h̄rt-ntr n k3 n wb3 nswt Jjpw m3^c-h̄rw*

⁹⁶³ Emendation based on Barta, 1968, 123.

Adoration to your ka, Osiris-Wenennefer, Foremost of the West, that he may grant everything which appear on his offering table, from water, bread, beer, all the good and pure things as an offering coming forth in the presence of the lord of the life ???, the ba in the necropolis, to the ka of the royal *wb3*, Ipu, justified.

Upper register

In front of and behind the god

(1) *Wsjr-Pth(2)-Skr hrj-jb Jpt* (3) *nb R3-sBw hntj* (4) *Ddwt* (5) *ntr šps* (6) *sqbb.t r nhḥ ḥq3 d.t ntr ʕ3 wp.t p.t r t3*

(1) Osiris-Ptah(2)-Sokar, who settles in Ipet, (3) lord of Rosetau, foremost of (4) Busiris, (5) the noble god, (6) who is refreshed forever, ruler of infinity, the great god, who opens the heavens towards the earth.

Above and behind the official

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-hntj-jmnt.t* (2) *nb nhḥ ḥq3 d.t dj.f prt-hrw k3.w 3pd.w* (3) *jrp j3rr.t sntr šs mnḥ.t mḏ.t* (4) *ḥnk.t nb(.t) rnpw.t nb(.t) ḥ.t nb.t nfr:t wʕb.t* (5) *m ḥsw.t n nb j3b.t dj.f* (6) *ʕ q pr m hrt-ntr qrs.t* (7) *nfr(.t) hr jmnt.t Mn-nfr mj ḥsjj nb=k n k3 n wb3 nswt wʕb ʕ.wj n nb t3.wj Jjpw m3ʕ-hrw nb jm3ḥ m ḥtp*

(1) Offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Foremost-of-the-West, (2) lord of eternity and ruler of infinity, that he may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, (3) wine, grapes, incense, alabaster, clothing, oil, (4) all sorts of offerings, all sorts of vegetables, all sorts of good and pure things (5) as the favour of the lord of the East, that he may grant (6) entering into and coming forth from the necropolis, and beautiful burial (7) in the west of Memphis, as a favour of your lord, to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ipu, justified, lord of honour, rest in peace.

Text line between the two registers

j3w n k3=k Wsjr-hntj-jmnt.t p3 nb sq3 jr mnj nfr dj.k rwd rn hr jr n=k nb sdm.k spr:t m mnt ʕnh b3 m w Pqr šsp.f ḥtp prr m-b3ḥ=k n d.t n k3 n wb3 nswt Jjpw m3ʕ-hrw

Adoration to your ka, Osiris, Foremost of the West, the mighty and strong lord, who is exalted making beautiful death, that you may grant (being) the name enduring because of everything what has been done for you and you may listen to the appeal daily, may the ba live in the Poqer district, he accepts the offerings which come forth in front of you forever, to the ka of the royal *wb3*, Ipu, justified.

Lower register

Above the third person from the right

(1) *jn b3=f s^cnh rn*(2)=*f wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj* (3) *Jjpw m3^c-hrw*

(1) It is his ba who makes his name live, (2) the royal *wb3* clean of hands, (3) Ipu, justified.

Above the second person from the right

(1) *sn.t=f mr.t=f n s.t* (2) *jb nb.t pr* (3) *Nj3 m3^c-hrw nb(.t) jm3h*

(1) His favourite beloved sister, (2) lady of the house, (3) Nia, justified, lady of honour.

Above the first person from the right

(1) *s3.t=s mr.t n mrjj*(2)=*s Mrj.t-R^c* (3) *m3^c-hrw*

(1) Her daughter, her favourite beloved, (2) Meritre, (3) justified.

Above the fourth person from the left

(1) *hrj-hb.t n ^c3-hpr.w-R^c* (2) *w^cb n Jmn Nfr-h3t m3^c-hrw*

(1) Lector priest of Aakheperure, (2) wab-priest of Amun, Neferhat, justified.

Above the third person from the left

(1) *sn.t=f nb.t pr T3j* (2) *jr:n s3*(3)=*s s^cnh rn=s wb3 nswt w^cb* (4) *^c.wj Jjpw m3^c-hrw*

(1) His sister, lady of the house, Tjai, (2) his son (3) who makes her name live, the royal *wb3* clean (4) of hands, Ipu, justified.

Above the second person from the left

(1) *s3=f mrjj=f* (2) *Hwjj m3^c-hrw*

(1) His beloved son, (2) Hui, justified.

Above the first person from the left

(1) *s3=f mrjj=f Nht*(2)-*Jmn m3^c-hrw*

(1) His beloved son, (2) Nakhtamun, justified.

Above and in front of the girl behind the seat

(1) *s3.t=s mr.t=s* (2) *T3-wsr.t*

(1) Her beloved daughter, (2) Tausert.

The inscriptions in the bottom register cannot be clearly identified on the available picture.

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[23] Pay

post-Amarna

[23.1] Stele, München, ÄS 50

First register

Above Osiris

(1) *Wsjr-ḥntj-jmntjw* (2) *ntr ʕ3 ḥq3 d.t* (3) *nb p.t ḥr-jb* (4) *3bdw*

(1) Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, (2) great god, ruler of infinity, (3) lord of the sky, who settles in (4) Abydos.

Behind Isis

Js.t wr.t mw.t ntr

Isis, the great one, mother of the god.

Above the adoring figures

(1) *rdj.t j3w n Wsjr* (2) *sn-t3 n Wnn-(3)nfr* (4) *jn wb3 nswt* (5) *w^cb ^c.wj* (6) *hrj jrj-^c3* (7) *n nb t3.wj P3(8)jj jt=f* (9) *Swtj sn=f* (10) *R^c-ms*

(1) Giving praise to Osiris, (2-3) veneration to Wenennefer (4) by the royal *wb3* (5) pure of hands, (6) the main doorkeeper (7) of the lord of the Two Lands, (8) Pay, his father, (9) Suti, his brother, (10) Rames.

Second register

On the right

Above the seated couple

(1-2) *jt=f Swtj* (3) *mw.t=f* (4) *Jmn-m-jp.t?*

(1-2) His father, Suti, (3) his mother, (4) Amenemipet(?).

Above the offering figures

(1-2) *sn=f Jmn-m-jp.t?* (3) *sn.t=f* (4) *Jjj*

(1-2) His brother, Amenemipet(?), (3) his sister Iy.

On the left

Above the seated couple

(1) *hrj* (2) *jrj-^c3 P3(3)jj* (4) *sn.t=f nb.t pr* (5) ???

(1) The main (2) doorkeeper, (3) Pay, (4) his sister, lady of the house, (5) ???.

Above the offering figures

(1) *jr.t htp-dj-nswt w^cb sp sn?* (2-4) ??? *Smnj* (5) *sn.t=f K3jj.t?*

(1) Giving a very pure offering which the king gives (2-4) ???, Semeni, (5) his sister Kayt(?).

Third register

Above the offering bearers on the right

(1) *Tm3^ch^c(2)jjt?* (3) *P3(4)[...]* *s3=f* (5) [...] (6) *s3=f* (7) *Jmn-m-(8)jn.t* (9) *s3=f H(10)3w-(11)* *'nfr'* (12) *s3=f Bw-(13)nh^ct=f*

(1-2) Tjemaakhajt?, (3) Pa[...], (4) his son, (5) [...], (6) his son, (7-8) Ameneminet, (9) his son, (10-11) Haunefer, (12) his son, Bunakht.

Above the offering bearers on the left

(1-2) *sn=f R^c-msj* (3) *sn.t=f Rsj3* (4) *s3.t n J(5)jj* (6) *s3.t n Twtwj3* (7) *sn.t=f T3-h^c.t*

(1-2) His brother, Ramesi, (3) his sister, Resia, (4) daughter of (5)Iy, (6) daughter of Tu-tuia, (7) his sister, Takhat.

Inscription at the bottom of the stele

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr ḥq3 d.t ntr ʿ3 n sp tpj Js.t wr.t mw.t ntr psd.t nb.w 3bdw dj.sn pr:t-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t* (2) *sntr md.t jrp jr.t ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t wʿb.t ḥnk.t nb.t ssn.t Bw ndm n mnḥ.t* (3) *pr b3=f m ʿnh r bw mr=f ḥtp.t jb=f m df3w ʿqw n djdj=sn n k3 n wb3 nswt ḥrj jrj-ʿ3 P3jj*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, ruler of infinity, great god from the creation, to Isis, the great, mother of the god, to the Ennead, lords of Abydos, that they may grant an invocation offerings of cattle, birds, alabaster, clothing, (2) incense, oil, wine, milk, all sorts of good and pure things, all sorts of offerings, breathing the sweet breeze of the north wind, (3) coming forth of his ba as living one to his beloved place, pleasing his heart with provisions and bread of what they give, to the ka of the royal *wb3*, the main doorkeeper, Pay.

Text edition:

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[24] Paatenemheb

Horemheb

[24.1] Chapel, Leiden, AMT 1-35

Left column

On the abacus

(1) *Wsjr ḥsjj n ntr nfr wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3ꜥ-ḥrw* (2) *Wsjr ḥsjj n ntr ʿnfr¹ wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb*

(1) Osiris, favoured of the good god, the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, justified. (2) Osiris, favoured of the good god, the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb.

On the band

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Nwt* (2) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Gbb dj.f ʿbw ndm n Wsjr wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Nut, (2) an offering which the king gives <to> Geb, that he may grant the sweet breath to the Osiris, royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, justified.

On the stalks

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr nb R3-(2)stʿw dj.f ʿh pr m ḥr:t-ntr m* (3) *šmsw n Wnn-nfr* (4) *n k3 n wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, lord of (2) Rosetjau, that he may grant entering and coming out from the necropolis as (3) the follower of Wenennefer (4) to the ka of the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb.

Right column

On the abacus

(1) *ʿWsjr¹ ḥsjj ʿn ntr nfr wb3 nswt¹ P3-ʿJtn¹-m-ḥb* (2) *ʿWsjr¹ ḥsjj n ntr ʿnfr¹ wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-ʿm-ḥb¹*

(1) Osiris, favoured of the good god, the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb. (2) Osiris, favoured of the good god, the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb.

On the band

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Rꜥ-Ḥr-ʿḥtjj ntr ʿ3 dj.f ph jmnt.t m m3ꜥ-ḥrw n k3 n wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3ꜥ-ḥrw* (2) *ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> M3ꜥ.t s3(.t) Rꜥ nb.t p.t*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Re-Harakhti, great god, that he may grant reaching the West as justified to the ka of the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, justified. (2) An offering which the king gives <to> Maat, daughter of Re, the lady of the sky.

On the stalks

(1) *hṭp-dj-nswt <n> Jtm nb Jwnw dj.f* (2) *šsp snw pr* (3) *m-b3h hr h3jj.t n nb Jwnw* (4) *n wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-hb*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Atum, lord of Heliopolis, that he may grant (2) receiving/taking the offering bread which comes out (3) in front on the offering table of the lord of Heliopolis (4) to the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb.

Left doorjamb, outer side

(1) [...] *wj m r3 n ʕnh.w pr* (2) [...] *ʕ.wj¹=fj m j3w.t n hr=f* (3) [...] (4) [...] *[n k3] n wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-hb*

(1) [...] in the mouth of the living which comes out (2) [...] his two hands in adoration of his face (3) [...] (4) [...] [to the ka] of the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb.

Above the seated figure

(1) *pr.r.t hr h3jj.t n Wnn-nfr* (2) *n k3 n wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-(3)hb m3ʕ-hrw* (4) *ʕsn.t=f¹ nb.t pr Pth-mrj.t*

(1) What comes out on the offering table of Wenennefer (2) to the ka of the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, (3) justified, (4) (and) his sister, lady of the house, Meritptah.

Right doorjamb, outer side

(1) [...] *mn n d.t hntj rwd* (2) [...] *m3ʕ-hrw dd.f jnk 3h n nswt mr* (3) [...] *jw b3 ntrj=f ʕ3h¹* (4) [...]

(1) [...] stable for eternity, enduring statue (2) [...] justified, he says: 'I am useful for the king, beloved (3) [...] that his divine ba enters (4) [...]

Above the seated figure

(1) *pr.r.t m-b3h Wsjr n* (2) *k3 n wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-(3)hb m3ʕ-hrw* (4) *sn[.t=f nb.t pr] ʕTjpwj¹*

(1) What comes out in front of Osiris to (2) the ka of the royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, (3) justified, (4) (and) his sister, lady of the house, Tipuy.

On the right side wall

Above the musicians

(1) [... ..] (2) [... ..][†]*n*¹ *wn s.t* (3) [... ..] [*sdm.*]*n.j mdw.t Jj-m-ḥtp* (4) [... ..]*sj ptr s.t jrj* (5) [... ..]=*n mj ntj n ḥpr bn* (6) [... ..]=*n r ḥn.t n r bw šm* (7) [... ..] *wnn.k jmm ᵚntjw ḥr tp=k* (8) [... ..] *ḥr nfr.w=k m b3gj* (9) [... ..] *t3 m ḥd jb=k r jw n=k ᵚhrw¹* (10) [... ..] *jb sbḥ.sn bw šd j3kb z m ᵚjmḥ.t¹* [... ..]

(1) [... ..] (2) [... ..] the place is (3) [... ..] I [have heard] the words of Imhotep (4) [... ..] What of their places? (5) [... ..] as if they had never existed (6) [... ..] we make our journey to the place where they have gone. (7) [... ..] you live. Put myrrh on your head (8) [... ..] your pleasures increase, and let not your heart grow weary. (9) [... ..] earth. Your heart is not injured until the day [of mourning will (surely)] come for you.⁹⁶⁴ (10) [... ..] [The Weary]-Hearted [does not hear] their lamentations, and their weeping does not rescue a man's heart from the grave. [...]⁹⁶⁵

On the right side of the back wall

In front of the priest

sdm K3-s3

The servant, Kasa.

On the left side of the front wall

Upper register, above the couple in the boat

wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb nb.t pr Tjpwj

The royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, (and) the lady of the house, Tipuy.

Middle register, above the seated couple

(1) *wb3 nswt P3-(2)Jtn-m-(3)ḥb* (4) *nb.t pr Tjp(5)wj*

(1) The royal *wb3*, (2-3) Paatenemheb, (4) (and) the lady of the house, (5) Tipuy.

Text edition:

Lieblein, J. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques: en ordre généalogique et alphabétique*. Christiania, Leipzig, 1871, 277.

⁹⁶⁴ Simpson translates it as 'conduct your affairs on earth as your heart dictates, for that day of mourning will (surely) come for you', however, the verb is mistakenly read as *wḏ* 'to command', instead of *ḥdḏ* 'to injure, to destroy', and so the whole structure and meaning of the sentence have to be changed.

⁹⁶⁵ Translation is after Simpson, 2003³, 332-333.

Hari, R. *Repertoire onomastique amarnien*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 4. Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel/Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève, Geneva, 1976, Nr. 82. <https://www.rmo.nl/en/collection/search-collection/collection-piece/?object=22555>

Publication:

Leemans, C. *Descriptions raisonnées des monuments égyptiens de Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas*. H. W. Hazenberg, Leiden, 1840, 138-140.

Boeser, P. A. A. *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: Egyptische afdeling*. Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken, Leiden, 1907, 60-61.

Boeser, P. A. A. *Beschreibung der Aegyptische Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*. Band 4. *Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches 1. Gräber*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1911, 1-5, Taf. I-XII

Hari, R. *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie*. La Sirène, Geneva, 1964, 30-31.

Schneider, H. D. – Raaven, M. J. *De Egyptische Oudheid*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, The Hague, 1981, 95-96.

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Málek, J. "The Tomb-chapel of Hekamaetre-neheh at Northern Saqqara." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 12, 1985, 46.

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 136.

Gessler-Löhr, B. "Pre-Amarna or Post-Amarna? The Tomb of the God's Father Hatiahy at Saqqara." In Evans, L. (ed.): *Ancient Memphis. 'Enduring is the perfection'*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 214. Peeters, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, 2012, 188 n. 170.

[24.2] Stele, Leiden, AP 52

Outer frame

Right side

*ḥtp-dj nswt <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-jmnt.t ntr ʿ3 ḥq3 d.t dj.f ʿ3ḥ ʿm p.t ḥr Rʿ wsr¹ m t3 ḥr Gbb m3ʿ-ḥrw ḥr Wsjr šsp snw pr m-b3ḥ ḥr wdhw n nb t3-dsr n k3 n Wsjr **wb3 nswt** P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3ʿ-ḥrw*
 An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost of the West, great god, ruler of infinity, that he may grant becoming a spirit in the sky by Re, strength on the earth by Geb, justification by Osiris, receiving offering bread which comes out on offering table of the lord of the sacred land to the ka of Osiris, **royal wb3**, Paatenemheb, justified.

Left side

hṭp-dj nswt <n> Pth-škr Nfr-tm s3 B3st.t dj.sn pr:t-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t w3ḏw msdm.t ḥ.t nb.t nfr:t ndm.t ḥnḥ ntr jm=sn djdj p.t qm3 t3 n k3 n Wsjr wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3ḥ-ḥrw

An offering which the king gives <to> Ptah-Sokar, Nefertem, son of Bastet, that they may grant an invocation offering of cattle, birds, alabaster, clothing, green eye-paint, black eye-paint, all sorts of good and sweet things, on what the god lives, what the sky gives, what the earth produces to the ka of Osiris, royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, justified.

Inner frame

Right side

hṭp-dj nswt <n> Js.t wr:t mw.t ntr dj.s ḥq pr m ḥr:t-ntr m šmsw n Wnn-nfr nn ḥnr.tw nn šnḥ. tw ḥr sb3.w n.w t3-ḏsr n k3 n Wsjr wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3ḥ-ḥrw

An offering which the king gives <to> Isis, the great, mother of the god, that she may grant entering and coming out from the necropolis as the follower of Wenennefer without restraining without turning back at the gates of the sacred land to the ka of Osiris, royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, justified.

Left side

hṭp-dj nswt <n> Nb.t-ḥw.t ḥrj-tp jgr:t dj.s ssn.t Ḕw ndm pr m-ḥnt=s swr mw ḥr sp.t bḥ pr m b3 ḥnhj m33 jtn rḥ nb n k3 n Wsjr wb3 nswt P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3ḥ-ḥrw

An offering which the king gives <to> Nephthys, who is upon the underworld, that she may grant breathing the sweet air which comes out from her, drinking water at the bank of the water basin, coming out as a living ba to see the sun disc every day to the ka of Osiris, royal *wb3*, Paatenemheb, justified.

Upper register

Above the deceased couple

(1) *dw3 Wsjr nb R3-sḔw dj.f* (2) *Ḕw ndm n mhj.t* (3) *n k3 n Wsjr* (4) *wb3 nswt wḥb ḥ.wj* (5) *P3-Jtn-m-(6)ḥb m3ḥ-ḥrw* (7) *sn.t=f nb.t pr Tjpwjj*

(1) Praise to Osiris, lord of Rosetau, that he may grant (2) the sweet breath of the north wind (3) to the ka of the Osiris, (4) royal *wb3* clean of hands, (5) Paatenemheb, (6) justified, (7) (and) his sister, lady of the house, Tipui.

In front of Osiris

(1) *Wsjr-ḥntj-jmnt.t* (2) *Jmstj* (3) *Ḥpjj* (4) *Dw3-mw.t=f* (5) *Qbh-sn.w=f*

(1) Osiris, Foremost of the West, (2) Imsety, (3) Hapy, (4) Duamutef, (5) Qebehsenuf

Above the goddesses

Js.t Nb.t-ḥw.t

Isis, Nephthys

Lower register

Above the deceased couple

(1) *jr.t ḥtp-dj-nswt <n>* (2) *Wsjr wb3 nswt* (3) *P3-Jtn-m-* (4) *ḥb m3^c-ḥrw* (5) *sn.t=f nb.t pr* (6) *šm^cjj.t n* (7) *Jmn Tjpwjj*

(1) Making an offering which the king gives <to> (2) the Osiris, royal *wb3*, (3) Paatenemheb, (4) justified, (5) (and) his sister, lady of the house, (6) chantress of (7) Amun, Tipui.

Above the priest and the woman

(1) *jr.t ḥtp-dj-nswt n* (2) *wb3 nswt P3-(3)Jtn-m-ḥb* (4) *m3^c-ḥrw* (5) *m t ḥnq.t* (6) *k3.w 3pd.w qbh^w* (7) *jr.p jr.t* (8) *ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t*

(1) Making an offering which the king gives <to> (2) the royal *wb3*, (3) Paatenemheb, (4) justified, (5) which consists of bread, beer, (6) cattle, birds, cool water, (7) wine, milk, (8) all sorts of good and pure things.

In front of the priest

sdm n pr-^c3 K3-s3

Servant of the palace, Kasa.

At the bottom of the stele

ḥsjj ^c3 n ntr nfr mrr nb t3.wj ḥr bj.t=f^r wb3 nswt w^cb ^c.wj P3-Jtn-m-ḥb m3^c-ḥrw ḥr jmnt.t¹

Greatly favoured of the good god, beloved of the lord of the Two Lands, because of his character, the royal *wb3* clean of hands, Paatenemheb, justified on the West.

Text edition:

Piehl, K. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte* III. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1895, pl. XXXVI-XXXVII

Publication:

Leemans, C. *Descriptions raisonnée des monuments égyptiens de Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas*. H. W. Hazenberg, Leiden, 1840, 140-141.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: *Memphis*. Part 2: *Saqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 709-711, plan LXVI.

<https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=360>

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Staring, N. “The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis. Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 114, 2014, 479 n. 123, 481, 483 n. 160.

[24.3] Wooden stick, Leiden, AH 140c

ḥsjj ʕ3 n ntr nfr mrr nb t3.wj ḥr bj.t=f grw m3^c nfr mdw n ntj bjn sp ḏw wb3 nswt n ḥm.t nswt wr.t rwdw P3-Jtn-m-ḥb whm ʕnh ʕm3^c[-ḥrw]

Greatly favoured of the good god, beloved of the lord of the Two Lands because of his character, who is truly silent, who speaks well, who is not bad or does not act evil, the royal *wb3* of the great royal wife, the representative, Paatenemheb, renewing life, justified.

Text edition:

Hassan, A. *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 33. Deutscher Kunstverlag München, Berlin, 1976, 153, Taf. vi [1]

Translation:

Hassan, A. *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 33. Deutscher Kunstverlag München, Berlin, 1976, 153, Taf. vi [1]

Publication:

Leemans, C. *Descriptions raisonnée des monuments égyptiens de Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas*. H. W. Hazenberg, Leiden, 1840, 103.

Leemans, C. *Aegyptische monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden* II. Brill, Leiden, 1846, pl. LXXXV [88]

Boeser, P. A. A. *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: Egyptische afdeeling*. Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken, Leiden, 1907, 174.

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Hassan, A. *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 33. Deutscher Kunstverlag München, Berlin, 1976, 153, Taf. vi [1]

<https://www.rmo.nl/en/collection/search-collection/collection-piece/?object=5614>

[25] Qema

Horemheb

[25.1] Pillar, Bologna, 1892

Face A

(1) *Pth* ʕ rsj jnb=f nb ʕnh t3.wj Wsjr-hntj-jmnt.t nb nhh jrj d.t hr-tp jgr.t n ntr.w nswt-bjtj hq3 d.t Skr hnw

(2) ¹h_{tp}[-dj-nswt] <n> ¹Pth¹ nb m3^c.t nswt t3.wj nfr hr hrj s.t wr.t ntr mn_h nswt r nh_h ʕ ph.tj

(3) [dj.f] ¹qrs.t nfr:t¹ m-h_t j3w n k3 n wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj jmj-r3 ʕhnwtj Qm3 m3^c-hrw (4) jmj-r3 ʕhnwtj P3-R^c-m-hb m3^c-hrw

(1) Ptah, great south of his wall, lord of Ankhtau, Osiris, Foremost-of-the-West, lord of eternity, who spends the eternity at the head of the underworld of the gods, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of infinity, Sokar, the henu-barque.

(2) An offering [which the king gives] <to> Ptah, lord of the truth, king of the Two Lands, whose face is nice, chief of the great place, excellent god, king to eternity, great in power,

(3) [that he may grant] a nice burial after getting old to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands, chamberlain, Qema, justified.

(4) The chamberlain, Paraemheb, justified.

Face B (= Face C by Gauthier)

Wsjr ḥq3 d.t ntr ʕ3 ḥr-jb 3bdw wsr=f 3w m ḥ.t Nw.t sm3.n ḥd.t m tp=f sn.tj m-ḥt=f 3mm.n.f ḥq3 nḥ3ḥ3 jt.n.f nb t3.wj m šm.w=f d.t

Osiris, ruler of infinity, great god, who is in Abydos, his power is a gift from the body of Nut, the white crown united with his head, the two uraei are on its front, he took the scepter and the flail, he took possession of the Two Lands through his might forever.

Face C (= Face D by Gauthier)

Wsjr nb R3-sḫw Pth-Sk(r nb) štjj.t nswt nḥḥ ḥq3 d.t Wsjr ḥrj-jb 3bdw jw n=k ntj jm m j3w ntj m ḥ.t ḥr jr.n n=k d.t

Osiris, lord of Rosetau, Ptah-Sokar, lord of Shetit, king of eternity, ruler of infinity, Osiris, who resides in Abydos, may it come to you what is there in the praise (and) what is in the body concerning what has already been made for you forever.

Face D (= Face B by Gauthier)

Pth nb m3ʕ.t nfr ḥr ḥrj s.t wr.t Sk(r)-Wnn-nfr nb štjj.t Ḥr nswt ḥrj-jb t3.wj nswt-bjtj ḥq3 d.t ntr wʕ jr ntj nb nb sm.t ḥq3 jgr.t

Ptah, lord of truth, whose face is nice, chief of the great place, Sokar-Wennefer, lord of Shetit, Horus, king in the Two Lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of infinity, unique god, who created everyone, lord of the desert, lord of the necropolis.

Text edition:

Piehl, K. "Petites notes de critique et de philologie." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 1, 1870, 204-205.

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 173-175. – face A

Gauthier, H. "Un pilier 𓂏 au Musée du Caire." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 35, 1935, 87-90.

Translation:

Piehl, K. “Petites notes de critique et de philology.” *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 1, 1870, 204-205.

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 171-173. – face A

Publication:

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 171-173.

Ducati, P. *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna*. Regia Tipografia Fratelli Merlani, Bologna, 1923, 51.

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Morigi Govi, C. – Vitali, D. *Il Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*. University Press Bologna, Bologna, 1982, 125.

Morigi Govi, C. – Pernigotti, S. *Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna. La collezione egiziana*. Leonardo Arte, Milan, 1994, 41.

http://www.comune.bologna.it/archeologico/sfoglia/47681/n_inv/1892/id/2795

General literature about the owner:

Málek, J. “The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 136.

[26] Nensemekhetef

18th dynasty

[26.1] Doorframe fragment, Florence, 6397

Inscription above Osiris

(1) *Wsjr nswt* (2) *ꜥnh.w*

(1) Osiris, king (2) of the living.

Inscription above the couple

(1) *rdj(.t) j3w n Wnn-nfr* (2) *jn wb3 nswt w^cb* (3) *ˁ.wj* (4) *Nn-smḥ.t.f m3^c-ḥrw* (5) *nb.t pr mr.t=f Mw.t-nfr.t*

(1) Praising to Wenennefer (2) by the royal *wb3* clean (3) of hands, (4) Nensemekhetef, justified, (5) (and) the lady of the house, his beloved, Mutnefret.

Inscription on the jamb

(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt* [... ...] (2) *ḥtp-dj-nswt* [... ...]

(1) An offering which the king gives [... ...] (2) An offering which the king gives [... ...]

Text edition:

Schiaparelli, E. *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie*. R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, 1887, 507-508.

Lieblein, J. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques: en ordre généalogique et alphabétique. Supplément*. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1892, 761.

Translation:

Schiaparelli, E. *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie*. R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, 1887, 507-508.

Publication:

Schiaparelli, E. *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie*. R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, 1887, 507-508.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis. Part 1: Private Tombs*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1960, 816.

[27] Kasa

Second half of the 18th dynasty

[27.1] Stele, Moscow, Pushkin Mus. I.1.a 5630⁹⁶⁶

Right ear

[... ...] *ˁnb.t¹ pr Kmj wḥm ˁnh*

⁹⁶⁶ Translation is after Hodjash – Berlev, 1982, 116-117.

[... ...] lady of the house Kemi, who repeats life.

Left ear

[... ...] *k3 n* [...]

[... ...] to the ka of [...]

Above the man

wb3 nswt Ks

The King's butler (*wb3 nswt*) Kes.

Above the woman

sn(.t)<=f> mr(.t)=f nb(.t) pr [...]

His sister, his beloved, lady of the house [Kemi].

At the bottom of the stele

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr ntr ʕ3 ḥq3 d.t dj.f ḥ.wt nfr(.wt) wʕb(.wt) n k3 n Ks sn.t=f nb.t pr Kmj

A boon which the king gives to Osiris, the Great God, the Ruler of Eternity, that he may give things, good and pure, to the ka of Kes and of his sister, lady of the house, Kememi.

Text edition:

Hodjash, S. – Berlev, O. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stele in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*. Archeobooks, Moscow, 1982, 116-117.

Translation:

Hodjash, S. – Berlev, O. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stele in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*. Archeobooks, Moscow, 1982, 116-117.

Publication:

Hodjash, S. – Berlev, O. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stele in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*. Archeobooks, Moscow, 1982, 116-117.

Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 135.

[28] Nebnefer

Late 18th – 19th dynasty

[28.1] Shabti, Amiens, Musée de Picardie, 3057326

(1) *shd Wsjr sš nswt wb3 nswt Nb-nfr m3^c-hrw dd.fj šwbtj jpn* (2) *jr jp.tw.k jr ḥsb.tw.k Wsjr ḥsij 3 n ntr nfr sš nswt* (3) *wb3 nswt Nb-nfr m3^c-hrw r jr.t k3.wt nb<.wt> j jrr.wt m hrt-ntr <r> srwd* (4) *sh.t <r> smḥ wdb.w r hn<.t> š^c.t r j3bt.t* (5) *r jmnt.t hn<.t> š^c.t r jmt.t r j3bt.t jstw ḥw* (6) *dnj.wt jm=f r-gs m z r hr.wt=f jr jp.tw.* (7) *k r nw nb jnk jrjj m-k k3*

(1) The illuminated Osiris, the royal scribe, the royal *wb3*, Nebnefer, justified, he says: "O, these shabtis, (2) if one counts you off, if one reckons you, the Osiris, the greatly favoured of the good god, the royal scribe, (3) the royal *wb3*, Nebnefer, justified, to do all the works which have to be done in the necropolis, to make arable (4) the field, to irrigate the riversides, to transport sand to the East (5) (and) to the West, to transport sand to the West (and) to the East, indeed, obstacles (6) are implanted therewith as a man at his duties, if one reckons you (7) at any time, 'I shall do it!' – see, thus (you shall say.)"

Text edition:

Amélineau, E. *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1895-1896*. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1899, 160-161, pl. IV. (lower line, 3rd from the left)

Schneider, H. D. *Shabtis I. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1977, fig. 5, doc. 3.

Translation:

Schneider, H. D. *Shabtis I. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1977, 107-109, 192.

Perdu, O. – Rickal, E. *La collection égyptienne du musée de Picardie*. Réunion des Musées nationaux/Musée de Picardie, Paris – Amiens, 1994, 134, N° 226

Publication:

Amélineau, E. *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1895-1896*. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1899, 160-161.

Perdu, O. – Rickal, E. *La collection égyptienne du musée de Picardie*. Réunion des Musées nationaux/Musée de Picardie, Paris – Amiens, 1994, p. 134, N° 226

[28.2] Shabti, San Francisco, Fine Arts Museum San Francisco 1925.133

(1) *shd Wsjr sš nswt Nb-nfr m3^c-hrw dd.f j šwbty jpn* (2) *jr jp.tw.k jr ḥsb.tw.k Wsjr sš nswt wb3 nswt Nb-nfr m3^c-hrw hr ntr ʕ r jr.t* (3) *k3.wt nb<.wt> j jrr.wt m hrt-ntr <r> srwd sh.t <r> smḥ* (4) *wdb.w r hn<.t> š^c.t r j3bt.t r jmnt.t hn<.t> š^c.t r jmt.t* (5) *r j3bt.t jstw ḥw dnj. wt jm=f r-gs m z* (6) *r hr.wt=f jr jp.tw.k r nw nb jnk jrjj* (7) *m-k k3 Wsjr sš nswt Nb-nfr m3^c-hrw hr ntr ʕ* (8) *šmsjj nb 3bdw m ḥb=f n Dhwtjt (?)*

(1) The illuminated Osiris, the royal scribe, Nebnefer, justified, he says: “O, these shabtis, (2) if one counts you off, if one reckons you, the Osiris, the royal scribe, the royal *wb3*, Nebnefer, justified before the great god, to do (3) all the works which have to be done in the necropolis, to make arable the field, to irrigate (4) the riversides, to transport sand to the East (and) to the West, to transport sand to the West (5) (and) to the East, indeed, obstacles are implanted therewith as a man (6) at his duties, if one reckons you at any time, ‘I shall do it!’ – (7) see, thus (you shall say.)” The Osiris, the royal scribe, Nebnefer, justified before the great god, (8) follower of the lord of Abydos on his Thot festival (?).

Text edition:

Amélineau, E. *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1895-1896*. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1899, 162.

Publication:

Amélineau, E. *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1895-1896*. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1899, 162, pl.

IV. (lower line, 4th from the left)

<https://art.famsf.org/shabti-nebnefer-royal-scribe-1925133>

Other literature:

Schneider, H. D. *Shabtis I. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1977, 202.

[29] Djehuti (II)

Late 18th – 19th dynasty

[29.1] Pyramidion Saqqara

Face A

(1) [...] *j3w R^c ḥft ḥtp¹[.f]* [...] [...] [...] *[wb3 nswt] ḥw^cb ʕ.wj Dhwtj¹* [...] [...]

(1) [...] praise to Re when he goes to rest [... ...] (2) [...] [royal *wb3*] clean of hands, Djehuti [... ...]

Face B

[...] [*j3w*] [*R^c hft*¹] [... ...]

[...] [praise to] Re when [... ...]

Publication:

Schneider, H. D. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut^cankhamūn II: A Catalogue of the Finds*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden/Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1996, 94, pl. 102.

General literature about the owner:

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 590-591.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

The 19th dynasty

[30] Ptahpatener

Early 19th dynasty

[30.1] Stele, Bologna, 1906

On the frame of the stele

On the left side

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-jmnt.t n k3 n wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj Pth-p3-tnr ḥsjj ḥr jmnt.t

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, Foremost of the West, to the ka of the royal
wb3 clean of hands, Ptahpatener, favoured in the West.

On the right side

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr nb 3bdw n k3 n ḥm ntr wꜥb ḥrj-ḥbt n Ḥr-m-ḥb Pth-p3-tnr ḥsjj ḥr jmnt.t

An offering which the king gives <to> Osiris, lord of Abydos, to the ka of the prophet,
the wab-priest, the lector priest of Horemheb, Ptahpatener, favoured in the West.

In the upper scene

Above Osiris

(1) Wsjr-ḥntj-(2)jmnt.t nb 3bdw

(1) Osiris, Foremost of the West, (2) lord of Abydos.

Above Horus

(1) Ḥr-3ḥtj ntr nfr (2) nb p.t jr t3

(1) Harakhti, the good god, (2) lord of the sky, who created the earth.

In the middle scene

In front of the king

nb t3.wj Dsr-ḥpr.w-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥ.w Ḥr-m-ḥb mrj-Jmn dj ꜥnh mj Rꜥ

Lord of the Two Lands, Djeserkheperure, lord of the crowns, Horemheb-meriamun,
given life like Re.

Above and in front of the couple

(1) *n k3 n wb3 nswt* (2) *wꜥb ꜥ.wj ḥm ntr n* (4) *Hr-m-ḥb* (5) *Pth-p3-tnr* (6) *sn.t=f šmꜥjj.t n Jmn T3-wsr*

(1) To the ka of the royal *wb3* (2) clean of hands, (3) the prophet of (4) Horemheb, (5) Ptahpatener, (6) his sister, the chantress of Amun, Tauser.

In the lower scene

Above the three persons on the right

(1) *n k3 n wb3 nswt* (2) *wꜥb ꜥ.wj ḥm ntr n* (3) *Hr-m-ḥb Pth-p3-(4)tnr* (5-6) *sn.t=f šmꜥjj.t* (7) *n Jmn* (8) *Hnw.t* (9) *šmꜥjj.t n Jmn Nbwy t3 mw.t* (10) *sn.tj Nht-mw.t*

(1) To the ka of the royal *wb3* (2) clean of hands, the prophet of (3-4) Horemheb, Ptahpatener, (5-6) his sister, the chantress (7) of Amun, (8) Henut, (9) the chantress of Amun, Nebui, the mother of (10) the two sisters, Nakhtmut.

Above the two persons on the left

(1) *sn=f Dḥwtj-ḥr*-(2) *ḥs.t=f* (3) *sn=f* (4) *Pth-pn*-(5) *nfr*-(6) *ḥtp* (7) *j3w ꜥn1 pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wḏ3 snb p3 nb rꜥ/ḥr? ???* (8) ???

(1-2) His brother, Djehutiherhesetef, (3) his brother, (4-6) Ptahpenneferhotep. (7) Praise <to> the pharaoh, life, prosper, health, lord of ??? (8) ???

Text edition:

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 182-183.

Bresciani, E. *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*. Grafis, Bologna, 1985, 68-71.

Translation:

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 182-183.

Bresciani, E. *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*. Grafis, Bologna, 1985, 68-71.

Publication:

Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 182-183.

Ducati, P. *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna*. Regia Tipografia Fratelli Merlani, Bologna, 1923, 50.

Curto, S. *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale*. Arti Grafiche Tamari, Bologna, 1961, 86.

- Morigi Govi, C. – Vitali, D. *Il Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*. University Press Bologna, Bologna, 1982, 125.
- Bresciani, E. *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*. Grafis, Bologna, 1985, 68-71, Tav. 33-5.
- Ferrari, D. – Piacentini, P. *Il senso dell'arte nell'Antico Egitto*. Mondadori Electa, Milan, 1990, 129-130.
- Morigi Govi, C. – Pernigotti, S. *Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna. La collezione egiziana*. Leonardo Arte, Milan, 1994, 36.
- Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 13.

Other literature:

- Keel, O. *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden. Drei Fallstudien zur Methode der Interpretation altorientalischer Bilder*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 122. Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1992, 74-75, 115.

General literature about the owner:

- Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[31] Horemheb

Early 19th dynasty

[31.1] Stele, Paris, E 8402

Above the god

(1) *Wsjr-ḥntj-jmnt.t* (2) *nb 3bdw* (3) *nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t*

(1) Osiris, Foremost of the West, (2) lord of Abydos, (3) the great god, lord of the sky.

In front of the goddess

Js.t wr.t mw.t nṯr nb.t p.t ḥnw.t t3.wj

Isis, the great, mother of the god, lady of the sky, mistress of the Two Lands.

Above the man

(1) *hsjj ʕ3 n ntr nfr* (2) *wb3 nswt tsw* (3) *wd3.t jmj-r3* (4)-(5) *ʕhntj* (6) *n nb t3.wj Hr-m-ḥb m3ʕ-hrw*

(1) The greatly favoured of the good god, (2) royal *wb3*, who sets up (3) the udjat eye(?), (4-5) chamberlain (6) of the lord of the Two Lands, Horemheb, justified.

Publication:

Boreux, C. *Musée National du Louvre. Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes. Guide-catalogue sommaire II: Salles du premier étage, (Salles Charles X)*. Musées nationaux, Paris, 1932, 477.
 Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 163.

General literature about the owner:

Gessler-Löhr, B. "Bemerkungen zu einigen *wb3w njswt* der Nach-Amarnazeit." *Göttinger Miszellen* 112, 1989, 32.

[32] Unknown 5

Early 19th dynasty

[32.1] Stele, Hannover, 1935.200.225

Front of the stele

Mrt-sgr n Bḥdt

Meretseger who belongs to Behdet.

Proper right side of the stele

n k3 n ʔwb3 nswtʔ ʕ3 n ʕ.t n nb [t3.wj] [... ...]

To the ka of the royal *wb3*, the chief of the chamber of the lord of [the Two Lands] [... ...]

Proper left side of the stele

ʔnʔ k3 n ʔwb3 nswtʔ ʕ3 n ʕ.t n nb t3.wj [... ...]

To the ka of the royal *wb3*, the chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands [... ...]

Translation:

Mynařová, J. – Onderka, P. (eds.) *Théby. Mešto bohů a faraonů. Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs*. Národní Muzeum, Prague, 2007, 268-269.

Dziobek, E. – Höveler-Müller, M. – Loeben, C. E. *Das geheimnisvolle Grab 63. Die neueste Entdeckung im Tal der Könige. Archäologie und Kunst von Susan Osgood*. Marie Leidorf, Rahden, 2009, 165-169.

Publication:

Mynařová, J. – Onderka, P. (eds.) *Théby. Mešto bohů a faraonů. Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs*. Národní Muzeum, Prague, 2007, 268-269.

Dziobek, E. – Höveler-Müller, M. – Loeben, C. E. *Das geheimnisvolle Grab 63. Die neueste Entdeckung im Tal der Könige. Archäologie und Kunst von Susan Osgood*. Marie Leidorf, Rahden, 2009, 165-169.

Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 258.

[33] Hesiefshemsunesu

Early 19th dynasty

[33.1] Shabti, Leiden, CI 3-b

Inscription on the front

Wsjr wb3 nswt w^cb ˁ.wj Ḥsij=f-šms.w-nswt

The Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands, Hesiefshemsunesu

Inscription on the back

(1) *shd Wsjr wb3 nswt w^cb ˁ.wj* (2) *Ḥsij=f-šms.w-nswt m3^c-hrw dd.f.j wšb.tj* (3) *jpn jr jp.tw jr ḥsb.tw Wsjr Ḥsij=f-šms.w-nswt m3^c-hrw* (4) *r jr.t k3.t nb(.t) jrr(.t) m hr.t-ntr r srd sh.wt r smhj* (5) *wdb.w <r> hn(.t) šˁj n j3bt.t* (6) *r jmnt.t ˁ-pḥr jstw ḥwj n=f hnw* (7) *jm=f m z r hr=f jr ḥsb.tw m* (8) *nw nb.t Wsjr wb3 nswt Ḥsij=f-šms.w-nswt m3^c-hrw*

(1) The illuminated one, the Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands, (2) Hesiefshemsunesu, justified, (as) he says: ‘O, these shabtis, (3) when the Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands, Hesiefshemsunesu, justified, is counted or reckoned (4) to do any work that is being done

in the realm of the dead, to cultivate the fields, to irrigate (5) the banks (or) <to> ship sand of the east (6) to the west, and in reverse order, see now, obstacles are set up for him (7) there as a man according to his duties. May be reckoned at (8) any time the Osiris *royal wb3*, Hesiefshemsunesu, justified.'

Text edition:

Schneider, H. D. *Shabtis* III. *Illustrations*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1977, 17, 91, fig. 25.

Publication:

Boeser, P. A. A. *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: Egyptische afdeling*. Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken, Leiden, 1907, 110.

Boeser, P. A. A. *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*. Band 12. *Statuetten*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1925, 11, Taf. XII.

Schneider, H. D. *Shabtis* III. *Illustrations*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1977, 55.

Other literature:

Schneider, H. D. *Shabtis* I. *An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1977, 207.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[34] Hesinetjeref

19th dynasty

[34.1] Block statue, Cairo, CG 569

(1) *hṭp-dj-nswt* <n> *Jmn nb gs.wt t3.wj Wsjr hq3 d.t dj.sn* (2) *pr.t-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t snṯr sš3.t ḥnk.t rnp.wt nb.t ḥ.t nb.t* (3) *nfr:t wꜥb.t ʿnḥ.t nṯr jm n k3 n šmsw nb=f rww.t=f* (4) *jrj-rd.wj n nb t3.wj wb3 n nswt wꜥb ʿwj Bḏ-ḥw ḥr* (5) *wnmj nswt jmj-r3.jp.t nswt Ḥsijj-nṯr=f*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands and to Osiris, ruler of infinity that they may grant (2) an invocation offering of cattle,

birds, alabaster, clothing, incense, ointment, offering gift, every kind of fresh plants, all sorts of (3) good and pure things on what the god lives to the ka of the follower of the king on his journey, (4) attendant of the lord of the Two Lands, royal *wb3* clean of hands, fan-bearer on the (5) right of the king, overseer of the royal apartments, Hesinetjeref.

Text edition:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil II. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1925, 118-119.

Publication:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil II. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1925, 118-119.

Schulz, R. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“*. Band 1-2. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1992, 180.

Other literature

Vandier, J. *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne*. Tome III: *Les grandes époques la statuaire*. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 1958, 454-455.

[34.2] Funerary cone DM 209

ṛwb3 n1 nswt hrd n k3p Ḥsj-ntr[=f]

Royal *wb3*, child of the kap, Hesinetjeref.

[34.3] Funerary cone DM 545

hrd n k3p wb3 nswt Ḥsw-ntr=f m3^c-hrw

Child of the kap, royal *wb3*, Hesunetjeref, justified.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 110-111, 210.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/209>

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/545>

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 202.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[35] Pare[...]

19th dynasty

[35.1] Stele, Cairo, JE 29222

There is no available picture of the object.

Publication:

Institut Égyptien "Extrait de l'Inventaire du Musée de Gizeh comprenant les objets entrés dans les collections du 1^{er} Janvier au 31 Décembre 1891." *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien* III,2. Impremierie Nationale, Cairo, 1892, 327.

Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 239.

[36] Unknown 1

19th – 20th dynasty

[36.1] Block statue, Paris, A 112

wb3 nswt w' b 'w [...] [...]

Royal *wb3* clean of hands [...] [...]

Publication:

Schulz, R. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“*. Band 1-2. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1992, 480, Taf. 126d.

[37] Unknown 2

19th – 20th dynasty

[37.1] Relief

There is no available picture of the object.

Other literature:

Málek, J. “The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 136, n. 56.

[38] Djehutiherhesetef

Sety I

[38.1] Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale 209, verso col. 4⁹⁶⁷

(4,1) *rnp.t-sp 2 3bd 2 pr.t sw 16 jw=tw m Jwnw-R^c*

(4,2) *jmj-rn=f n nḥsj jnjj.w m p3 ʿdmj¹*

(4,3) *m3 [... ʃmsw n nswt St3w ʿn¹ [... ...]*

(4,4) *m3 ʿSmn-Jmn¹ n ktn [... ...]*

(4,5) *m3 [... ʿNfr-ḥtp.w¹ n ʿktn¹ [...]*

(4,6) *ḥn [... ...] n sš ʿmš^c¹ [... ...]*

(4,7) *nb [... ...]m-W3s.t n sš wr ʿNb-mḥj.t¹ [... ...]*

(4,8) *ʿm3¹ [... Hnw.t-wdb.w s3.t M3j[... ...] Mrjj-R^c [...]*

(4,9) *s3=s Šrj-nfr*

(4,10) *s3.t=s T3-nfr.t-jrj*

(4,11) *Dj-sw-Jmn s3.t Jmn-(m-)Jp.t n wdpw nswt Dhwtj-ḥr-ḥs.t=f*

(4,12) *S3wj-ḥs s3.t Pn-Jmn n ḥrj ḥsw 3š^c-ḥb.w-sd*

(4,13) *m3(?) ʿMw.t-j3b-sw¹ s3.t Hpr.w n ʿnḥ n.t njw.t W3[... ...] n ḥrj-pd.t [... ...]*

(4,14) *ʿšmsw¹ [... ...]*

(4,15) *m3(?) [... ...]j3 n ḥrj-ʿšwtj¹ [... ...]*

(4,16) *m3(?) [... ...] n jmj [... ...]*

(4,1) 4 Year 2, 2nd Peret, Day 16: One (=King) was in Heliopolis-of-Re.

(4,2) Roster of the Nubians who had been brought from the settlement/town [of]:

⁹⁶⁷ Translation is after Kitchen, 1993b, 211.

- (4,3) Seen Setau, Attendant of the King's of [.....lost.....]
 (4,4) Seen Amensmen(?), of the Charioteer [.....lost.....]
 (4,5) Seen [Ne]ferhotep, [.....] of Chariote[er lost.....]
 (4,6) Ordered(?) [?Nah]iho(?), [.....] of the Army-Scribe [.....lost.....]
 (4,7) nb(=?) [?Kha]emwaset, [.....] of the Chief Scribe, Nebmeh[yt, ...]
 (4,8) Seen Henut-wedjebut daughter of Mai-[....], [.....] Meryre [.....?..]
 (4,9) Her son, Sherinefer. (4,10) Her daughter, Tenofretiry.
 (4,11) Amendisu, daughter of 'Amen'lope, 'Attendant' of the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Thut-hir-hestef.
 (4,12) Sawi-hes, daughter of Penamun, of (belonging to?) the Chief of Singers, Asha-hebused.
 (4,13) Seen(?) Mut-iabsu, daughter of Khopru, of (belonging to?) the citizeness Wa[....] of/for the troop-commander, [.....]. (4,14) The Attendant(?), [.....].
 (4,15) Seen/nb?? [.....]ia, of the Chief mer[chant].
 (4,16) Seen/nb?? [.....]qa, of the Chamberlain, [.....].

Text edition:

- Spiegelberg, W. *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (Circa 1350 v Chr.) Mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches. Text.* Karl J. Trübner, Strasbourg, 1896, 23, 67, pls. X, Xb
 Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical.* Vol. I. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1975, 270-271.

Translation:

- Spiegelberg, W. *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (Circa 1350 v Chr.) Mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches. Text.* Karl J. Trübner, Strasbourg, 1896, 23, 67, pls. X, Xb
 Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations.* Vol. I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries.* Blackwell, Oxford, 1993b, 224.

Publication:

- Spiegelberg, W. *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (Circa 1350 v Chr.) Mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches. Text.* Karl J. Trübner, Strasbourg, 1896, 23, 67, pls. X, Xb
 Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments.* Vol. I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries.* Blackwell, Oxford, 1993c, 180.

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[39] Ramessesashahebused

Sety I – Ramesses II

[39.1] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 247+248+262 (=247)⁹⁶⁸

No. 247

Above the king

(1) *nb t3.wj Mn-m3^c.t-R^c* (2) *nb h^c.w¹ St^h-mrj.n-Pth* (3) *dj n^h w3s¹ m¹ R^c*

Lord of Both Lands, **Menmare**, Lord of Crowns, **Sethos I Merenptah**, given life and dominion like Re.

Behind the king

(4) *s3 n^h nb h3=f¹ m¹ R^c*

May all protection and life attend him like Re.

Above the god

(1) *h¹p-dj-nswt <n> Hr-3htj n^{tr} 3* (2) *nb p.t nb h^h r d.t*

An offering which the King gives, (to) Horakhti, the great god, Lord of heaven, Lord of eternity to everlasting.

Below the scene

(1) *rnp.t-sp 8¹ tpj prt¹ sw 2 hr hm n Hr k3¹ n^ht h^c m W3st* (2) *<s> n^h t3.wj nb.tj whm¹ mswt shm¹ hpš dr¹ psd.t-pd.wt* (3) *Hr nbw whm h^c.w wsr¹ pd.wt m¹ t3.w nb.w* (4) *nswt¹-bjtj nb t3.wj nb jr.t-jh.t¹ Mn-m3^c.t-R^c s3 R^c n h.t=f* (5) *nb h^c.w St^h¹-mrj[n]-Pth dj n^h m¹ R^c d.t¹ n^h n^{tr} nfr* (6) *n¹ s3 Jmn prj<-> nb hpš mrj Mntw¹* (7) *šf.t wsr¹ <r> h3s.wt nb.wt m¹jt=f St^h¹* (8) *k3 n^ht¹ [...] hq3¹ psd.t-pd.wt nb t3.wj Mn-m3^c.t-R^c dj n^h w3s¹*

(1) Year '8¹, 1st month of Peret, Day 2, under the Majesty of: **Horus-Falcon**, **Strong Bull**, **Appearing in Thebes**, (2) **Bringing life to Both Lands**; **Nebty-Ruler**, **Renewing birth**, **Powerful of arm**, **Subduing the nine bows**; (3) **Golden-Horus**, **Repeating epiphanies**, **Rich**

⁹⁶⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 1993b, 53-54, and Kitchen, 1996, 179.

in forces in all lands; (4) King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Lord who performs the rituals, **Menmare**, Bodily Son of Re, beloved of him, (5) Lord of Crowns, **Sethos I Merenptah**, given life like Re forever. (Long) live the Good god, (6) the Merciful, the Son of Amun, Hero, Lord of the strong arm, beloved of Montu; (7) Renowned one, strong <against> every foreign land like his father Seth, (8) Strong Bull, Son? [of], Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of Both Lands, **Menmare**, given life and dominion.

Above the adoring figure

(1) *jr[.n] wpwt nswt n h3s.(w)t nb(.wt) hrj-(2)pd.t ʿqnjʿ¹ (3) ʿs3ʿ¹-hb.w-(4)ʿsd¹ (5) m3ʿ<-hrw> whm ʿnh*

Made by the Royal Envoy to every foreign land, the valiant Troop Commander, Asha-hebused, just<fied>, renewing life.

No. 248

B. South face (east of Porter-Moss)

Above the king

(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wj Mn-m3ʿt-Rʿ (2) s3 Rʿ nb hʿ.w Sth-mrj(.n)-Pth*

The Good god, Lord of Both Lands, **Menmare**, son of Re, Lord of Crowns, **Sethos I Merenptah**.

Above the goddess

Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) mfk3.t

Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise

Below the scene

(1) *rnp.t-sp 8 [tpj ... hr hm n Hr k3 nht hʿ]⁹⁶⁹ m W3st (2) ʿsʿnh¹ [t3.wj nb.tj whm msw.t shm hps dr psd.t-pd.wt Hr nbw whm]⁹⁷⁰ hʿ.w (3) ʿwsr¹ [pd.wt m t3.w nb.w nswt-bjtj Mn-m3ʿt-Rʿ s3 Rʿ]⁹⁷¹ Sth-mrj[.n]-ʿPth¹ (4) dj ʿsʿnh¹ [... ...] [jt]jj (5) ʿwsr¹ [... ...] ʿbj3.w¹ (6) ʿmnj/mnj.t¹ [... ...] [jm=f] (7) [... ...] ʿt3¹ (8) j [... ...] ʿd3¹ (9) [... ...] ʿsn¹ (10) [... ...] mfk3.t (11) [... ...] (12) [... ...] (13) [... ...] (14) [... ...]*

⁹⁶⁹ Conjectural reconstruction based on the north face, Kitchen, 1975, 62.

⁹⁷⁰ Conjectural reconstruction based on the north face, Kitchen, 1975, 62.

⁹⁷¹ Conjectural reconstruction based on the north face, Kitchen, 1975, 62.

(1) Year 8, 1st month [of Peret, Day 2, under the Majesty of: *Horus-Falcon*], Strong Bull, Appearing in Thebes, (2) Bringing life to Both [Lands; *Nebty-Ruler*, Renewing birth, Powerful of arm, Subduing the nine bows; *Golden-Horus*], Repeating epiphanies, (3) Rich in [forces in all lands; King of Southern and Northern Egypt, **Menmare**, Son of Re], **Sethos I Merenptah**, (4) given life [like Re forever]. [(Long) live the Good god, the x of y.....] Sovereign (5) rich in splendour(?), [.....]; [Mighty?] in marvels, who secures [the land by his good counsels?], (6) [.....] (7) in it, [.....] the land. [??] (8) [.....], (9) [.....] their (10) [.....] turquoise. [Lines 11-14 all lost except for merest traces.....].

No. 262

West edge

In front of the official

(1) *rdj j3w n k3=k [...]* *m [...]* *r j [...]* *ntr [ʕ3] [... ..]* *[k3 n] [...]* (2) *n nb t3.wj Jmn-(m-)h3.t [...]*
Giving praise to your spirit, ... [?great] god, [?for the spirit of the official of] the Lord of Both Lands, Amenemhat.

Framing text

(1) *ʕjn¹ s3=f sʕnh rn[=f] hrj-pd.t Jmn-m-jp.t ʕt3* (2) *hnm.t¹ Rʕ-ms-sw mrj-Jmn dj ʕnh*
It is his son who perpetuates [his] name, (even) Amenemope, Troop-commander of the Well of **Ramesses II**, given life.

Text edition:

Weill, R. *Recueil des inscriptions du Sinai*. Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, Paris, 1904, 211-212.

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1917, pl. LXVIII, LXIX, LXXI

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. – Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1952², pl. LIXIII

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. I. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1975, 62-63.

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Translation:

Weill, R. *Recueil des inscriptions du Sinai*. Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, Paris, 1904, 211-212.

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Publication:

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Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VII: *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1975, 348.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1993c, 58.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. II. *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, 202.

Other literature:

Brand, P. J. *The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical, and Art Historical Analysis*. Brill, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2000, 125-126.

[39.2] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 250⁹⁷²

(1) *rdj j3w n* [†]*k3=k1* [*p3 hq3 wsr mšc*]⁹⁷³ (2) ^š*3 t3-nt-htr* [†]*jqr1* [...] [*nswt-bjtj Mn-M3c.t-Rc*]⁹⁷⁴

(3) *s3 Rc Sth-mrj.n-Pth s3 nswt=f* [†]*Wsr-m3c.t-Rc*[†] [...] (4) *m Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) mfk3.t nb hc.w*

⁹⁷² Translation is after Kitchen, 1993b, 55.

⁹⁷³ Conjectural reconstruction, Kitchen, 1975, 63.

⁹⁷⁴ Conjectural reconstruction, Kitchen, 1975, 63.

R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn ¹*dj ʕnh mj R^c* [*d.t jn hrj-pd.t*]⁹⁷⁵ (5) *qnj wdpw nswt* (6) ¹*ʕš3-ḥb.w-sd*¹ [*m3^c-hrw*]⁹⁷⁶

(1) Giving praise to your Spirit, O [Ruler rich in troop]s, (2) abounding in chariotry, excellent of [plans?], [King of Southern and Northern Egypt, **Menmare**], (3) son of Re, **Sethos I Merenptah**, (and to) his Royal Son, **Usimare**, [...], (4) in/with Hathor, Lady of the turquoise; Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses II Meriamun**, given life [like] Re [forever]. [By the] valiant [Troop Commander]⁹⁷⁷, (5) Royal Butler (*wdpw nswt*), (6) Asha-hebused, [justified].

Text edition:

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1917, pl. LXVIII

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. – Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1952², pl. LXXI

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. I. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1975, 63.

Translation:

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Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1993b, 55.

Publication:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 176-177.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VII: *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1975, 363.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1993c, 59.

⁹⁷⁵ Conjectural reconstruction, Kitchen, 1975, 63.

⁹⁷⁶ Conjectural reconstruction, Kitchen, 1975, 63.

⁹⁷⁷ Suggested translation: valiant commander of archers.

Other literature:

Brand, P. J. *The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical, and Art Historical Analysis*. Brill, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2000, 126-127, 316-317.

[39.3] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 252⁹⁷⁸

Above the king

(1) *nb t3.wj1 Wsr-m3c.t-Rc stp.n-Rc* (2) *[nb h3.w] Rc-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* (3) [... ...] *t31*

Lord of Both Lands, **Usimare Setepenre**, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses II**, [beloved of Hathor, Lady of turquoise]se.

Above the god

Hr nb p.t1

Re-Horakhti, Lord of Heaven.

Below the scene

(1) *rnp.t-sp1 2 nh3 Hr k3 nht1 mrj M3c.t1* (2) *nb.tj1 mk Kmt wcf1* (3) *h3s.wt Hr nbw wsr rnp1.wt* (4) *3 nhtw nswt-bjtj1 hq3* (5) *psd.t-pd.wt nb hps stp n Rc m wj3* (6) *nb t3.wj thn hq3 wsp-phjtj hr* (7) *h3s.wt nb(.wt) mj jt=f Jmn-Rc nswt ntr.w1 nb p.t* (8) *Wsr-m3c.t-Rc stp.n-Rc s3 Rc nb h3.w Rc-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* (9) *mrj Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) mfk3.t nb(.t) p.t hnw.t t3.1wj1*

(1) Year 2, (long) live: Horus-falcon, strong bull, beloved of Maat; (2) Nebty-Ruler, Protector of Egypt, curbing the (3) foreign countries; Golden Horus, Rich in years, (4) great in victories; King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Ruler of (5) the Nine Bows, Lord of the sword, chosen of Re in the Solar Barque, (6) Lord of Both Lands, Resplendent as Ruler, rich in might against (7) every foreign country, like his father Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, (8) **Usimare Setepenre**, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses II**, (9) the beloved of Hathor, Lady of Turquoise, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands.

Around the adoring figure on the left

(1) *hrj-pd.t qnj1 rwdpw1 nswt* (2) *n hm=f* (3) *s3-hb.w-(4)sd*

Valiant Troop-commander, Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) of His Majesty, Asha-hebsed.

Around the adoring figure on the right

(1) *hrj-pd.t Jmn[-m-jp.t] n t3 hnm.t* (2) *Rc-ms-sw mrj-Jmn*

Troop-commander Amun[emope], of the Well of **Ramesses II**.

⁹⁷⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 1996, 177-178.

Text edition:

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1917, pl. LXX

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. – Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1952², pl. LXX

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. II. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1979, 339-340.

Translation:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 177-178.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. II. *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, 177-178.

Publication:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 177-178.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VII: *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1975, 349-350.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. II. *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, 200-201.

[39.4] Rock-stele, Abu Simbel No. 9⁹⁷⁹

Frame text on the top

Bḥdtj ntr ʿ3 nb p.t

The Behdetite, great god, lord of heaven.

Frame text on the left

ntr nfr ʿ3 nḥt nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ dj ʿnh mj Rʿ d.t

The Goodly god, great in victory, King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, **Usimare Setepenre**, given life like Re forever.

⁹⁷⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2001, 141-142.

Frame text on the right

ntr nfr sm3 psd.t-pd.wt nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj nb jr.t-¹jh. ¹t R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn dj ^cnh mj R^c d.t

The Goodly god, who slays the Nine Bows, King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Lord performing rites, **Ramesses II**, given life like Re forever.

In front of the king

(1) ntr nfr Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c stp-n-R^c (2) s3 R^c R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn (3) dj ^cnh mj R^c d.t

The Good god, **Usimare Setepenre**, Son of Re, **Ramesses II**, given life like Re forever.

In front of the fan bearer

(1) wb3 nswt tpj n hm=f^cnh wd3 snb R^c-ms-sw-^cs3-hb.w-sd m3^c-hrw (2) dd.fjr prr nb m r3=k mj mdw Hr-3htj

First Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) of His Majesty, L.P.H., Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed, justified. He says: 'As for all that comes forth from your mouth, (it is) like the speech of Harakhti!'

Main text

(1) Hr k3 nht mrj M3^c.t phtj mj Mntw hr jb W3st hq3 psd.t (2) nb.tj mk Kmt w^cf h3s.wt bjk tñn šw (3) pd nmtt hr h3s.(w)t nb.(w)t Bj.f pd.t=f sw (4) mj Mntw h^c hr htj sw (5) mj Mnw Hr nbw wsr rnp.wt ^c3 nht (6) pd dñh.tj=f hr m3^c=f hrw ^ch3 nswt (7) ntr:w nn snnw=f tjtj nmtt m jb hftj.w=f (8) nswt-bjtj Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c šhm phtj mj s3 Nw.t (9) s3 R^c R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn dj ^cnh jrj mnw m pr Hr jt=f (10) šps jstw hm=f^cnh wd3 snb jb=f rs-tp hr hñj (11) sp nb mnñ m jr:t 3h.t n jt=f Hr (12) nb Mh3 jrjj n=f hw.t=f m hñ m rnp.wt m šdj m dw n Mh3 [nn sp jr:t mjtt] jmj-h3t wpw hr s3 (13) Jmn nb šfjj.t hr t3.w nb.w jn.n.f k3.wt ^cs3.wt m h3q hpš=f hr h3s.(w)t nb.(w)t mh.n.f pr:w ntr:w (14) m ms.w n.w Rtnw m-ht rdj m-hr n wb3 nswt R^c-ms-sw-^cs3-hb.w-sd r spd t3 n Kš m m3wj hr rn (15) wr n hm=f^cnh wd3 snb dd.fjnd-hr=k nswt n Kmt r^c n psd.w-pd.wt nn wn bšt m h3w=k t3=k m htpw (16) wd n=k jt=k Jmn t3 nb hr rd.wj=k rdj.f n=k rsj mj mñtt jmnt.t j3b.t jw.w hr-jb w3d<-wr>

Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, beloved of Maat; powerful like Montu residing in Thebes, Ruler of Cities. Nebty-Ruler, Protector of Egypt, curbing the foreign countries; Falcon with gleaming plumage, wide-striding in every foreign country; when he draws his bow, he is like Montu; <when he>(?) appears in the chariot, he is like Min;

Golden Horus, rich in Years, great in victories; who extends his wings over his army on the day of battle, divine king, unequalled, swift to stride, in the minds of his foes;

King of Southern and Northern Egypt, **Usimare Setepenre**, Powerful of Strength, like

the Son of Nut; Son of Re, **Ramesses II**, given life; who makes monuments in the House of Horus, his august father.

Now, (as for) His Majesty, L.P.H., his mind was alert in seeking out every (kind of) excellent deed, in performing benefactions his father, Horus, Lord of Meha, in making for him his Temple of Million Years, it being excavated in the Mountain of Meha. Never had (any)one done the like previously, only the Son of Amun, lord of renown in all lands. He carried off numerous workpeople as the captures of his strong arm from every foreign country. He filled the estates of the gods with the children of Syria (Retenu), when the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) Ramesses-Asha-hebu-sed was charged to reorganize the Land of Kush anew, in the mighty name of His Majesty, L.P.H. He says: 'Hail to you, O King of Egypt, Sun of the Nine Bows! There are none rebellious in your time, your land is at peace. Your father Amun has decreed for you every land under your feet, he has given to you, the South like the North, the West and the East, and the isles in the midst of the <Great> Green Sea.'

Text edition:

Rosellini, I. *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia* (Band 4,1, *Atlas*): *Monumenti storici*. Nicolo Capurro e C., Pisa, 1832, tav. cxiv [I]

Champollion, J-F. *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*. Tome I. Belles-lettres, Paris, 1835, 1-2, Pl. IX

Lepsius, C. R. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Textband V. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1913, 175.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. III. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1980, 203.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. III. *Ramesses II, His Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2001, 141-142.

Publication:

Champollion, J-F. *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*. Tome I. Belles-lettres, Paris, 1835, 1-2, Pl. IX

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VII: *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1975, 117.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. III. *Ramesses II, His Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2013, 171-172.

[39.5] **Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 260**⁹⁸⁰

Behind the first man

s3 ¹*nswt* ¹*Mrj-Jtm m3^c-hrw*

Prince Meryatum, justified.

Behind the second man

[*hrj-pd.t qnj*] *wdpw n*[*swt*]⁹⁸¹ *š3-ḥb.w-sd hrj šms n ḥm=f*⁹⁸²

Valiant Troop-Commander and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Asha-hebsed, chief of Bodyguards of His Majesty.

Below the men

(1) ¹*wpwt nswt n ḥ3s.wt*¹ [... ...] (2) *hrj-pd.t Jmn-m-¹jp.t*¹ (3) <*t*> *ḥnm.t* (4) *R^c-ms-sw ¹mrj-Jmn*¹

Royal Envoy [to] [every?] foreign country, ..., Amenemope, Troop-Commander of the well of **Ramesses II**.

Text edition:

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1917, pl. LXXI

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. – Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1952², pl. LXXI

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. II. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1979, 340.

Translation:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 180.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. II. *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, 178.

⁹⁸⁰ Translation is after Kitchen, 1996, 178.

⁹⁸¹ Conjectural reconstruction based on other monuments of Ashahebused, Kitchen, 1979, 340.

⁹⁸² According to Kitchen, 1979, 340. this title belongs to Ashahebused, while Černý, 1955, 180. translates it as one of the titles of Amenemope.

Publication:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 180.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VII: *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1975, 363.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. II. *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, 201.

[39.6] Stone block, Serabit el-Khadim No. 253⁹⁸³

Above the fan bearer

[Bj]-hw [ʕš3-]hb.w-sd

Fan[-bearer], [Asha]hebsed.

Text edition:

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1917, pl. LXX

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. – Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1952², pl. LXX

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. II. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1979, 340.

Translation:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 178.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. II. *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, 179.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VII: *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1975, 363.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. III. *Ramesses II, His Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2013, 202–203.

⁹⁸³ Translation is after Kitchen, 1996, 179.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 123.

Spalinger, A. J. "A Fragmentary Biography." *Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 10,3, 1980, 215-228.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 195, n. 3, 199.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[40] Sethherwenemef

Ramesses II

[40.1] Limestone column drum, Saqqara⁹⁸⁴

Above Ptah

Pth n R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn dj ʕnh

Ptah-of-Ramesses II, given life.

Above the official

n k3 n (1) Wsjr sš nswt jmj-r3 pr wr (2) n nb t3.wj wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj Sth-(3)hr-wnm=f (4) m3^c-hrw

For the ka of the Osiris, Royal Scribe, High Steward of the Lord of Both Lands, Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) with pure hands, Sethirwonemef, justified.

In front of the official

n k3 n ʕ Wsjrʕ [... ...]

For the spirit of Osiris [... ..].

Vertical inscription

ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Pth-Skr-Wsjr ʕntr ʕ3¹ nb jmnt.t dj.f ḥtp ʕdf3.w¹ [... ...]

An offering which the king gives (to) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the great god, Lord of the West, that he may give food and offerings [... ..].

⁹⁸⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2001, 126-127.

Text edition:

Quibell, J. E. *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907)*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1908, 81, pl. XXXVII, 4, 5.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. III. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1980, 181-182.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. III. *Ramesses II, His Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2001, 126-127.

Publication:

Quibell, J. E. *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907)*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1908, 81, pl. XXXVII, 4, 5.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: *Memphis*. Part 2: *Saqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 559.

Giddy, L. L. *The Anubieion at Saqqâra II. The Cemeteries*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1992, 4-5.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. III. *Ramesses II, His Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2013, 155-156.

General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 273.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 200.

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 136.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 576-577.

Staring, N. “Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis.” In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[41] Tjai Ta

Ramesses II

[41.1] Stele, Saqqara⁹⁸⁵

On the frame of the stele on the left

*hṭp-dj-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*⁹⁸⁶ *nṯr ʕ3 ʔbnr¹ mrw.t s3 Js.t jw^ʕw Wsjr šhr hṭt [...]* *hr ms sw m t3.wj m wsh.t (n.t) ʔm3^ʕ.tj¹ hrw wd^ʕ-mdw n k3 n Wsjr ʔj-hw hr wnmj nswt ʔwb3 nswt wr swnw T3 m3^ʕ-hrw¹*

A favour made by Horus who protects his father, great God, sweet of love, son of Isis, heir of Osiris, who overthrows the enemies of the one who begot him in the two lands and in the hall of the two truths the day of the great judgement, to the *k3* of Osiris, fan bearer at the right of the king, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), the great physician T3.

On the frame of the stele on the right

hṭp-dj-Js.t mw.t nṯr nb.t p.t hnw.t jmnt.t jr.t (n) R^ʕ ʔjmj-jtn=f¹ nfr.t hr m wj3 (n) hḥ m ʕq ʔpr m hr.t-nṯr¹ nn ʔšn^ʕ¹ [... ...] *ʔDw3.t¹ n k3 n Wsjr sš nswt wb3 nswt wr swnw ʔT3¹ [...]*

A favour made by Isis, mother of the god, mistress of the sky, lady of the West, eye of Re (who is) in his disk, beautiful of face in the bark of millions of years, that I may enter, and go out of the necropolis without being repulsed [from the do] or of the Dw3t; for the ka of the Wsir, the royal scribe, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), master physician T3.

Above Osiris

(1) *Wsjr-hntj-(2)-jmnt.t nb 3bdw*

Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos.

In front of Osiris

jmj-wt nb t3-dsr

Who is in the Place of Embalming, lord of the sacred land.

⁹⁸⁵ Translation is after Handoussa, 1986.

⁹⁸⁶ For this type of offering formulae, where *nswt* is replaced by a god, see Barta, 1968, 140, n. 1.

Above Isis

(1) *Js.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb.t p.t* (2) *hnw.t ntr.w*

Isis the great, mother of god, lady of heaven, mistress of gods.

In front of Isis

ˁ.wj=j h3=k m s3=k rˁ nb

My two arms are around thee as thy protection every day.

Above the couple

(1) *j3w n=k nswt n nhh hq3* (2) *n d.t nb dw3.t jtjj* (3) *ntr.w hr-tp psd.t dj.fˁnh b3 r* (4) *nhh [...]*
t=f m (5) *t3 hr.t-ntr n k3 n* (6) *Wsjr sš nswt wb3 nswt* (7) *wr swnw m ˁh nswt* (8) *T3 s3 Hwjj*

Adoration to thee, king of Eternity, ruler of Perpetuity, lord of the Netherworld, sovereign of the Gods, who presides over the Ennead. May he cause that my soul lives until eternity (among his ennead) in the land of the Necropolis, to the k3 of Osiris, the royal scribe, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), master physician in the palace, T3 son of Hwyy.

In front of the man

Wsjr wb3 nswt T3 m3ˁ-hrw m htp

Osiris, the king's butler (*wb3 nswt*) T3 justified in peace.

In front of the woman

sn.t=f nb.t pr T3-wr.t-m-hb

His sister, the mistress of the house T3 wrt m hb.

Under the scene

(1) *j3w <n> Wsjr rdj(.t) n=f j3w sn-t3 n Wnn-nfr ˁjn Wsjr sš nswt wb3 nswt wr swnw T3 h3(?)¹*
(2) *dd.f.jj.n.j hr=k s3 Nw.t Wsjr hq3 d.t jw=j ˁm šmsw¹ [...] ˁhˁj-kwj m jr.t nb.t¹ [... ...]* (3) *βw*
r fnd=k ˁnh w3s r hr=k nfr mhj.t pr.t ˁm Jtm r šr.t=k¹ [...] ˁwbn šw¹ (4) *hr šnb.t=k shd.f*
n=k snk.t ˁdr:f n=f dw.t jr.t hˁ.w=k m 3h¹ [...] ˁshtp n=k¹ (5) *nb.wj sn.wj dr:f n=k ˁnšnj hnnw*
s3=k Hr m m3ˁ-hrw m-b3h psd.t tmtj¹ (6) *jb=k ndm nb ntr.w 3w.t-jb nb hr=k km.t ˁdšr.t htp.w*
b3k.sn hr-tp jˁr.t=k¹ [...] ˁsmn¹ (7) *hr s.t=sn njw.wt sp3.wt grg hr ˁrn=sn dj.k pr.t-hrw k3.w*
3pd.w jrp jr.t h.t nb.t nfr.t wˁb.t¹ (8) *n k3 n Wsjr sš nswt wb3 nswt wˁb ˁ.wj wr swnw m ˁh*
nswt ˁT3jj m3ˁ-hrw hr ntr nfr¹

(1) Worshipping Wsir, giving praise to him, kissing the ground for Wnnefer by the royal scribe, the king's butler (*wb3 nswt*), master physician, T3 justified. (2) He says: I have

come near thee O son of Nwt, Wsir, ruler of perpetuity. I am a follower [of Thot]⁹⁸⁷ I have rejoiced in all what [he has done]. [He has brought to you] (3) breath to thy nose, life, dominion to thy beautiful face and the north wind which comes forth from Atum to thy nostril [O lord of the necropolis; he causes] that light shines (4) on thy breast. He illumines for thee darkness. He removes for thee evil thereof. Thy limbs are (that of) a beatified (dead). [His utterance] pacifies for thee (5) the two Lords, the two Brothers. He removes for thee disaster and tumult. Thy son Horus is triumphant in the presence of the complete ennead. (6) Your heart is sweet O Lord of gods and all joy is beside you. The Black Land and the Red Land [are in peace]; they work for thy Uraeus. [Temples and cities are] made firm (7) upon their seats; cities and districts are alert on their name. May you give an offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine milk and every good and pure thing (8) to the ka of Osiris, the royal scribe, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), clean of hands, the master physician in the royal palace⁹⁸⁸, T3y justified beside the Great God.

Text edition, translation, publication:

Handoussa, T. "A Newly Found Tomb-stela from the Ramesside Period in Saqqara." In Institut d'Égyptologie – Université Paul Valéry (eds.): *Hommages à François Daumas*. Vol. II. Université de Montpellier, Montpellier, 1986, 409-19.

[41.2] Block, Saqqara

There is no available picture of the object.

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van Dijk, J. "A Preliminary List of New Kingdom Names and Titles from the EES-Leiden Excavations at Saqqara (1982-1989)." *New Kingdom Memphis Newsletter* 2, 1989, 12.

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 19.

⁹⁸⁷ According to Handoussa, 1986, n. 19, the words in brackets are reconstructed from the BM papyrus 9901.

⁹⁸⁸ Completion of the translation by the author.

- Tawfik, S. "Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 47, 1991, 404, pl. 59a
- Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 581-582.
- Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[42] Nebmerutef

Ramesses II

[42.1] Faience plaque, Saqqara⁹⁸⁹

(1) *hṭp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-ḥntj-jmnt.t¹ Wnn-nfr ḥq3* (2) *jgr:t wbn R^c n mr.wt=k* (3) *rs wd3 m ḥ^cw.t ḥtp jtn* (4) *m ḏw ḥm3nw¹ nb.w ḏw3.t m j3w n ḥntš=* (5) *k ḥtp n=k R^c m3^c-ḥrw=k jj.* (6) *n.j jnk m3^c.tj jmj=wj m* (7) *ḥsjj=k jrjj.j n=k m3^c.t ḥr¹* (8) *mr.k sw bw.t=k pw grg* (9) *jn Wsjr ḥsjj* *3 (n) ntr nfr sš nswt wb3 nswt* (10) *w^cb^c wj wr swnw n nb t3.wj Nb-mr.wt=f m3^c-ḥrw*

An offering which the King gives (to) Osiris Foremost of the West, Wenennefer Ruler of the Silent Land: Rē ' rises through love of you, you who awake, uninjured, rejoicing! When the sun goes to rest in the Mountain of the West, the Lords of the Netherworld are in adoration because of your enjoyment, Rē ' comes to rest on your behalf, for you are justified! I have come to you, because I am a righteous one. Let me be your praised one, I shall perform ma'at for you, [?] because you love her and falsehood is your abomination! (Said) by the Osiris, one who is greatly praised by the Good God. the King's scribe, the royal butler (*wb3 nswt*), pure of hands, the chief physician of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebmerutef, justified.

Text edition, translation, publication:

Schneider, H. D. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut^c ankhamūn II: A Catalogue of the Finds*. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden/Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1996, 17, pls. 8, 55.

⁹⁸⁹ Translation is after Schneider, 1996, 17.

[42.2] Scarab No. 309

*wb3 nswt*⁹⁹⁰ *Nb-mr.t=f Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c stp.n-R^c*

The royal *wb3*, Nebmerutef. Usermaatresetepenre.

Publication:

Fraser, G. W. *A Catalogue of the Scarabs belonging to George Fraser*. Bernard Quaritch, London, 1900, 39, pl. XI

[42.3] Shabti fragment, Saqqara

[...] *Wsjr hm ntr Nb-mr.wt[=f...]*

[...] the Osiris, the prophet, Nebmerutef [...]

Publication:

Martin, G. T. *The Tomb-chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1985, 25, pl. 34.

General literature about the owner:

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 401, 526-527.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[43] Neferrenpet (II)

Ramesses II

[43.1] Rock stele, Bir Nasib

There is no available clear picture of the stele.

Other literature:

Rothenberg, B. "L'exploration du Sinai." *Bible et Terre Sainte* 150, 1973, 12-13.

⁹⁹⁰ In contrast with Fraser's translation as 'superintendent', the title seems *wb3 nswt* with certainty, see Fraser, 1900, 39.

Rothenberg, B. *Sinai. Pharaohs, Miners, Pilgrims and Soldiers*. Kümmerly + Frey, Bern, 1979, 128, Abb. 64.

General literature about the owner:

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[44] Ramessesmen

Ramesses II

[44.1] Stele, Hildesheim, 1079⁹⁹¹

Above the first statue

(1) *nb t3.wj Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c stp.n-R^c(2) Mnt m Šm^cw Mḥw*

Lord of Both Lands, **Usimare Setepenre**, Montu in Both Lands.

Above the second statue

(1) *nb ḥ^c.w R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn p3 nṯr*

Lord of the Crowns, **Ramses II**, the god.

Above the owner

(1) *wb3 nswt R^c-ms-sw-mn* (2) *m3^c-ḥrw nb jm3ḥ* (3) *nfr*

Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), Ramesses-menu, justified, possessing veneration, happy <in peace?>.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. III. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1980, 205.

⁹⁹¹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2001, 143.

Translation:

Habachi, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramses II*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 5. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt, 1969, 31, fig. 18.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. III. *Ramesses II, His Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2001, 143.

Publication:

Habachi, L. "Khatâ 'na-Qantîr: Importance." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 52, 1954, 539-540.

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Habachi, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramses II*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 5. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt, 1969, 31, fig. 18.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 199-200.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[45] Ianefer

Ramesses II

There is no available inscription of him.

General literature about the owner:

Tawfik, S. "Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 47, 1991, 406, fig. 1, pl. 57c

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 441-442.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 593, 604, Table 4.

[46] Suner

Ramesses II

[46.1] Relief, New Haven, 1937.126⁹⁹²

(1) Sw-n-r m3^c-hrw [ndm-]jb=k ʿtw=k ḥtp-tj¹ (2) m jmnt.t hr.t=k m ʿnh-t3wj (3) jj n sp tpj jmnt.t nfr.t n ʿk3¹=k ḥtp (4) b3=k m hnw=s njs.tw.k jn hrj-ḥbt hrw w3ḥ ḥ.t Wsjr Sw-n-(5)[r m3^c-hrw]

(1) O Su-en-ro, the vindicated! May your heart [be pleasant], now that you are resting (2) in the West, (in) your tomb in Ankh-tawy. (3) The first occasion of the goodly West has come for your ka (4) May your ba rest within it when you are summoned by the lector priest on the day of the deposition of offerings, O Osiris Su-en-(5)[ro, justified⁹⁹³.]

Translation:

Scott, III, G. D. *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Heaven, 1986, 133-134.

Publication:

Scott, III, G. D. *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Heaven, 1986, 133-134.

<https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/6936>

General literature about the owner:

Tawfik, S. "Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 47, 1991, 406, fig. 1, pl. 60a

⁹⁹² Translation is after Scott, 1986, 133.

⁹⁹³ Scott did not transcribed m3^c-hrw after the name of the owner although the remains of the seated dead and the m3^c sign can obviously be identified.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 573.

Staring, N. “Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis.” In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 593, 604, Table 4.

[47] Wenefdjedsen

Ramesses II

[47.1] Relief, Boston, MFA 24.981⁹⁹⁴

Upper register

Behind the god

[...] [*Wsjr wb3 nswt n*] *nb t3.wj Wn.f-dd=sn m3^c-hrw*⁹⁹⁵

[...] [the Osiris, Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*) of] the Lord of the Two Lands, *Wn.f-dd-sn*, justified.

In front of the god

Pth ph.tj

Ptah great of might.

Above the couple

(1) *rdj.t j3w n k3=k Pth nb m3^c.t dj.f mw t* (2) *ḫw qbh^w sntr n* (3) *Wsjr wb3 nswt* (4) *<n> nb t3.wj Wn.f-(5)dd=sn m3^c-hrw* (6) *j3w n k3=k* (7) *p3 nb m3^c.t* (8) *dj.k nḥ k3=j* (9) *m hr:t-ntr jn* (10) *nb.t pr N3jj m3^c(.t)-hrw*

(1) Giving praise to thy ka O Ptah, Lord of Truth, that it (thy ka) may give water, bread, (2) air, libations, and incense to (3) the Osiris, the Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*) (4) [of] the Lord of the Two Lands, *Wn.f-(5)dd.sn*, justified. (6) Praise to thy ka (7) thou Lord of Truth, (8) mayest thou permit my soul to live (9) in the Netherworld. (Spoken)⁹⁹⁶ by (10) the Lady *N3j*, justifi[ed].

⁹⁹⁴ Translation is after Dunham, 1935, 150.

⁹⁹⁵ Dunham, 1935, 150: ‘A small fragment, not in place when the photograph was taken, gives the first part of the name, but the beginning of the column is lost. I reconstruct (from the level of the god’s shoulder down).’

⁹⁹⁶ I do not think it is necessary to reconstruct this word here because the praise is giving by the wife, so this is what is expressed by the *jn* particle.

Lower register

Above the god

(1) *Pth-Skr nb* (2) *štjt*

(1) *Pth-skrw*, Lord of (2) *štjt*

Behind the god

ntr ⲉ3

Great God

Above the offering table

1000 *sntr* 1000 *qbhw*

A thousand incense, a thousand libations.

Above the couple

(1) *jr:t sntr qbhw n Skr* (2) *n Wsjr dj.sn mw* (3) *t t3w qbhw* (4) *sntr ʿn Wsjr wb3 nswt* <n>
nb t3.wj (5) [*Wn.f-dd*] (6) *sn m3c-hrw m* (7) *htp m jmnt.t nfr:t* (8) *j3w n k3=k Skr* (9) *hq3 jmnt.t*
 (10) *ntr ʿ3 nb p.t* (11) *jn nb.t pr* (12) *N3jj m3c(.t)-hrw*

(1) Making incense and libation to Sokar (2) and to Osiris, that they may give water, (3) bread, air, libations, and (4) incense to the Osiris, the Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*) of the Lord of the Two Lands, (5) *Wn.f-dd*. (8) *sn*, justified in (9) peace, in the beautiful West. (10) Praise to thy *ka*, O Sokar, (11) Ruler of the West, (12) Great God, Lord of Heaven. (13) (Spoken) by the Lady (14) *N3j*, justified.

Inscription line at the bottom

htp-dj-nswt <n> *Skr ntr ʿ3 dj.fc nh b3 m hr:t-ntr n k3 n wb3 nswt tpj* <n> *hm=f* *Wn.f-dd=sn m3c-hrw*

An offering which the king gives (to) Sokar the great god, that he may permit the soul to live in the Netherworld for the *ka* of the Chief Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*) (of) His Majesty, *Wn.f-dd.sn*, justified.

Text edition:

Martin, G. T. *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*. KPI, London, 1987, 35-36, pl. 33.

Translation:

Dunham, D. "Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21, 1935, 149-150.

Publication:

Dunham, D. "Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21, 1935, 149-150.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: Memphis. Part 2: *Saqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 573.

Martin, G. T. *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*. KPI, London, 1987, 35-36, pl. 33.

<https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/refief-from-tomb-of-wenefdjedsen-196>

General literature about the owner:

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 136, n. 54.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 471-472.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[48] Sety

Ramesses II

[48.1] Block statue, Cairo, JE 33263

On the front

The only available picture in the publication of Schulz is not clear enough to identify the inscription.

On the upper side of the arms

sš nswt jmj-r3 mšꜥ? jmj-r3 pr? ???

Royal scribe, general, steward? ???

On the proper right side of the back pillar

*ḥtp-dj-nswt n Jmn-Rꜥ nb ns.wt t3. wj dj.f ??? nfr/ꜥ3 ??? m ḥsw.t? n k3 n sš nswt n mr=f Bj-ḥw
ḥr wnmj n nswt jmj-r3 pr ḥd n nb t3.wj Sthj*

An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands that he may grant ??? to the ka of his beloved royal scribe, fan-bearer on the right of the king, overseer of the treasury of the lord of the Two Lands, Sety.

There is no available picture of the proper left side of the back pillar

On the back pillar

*(1) ḥtp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḥtj Jtm nb ??? (2) ??? Mw.t wr.t ??? Ḥnsw (3) nfr ḥtp.w
dj.sn ꜥnh wd3 snb ꜥḥw nfr jb? ḥr? (4) ??? pr.t-ḥrw n k3 n Bj-(5)ḥw ḥr wnmj nswt jmj-r3 pr
ḥd jmj-r3 mšꜥ jmj-r3 pr (6) jmj-r3 k3.t jmj-r3 ḥtm.t wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj (7) sš nswt n mr=f jmj-
r3 pr n Šmꜥw Mḥw Sthj*

(1) An offering which the king gives <to> Amun, Re-Harakhti, Atum, lord of ??? (2) ???, Mut, the great, ???, Khonsu, (3) whose offerings are perfect, that they may grant life, prosperity, health, fulfilled lifetime ??? (4) ???, an invocation offering to the ka of the fan-bearer on the right of the king, overseer of the treasury, general, steward, overseer of work, overseer of the sealed things, royal *wb3* clean of hands, his beloved royal scribe, steward of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sety.

Publication:

Schulz, R. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“*. Band 1-2. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34.

Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1992, 282, Taf. 68a-d.

Hornemann, B. *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*. Vol. II. Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1957, 460.

General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3.

Brill, Leiden, 1958, 472-473.

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 61, 1986, 200.

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on. An Addendum.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[49] Atumemtaneb

Ramesses II

[49.1] Silver pitcher, Cairo, CG 53262 (=JE 38705 and 39867, SR 1/6609)⁹⁹⁷

On the left side of the man and the goddess

(n) *k3=k hr=k m ʕnh w3s jrjj.k hḥ rnp.t n k3 n wb3 nswt Jtm-<m->t3-nb m3ʕ-hrw m ḥtp*

(For) your spirit and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you achieve a million years! (Life and prosperity) – for the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), Atum(en)taneb, justified in peace.

On the right side of the man and the goddess

(n) *k3=k hr=k m ʕnh nfr jrjj d.t m ʕnh w3s n k3 n wb3 nswt Jtm-<m->t3-nb m3ʕ-hrw*

(For) your spirit and your countenance, with life and happiness. May <you> achieve everlasting in life and prosperity! – for the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), Atumemtaneb, justified.

Text edition:

Edgar, C. C. “The Treasure of Tell Basta.” In Maspero, G. (ed.): *Le Musée Égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d’Égypte* II,3. Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1907, 98-99.

Vernier, É. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 53172-53855. *Bijoux et ofrèvreries* IV. Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1927a, 416-417.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 372.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Mernptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 270.

⁹⁹⁷ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 270.

Publication:

Edgar, C. C. "The Treasure of Tell Basta." In Maspero, G. (ed.): *Le Musée Égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte* II,3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1907, 98-99.

Maspero, G. *Führer durch das Ägyptische Museum zu Kairo*. F. Diemer, Cairo, 1912, 115, pl. 62.

Edgar, C. C. "Engraved Designs on a Silver Vase from Tell Basta." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 25, 1925, 256-258.

Boreux, C. *L'art Égyptien*. Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris – Brussels, 1926, 54, pl. LXIVa

Vernier, É. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 53172-53855. *Bijoux et orfèvreries* IV. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1927a, 416-417.

Vernier, É. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 52001-53855. *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, Tome II: *Index et planches*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1927b, pl. CV

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 329-330.

[49.2] Silver pitcher, Cairo, CG 53258 (=JE 38720 and 39868, SR 1/6623)⁹⁹⁸

Between the man and the goddess

wb3 nswt Jr

Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) of (the foreign land of) Ari.

On the left side of the man and the goddess

n k3 n wꜥ jr ꜥmtꜥ [m3ꜥ jb] [...] wpwt nswt n h3s.wt nb.wt štp [jb n] nb=[f Jtm-m-t3-nb]

For the spirit of the uniquely excellent one, [truly] reliable [of disposition]; Royal Envoy to all foreign countries, who pleases his lord, [Atumemtaneb].

On the right side of the man and the goddess

ꜥnh n k3=k hr=k m ꜥnh wd3 w3s jrjj.k p3 hh n ꜥrnp.tꜥ [n k3 n] ꜥwb3ꜥ [nswt] tpj n nb t3.wj Jtm-m-t3-nb m3ꜥ-hrw

Life (to) your spirit, and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you achieve the million of year[s]! – [for the spirit of the] First [Royal] Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) of the Lord of Both Lands, Atumemtaneb, justified.

⁹⁹⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 270.

Text edition:

Edgar, C. C. "The Treasure of Tell Basta." In Maspero, G. (ed.): *Le Musée Égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte* II,3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1907, 99-100.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 372.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 270.

Publication:

Edgar, C. C. "The Treasure of Tell Basta." In Maspero, G. (ed.): *Le Musée Égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte* II,3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1907, 99-100.

Scharff, A. "Altes und Neues von den Goldschmiedearbeiten der ägyptischen Abteilung." *Berliner Museen* 51, 1930, 114-116.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 329-330.

[49.3] Silver pitcher (fragments), New York, MMA 07.228.187⁹⁹⁹

From the right of the handle

[... ...] *ʿ3jj*¹=*k m ʿnh ʿnfr*¹ [... ...] *ʿsp*¹=*k n k3 n wʿ jqr mtj m3ʿ jb wb3 nswt wʿb ʿ.wj Jtm-m-t3-nb m3ʿ-hrw*

[.....(?) you]rs, namely life and happine[ss (?)] your deed; for the spirit of the uniquely excellent (one), truly reliable of disposition, Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*), pure of hands, Atumemtaneb, justified.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 372.

⁹⁹⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 270.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 270.

Publication:

Davies, B. G. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 329-330.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545168?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&deptids=10&ao=on&ft=Atumemtaneb&offset=0&rpp=100&pos=1>

Publication about all the objects:

Simpson, W. K. "The Tell Basta Treasure." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 8, 1949, 61-65.
 Simpson, W. K. "The Vessels with Engraved Designs and the Repoussé Bowl from the Tell Basta Treasure." *American Journal of Archaeology* 63, 1959, 29-45.
 Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1968, 34-35.
 Lilyquist, C. "Treasures from Tell Basta: Goddesses, Officials, and Artists in an International Age." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 47, 2012, 9-72.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 195, n. 7, 200.
 Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 14.

[50] Maatmen

Ramesses II

[50.1] Pap. Anastasi V 23,8¹⁰⁰⁰

(23,7) *jdñw 3ñjj n p3 mšc jdnw B3k-Jmn n* (23,8) *p3 mšc <n> wdpw 1nswt1 M3c.t-mn m 1nh wd3 snb m 1hsw.t 1Jmn1-Rc nswt ntr:w k3 n nswt-bjtj Wsr-m3c.t-Rc stp.n-Rc [1nh wd3 snb]* (24,1) *p3jj=k nb 1nh wd3 snb 1nfr1 tw=j [1hr dd n] 1p31 Rc-Hr-3htj ssnb pr-c3 1nh wd3 snb* (24,2) *p3jj=n nb 1nh wd3 snb jmj 1jrjj.f 1hh1 n 1hb-sd iw=k m 1hsw.t=f m-mn.t kjj* (24,3) *dd r-ntj tw=n wd.n m 1p31 [ntj tw]=tw jm hrj 3 1hcw 1hn n3jj=1sn1 jspw* (24,4) *n3jj=sn jnr sm3[... ...] 1mtw1=tw hr dd n=n j.šm m-s3 p3 wdpw n* (24,5) *pr-c3 1nh wd3 snb 3s 3s 3s hrj n3 1hc.w spr r=f 3s 3s hr=sn sdm=tn* (24,6) *m p3j dd=f nb j.1jr1.f smn=1sn1 hr s.t=sn d.t j.ntf ptr.tw.n* (24,7) *hr sš p3 1h1m n R1-ms-[sw-mrj]-Jmn 1nh wd3 snb ntj m 1Tl m rnp.t-sp 33 3bd 2* (24,8) *1šmw1 sw 23 jw=n hr šm.t r šw n3 1hc.w m t3 c.t Rc-ms-1sw1-mrj-Jmn 1nh wd3 [snb]* (25,1) *mtw=n jth 1n31 mnw 1m1 [p3] 1wdpw1 n pr-c3 1nh wd3 snb spr.tn r=f jmj h3b n=n* (25,2) *p3 wdpw n pr-c3 1nh wd3 snb hr p3 1ntj1 nb jw=n r jr:f*

(23,7) The lieutenant-commander of the army Any and the lieutenant-commander of the army (23,8) Beknamūn <to> the King's butler (*wdpw nswt*) Ma'emen. In life, prosperity and health! In the favour of Amen-Rē^c, King of the Gods, and the good will of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'ṛē^c-stepenrē^c (l.p.h.), (24,1) your good lord (l.p.h.)! I say to Prē^c-Ḥarakhti: 'Keep Pharaoh (l.p.h.), (24,2) our <good> lord (l.p.h.) in health. Let him celebrate millions of jubilees, and may you be in his favour daily.' Another (24,3) topic: We set out from the place where the king is, bearing three stelae together with their *ispw* (24,4) and their plinths The King said to us: 'Go after the butler (*wdpw*) of (24,5) Pharaoh (l.p.h.) in all possible haste¹⁰⁰¹ with the stelae; reach him in all haste with them that you may hearken (24,6) to all that he says so that he may set them up in their places forever.' Thus spoken the King. Look, we (24,7) passed the fortress of Ra'messe-miamūn (l.p.h.) which is at Tjel in regnal-year 33, second month of (24,8) Shōmu, day 23, and we shall go to empty the ships at The-Dwelling-of- Ra'messe-miamūn (l.p.h.). (25,1) And drag the monuments before the butler (*wdpw*) of Pharaoh (l.p.h.); reach him yourselves. Let (25,2) the butler (*wdpw*) of Pharaoh (l.p.h.) write to us about all that we are to do.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Translation is after Caminos, 1954, 265-269.¹⁰⁰¹ Literally 'quickly, quickly, quickly'.

Text edition:

Gardiner, A. H. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca VII. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Brussels, 1937, 69-70.

Translation:

Gardiner, A. H. "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6, 1920, 106-107.

Camino, R. A. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Oxford University Press, London, 1954, 265-269.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[51] Ramessesnakht

Ramesses II / Ramesses III

[51.1] Relief fragment, Switzerland, private collection

(1) *n k3 n wb3 nswt* (2) *ʕ3 n ʕ.t n nb t3.wj* (3) *Rʕ-mss-(4)nh̄t mʕ-hrw* (5) *nb.t pr šmʕjj.t* (6) *n Dhwtj wp* (7) *rh.wj Tw-n-rʕ*

For the spirit of the royal *wb3*, chief of the chamber of the lord of the Two Lands¹⁰⁰², Ramessesnakht, justified. The lady of the house, chantress of Thoth, who separates the Two Combatants, Tunuro.

Text edition:

Zivie, A. *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte*.

Bibliothèque d'Étude 65, 1-2. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1975, 69.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 276-277.

Translation:

Zivie, A. *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte*.

Bibliothèque d'Étude 65, 1-2. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1975, 69.

¹⁰⁰² Kitchen translates these titles as as one combined title 'Chief Royal Butler of the cellar of the Lord of Both Lands', see Kitchen, 2014, 190, however, this translation is not convincingly substantiated.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 190.

Publication:

Zivie, A. *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 65, 1-2. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1975, 68-70.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 177-178.

Other literature:

Berlandini, J. "Varia Memphitica III." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 79, 1979, 264.

[51.2] Relief fragment, Stockholm, NME 026

(1) *sš n ʕ.t ḥnk.t* (2) *pr-ʕ ḥḥ wd3 snb R^c-mss-(3)nhṯ n Mn-nfr*

Scribe of the supplies magazine of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health, Ramessesnakht, of Memphis.

Text edition:

Mogensen, M. *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*. Andr. Fred. Höst et Fils, Copenhagen, 1919, 50-51.

Peterson, B. "Ramesside Mannerism." *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 9, 1974, 8.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 276-277.

Translation:

Peterson, B. "Ramesside Mannerism." *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 9, 1974, 8.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 190.

Publication:

Mogensen, M. *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*. Andr. Fred. Höst et Fils, Copenhagen, 1919, 50-51.

Peterson, B. "Ramesside Mannerism." *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 9, 1974, 8.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 177-178.
<https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3015737>

Other literature:

Berlandini, J. “Varia Memphitica III.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 79, 1979, 264.
 Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: *Memphis*. Part 2: *Šaqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 761.
 Abd El-Gelil, M. – Shaker, M. – Raue, D. “Recent Excavations at Heliopolis.” *Orientalia* 65, 1996, 136-146.
 Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 178.

[51.3] Sarcophagus fragments

Fragment 1 (Fig. 1. by El-Alfi)

(1) *Wsjr* *wb3 nswt wʿb ʿwj Rʿ-mss-nḥt ḥr* [...]

(1) Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ramessesnakht, [...]

(1) *dd mdw jn Qbḥ-sn.w=fjj* [...]

(1) Words spoken by Qebehsenuf [...]

(3) = *k ḥsq¹⁰⁰³ n=k qs.w=k ʿ.w=k Wsjr* *wb3 nswt* [...]

(3) your [...], ??? for you your bones and your limbs, Osiris royal *wb3* [...]

Fragment 2 (Fig. 2. by El-Alfi)

the two left columns from right to left

(1) *ʿnḥ Rʿ mt štw* [...] (2) *wḏ ntj m db3.t mʿʿ-ḥrw* [...]

¹⁰⁰³ Usually, the verb *s3k* „pull together, gather” is used in similar expressions, the verb *ḥsq* „cut off, cut out” is hardly explainable here, it is supposedly a scribal error.

(1) Re live, the tortoise is dead [...] (2) he who is in the sarcophagus is uninjured, justified [...]

the three right columns from left to right

(1) *Wsjr wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj R^c-mss-nḥt mn* [...]

(1) Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ramessesnakht, [...]

(2) *dd mdw jn Jmstj jnk(?) Jmstj*

(2) Words spoken by Imsety: I am(?) Imsety [...]

(3) (???) *m ḥrt-ntr d.t Wsjr wb3 nswt <R^c-ms>s-nḥt mn* [...]

(3) (???) in the necropolis forever, Osiris royal *wb3*, Ramessesnakht [...]

Fragment 3 (Fig. 3. by El-Alfi)

(1) *Wsjr wb3 nswt w^cb ʕ.wj R^c-mss-nḥt ḥr* [...]

(1) Osiris royal *wb3* clean of hands, Ramessesnakht, [...]

(1) *ʕnh R^c mt štw* [...] (2) *wd3 ntj m db3.t* [...]

(1) Re live, the tortoise is dead [...] (2) he who is in the sarcophagus is uninjured [...]

Text edition:

El-Alfi, M. “Un nouveau échanton d’Héliopolis.” *Discussions in Egyptology* 28, 1994, 15-20.

Translation:

El-Alfi, M. “Un nouveau échanton d’Héliopolis.” *Discussions in Egyptology* 28, 1994, 15-20.

[51.4] Shabti, Paris, E 3514¹⁰⁰⁴

(1) *shd Wsjr wb3 nswt tpj n nb t3.wj* (2) *R^c-msw-nḥt dd.f* (3) *j šwbti jp.t jr* (4) *jr.t k3.t nb.t* (5) *jn k jrjj m-k k3*

The illuminated Osiris, the Chief (“first”) Royal Butler of the Lord of Both Lands, Ramessesnakht. He says: “O yon shabti, if any work is to be done, (then) ‘I (it is) who (shall) do it!’ – see, thus, <you shall speak!>”

¹⁰⁰⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2014, 190.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Rameside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 277.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Rameside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 190.

Publication:

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Rameside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 178.

<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010016213>

Other literature:

Berlandini, J. “Varia Memphitica III.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 79, 1979, 264, pls. LIII D-LIV.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramesessami‘on. An Addendum.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[52] Ramessesuserpehti

Ramesses II – Merneptah

[52.1] Statue group, Cairo, CG 1208¹⁰⁰⁵

Dorsal pillar, right line

[... ...] *dj.f snw prj m-b3ḥ n wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj Rꜥ-ms-sw-wsr-ph.tj m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

[.....] may he give food-offerings that have appeared in the (divine) presence, to the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure of hands, Rames<ses>-Userpehti, justified.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 79-80.

Dorsal pillar, left line

[... ...] *dj.f t mw jr.t t n B3-hw <hr> wnmj n nswt wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj R^c-ms-sw-wsr-ph.tj m3^c-hrw*

[.....] may he give bread, water, milk, to the Fanbearer on the King's Right hand, Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) of the Lord of Both Lands, Rames<ses>-Userpehty, the justified.

Throne, left side

(1) *B3-n-R^c mrj Jmn* (2) *Mrj.n-Pth htp hr M3^c.t* (3) *Wsjr-hntj-jmnt.t ntr 3*

(1) **Baïenre Meriamun**, (2) **Merenptah**, (3) beloved of Osiris, Chief of the West, great god.

On the right-hand side of the king

Kilt

nb t3.wj B3-n-R^c mrj Jmn

Lord of Both Lands, **Baïenre Meriamun**.

Feet

(1) *nb t3.wj B3-n-R^c mrj Jmn* (2) *nb h^c.w Mrj.n-Pth htp hr M3^c.t*

(1) Lord of Both Lands, **Baïenre Meriamun**, (2) Lord of Crowns, **Merenptah**.

On the left-hand side of the king

Kilt

[*nb t3.wj*] *Wsr-m3^c.t[-R^c] stp.n-R^c*

[Lord of Both Lands], **Usimare Setepenre**.

Feet

(1) *nb t3.wj* ¹*Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c stp.n-R^c* (2) [*nb h^c.w R^c-ms-sw mrj Jmn*]

(1) Lord of Both Lands, **Usimare Setepenre**, (2) [Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses II Meriamun**].

Text edition:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil VI. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1934, 108, Bl. 170.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 102.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merneptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 79-80.

Publication:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. N^{os} 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil VI. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1934, 108, Bl. 170.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1968, 63.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merneptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 87.

Other literature:

Griffith, F. Ll. *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyeh*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1890, 65, pl. xxi [4 a-e]

Pomorska, I. *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne*. Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, Warsaw, 1987, 159.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 200.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[53] Ramessesesemperre

Ramesses II – Merneptah – Ramesses III

[53.1] Stele, Cairo, TR 3/7/24/17¹⁰⁰⁶

Upper register

Above Osiris

(1) *Wsjr nb dsr*

Osiris, Lord of the Sacred Territory.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 81-82.

In the middle

(1) *nb t3.wj B3-n-R^c mrj-ntrw* (2) *nb h^c.w Mrj.n-Pth htp-hr-m3^c.t*

(1) Lord of Both Lands, **Baieren**, beloved of the Gods, (2) Lord of Crowns, **Merenptah**.

Above and in front of the adoring man

(1) *jn wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj n nb t3.wj Bj-hw* (2) (*hr*) *wnmj nswt whmw nswt tpj n hm=f wb3 nswt*

(3) *3 n^c.t hnk.t R^c-ms(4)s-m-pr-R^c m3^c-hrw* (4) *dd n=f Mrj-Jwnw m3^c-hrw*

(1) By the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure of hands, of the Lord of Both Lands, Fanbearer (2) on the King’s Right hand, First Royal Herald of His Majesty, the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), (3) Superintendent of the (Wine)-Cellar¹⁰⁰⁷, Ramesses-em-Per-Re, justified, (4) called Meron, justified.

Lower register

Above the couple

(1) *jt=f Jjw-(2)p3-(3)3* (4) *mw.t=f* (5) <blank>

(1) His father, (2-3) Yupa, (4) his mother, (5) <sic>.

Above the offering man

(1) *wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj n nb t3.wj Bj-hw hr wnmj nswt* (2) *whmw nswt tpj n hm=f wb3 nswt 3 n^c.t hnk.t* (3) *pr-3^c nh wd3 snb* (4) *R^c-mss-m-pr-R^c m3^c-hrw* (5) *dd n=f Mrj-(6)Jwnw* (7) *m3^c-hrw*

(1) Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure-handed, of the Lord of Both Lands, Fanbearer on the King’s Right hand, (2) First Royal Herald of His Majesty, Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*)¹⁰⁰⁸ the Superintendent of the (Wine)-Cellar of Pharaoh, LPH, (4) Ramesses-em-Per-Re, justified, (5) called (6) Meron, (7) justified.

Inscription at the bottom

(1) *htp-dj-nswt <n> Wsjr-hntj-jmnt.t dj.f pr.t-hrw k3.w 3pd.w n wb3 nswt w^cb^c.wj n nb t3.wj Bj-hw* (2) *hr wnmj nswt whmw nswt tpj n hm=f wb3 nswt 3 n^c.t hnk.t pr-3^c nh wd3 snb* (3) *wb3 nswt 3 n <3^c.t> hnq.t R^c-ms-sw-m-pr-R^c m3^c-hrw pn R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn* (4) *mr mj R^c dd n=f Bn-jw-tn n dr-bšn*

¹⁰⁰⁷ For this title Kitchen gives the translation ‘the Royal Cupbearer, Superintendent of the (Wine)-Cellar’, however, I would rather translate the title as ‘chief royal *wb3* of the supplies magazine’, based on Hannig, 2006, 136.

¹⁰⁰⁸ This title is missing from Kitchen’s translation.

(1) An offering which the King gives, (to) Osiris, Chief of the West, that he may give invocation offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, to the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure hand, of the Lord of Both Lands, Fanbearer (2) on the King's Right hand, First Royal Herald of His Majesty, (3) Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), Superintendent of the (Wine) Cellar of Pharaoh, LPH, Superintendent of Beer¹⁰⁰⁹, Ramesses-em-Per-Re, justified, he of (=son of) **Ramesses Meriamun** (4) Beloved-like-Re, called Ben-'ozen, of Rock-of-Bashan.

Text edition:

de Rougé, J. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé* I. Études Égyptologiques 9. F. Vieweg, Paris, 1877, pl. XXXII

Mariette, A. *Abydos. Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville*. Vol. 2. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1880a, pl. 50.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 104.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 81-82.

Publication:

Mariette, A. *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos: découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1880b, 422-423.

Varille, A. *Les antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, 9-11.

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 120-121.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See note 1021.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: Memphis. Part 2: *Šaqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 715.

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Hikade, T. *Das Expeditionswesen im ägyptischen Neuen Reich. Ein Beitrag zu Rohstoffversorgung und Außenhandel*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 21. Heidelberg Orientverlag, Heidelberg, 2001, 24-32.

Kitchen, K. A. "An Egyptian Inscribed Fragment from Late Bronze Hazor." *Israel Exploration Journal* 53, 2003b, 26.

[53.2] Ostrakon, Cairo, 25504¹⁰¹⁰

Recto

Col. I

(1) [... ...] ¹*ntr:w*¹ *n* (2) [... ...] *nswt-bjtj* (3) [...] [*B3-n-R*^c] *mrj-¹Jmn¹ nḥ wḏ3 snb* (4) [... ...] ¹*Mrj¹.n-Pth ḥtp-ḥr-m3^c.t* [... ...] (5) ¹*jmj-r3 nj.wt¹ Ḃtj P3-nḥsj* (6) ¹*wdpw¹ P3-n-rnn-wtt* (7) *jmj-r3 pr ḥḏ T3jj* (8) *sš Knr* (9) ¹*jmj-r3¹ ḥmw.w Rm*

Col. II

(1) ¹*rnp.t-sp¹ 7¹ 3bd¹ 3 3ḥ.t sw 11* [... ...] ¹*jr¹.n jmj-r3 pr ḥḏ T3jj¹* (2) *r p3 ḥtm n¹ p3¹ [ḥr jw=f ḥr]* ¹*mk t3¹ js.t rdj.t n=sn mk* (3) *kršt 1000 t 3¹ 1000¹* [... ...] ¹*t¹ n p3 wḏ3 2000* (4) ¹*nḥḥ¹ mnj 15 rdj.t n=¹sn¹* [... ...] (5) [*sw*] *22 jw p3 jmj-r3 pr ḥḏ ḥr jj¹ r¹* [... ...] (6) ¹*rnp.t-sp 7¹ 3bd 3 3ḥ.t sw¹ 23¹ pn jw=tw ḥr sḅ n3 n ntr.w n nswt-bjtj* [...] [*B3-n-R*^c] *mrj-Jmn nḥ wḏ3 snb r s. t=sn jn jmj-r3 nj.wt Ḃtj P3-nḥsj* (7) *rnp.t-sp 7 3bd 4¹ šmw¹ sw 13 pn jj jr:n Ḃtj P3-nḥsj* [... ...] *jw=f ḥr tm gm t3.js.t m-jm* (8) *jw=f ḥr jj r p3 ḥr jw=f ḥr ḏḏ ts r sh.t* [... ...] *šs r p3 swḥ.t* (9) *n mrw ḏḏ.f rdj.t jj.tw¹ sr.w¹ hn^c=j¹ rnp.t-sp¹ 7 3bd 4¹ šmw¹ sw¹ 14 pn¹ jj¹ jr:n wdpw R^c-ms-sw-m-pr-¹R^c* (10) *sš Pn-p3-mr hn^c Ḃtj P3-nḥsj r sh.t r rdj.t ḥr h3j* [...] *swḥ.wt n pr-3¹ nḥ wḏ3 snb*

¹⁰¹⁰ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 115-118.

r s.t=sn sw 14 sw 15 (11) sw 16 sw 17 sw 18 jw=w jj r p3 ¹*hr*¹ [... ...] ¹*sw*¹ 19 *jw=w hr mk t3 js.t rdj.t n=sn*

Verso

Col. I

(1) [... ...] ¹*mk*¹ ¹*q.w n p3 wd3 12000* (2) [... ...] ¹*n*¹ *p3 wd3 200 k3.w m tm3 6* (3) [... ...] ¹*thjj*¹ 10 *s^cjj.t bj.t 420* (4) [... ...] ¹*mnj*¹ 50 *šm^c.t nfr.t hbs.w mn.t 80* (5) [... ...] ¹*htm.w*¹ *ds hnq.t 200 smw dr.t 100* (6) [... ...] *drww 30 dg3jj.t 200 mhtw 300* (7) [...] 30 *n^hh mnj 10* (8) [*rnp.t-sp 7*] 3*bd* ¹*4*¹ *šmw sw 20 pn h^d jn* (9) [*jmj-r3 njw.t Btj*] ¹*P3-n^hsj*¹ (10) [*wdpw*] ¹*R^c-ms-sw-m-pr-R^c*¹ (11) [*sš*] ¹*Pn-p3-mr*¹

Col. II

(1) *rnp.t-sp 8 3bd 2 3h.t sw 13 pn spr jr.n sš Jnpw-m-hb sš P3-sr hrj md3w* (2) *Nht-Mnw hrj md3w Hrj dd jmj-r3 hmw.w Rm spr r p3 htm n p3 hr* (3) *jw=tw hr jt t n=f n3 hwtjw jw=f hr dd n=w rdj.t p3 pr-^c3 n^hh wd3 snb* ¹*jw*¹ *Btj Pn-Šhmt jmj-r3 pr h^d* (4) *Mrjj-Pth sš n hwt.t nbw Hjj jw=w hr jj r r3 t3* ¹*jn.t hrj*¹ *p3 mjtj s^c.t n pr-^c3 n^hh wd3 snb* (5) 3*bd 2 3h.t sw 14 jw tm Btj Pn-Šhmt hr jj* ¹*hn^c=w dd.w n¹ n3 hwtjw* ¹*m*¹ *dd [rdj.t] p3 pr-^c3 n^hh wd3 snb mk st* (6) *hr wpw.t j.jr.tw jw=f hr jj 3bd 2 3h.t sw 16 hn^c sš Hjj* ¹*n hwt.t nbw*¹ [...] *jw Hjj hr jr.t* (7) *hrw 2 jw=f dj hms hr b3kw p3 sw^h.t jw p3 jmj-r3* ¹*hmw.w*¹ *hr jj r sh.t m 3bd 2* ¹*3h.t*¹ (8) 3*bd 2 3h.t sw 18 jw hr jt t p3 sw^h.t* [...] ¹*jw*¹=*f hr jj r* ¹*p3 htm*¹ *n p3 hr r mk* (9) [*t3*] ¹*js.t*¹ *m 3bd 2 3h.t sw 20 jw=f hr mk t3 [js.t rdj.t]* ¹*n=sn*¹ *mk* ¹*q.w*¹ 9000 *n^hh mnj 20* (10) ¹*rmw*¹ 9000 (11) *hm3jj.t h3r 20* (12) *hsmn db* ¹*600*¹ *hm3jj.t h3r 400* (14) [...] *s3 h3r 6*

Col. III

(1) [...] (2) [...] ¹*h3r*¹ 3 (3) [...] ¹*jwrjjt*¹ *h3r 3* (4) [...] ¹*hnq.t*¹ *Qdj* [...] (5) [...] *h3r* [...] [... ...]

Col. IV

(1) *psš h3r 16* (2) *k3.w m tm3 10*

(1.1) [.....] gods of (1.2) [.....] of the King of S. & N. Egypt, (1.3) [.... **Baierenre**] **Meri[amu]** **n**, LPH, (1.4) [Son of Re,] **Merenptah**, [LPH]. (1.5) The City-[gover]nor and Vizier, Panehsy; (1.6) the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), Penrennut; (1.7) the Chief of the Treasury Tjay; (1.8) the Scribe Kenro; (1.9) the Chief Craftsman, Roma.

(2.1) Year 7, Third Month of Akhet, Day 11. Day of [the visit] made by the Chief of the Treasury, Tjay, (2.2) to the guardpost of the [Tomb, he] rewarding the workforce. What was given to them (as) rewards: (2.3) *Kyllestis*-loaves, 1000; large loaves, 1000 (w+x); [.....]; [.....]; [..... loaves/buns/biscuits of the storehouse, 2000; (2.4) Sesame-oil, 15 mnt-flagons. What was given to them [.....] (2.5) [Day] 22, when the Chief of the Treasury came to [.....].

(2.6) Year 7, [3rd month of Akhet, Day] 23. On this day, dragging the gods of the King of S. & N. Egypt, [Baieren] Meriamun, LPH, to their place, by (order of) the City-governor and Vizier, Panehsy.

(2.7) Year 7, 4th month of [Sh]omu, Day 13. This day of a visit paid by the Vizier, Panehsy [...], (but) he did not find the workforce there. (2.8) He came to the guardpost and said: "Go up to the Tract [...], [...] alabaster, for the coffin (2.9) of *mrw* wood". He said: "Cause the officials to come with me!"

Year 7, 4th Month of Shomu, Day 14. This day, visit paid by the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) Ramesses-em-Per-Re, (2.10) the Scribe Penpamer and the Vizier Panehsy, to the Tract to cause [the] coffins of Pharaoh, LPH, to descend to their place.

Day 14, day 15, (2.11) day 16, day 17, day 18: – they came to the Tomb [...].

Day 19: – they rewarded the workforce. What was given to them [(as) *Verso* (1.1) reward(s)]: Loaves from the storehouse, 12,000; (1.2) [...] from the storehouse, '200'; slaughtered oxen 6; (1.3) [...] for b]rewing, 10; cakes (*sha'yt-bit*), 420; (1.4) [...] ?wine/oil [...], mnt-flags, 50; Various garments of fine ('thin'), good quality cloth, 80; (1.5) [...] seals(?), jugs of beer, 200; fresh vegetables, 100 handfuls; (1.6) [...] sides [of meat], 30; (meat) cuts, 200; entrails, 300 (lots); (1.7) [...], 30; sesame-oil, 10 mnt-flags.

(1.8) [Year 7], [4th] month of Shomu. Day 20. This day of sailing (back) North by (1.9) [the City-governor and Vizier] Panehsy, (1.10) [the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) Rame]sses-em-Per-Re, [and the Scribe Penpa]mer.

(2.1) Year 8, 2nd Month of Akhet, Day 13.

On this day, arrival of the Scribe Anupemhab, the Scribe Paser, the police-chief (2.2) Nakhtmin, and the police chief Hori, saying: "The Chief Craftsman Roma has arrived at the guardpost of the Tomb." (2.3) There were brought to him the crew-chiefs, (then) he said to them, "Pharaoh, LPH has sent the Vizier Pensekhmet, the Chief of the Treasury, (2.4) Meryptah and the Scribe of the Mansion of Gold, Huy." They came to the entrance of the Valley, bringing the message of Pharaoh, LPH.

(2.5) 2nd Month of Akhet, Day 14. The Vizier Pensekhmet did not come with them. They spoke [to?] the crew-chiefs, saying that Pharaoh, LPH, had given a reward to them, (2.6) because of the job that they had accomplished. He (?Vizier) came (on) the 2nd Month of Akhet, Day 16, with the Scribe of the Mansion of Gold, Huy. Huy spent (2.7) two days (t) here, staying-on, because of the work (on) the coffin. The Chief Craftsman came to the Tract on the 2nd Month of Akhet, (2.8) [2nd Month of Akhet]. Day 18, and took the coffin [...]. He came to the guardpost of the Tomb, to reward (2.9) the workforce; on the 2nd month of Akhet, Day 20, he rewarded the [workforce]. What was given to them (as) reward:

Loaves, 9000; sesame-oil, 20 *mnt*-flagons; (2.10) [fi]sh, 9000; (2.11) salt, 20 sacks; (2.11) natron, 600 lumps; (2.13) salt, 400 lumps; [m]all, 6 sacks; (3.1) [.....]; (3.2) [.....], 3 sacks; [.....]; (3.3) *luby*a-beans, 3 sacks; (3.4) [.....]; and beer of Qode, [x jugs]; (3.5) [.....]r, [x] sacks; (4.1) *pšš*, 16 sacks; (4.2) oxen for slaughter, 10.

Recto, Older Text, washed off.

A. (1) Total, 2000 fish; [.....] (2) [....] in year 7 [.....]. B. (1) Year [.....]; (2) [This?] day. [.....].

Text edition:

Daressy, G. "Quelques ostraca de Biban el Molouk." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 27, 1927, 167-171.

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25501-25538. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. I. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930a, 2, 2*-3*, pl. II

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 155-158.

Translation:

Daressy, G. "Quelques ostraca de Biban el Molouk." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 27, 1927, 167-171.

Kees, H. "Appendix, in Rowton, M. B., Manetho's Date for Ramesses II." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34, 1948, 73-74.

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Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merneptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 115-118.

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Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25501-25538. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. I. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930a, 2, 2*-3*, pl. II

Kees, H. "Appendix, in Rowton, M. B., Manetho's Date for Ramesses II." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34, 1948, 73-74.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 139-141.

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Janssen, J. *Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History of Deir el-Medina*. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1997, 147-151.

[53.3] Stele, Brussels, E 5014¹⁰¹¹

Above the king

(1) *nb t3.wj Mn-ḥpr-R^c* (2) *nb ḥ^c.w Dḥwtj-msjw* (3) *dj ḥnh* (4) *mj R^c* (5) *d.t*

(1) Lord of Both Lands, **Menkheperre**, (2) Lord of Crowns, **Tuthmosis III**, (3) given life (4) like Re, (5) forever.

Above the man

(1) *rdj.t j3w n k3=k Mn-ḥpr-R^c s3 Jmn dj.f* (2) *ḥnh wd3 snb spd-ḥr ḥsw mrw.t* (3) *n k3 n wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj* (4) *R^c-mss-m-pr-R^c m3^c-ḥrw*

(1) Giving praise to your Spirit, O **Menkheperre**, Son of Amun – that he may give (3) LPH and health, alertness, favour and love, (3) for the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) of the Lord of Both Lands, (4-5) **Ramesses-em-Per-Re**, justified.

Text edition:

Speleers, L. *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1923, 37, 59.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 105.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 82.

¹⁰¹¹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 82.

Publication:

- Capart, J. *Les antiquités égyptiennes des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire a Bruxelles. Guide descriptif*. Vromant & Co, Brussels, 1905, 60-62, fig. 9.
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- Speleers, L. *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1923, 37, 59.
- Varille, A. *Les antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, 7.
- Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1968, 113.
- Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 120.
- Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 90-91.

[53.4] Pillar fragment, Bologna, 1913¹⁰¹²

[... ...] [R^c-mss-m-]ᵀpr-¹R^c m3-ḥrw

[..... Ramesses-em]-Per-Re, justified.

Text edition:

- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 106.

Translation:

- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 82-83.

Publication:

- Kminek-Szedlo, G. *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie*. Paravia, Turin, 1895, 188.
- Hermann, A. "Eine ungewöhnliche Gesichtsdarstellung des Neuen Reiches." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 75, 1939, 60-63.
- Curto, S. *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale*. Arti Grafiche Tamari, Bologna, 1961, 85-86, Tav. 34.

¹⁰¹² Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 82-83.

- Bresciani, E. *La collezione egizia nel Museo Civico di Bologna*. Longo, Ravenna, 1975, 59, Tav. 35.
 Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: Memphis. Part 2: *Šaqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 715.
 Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 92.

[53.5] Lintel, New York, Brooklyn Mus., 35.1315¹⁰¹³

In front of the goddess

Hw.t-Hr nb.t nh.t rsj.t

Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore.

In front of the owner

(1) *n k3 n ꜥꜣ-hw* (2) *hr wnmj nswt wb3 nswt tpj* (3) *n nb t3.wj* (4) *R^c-mss-m-pr-R^c* (5) *m3^c-hrw*
 (1) For the spirit of the Fan bearer on (2) the King's Right hand, First Royal Cupbearer
 (*wb3 nswt*) (3) of the Lord of Both Lands, (4) Ramesses-em-Per-Re, (5) justified.

Text edition:

- Martin, G. T. *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*. KPI, London, 1987, 35, pl. 32.
 Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 105.

Translation:

- Varille, A. *Les antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, 7-9, pl. 1.
 Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 82.

Publication:

- Comarmond, A. *Description des antiquités et objets d'art contenus dans les salles du Palais-des-Arts de la ville de Lyon*. F. Dumoulin, Lyon, 1855–1857, 650.
 Varille, A. *Les antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, 7-9.

¹⁰¹³ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 82.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 121.

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: Memphis. Part 2: *Šaqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 715.

Martin, G. T. *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*. KPI, London, 1987, 35, pl. 32.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 91.

[53.6] Stele, Vienne, NE 1555¹⁰¹⁴

Lower register

Above the seated man

(1) *jr.t* (2) *qbḥ* (3) *sn(4)tr* (5) *n Wsjr* (6) *wb3 nswt tpj n* (7) *ḥm=f* (8) *R^c-mss-(9)m-pr-R^c m3^c-ḥrw*

(1) Presenting (2-3) libation and (4) incense (5) to Osiris, (6) the First Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) of (7) His Majesty, (8) Ramesses-em-(9)Per-Re, justified.

Above the seated woman

(1) *nb.t pr šm^cjj.t n* (2) *Jmn Js.t m3^c-ḥrw*

(1) Lady of the house, Chantress of (2) Amun, Isis, justified.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 105.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 82.

Publication:

Varille, A. *Les antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, 2-7.

¹⁰¹⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 82.

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler *Ramessesemperrē*’.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 121.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 91-92.

[53.7] Relief fragment, Cairo, private collection¹⁰¹⁵

Inscription above the man

[... ...] (x+1) *ṣntr jrj* (x+2) *šdh*¹ (x+3) *ḥr.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) n* (x+4) *Wsjr Bj-ḥw ḥr (wnmj) nswt* (x+5) *wb3 nswt R^c-mss-ṣm¹-(x+6)pr-R^c m3^c-ḥrw m ḥtp*

[x lines lose ...] (x+1) incense, wine, pomegranate (x+2) wine, and (x+3) every good provision, for (x+4) the Osiris, Fanbearer on the King’s <Right> hand, (x+5) Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), *Ramesses-em-(x+6)Per-Re*, justified in peace.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 106.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 82.

Publication:

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler *Ramessesemperrē*’.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 122.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 92.

[53.8] Relief fragment, Villa Torlonia No. 557¹⁰¹⁶

[...] [*wb3 nswt*¹⁰¹⁷] (x+1) *tpj n ḥm=f* (x+2) *R^c-mss-m-pr-(x+3)R^c m3^c-ḥrw*

¹⁰¹⁵ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 82.

¹⁰¹⁶ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 83.

¹⁰¹⁷ ‘Whilst Kitchen restores this title as the rarely-attested *wdpw-nsw tpj n ḥm.f*, “First royal cupbearer of His Majesty” (cf. KRI IV, 105, 9, 15), an equally plausible restoration would be *whm-nsw tpj n ḥm.f*, “First Royal Herald of His Majesty”, another office that *Ramesses-em-Per-Re* is known to have held (cf. KRI IV, 104:6, 10, 13; see above, §161). Davies, 2014, 93. The note of Davies has to be corrected regarding the title “First royal cupbearer of His Majesty”, as the correct reading must be *wb3 nswt tpj n ḥm=f*, since *wdpw nswt* is never attested with the ranking suffix *tpj*.

[x] (x+1) First [Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*)] of His Majesty, (x+2) Ramesses-em-(x+3) Per-Re, justified.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 106.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 83.

Publication:

Varille, A. *Les antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, 9.

Curto, S. "I monumenti Egizi nelle Villa Torlonia a Roma." In *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Botti*. *Oriens Antiquus* 6. Centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente, Rome, 1967, 90-93, Tav. XXIV-XXV.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē^c." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 121.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 92-93.

[53.9] Relief fragment, Villa Torlonia No. 554¹⁰¹⁸

[...] *m3^c-hrw m htp*

[..... Ramesses-em-Per-Re], justified, in peace.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 106.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 83.

¹⁰¹⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 83.

Publication:

- Varille, A. *Les antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Vienne (Isère)*. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, 9.
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- Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē^c." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 121.
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[53.10] Rock inscription, Timna¹⁰¹⁹

Titles of King

(1) [nb t3.wj] Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn (2) nb ḥ^c.w¹ R^c-ms-sw ḥq3-Jwnw

[Lord of Both Lands], **Usimare Meriamun**; Lord of Crowns. **Ramesses III**.

Below the scene

p3 jj jn *wb3 nswt* R^c-ms-sw[-m]-pr-R^c <m3^c-> ḥrw

The visit by the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), Ra-messes-em-Per-Re, <justified>.

Text edition:

- Ventura, R. "An Egyptian Rock Stela in Timna^c." *Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology* 1, 1974, 60-63.
- Kitchen, K. A. "Two Notes on Ramesside History." *Oriens Antiquus* 15, 1976, 311-315.
- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. V. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983a, 257.

Translation:

- Ventura, R. "An Egyptian Rock Stela in Timna^c." *Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology* 1, 1974, 60-63.
- Kitchen, K. A. "Two Notes on Ramesside History." *Oriens Antiquus* 15, 1976, 311-315.
- Schulman, A. R. "Catalogue of the Egyptian Finds." In Rothenberg, B.: *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna*. Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London, 1988, 143-144.

¹⁰¹⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2008, 216.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. V. *Setnakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2008, 216.

Publication:

Lipschitz, O. "Timn'a." *Israel Exploration Journal* 22, 1972, 158, pl. 27.

Ventura, R. "An Egyptian Rock Stela in Timna'." *Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology* 1, 1974, 60-63.

Kitchen, K. A. "Two Notes on Ramesside History." *Oriens Antiquus* 15, 1976, 311-315.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē'." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 1976, 117-130.

Schulman, A. R. "Catalogue of the Egyptian Finds." In Rothenberg, B.: *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna*. Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, London, 1988, 143-144.

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Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 136.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 14, 17.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 158, 544.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[54] Pentawer

Merneptah

[54.1] Stele, Cairo, TN 12/6/24/17¹⁰²⁰

In the lunette

*rn̄p.t-sp 1 nswt-bjtj B3-n-R^c mrj n̄tr:w mrjj Wsjr*Year 1 (of): the King of S & N Egypt, **Baïenne**, beloved of the Gods, the beloved of Osiris.

Upper register

Above Osiris

Wsjr

Osiris

Above the man

(1) j3w n Wsjr sn-(2)t3 n k3=fjn (3) wb3 nswt w^cb ̄.wj (4) Pn-t3-wr (5) m3^c-h̄rw hr nb (6) jm3h(1) Praise to Osiris, paying (2) homage to his spirit by (3) the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure of hands, (4) Pentaweret, (5) justified before the Lord of veneration.

Lower register

Above Horus

Hr-nd-jt=f

Horus, champion of his father.

Above the three women and a man

(1) sn.t=f nb.t pr=f šm^cjj.t (2) n Jmn Js.t-nfr:t m3^c(.t)-h̄rw (3) B̄j-srjj.t Trj (4) m3^c-h̄rw hr Wsjr (5) mw.t=f šm^cjj.t n Jmn (6) ̄wrtj m3^c(.t)-h̄rw (7) ̄sn.t=f¹ sm^cjj.t n Jmn (8) R3-q^c-š^c (9) m3^c.t-h̄rw

(1) His sister, his lady of the house, Chantress (2) of Amun Istnofret, justified. (3) Standard-bearer, Teri, (4) justified before Osiris. (5) His mother, Chantress of Amun (6) Aurati, justified. (7) His sister, Chantress of Amun, (8) Raqasha, (9) justified.

¹⁰²⁰ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 80-81.

Text edition:

de Rougé, J. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé* I. *Études Égyptologiques* 9. F. Vieweg, Paris, 1877, pl. XXXII

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Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 103.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 80-81.

Publication:

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Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. V: *Upper Egypt: Sites*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1962, 58-59.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 80.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 195, n. 8, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[55] Ramessesheru

Merneptah

[55.1] Stele, Paris, E 3629¹⁰²¹

Cartouche in the lunette

¹⁰²¹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 80.

rnw.t-sp 1 nswt-bjtj B3-n-Rc mrj ntr:w s3 Rc Mrj.n-Pth ꜥhtp.w mrjjꜥ Wsjr

Year I, (of): the King of S & N Egypt, **Baierenre**, beloved of the gods, Son of Re, **Merenptah**, beloved of Osiris.

Above Osiris

Wsjr nb nhꜥ

Osiris, Lord of Eternity.

Above the man

(1) j3w n Wsjr (2) jn wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj (3) n nb t3.wj ꜥ3 n ꜥ.t hnk.t (4) šps Rc-ms-sw-(5)hrw m3ꜥ-hrw

(1) Praise to Osiris, (2) by the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure-handed, (3) of the Lord of Both Lands, Master of the Department of (wine)-cellars¹⁰²², (4) the honourable(?) Ramesses-(5)heru, justified.

Inscription at base

(1) Wsjr wb3 nswt wꜥb ꜥ.wj m ꜥhꜥ [...] (2) ꜥ3 n ꜥ.t hnk.t Rc-ms-ꜥswꜥ-[hrw dd n=f] (3) Pn-ꜥH drꜥ [...]

(1) The Osiris, Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure of hands in the Palace, [...], (2) Master of the (Wine) Cellar, Ramesses[heru, ? called] (3) Penhazuri [....].

Text edition:

Pierre, P. *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre* I. F. Vieweg, Paris, 1874, 66-67.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 102.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 80.

Publication:

Pierre, P. *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre* I. F. Vieweg, Paris, 1874, 66-67.

¹⁰²² Suggested translation for the title: chief of the supplies magazine.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 87-88.

Other literature:

Kitchen, K. A. "An Egyptian Inscribed Fragment from Late Bronze Hazor." *Israel Exploration Journal* 53, 2003b, 25-27.

General literature about the owner:

Sauneron, S. – Yoyotte, J. "Traces d'établissements asiatiques en Moyenne-Égypte sous Ramses II." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 7, 1950, 68, n. 6.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 196, n. 1.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 14.

[56] Paenrenenutet

Merneptah

[56.1] Ostrakon, Cairo, 25504

See above by Ramessesesemperre on p. 496.

Text edition:

Daressy, G. "Quelques ostraca de Biban el Molouk." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 27, 1927, 167-171.

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25501-25538. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. I. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930a, 2, 2*-3*, pl. II

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 155-158.

Translation:

Daressy, G. "Quelques ostraca de Biban el Molouk." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 27, 1927, 167-171.

Kees, H. "Appendix, in Rowton, M. B., Manetho's Date for Ramesses II." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34, 1948, 73-74.

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 87-88.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 115-118.

Publication:

Darassy, G. "Quelques ostraca de Biban el Molouk." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 27, 1927, 167-171.

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25501-25538. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. I. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930a, 2, 2*-3*, pl. II

Kees, H. "Appendix, in Rowton, M. B., Manetho's Date for Ramesses II." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34, 1948, 73-74.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 139-141.

Other literature:

Helck, W. "Begräbnis Pharaos." In Luft, U. (ed.): *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákossy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*. Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1992, 267-276.

Janssen, J. *Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History of Deir el-Medina*. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1997, 147-151.

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

Schneider, T. *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 114. Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, Göttingen, 1992, 157-158, 336.

Zivie, A. "Seth, échanson royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara." In van Dijk, J. (ed.): *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*. Styx, Groningen, 1997, 373-382.

Zivie, A. “La résurrection des hypogées du Nouvel Empire à Saqqara.” In Bárta, M. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*. Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, Prague, 2000, 173-192.

Zivie, A. *The Lost Tombs of Saqqara*. Cara cara, Toulouse, 2007, 62, 141.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 481.

Staring, N. “Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis.” In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[57] Merneptahemperptah

Merneptah

[57.1] Stele, Brussels, E 3076¹⁰²³

On the left side of the lunette

(1) *dd mdw jn Pth nb <m3^c.t> Jtm* (2) *hrj-jb pr nswt 3 ph.tj* (3) *ntr 3*

(1) Words spoken by Ptah, Lord <of Truth>, and Atum, (2) residing in the King's House, great of strength, (3) great god.

On the right side of the lunette

(4) *n k3 n wb3 nswt w^cb <^c.wj>* (5) *Mrj.n-Pth-m-pr-Pth* (6) *mr n Pth m htp jm3h*

(4) For the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), pure <of hands>, (5) Merenptah-em-Per-Ptah, (6) beloved of Ptah in peace and reverence.

Text edition:

Speleers, L. *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1923, 81-82, 94.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 103.

¹⁰²³ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 81.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 81.

Publication:

Speleers, L. *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1923, 81-82, 94.

Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 235-236.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 88-89.

Other literature:

Bruyère, B. *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 58. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930, 52-53, fig. 33.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 195, n. 4, 200.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 13.

[58] Bay

Sety II

[58.1] Graffito, West Theban No. 1700¹⁰²⁴

(1) *jr:n wdpw nswt B(2)3jj s3 K3- [...]*

(1) Made by the King's Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), (2) Bay, son of Ka(?)[....].

¹⁰²⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 205.

Text edition:

Černý, J. – Sadek, A. A. *Graffiti de la montagne Thébaine IV*. Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte, Cairo, 1970, 11.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 285-286.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 205.

Publication:

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 248-249.

[58.2] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25766¹⁰²⁵

(1) *ṛsš¹ nswt wdpw nswt ṛBzjj¹ n nswt Sth mrj.n-ṛPth¹* (2) *dd.f n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr:w jmj jj n=j Jmn* (3) *šd.k jnk qrj n p3 T3-Mḥw [...]* (4) *jmj jj dj.k ptr.j m njw.t t3* (5) *ṛn.t¹ jw=j ḥr ṛm33 n3jj=s ḥm.wt¹*

(1) The Royal Scribe and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Bay of King Sethos II Merenptah – (2) he says to Amen-Re, King of the Gods: “Come to me, O Amun, and (3) deliver me! I am a visitor from the Northland. (4) Come, may you let me look over the City Beautiful, as I view its women!”

Text edition:

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25675-25832. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. IV. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1935b, 82, 95*, pl. XCVIII.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982, 286.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. “Note on ‘Sojourner’ – a Foreign Word for Foreigners in Egypt.” In Kormysheva, E. E. (ed.): *Ancient Egypt and Kush*. In *Memoriam Mikhail A. Korostovtsev*. Nauka Oriental Literature Publishers, Moscow, 1993a, 237-241.

¹⁰²⁵ Translation is after Kitchen, 2003a, 205.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Translations*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2003a, 205.

Publication:

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25675-25832. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. IV. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1935b, 82, 95*, pl. XCVIII.

Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. IV. *Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 249.

Other literature:

Kitchen, K. A. "Note on 'Sojourner' – a Foreign Word for Foreigners in Egypt." In Kormysheva, E. E. (ed.): *Ancient Egypt and Kush. In Memoriam Mikhail A. Korostovtsev*. Nauka Oriental Literature Publishers, Moscow, 1993a, 237-241.

General literature about the owner:

Černý, J. "A Note on the Chancellor Bay." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93, 1966, 35-39.

Posener, G. "La complainte de l'échanson Bay." In Assmann, J. – Feucht, E. – Grieshammer, R. (Hrsg.): *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1977, 385-397.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 200.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 14.

Dodson, A. "Fade to Grey: The Chancellor Bay, Éminence Grise of the Late Nineteenth Dynasty." In Collier, M. – Snape, S. (eds.): *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*. Rutherford Press, Bolton, 2011, 145-146, 158.

First half of the 20th dynasty
– from Ramesses III to Ramesses VII

[59] Ramessessamiunu

Ramesses III

[59.1] Stele, Pennsylvania, Penn Museum E13625¹⁰²⁶

(1) [rdj.t j3w] ꜥn ꜥ3ꜥ nswjj.t q3j mj Rꜥ nb ḥb.w-sd (2) mj T3-tnn wr ph.tj <mj> Mntw dj.f ꜥꜥꜥꜥ
(3) nfr ḥr šms k3.w rꜥ nb n k3 n ḥsjj ꜥ3 n ꜥntr nfrꜥ (4) rꜥ nb mrw.tj¹⁰²⁷ n nb t3.wj wb3 nswt Rꜥ-
ms-sw-(5)s3-mj-Jwnw m3ꜥ[-ḥrw]

[Giving praise] to Great of Kingship, lofty like Rēꜥ, lord of Jubilees like Tatenen, great of strength <like> Montu, that he may give a beautiful lifetime while enjoying offerings every day to the ka-soul of him praised greatly by the good god every day, him who the lord of the Two Lands loves, the royal butler (wb3 nswt), the justified Ramessessamiꜥ on.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 277.

Translation:

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessamiꜥ on.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 61, 1986, 190.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 190-191.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: *Memphis*. Part 2: *Šaqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 859.
Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessamiꜥ on.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 61, 1986, 190.
Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S.-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 178-179.

<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/85287>

¹⁰²⁶ Translation is after Schulman, 1986, 190.

¹⁰²⁷ Schulman transcribes it as *mrr.wt*, however, another suggestion would be *mrw.tj*, it would also give explanation to the writing of the feminine plural form which Schulman comments, see Schulman, 1986, 191, note k.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 61, 1986, 187-202.

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on. An Addendum.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 65, 1990, 14.

[60] Ptahemwia (II)

Ramesses III

[60.1] Stele, Stockholm, NME 057¹⁰²⁸

Above Amun

[... *Jmn*-]¹*R*¹ *nswt ntr:w nb p.t*

Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of heaven.

In front of Amun

nb t3.wj Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn

Lord of Both Lands. **Usimare Meriamun.**

Above the man

(1) [*n k3 n*] ¹*hsjj^c 3¹ n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr:w* (2) [...] ¹*sš nswt¹ wdpw nswt* (3) [...] ¹⁰²⁹ ¹*Pth¹*-(4) [*m*-]¹*wj3¹*

(1) [To the ka of] greatly favoured of Amun-Re, king of the gods, (2) [...] the royal scribe, the royal butler (*wdpw nswt*) (3) [...], (4) Ptahemwia.¹⁰³⁰

Text edition:

Mogensen, M. *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*. Andr. Fred. Höst et Fils, Copenhagen, 1919, 67.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. V. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983a, 392.

¹⁰²⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2008, 392.

¹⁰²⁹ Kitchen reconstructs here *w^cb^c 3.wj*, however, I doubt this reconstruction since the title *wdpw nswt* never appears with the attribute *w^cb^c 3.wj*, it only complements the title *wb3 nswt*.

¹⁰³⁰ Translated by the author.

Translation:

Peterson, B. J. "Ägyptische Stelen und Stelenfragmente aus Stockholmer Sammlungen."

Opuscula Atheniensia 9, 1969, 111-112.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. V. *Setnakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2008, 322-323.

Publication:

Mogensen, M. *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*. Andr. Fred. Höst et Fils, Copenhagen, 1919, 67.

Peterson, B. J. "Ägyptische Stelen und Stelenfragmente aus Stockholmer Sammlungen."

Opuscula Atheniensia 9, 1969, 111-112.

<http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3016049>

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 14.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 212, no. 50.

[61] Ramessesankherneheh

Ramesses III

[61.1] Stele, area of Lake Geneva, private collection

Inscriptions in the lunette of the stele

Above the god

(1) *Jmn n R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw* (2) *ʿ3 n nḥt*

(1) Amun of Ramessesheqaiunu, (2) great of victory.

Above the king

(1) *nb t3.wj Wsr-m3^c.t-^rR^c1 mrj-Jmn* (2) *nb h^c.w R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw*

(1) Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatremarianum, (2) lord of the crowns, Ramessesheqaiunu.

Above the man on the left

s3 nswt R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn m3^c-hrw

The royal son, Ramessesmeriamun, justified.

Inscription on the lower part of the stele

(1) *rn.p.t-sp 25 tpj šmw sw 27 hr hm nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn* (2) *s3 R^c nb h^c.w R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw wd.n hm=f rdj 3h.t* (3) *h^cnk¹ s3.t 50 n p3 twt 3 n R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw* (4) *p3 mr.wt n p3 R^c p3 jbjb n Jmn šms.n hm=f r pr-nswt ntj htp* (5) *m pr Jmn n R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw 3 n nht jw=f r ht s3 nswt* (6) *R^c-ms-sw mrj-Jmn m3^c-hrw jw=f m ntr m-dr.t wb3 nswt R^c-ms-(7) ss-^cnh-(r-)nh^h1 m3^c<-hrw> p3 wb3 nswt n pr h^cd*

(1) Year 25, 1st month of shemu, day 27, under the Majesty, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatremeriamun, (2) son of Re, lord of the crowns, Ramessesheqaiunu, his Majesty ordered land donation (3) of 50 aroura to the great statue of Ramessesheqaiunu, (4) beloved of Ra, the statue of Amun, (with whom) his Majesty was accompanied in the royal house, which is settled (5) in the house of Amun of Ramessesheqaiunu, great in victory. He is under the supervision of the royal son, (6) Ramessesmeriamun, justified, and he is a god under the responsibility of the royal *wb3*, (7) Ramessesankherneheh, justified, the royal *wb3* of the treasury.

Text edition:

Chappaz, J.-L. "Une stèle de donation de Ramsès III." *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie* 27, 2005-2007, 6-10.

Translation:

Chappaz, J.-L. "Une stèle de donation de Ramsès III." *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie* 27, 2005-2007, 6-11.

Publication:

Chappaz, J.-L. "Une stèle de donation de Ramsès III." *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie* 27, 2005-2007, 5-19.

Málek, J. – Fleming, E. – Hobby, A. – Magee, D. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. VIII: *Objects of Provenance Not Known*. Part IV: *Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period)*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 2012, 245-246.

[62] Pabes

Ramesses III

[62.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin¹⁰³¹

(2,1) *jw=j dj.t m hr-n jmj-r3 pr hđ Mntw-m-t3.wj jmj-r3 pr hđ P3jj=f-rw* (2,2) *βj-ḥw K3r wdpw P3-bs wdpw Qdndnn3 wdpw B^cr-mhr* (2,3) *wdpw P3-jr-swn wdpw Dḥwtj-rḥ-nfr whmw nswt Pn-rn-nw.t sš M3jj* (2,4) *sš P3-r^c-m-ḥb n t3 s.t n3 š^c.t βj-srjj.t H^rj n t3 jw^cjj.t* (2,5) *r-dd jr n3 mdw.wt j.dd n3 rmt bw rh.j st hn=tn smtr st* (2,6) *jw=w šm jw=w smtr:w jw=w dj.t mt n3 dj.w mt.w m dr:wt r-ḥ^cw.w* (2,7) *jw bw rh[j st jw=w] jr.t sb3jj.t n [n3] kthw jw bw ṛrh.j¹ [st] m-r3-^c hr* (2,8) *jw ṛhn.j¹ [n=w wr sp sn] r-dd jb r-r=tn s3w.tn r dj.t ṛjr.tw¹ sb3jj.t <n>* (2,9) *ṛrmt¹ [jn wr m] gws jw ṛbn¹ sw hr-hr=f hr:j n=w m dwn sp sn* (3,1) *jr p3 jr.t nb(.t) ntw j.jr sw* (3,2) *jmj hpr p3 j.jr:w nb r d3d3=w* (3,3) *jw=j ḥw-kwj mkj-kwj r-š3^c nhḥ jw=j* (3,4) *hr n3 nswwt m3^c.w ntj m-b3ḥ* (3,5) *Jmn-R^c nswt ntr:w m-b3ḥ Wsjr ḥq3 d.t*

...

(4,1) *rmt jn.t hr n3 bt3.w 3.w j.jr:w dj r t3 s.t smtr m-b3ḥ n3 wr:w 3.w n t3 smtr r smtr:w jn jmj-r3 pr hđ Mntw-m-t3.wj jmj-r3 pr hđ P3jj=f-rw βj-ḥw K3r wdpw P3-bs sš M^cjj n t3 s.t n3 š^c.t βj-srjj.t H^rj jw=w smtr:w jw=w gm.w m 3d3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=w t3jj=w sb3jj.t jw n3jj=w bt3.w jβ.w*

...

(4,3) *hr 3 Msd-sw-R^c wn m wdpw jn.tw.f hr p3 ḥw.t.f j.jr.f <hr> P3-b3k-k3mn wn m 3 n 3^c.t jrm n3 ḥm.wt r nw hrjjw r jr.t sbj hr nb=w jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ wr:w 3.w n t3 s.t smtr jw=w smtr n3jj=f bt3.w jw=w gm.t.f m 3d3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=f t3jj=f sb3jj.t* (4,4) *hr 3 P3-jn-jwk wn m jmj-r3 jp.t-nswt n pr-hnr hr šms jn.tw.f hr p3 jr.t j.jr.f w^c jrm P3-b3k-k3mn Msd-sw-R^c r jr.t sbj hr nb=w jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ wr:w 3.w n t3 s.t smtr jw=w smtr n3jj=f bt3.w jw=w gm.t.f m 3d3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=f t3jj=f sb3jj.t* (4,5) *hr 3 Pn-dw3 wn m sš jp.t-nswt n pr-hnr hr šms jn.tw.f hr p3 jr.t j.jr.f w^c jrm P3-b3k-k3mn Msd-sw-R^c p3jj kjj hr wn m jmj-r3 jp.t-nswt n3 ḥm.wt pr-hnr r jr.t 3d.t jrm=w r jr.t sbj hr nb=w jw=tw <dj.> t.f m-b3ḥ wr:w <3.w> n t3 s.t smtr jw=w smtr n3jj=f bt3.w jw=w gm.t.f m 3d3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=f t3jj=f sb3jj.t*

...

(4,12) *hr 3 W3-r3-n3 wn m wdpw jn.tw.f hr p3 sdm j.jr.f n3 mdw.wt m-dj p3jj 3 n 3^c.t wn.f-r-q3(r) n=f jw=f ḥ3p.w jw=f tm dd smj.w jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ wr:w <3.w> n t3 s.t smtr jw=w gm.t.f m 3d3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=f t3jj=f sb3jj.t*

...

¹⁰³¹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2008, 297-302.

(4,14) *hr ʕ3 W3-r3-n3 wn m wdpw sš n pr ḥd jn.tw.f hr p3 ḥw.t.f.jr.f hr P3-b3k-k3mn jw=f sdm*
n3 mdw.wt m-dj=f jw=f tm dd smj.w jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ wr.w <ʕ3.w> n t3 s.t smtr jw=w gm.t.f
m ʕd3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=f t3jj=f sb3jj.t

(4,15) *hr ʕ3 Rbw Jj-nj-nj wn m wdpw jn.tw.f hr p3 ḥw.t.f.jr.f hr P3-b3k-k3mn jw=f sdm n3*
mdw.wt m-dj=f jw=f tm dd smj.w jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ wr.w <ʕ3.w> n t3 s.t smtr jw=w gm.t.f
m ʕd3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=f t3jj=f sb3jj.t

...

(5,3) *hr ʕ3 Bjn-m-W3.s.t wn m hrj-pd.t n K3š jn.tw.f hr p3 h3b j.jr n=f t3jj=f sn.t m pr-ḥnr hr*
šms r-dd nw rmt jr hrwj mtw=k jj r jr.t sbj hr nb=k jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ Qdndnn3 Bʕr-mhr
P3-jr-swn Dḥwtj-rḥ-nfr jw=w smtr:f jw=w gm.t.f m ʕd3 jw=w dj.t dmj n=f t3jj=f sb3jj.t

(5,4) *rmt jn.t hr bt3.w=w hr p3 ḥw(.t)=w j.jr.w hr P3-b3k-k3mn P3-js Pn-t3-wr(.t) jw=tw dj.t.w*
m-b3ḥ n3 wr.w n t3 s.t smtr r smtr.w jw=w gm.t.w m ʕd3 jw=w w3ḥ.w hr ʕw=w m s.t smtr
jw=w mt n=w dš=w jw bw jr.t βjj r-r=w (5,5) ... hr ʕ3 Nb-df3.w wn m wdpw

...

(5,6) *rmt jnj.t hr bt3=w r t3 s.t smtr m-b3ḥ Qdndnn3 Bʕr-mhr P3-jr-swn Dḥwtj-rḥ-nfr Mrwt-*
wsj-Jmn jw=w smtr.w hr n3jj=w bt3(.w) jw=w gm.t.w m ʕd3 jw=w hr w3ḥ.w hr s.t tw=w
jw=w mt n=w ds=w

...

(5,7) *jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ n3 wdpw.w r smtr:f jw=w gm.t.f m ʕd3 jw=w w3ḥ.f hr s.t tw=f jw=f*
mt n=f ds=f

(5,8) *hr ʕ3 Hn.tw-n-Jmn wn m wdpw jn.tw.f hr n3 bt3.w n n3 ḥm.wt pr-ḥnr wn.f m-ḥnw=w*
j.sdm.f jw=f tm dd smj.w j jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ n3 wdpw.w r smtr:f jw=w gm.t.f m ʕd3 jw=w
w3ḥ.f hr s.t tw=f jw=f mt n=f ds=f

...

(5,9) *jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ n3 wdpw.w r smtr:f jw=w gm.t.f m ʕd3 jw=w w3ḥ.f hr s.t tw=f jw=f*
mt n=f ds=f

...

(5,10) *jw=tw dj.t.f m-b3ḥ n3 wdpw.w r smtr:f jw=w gm.t.f m ʕd3 jw=w w3ḥ.f hr s.t tw=f jw=f*
mt n=f ds=f

...

(6,1) *rmt jr.t n=w sb3jj.t m s3w fnd=w msdrw=w hr p3 h3ʕ j.jr.w n3 mtr.w nfr.w dd n=w jw n3*
ḥm.wt šm jw=w pḥ.w m p3 ntj s.t jm jw=w jr.t ʕ.t ḥnq.t jm jrm=w P3-js jw p3jj=w bt3 jḫ.w

(6,2) *hr ʕ3 P3-bs wn m wdpw jr n=f t3jj sb3jj.t jw=tw w3ḥ.f jw=f mt n=f ds=f (6,3) hr ʕ3 Mʕjj*
wn m sš n t3 s.t n3 šʕ.t

...

(6,6) *rm̄t wn m w^c jrm=w jw=tw ʿh̄3 m-dj=f m mdw.wt bjn.w drj jw=tw w3h.f bw jr:t Bj̄j r=f*
 (6,7) *hr ʿ3 H̄rj wn m Bj-srjj.t n t3 jw^cjj.t*

(2:1) I (= King) commissioned: the Treasury Chief Montemtawy; the Treasury-Chief, Pef-rawi; (2:2) the Fanbearer Kuro; the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) Paibes(et); the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), Qadendenna; the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), Baal-mahir; (2:3) the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), Pa-iru-swunu; the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), Thut-rekh-nufer; the Royal Herald, Penrennut; the Scribe, Maya; (2:4) the Scribe of the Correspondence Bureau, Praemhab; the Standard-bearer of the Garrison, Hori;

(2:5) – saying: ‘As for the matters that the(se) people – I do not know them – have talked of, go and examine them!’

(So), (2:6) they went, they examined them, they caused to die those whom they caused to die by their own hand(s) – (2:7) I do not know them – [and they] also imposed punishment on the others, – I do not know them.

Now, (2:8) [I] had charged them very strictly], saying: ‘Pay heed, take care, lest you allow (any)body (2:9) to be punished [by an official] wrongfully, who is not his superior!’ Now, I addressed them (thus), continually.

(3:1) As for all that has been done, it is they (= the court) who have done it; (3:2) (so) let all that they have done be on their heads, (3:3) while I am safeguarded and protected for eternity, (3:4) (even) as I am among the just kings who are before Amen-Re, King of the gods, and before Osiris, Ruler of Everlasting.

...

(4:1) People brought in because of the great crimes that they had committed, and who were placed in the Court of Examination. before the great officials of the Court of Examination, in order to be examined by: the Treasury Chief Montemtawy; the Treasury-Chief, Pef-rawi; the Fanbearer Kuro; the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) Paibes(et); the Scribe of the Correspondence Bureau, Maya; the Standard-bearer, Hori.

They examined them, they found them guilty; they caused their punishment to befall them, and their crimes seized (> overtook) them.

...

(4:3) The great criminal Mesedsure. who had been a cupbearer (*wdpw*), – he was brought in, because of his having been in collusion <with> Peibakkamen who had been Chief of a Department, and with the women, to stir up enmity, and to raise rebellion against their Lord. He was set before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they examined his crimes, and they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to befall him.

(4:4) The great criminal Panuk, who had been Superintendent of the Royal Apartments of the Harim, in the retinue – he was brought in, because of his having made common cause with Peibakkemen and Mesedsure, to raise rebellion against their Lord.

(4:5) The great criminal Penduay, who had been Scribe of the Royal Apartments of the Harim, in the retinue – he was brought in, because of his having made common cause with Peibakkemen, Mesedsure. and this other criminal (= Panuk) who had been Superintendent of the Royal Apartments of the Harim, and (with) the women of the harim, to make a conspiracy (“agreement”/“covenant” – ‘eduth) with them, to raise rebellion against their Lord.

He was <set> before the <great> officials of the Court of Examination: they examined his crimes, they found him guilty, and they caused his punishment to befall him.

...

(4:12) The great criminal Warana, who had been a cupbearer (wdpw). He was brought in, because of his having heard these matters from this Chief of a Department, with whom he had been, (but) had concealed and had not reported them.

He was set before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty, and they caused his punishment to befall him.

...

(4:14) The great criminal Pa-Luk(k)u, who had been cupbearer (wdpw) and treasury-scribe. He was brought in, because of his having been in collusion with Paibakkamen; he had heard the(se) matters from him, (but) had not reported them.

He was set before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty, and they caused his punishment to befall him.

(4:15) The great criminal. the Libyan Yanini, who had been a cupbearer (wdpw). He was brought in, because of his having been in collusion with Paibakkamen; he had heard the(se) matters from him, (but) had not reported them.

He was set before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty, and they caused his punishment to befall him.

...

(5:3) The great criminal Binemwaset. who had been Troop-Commander of Kush. He was brought in, because of the message that his sister, who was in the harim in the retinue, had sent to him, saying, “Stir up people, organize opposition (‘make enmity’) and come to raise rebellion against your Lord.”

He was set before Qadendenna, Baal-mahir, Pa-iru-swunu, and Thut-rekh-nufer; they examined him, they found him guilty, and they caused his punishment to befall him.

(5:4) People brought in because of their crimes and because of their having made collusion with Peibakkamen, Pei-is and Pentaweret.

They were set before the officials of the Court of Examination to be examined; they found them guilty, and they left them to their (own) devices (“hands”) in the Court of Examination; they took their own lives (“died of themselves”), no harm having been done to them.

(5:5) ... The great criminal Nebdjefa, who had been a cupbearer (*wdpw*).

...

(5:6) People brought in, because of their crimes, to the Court of Examination, before Qadendennu, Baal-mahir, Pa-iru-swunu, Thut-rekh-nufer and Merut-usi-amun. They examined them because of their crimes; they found them guilty; they left them in their place (“where they were”); they took their own lives.

...

(5:7) He was set before the cupbearers (*wdpw*), to be examined; they found him guilty, they left him where he was, and he took his own life.

(5:8) The great criminal Hentuenamun, who had been a cupbearer (*wdpw*). He was brought in, because of the crimes of the women of the harim, among whom he had been, which he had heard, (but) had not reported. He was set before the cupbearers (*wdpw*), to be examined; they found him guilty, they left him where he was, and he took his own life.

...

(5:9) He was set before the cupbearers (*wdpw*), to be examined; they found him guilty, they left him where he was, and he took his own life.

...

(5:10) He was set before the cupbearers (*wdpw*), to be examined; they found him guilty, they left him where he was, and he took his own life.

...

(6:1) People who were punished by culling off the ir noses and ears. because they had abandoned the good instructions given to them. The women had gone and had reached them at the place where they were. They had caroused (“made a beer hall”) there with them and with Pei-is. Their crime caught up with them.

(6:2) The great criminal Pabes, who had been a cupbearer (*wdpw*). This punishment was executed upon him: he was left (alone) and took his own life.

(6:3) The great criminal Maya, who had been Scribe of the Bureau of Correspondence.

...

(6:6) (A) person who had been connected ('as one') with them. He was reprimanded with very harsh ('bad') words. He was let off, and no harm was done to him: (6:7) The great criminal Hori, who had been a Standard-bearer of the garrison (troops).

Text edition:

Devéria, T. *Mémoires et Fragments* I. Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1896.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. V. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983a, 350-360.

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Devéria, T. *Mémoires et Fragments* I. Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1896.

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de Buck, A. "The Judicial Papyrus of Turin." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23, 1937, 152-164.

Peden, A. J. *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered, 1994a, 195-210.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. V. *Set-nakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2008, 297-302.

Publication:

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de Buck, A. "The Judicial Papyrus of Turin." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23, 1937, 152-164.

Peden, A. J. *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered, 1994a, 195-210.

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramesses's son. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 14-15.

[63] Mesedsure

Ramesses III

[63.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[64] Warna

Ramesses III

[64.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[65] Paluka

Ramesses III

[65.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[66] Inini

Ramesses III

[66.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[67] Nebdjefau

Ramesses III

[67.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[68] Hentuenimen

Ramesses III

[68.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[69] Qedendenna

Ramesses III

[69.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[70] Baalmeher

Ramesses III

[70.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[71] Pairsun

Ramesses III

[71.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[72] Djehutirekhnefer

Ramesses III

[72.1] Judicial Papyrus of Turin

See above by Pabes on p. 521.

[73] Hori

Ramesses III – Ramesses IV

[73.1] Stele, Memphis, 2882¹⁰³²

Main text

(a)^{*1033} [*rn*p.t-sp 24 tpj šmw sw [...] hr hm n nswt-bjtj Wsr-m³c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn s3 R^c nb h^c.w R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw dj n^h d.t (b) * hrw pn spr jr.n w^cb Mrj-n-Pth n Mrj-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3^c.t r t3 qnb.t 3.t n Jwnw m dd

(c)* dj.n.j p^c twt 3 n R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw s3 Pth ms.n Shmt p3 nb k3 m Mrj-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3^c.t m p3 wb3 3 n Pth jw 3pr m w^cb.w šm^cjj.wt h.t nb.t nfr:t n.t htp.w-ntr]

[x lines lost]

(x+1) [... ...] [m-b3h qnb.t 3.t] [n.t Jwnw¹ [m hrw pn jmj-rn=f-jrj] (x+2) [... ...] [jdnw n Mn-nfr] H^rj wb3 H^rj n3 sš.w n¹ [... ...] (x+3) [... ...] [jrw m-b3h qnb.t] tn m 3h.t Hr dd.t jn nswt ds=f jw=tw m Pr-R^c-ms(-sw) mrj-Jmn p3 k3 3 <n> [p3¹ [R^c-Hr-3htj] (x+4) [n3 rmt] rdj r w^cb.w šm^cjj.wt n p3 twt 3 n R^c-ms-sw hq3-Jwnw s3 Pth ms.n Shmt p3 nb k3 (x+5) [wnn.w r-ht w^cb] Mrj-n-Pth n Mrj-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3^c.t sdm.tw n=f^cš jw=f m-dj=f m hm-ntr n s3 n s3 jw^cw n (x+6) [jw^cw r nh^h hn^c] [d.t¹ šdj m-b3h m rnp.t-sp 24 tpj šmw sw 25 jw=tw dj.t šms=f r htp m (x+7) [Mrj-n-Pth-htp-hr-M3^c.t] m p3 wb3 3 n Pth r rdj.t rh.tw (x+8) [Mrj-n-Pth s3 3h-p.t mw.t=f Nb.t-nh.t-h^cj-tj jw=f r w^cb n ntr pn (x+9) [Šd-]Jmn s3 3h3w.tj mw.t=f Nfr.t jw=f r w^cb n ntr pn (x+10) [T3-wr.t-] [hr¹.tj-jb mw.t=s S3h-nfr šm^cjj.t n grg.t w^cb n Pth jw=s m šm^cjj.t n ntr pn (x+11) [Mw.t-]m-jp.t s3(.t) 3h-p.t mw.t=f Nb.t-nh.t-h^cj-tj jw=s m šm^cjj.t n ntr pn (x+12) [rdj.t]tw dj.t n=f t nfr n htp-ntr 3q.w 10 m- [mnt š^cjj.t¹-bjt 3 n 3bd hnq.t ds 1 <m-mnt>¹⁰³⁴ (x+13) [smw¹ hrs 5 <m-mnt>¹⁰³⁵ jw^cfšrt 1 jrp h(n)w 1 m-mnt sntr qd.t 1 <m-mnt>¹⁰³⁶ dg3w.t (x+14) [dnj.t] 1 <m-mnt>¹⁰³⁷ rnpw.t ms htp.t 4 m-mnt nh^h h(n)w 3 n 3bd mn^h[.t] (x+15) n ntr pn šm^c.t nfr:t šndw.t 2 šm^c.t 1 rhmnt? 1 pr-hd n Pth tpj 3h.t n K3š w3h.t pr-hd n pr-3 n^h wd3 snb

¹⁰³² Translation is after Kitchen, 2008, 210-211.

¹⁰³³ Kitchen, 1983a, 249, (a)*, (b)*, (c)* are theoretical restorations suggested by Helck, 1966, 32f.

¹⁰³⁴ Helck, 1966, 37.

¹⁰³⁵ Helck, 1966, 37.

¹⁰³⁶ Helck, 1966, 37.

¹⁰³⁷ Helck, 1966, 37.

(a) [*Year 24, 1st Month of Shomu, Day [x], under the Majesty of the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, **Usimare Meriamun**, Son of Re, **Ramesses III**, given life for ever].

(b) [*On this day, Merenptah, priest of the Temple Merenptah, arrived at the Great Lawcourt of Heliopolis, saying]:

(c) [*“I have placed the great statue of **Ramesses III**, Son of Ptah and born of Sekhmet, the Lord of Sustenance, in the Temple of Merenptah, in the great precinct of Ptah, it being equipped with priests, chantresses, and every (kind of) good thing of the sacred offerings]. [x lines lost]. [..... in presence of the] Great [Lawcourt] of Heliopolis o[n this day – (here is) their list]:

[*The Northern Vizier, X?]; the Deputy of Memphis, Hori; the Cupbearer (*wb3*), Hori; the scribes of [.....]. [*Prepared before] this [law-court] in the Palace of Horus; what was said by the King himself, when One (= Pharaoh) was in Pi-Ramesses, the Great Spirit of P[re-Harakhti]; “(Now), [the person]nel appointed to be priests and chantresses for the great statue of **Ramesses III**, Son of Ptah and born of Sekhmet, the Lord of Sustenance, – [they shall be under the authority] of Merenptah priest of the Temple of Merenptah. One shall serve him, while he is with him (or: in his care), as Prophet, from son to son, heir to [heir, eternally and] forever.”

Brought in, in the (divine) Presence, in Year 24, 1st Month of Shomu, Day 25, (when) it (= statue) was caused to be brought, to response in the Temple of Merenptah in the great precinct of Ptah; to make them (= staff) known:

Merenptah, son of Akhpet, whose mother is Nebtuhetkhati; – he shall be a priest of this god.

[Shed]amun, son of Pa‘ahauty, whose mother is Nofret; – he shall be a priest of this god. Taweret-herti, whose mother is Sahnufet, chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah; – she shall be a Chantress of this god.

[Mut]amope, daughter of Akhpet, whose mother is Nebtuhetkhati; – she shall be a Chantress of this god.

One shall cause that he (= statue) be given good quality bread of the sacred offerings: 10 loaves, daily; 3 *bit*-cakes, monthly; Treasury of Ptah. 1 jug of beer; <daily(?)>; 5 bundles of vegetables <daily(?)>; 1 (portion of) roast meat, <....>; 1 *hin* of wine, daily; 1 *qite* of incense, <daily(?)>; 1 basket of fruit, <daily(?)>; 4 (each), bouquets and baskets of flowers, daily; Clothing for this god, (from the) Treasury of Pharaoh, L.P.H.:

Of good, fine cloth, 2 kilts; of fine cloth, 1 kilt; (of cloth), 1 *rhmnt*;

Treasury of Ptah; 1st Month of Akhet; of Kush and the oasis; Treasury of Pharaoh, L.P.H.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. V. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983a, 249-250.

Translation:

Schulman, A. R. "A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22, 1963, 177-184.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. V. Setnakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries. Blackwell, Oxford, 2008, 210-211.

Publication:

Schulman, A. R. "A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22, 1963, 177-184.

Other literature:

Helck, W. "Zum Kult an Königsstatuen." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25, 1966, 32-41.

[73.2] Stele, London, BM EA 588¹⁰³⁸

Above the king and the goddess

(1) [nb] ʿt3.wj¹ Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c stp-n-Jmn (2) [nb h^c.w R^c-]msj-sw-hq3-M3^c.t mrj-Jmn (3) ʿM3^c.t¹ s3.t R^c nb(.t) p.t

Maat, Daughter of Re, Lady of heaven. Lord of Both Lands, **Usimare Setepenamun**; [Lord of Crowns], **Ramesses IV, True Ruler, Meriamun**.

Above the official

(1) wpwtj jj n hr=f (2) sš nswt wdpw nswt H_{rj} (3) m3^c-hrw s3 (4) Pth-m-wj3 m3^c-hrw (5) ms.n Hw.t-H_r m3^c-hrw n W3s.t d.t r nh_h

Messenger who come before him (= king), Royal Scribe, Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt), Hori, justified, son of Ptahemwia, justified, and born of (the lady) Hathor, justified, of Thebes, <forev>er and ever.

Main text

(1) rdj.w m hsw.t n.t hr nswt nb ʿt3.wj¹ [Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c] stp-n-Jmn s3 R^c nb h^c.w R^c-[msj-sw-hq3-]ʿM3^c.t¹ [mrj-]ʿJmn¹ (2) jn sš nswt wdpw nswt [H_{rj} m3^c-hrw n [...] ʿ3] n js.t m s.t m3^c.t

¹⁰³⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 76.

「Jn」[-hr-h^c m3^c-hrw] (3) ḥd 「ḫb」 [m] 「Jsqrn」 2 šm^c nfr mss [... ...] (4) 2 šm^c nfr jdḡ 2 šm^c nfr mrw 「2 šm^c nfr 「sm3w」 2 [... ...] (5) 1 n^c jfd 1 「ḥsmn」 qbjj [... ...] (6) m s3p.t 1 「jrd 1 b3q ndm ḥnw」 [... ...] 「mn.t」 (7) 1 bj.t mn.t 1 「ḥd mn.t」 1 smj 「mn.t」 [... ...] (8)t 50 s^cm dr.t 20 sntr qd[r.t] (9) 10 d.t mn.t 2 「ḥm3w」 [...] (10) ḥ3r 20 bd.t ḥq3.t 30 w3d.t (11) 50 mhj n ḥ (12) 200 stj jp.t 2 (13) ḥq.w 「ḥ3」 [... ...]

(1) Given as a favour from the King, (namely) Lord of Both Lands, Usimare Setepenamun, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, Ra[messes IV, True Ruler], Meriamun, (2) by the Royal Scribe and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Ho[ri], [justified, to the x-y], the Chief Workman in the Place of Truth, Anhu[rkawy, justified]: (3) of silver, *tjebu*-vessels [from As]calon, 2; of thin, good cloth, tunics, [x]; [?of thin, good cloth, kilts], (4) 2; of thin, good cloth, kerchiefs, 2; of thin, good cloth, sashes/straps, 2; of thin, good cloth, *sma*-garments, 2; [of x-y cloth(?), a garment z,] (5) 1; of smooth cloth, a sheath, 1; of bronze, *qebu*-vessels, [x]; [of bronze (?), xy ve]ssels (6) with flowers, 1; *arudja*-vessels, 1; sweet moringa-oil, jars, [x]; [x,-y], *mnt*-flagons, 1; honey, (7) *mnt*-flagons, 1; (animal) fat, *mnt*-flagons, 1; curds/cream, *mnt*-flagons, [(x)]; [.....] (8) t, 50; s^cm-plants, handfuls, 20; incense, lu[m]ps (?), (9) 10; olives, *mnt*-flagons, 2; fenugreek(?), (10) sacks, 20; emmer, *oipe*, 30; fresh vegetables, <bundles?> (11) 50; flax, bundles (*na^cakh*), (12) 200; *sty*, *oipe*, 2; (13) large loaves, [x]; [..... 3/4 of line, lost?].

Text edition:

Lieblein, J. *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques: en ordre généalogique et alphabétique*. Christiania, Leipzig, 1871, 322, No. 988.

Janssen, J. J. "An Unusual Donation Stela of the Twentieth Dynasty." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49, 1963, 64-70, pl. IX.

Bierbrier, M. L. *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* 10. British Museum Publications, London, 1982, 24-25.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesseid Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 83-84.

Translation:

Janssen, J. J. "An Unusual Donation Stela of the Twentieth Dynasty." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49, 1963, 64-70, pl. IX.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 100-102.

McDowell, A. G. *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 233-234.

- Cherpion, N. – Corteggiani, J-P. *La tombe d'Inherkhaouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 128. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 2010, 287-90, pl. 155.
- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 76.

Publication:

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- Sharpe, S. *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*. John Russell Smith, London, 1862, 83.
- Budge, E. A. W. *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*. British Museum, London, 1909, 198-199.
- Janssen, J. J. "An Unusual Donation Stela of the Twentieth Dynasty." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49, 1963, 64-70, pl. IX.
- Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 2: *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1964, 721.
- Bierbrier, M. L. *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* 10. British Museum Publications, London, 1982, 24-25.
- Cherpion, N. – Corteggiani, J-P. *La tombe d'Inherkhaouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 128. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 2010, 287-90, pl. 155.
- https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=177395&partId=1&searchText=hor+588&page=1

Other literature:

- Maspero, G. "Rapport a M. Jules Ferry, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une mission en Italie." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 2, 1880, 170.
- Bruyère, B. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1930)*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Année 1930) 8.3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1933, 111.
- Valloggia, M. *Recherche sur les "Messangers" (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*. Librairie Droz, Geneva – Paris, 1976, 169-170.

McDowell, A. G. *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 233-234.

[73.3] Stele, Deir el-Medina No. 151¹⁰³⁹

Above the king

(1) *nb t3.wj* *ṚWsjr-m3ṣ.t¹-Rṣ stp.n-Jmn* (2) *Ṛnb ḥṣ.w¹ Rṣ-ms-sw ḥq3-M3ṣ.t*

Lord of Both Lands, **Usimare Setepenamun**, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses IV**, True Ruler.

Above the official

(1) *Ṛjn¹ sš nswt wdpw nswt Ḥrj s3* (2) *ṚPth¹-m-wj3 m3ṣ-ḥrw* (3) *Ṛms.n¹* (4) [*Hw.t-Ḥr m3ṣ-ḥrw n*] *ṚW3s.t¹*

By the Royal Scribe and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Hori, son of Ptahemwia, justified, born of Hathor, justified, of Thebes.

Text edition:

Bruyère, B. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40). Fasc. II. *Trouvailles d'objets*.

Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 20.2. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1952, 44, 86, pl. XVII.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 85.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI.

Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 76-77.

Publication:

Bruyère, B. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40). Fasc. II. *Trouvailles d'objets*.

Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 20.2. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1952, 44, 86, pl. XVII.

¹⁰³⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 76-77.

[73.4] Ostrakon, Deir el-Medina No. 45 + Ostrakon, Berlin, P.12651 + Ostrakon, Vienna, H.4.¹⁰⁴⁰

Recto

(1) *rnp.t-sp 2 3bd 2 3h.t sw 1* (2) *3bd 2 3h.t sw 2 Ršw-ptr=f psn 14 bj.t 8* (3) *3bd 2 3h.t sw 3 Mrjj-R^c sw 4 Ms h.t 342 n 3bd 1 3h.t r^cqjj m dr.t P3-ds d3.t=f 200* (4) *3bd 2 3h.t sw 5 P3-mdw-nht jn.t m-dr.t p3 jqdw b3k 1 n 3bd 1 3h.t r^cqjj* (5) *3bd 2 3h.t sw 6 Wsr-h3.t sw 7 H^cj-Mnw rm.w dbn 400 m-dr.t Jmn-m-jn.t* (6) *sw 8 Jrj-^c3 sw 9 Jmn-nht psn 16 bj.t 8 ds 2 nbr.t 2 smw 6* (7) *sw 10 H^cj-šrj h.t 300 m-dr.t Pth-ms sw 11 <PN> h.t 300 m-dr.t Pth-ms* (8) *bnr.t 1 smh^c nb 6 sw 12 Nb-nht h.t 150* (9) *m-dr.t Pth-ms ds 2 bnr.t 1 wnmj* (10) *sw 13 Wsh-t-nmtt ds 2 bnr.t 1 wnmj nb 10* (11) *sw 14 Pn-t3-wr s3 Jmn-nht m-dr.t Jmn-m-jn.t s3 Jmn-h^cw* (12) *rmw dbn 340 h.t 500 m-dr.t P3-ds* (13) *sw 15 Nh-m-m.t sw 16 Jmn-nht p3 hb n Pth [...]* (14) *rmw dbn 120 m-dr.t Jmn-m-jn.t sw 17 Kr s3 [...]* (15) *spr.w jr.n jmj-r3 njw.t tjtj Nfr-rnp.t r W3st m-mjtt wdpw nswt H^cj* (16) *wdpw nswt Jmn-h^cw s3 Thij sw 18 jw=w tsj r^c sh.t¹ [3.t]* (17) *r gmgm s.t sd.t hr n Wsr-m3^c.t-<R^{cc}Jmn¹ [...]* (18) *sw 19 M33-nj-nht.w=f h.t 760 m-dr.t sš Jmn-m-jp.t h.t 450 m-dr.t Pth [...]* (19) *dj.t spd n 3bd 2 3h.t n 3bd 3 3h.t nb h3r 11 [... ...]* (20) *sw 20 grh m spd* (21) *rnp.t-sp 2 3bd 2 3h.t¹ [... ...]*

(1) Year 2, 2nd Akhet 1. (2) 2nd Akhet 2: Reshpetref; *psn*-loaves, 14; *bit*-cakes, 8. (3) 2nd Akhet 3: Meryre. Day 4: Mose; wood, 342, for 1st Akhet 30, from Pades; his deficit, 200. (4) 2nd Akhet 5: Pamedunakht; delivered from the potter, 1 work-lot, for 1st Akhet 30. (5) 2nd Akhet 6: Usihat. Day 7: Minkhau; fish, 400 *deben*, from Amenemone. (6) Day 8: Iry^co. Day 9: Amennakht; *psn*-loaves, 16; *bit*-cakes, 8; 2 beer-jugs; dates, 2 (measures); vegetables, 6 (bundles). (7) Day 10: Harshire; wood, 300, from Ptahmose. Day 11: <Name omitted>; wood, 300, from Ptahmose; (8) dates, 1 (measure); Left (Side): vegetables, 6 bundles. Day 12: Nebnakht; wood, 150, (9) from Ptahmose; 2 beer-jugs; (8) dates, 1 (measure); Right (Side). (10) Day 13: Weskhetnemtet; 2 beer-jugs; dates, 1 (measure); Right (Side): vegetables, 10 bundles. (11) Day 14: Pentaweret son of Amennakht; delivered by Amenemone son of Amenkhau, (12) fish, 340 *deben*; wood, 500, from Pades. (13) Day 15: Nekhemmut. Day 16: Amennakht; the Feast of Ptah, [...]; (14) fish, 120 *deben*, from Amenemone. Day 17: Karo, son of [PN]. (15) Arrival of the City-governor and Vizier, Neferronpet, at Thebes ("the City"); likewise, the Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt) Hori, (16) the Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt) Amenkhau, son of Tekhy. Day 18: <Name omitted>; they went up to the (Kings') Valley, (17) to search out a place for excavating the tomb of Usima-re> Setepenamu[n]. (18) Day 19: Maainakhtef; wood, 760, from the scribe of Amenemope; wood, 450, from Ptahmose; [...]; (19) issuing of rations for 2nd

¹⁰⁴⁰ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 103-104.

Akhet, and for 3rd Akhet; each one, 11 sacks [.....]. (20) Day 20: <Name omitted>; finishing issuing of rations. Year 2, [2nd] Akhet, [x: Rest of Recto is Lost].

Verso

(1) [... ...] 10 [... ...] 100 [... ...] (2) *sw* 24 *Jmn-m-jp.t h.t* 150 *m-dr:t P3-ds* (3) *sw* <2> 5 *Ns-Jmn*
(4) *sw* 26 *Hcj-m-nwn* (5) *sw* 27 *Hrj bj.t mnj 2 nhh r mh* [... ...] (6) *sw* 28 *Nfr-htp.w nbr:t l wnmj* (7) *sw* 29 *Pn-ḥqt m-dr:t Pth-ms h.t* 300 (8) *ḥrjj Hcj-m-W3st m-dr:t Pth-ms h.t* 300 *d3.t*
150 (9) *jw n3 sr:w jji r p3 htm r dj.t ḥnh.w* (10) *ḥ.w n t3 js.t m p3 sḥw-tj=f rjj.t* (11) *h.t dnrdrn*
7 *h.t* 950 *m-dr:t B3kj<-n>-Ḥnsw* (12) *m-dr:t P3-ds h.t* 314 (13) *3bd 3 3h.t sw 1 Nht-Mnw m-*
dr:t Pth-ms h.t 155 *m 3h.t ḥrjj* (14) *m-dr:t P3-ds h.t* 155 *h.t dnrdrn* 7 (15) *3bd 3 3h.t sw 2*
Ršw-ptr=f m-dr:t P3-ds h.t 175 *md3.t* 330 (16) *sw* 3 *Mrjj-Rḥ psn* 24 *h.t* 160 *m-dr:t B3kj-n-Ḥnsw*
(17) *sw* 4 *Ms ds* 7 *nbr:t* 2 *h.t* 166 *m-dr:t P3-ds* (18) *sw*¹ 5 *P3-mdw-nht rmw dbn* 1250 *m-dr:t*
Ḥnsw-ms Jmn-ḥḥw (19) *Hrj rmw* 300 *Jmn-jn.t rmw* *dbn*¹ 1100

(x+1) [....] 10 [.....], 100 [.....] [..trs. ..] [Name lost]. (2) Day 24: Amenemope; wood, 150, from Pades. (3) Day <2>5: Nesiamun. (4) Day 26: Khaemnun. (5) Day 27: Hori; honey, 2 flagons; (sesame)-oil, to (ful)fil [.....]. (6) Day 28: Neferhotep; dates, 1 (measure); Right (Side). (7) Day 29: Penanuqet; from Ptahmose, wood, 300. (8) Day 30: Khaemwaset; from Ptahmose, wood, 300; deficit, 150. (9) The notables came to the guardpost, to give generous (10) victuals(?) to the workforce, in the dragging of the (tf t3 ryt). (11) Wood, faggots, 7; wood, 750, from Bakenkhons; (12) from Pades, wood, 314. (13) 3rd, Akhet, 1: Nakhtmin; from Ptahmose, wood, 155 for <x> Akhet, 30; (14) from Pades, wood, 155; wood, faggots, 7. (15) 3rd, Akhet, 2: Reshpetref; from Pades, wood, 175; total, 330. (16) Day 3: Meryre; psn-loaves, 24; wood, 160, from Bakenkhons. (17) Day 4: Mose; 7 beer-jugs; 2 (measures of) dates; wood, 166, from Pades. (18) Day 5: Pamedunakht; fish, 1,250 *deben*, from Khonsmose and Amenkhau; (19) Hori; 300 fish; Amenemone, fish, 1,100 *deben*.

Text edition:

Černý, J. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, N^{os} 1 à 113. Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1935a, 12, pls. 34-35.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 119-121.

Translation:

McDowell, A. G. *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 207.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 102-103.

Publication:

Černý, J. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh, N^{os} 1 à 113*. Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1935a, 12, pls. 34-35.

McDowell, A. G. *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 207.

Other literature:

Černý, J. "Datum des Todes Ramses' III. und der Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 72, 1936, 109-118.

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 371.

[73.5] Pap. Turin 1891¹⁰⁴¹

Recto

(1) *rnp.t-sp 2 3bd 3 3h.t sw 28 hr hm nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj* ¹*Hq3¹-m3^c.t-R^c stp(.n)-Jmn s3 R^c nb h^c(.w)* (2) *R^c-ms-sw-m3^c.t n^ch wd3 snb n^ch d.t <mr>j Jmn-R^c nswt ntr.w w^ctj jmj-rn=f n* (3) *p3 hr 3 špsj n h^chw n <pr-3 hr> jmnt.t W3st jn Btj Nfr-prt wdpw nswt Sth-hr-wnm=f jmj-r3 pr hd* (4) *Mntw(-m)-t3.wj wdpw* ¹*Hrj¹ jdnw Mnn3 wdpw Jtm-nht* (5) *jw=w snhj n3 rmt p3 hr r mh 120 z jw dd pr-3 jr.t m mjt.t* (6) *t3 rj.t jmn.t smhj m-dr:t 3 n js.t Nh-m-mt (n) p3 hr* (7) *sš Jmn-¹nht s3 Jpwjj¹* (8) *jdnw Jmn-h^cj.w s3 Nh-m-mt [...]* (9) *Nfr-hr s3 Jpjj* (10) *[Jmn-]¹jp.t¹ Mrj-R^c* (11) *[...]-Jmn s3 Hsjj[...]-sw-nb=f* (12) *[H^c.w-m-]¹nwn¹ s3 Jmn [...]* (13) *[...]-nfr [... ...]*

(1) Year 2, 3rd Month of Akhet 28, under the Majesty (of) the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, **Heqamare Setep<en>amun**, Son of Re, Lord of Crown(s), (2) **Ramesses IV, True One**, L.H.P., living forever, <bel>oved of Amen-Re, King of the gods.

Documentary List of (3) the Great and Noble Tomb of Millions (of Years) of <Pharaoh, L.H.P.>, <on> the West of Thebes, by:

¹⁰⁴¹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 70-71.

The Vizier, Neferronpet, the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Seth-hir-wonmef, the Treasury Chief (4) Montu--tawy, the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), Hori, the Deputy, Menna, and the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), Atumnakht.

(5) They mustered the people of the Tomb, in order to bring them up to 120 men, for Pharaoh, (L.H.P.), had told [them] so to do.

(6) The Right Side, under the control of the Chief Workman, Nekhemmut, (7) the Scribe Amennakht son of Ipuy, and the (8) Deputy Amenkhau, son of Nekhemmut.

(9) Neferhor, son of Ipuy; (10) [Amen]emope, son of Meryre; (11) [...]amun, son of Hesy<su>nebef; (12) [Khaemn]un, son of Amennakht; (13) [...]nefer, [son of xy]; (14) [Rest of Recto Lost].

Text edition:

Pleyte, W. – Rossi, F. *Papyrus de Turin*. Brill, Leiden, 1869-1876, 66-67, pl. 49.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 76-77.

Translation:

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 102-103.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 70-71.

Publication:

Pleyte, W. – Rossi, F. *Papyrus de Turin*. Brill, Leiden, 1869-1876, 66-67, pl. 49.

Other literature:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 374.

[73.6] Ostrakon, Sydney, Nicholson Museum R.97¹⁰⁴²

Recto

(1) [*rnp.t-sp ... 3bd ... sw ... hrw pn spr jn hm ntr tpj n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr.w R^c-(2)msj-]*¹*sw¹-nht wdpw nswt*¹ [*Jmn-h^c.w wdpw nswt*¹ [*Hrj h3tj-^c (3) n*] *njw.t sš n.t tm3 Hrj n njw.t sš n.t hsb B3-sr¹ [... ...]* (4) [*jdnw¹ n t3 šnw.t Mrj-Pth sm Dhwtj-[ms n t3 hw.t nswt-bjtj Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c*

¹⁰⁴² Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 123.

mrj-Jmn ʕnh wḏ3 snb]¹⁰⁴³ (5) *ʕjj¹ r ḥtmw n p3 ḥr jw* [*ʕš n p3 ʕ3 n js.t*] (6) *2 p3 sš Jmn-nḥt sš Ḥ*
rj-šrj t3 js.t r-ʕdr¹ [*s.t*]

[Year *x*, *y*th month, *z*th day]: [on this day, arrival by the High Priest of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Ramses]sesnakht, the Royal Cupbearer (*wḏpw nswt*), Amenkha, the Royal Cupbearer (*wḏpw nswt*), [Hori, the Mayor of] Thebes, the Scribe of the Mat of Thebes, Hori, the Scribe of Accounts, Paser [.....], the Deputy of the Granary, Merip-tah, and the *Setem*-priest [of the Temple of the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usimare Meriamun, (L.H.P.), Thut[mose], came to the guardpost of the Tomb, they sommu[ned the] 2 [chief workmen], the Scribe Amennakht, the Scribe Horshire, and the entire workforce.

Verso

(1) *jw sš t3 js.t bnr jw=w ḥqr.w* [*r ḏḏ*] (2) *j.jr.n sš bnr jw=n ʕḥqr.w¹* (3) *jw mn ḥ.t smw rm* [*n p3*] (4) *ḥr jw=tw ḥr jj r nḏnd r3 n ʕsrw¹* (5) *t3 ʕqnb.t jw=w ḥr ḏḏ m3ʕ.t¹* [... ...]

The workforce had gone out, hungry, saying: “Because we’re hungry we have gone out – there’s no wood, vegetables or fish [for the] Tomb.” (So), they (one) came to take advice of/consult with the notables/magistrates of the court. They said: “In the right [are the men of the Tomb!]”

Text edition:

Eyre, C. J. “A ‘strike’ text from the Theban necropolis.” In Ruffle, J. – Gaballa, G. A. – Kitchen, K. A. (eds.): *Glimpses of ancient Egypt. Studies in honour of H. W. Fairman*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1979, 80-91.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 151-152.

Translation:

Eyre, C. J. “A ‘strike’ text from the Theban necropolis.” In Ruffle, J. – Gaballa, G. A. – Kitchen, K. A. (eds.): *Glimpses of ancient Egypt. Studies in honour of H. W. Fairman*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1979, 80-91.

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 514.

¹⁰⁴³ Kitchen, 1983b, 152, restoration based on the same volume 97, 7. Eyre doubts this reconstruction as the space is not enough for the whole name of the king. Eyre, 1979, 82, m.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 123.

Publication:

Eyre, C. J. "A 'strike' text from the Theban necropolis." In Ruffle, J. – Gaballa, G. A. – Kitchen, K. A. (eds.): *Glimpses of ancient Egypt. Studies in honour of H. W. Fairman*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1979, 80-91.

Gutgesell, M. *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*. Teil I: *Die 20. Dynastie*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 18-19. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1983, 357-358.

Other literature:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 202.

[73.7] Ostrakon, Deir el-Medina No. 2551¹⁰⁴⁴

wdpw nswt Hrj s3 ꜥPth-ꜥm-[wj3] [...]

The Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Hori, son of Ptahemwia [.....].

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 85.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 77.

Publication:

D'Abbadie, J. V. *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh*. Nos. 2256 à 2722. Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 2,2. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1937, 113, pls. LXIX, LXXVI

¹⁰⁴⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 77.

Other literature:

Bruyère, B. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-35) III. Le village, les décharges publiques, la station de repos du col de la Vallée des Rois*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 16,3. Cairo, 1939, 362, fig. 212.

[73.8] **Stele, Neuchâtel, Eg. 428**¹⁰⁴⁵

Inscription on the left

[... ...] *jʿr <n> nb.w nhḥ n Wsjr ḥrj sdmw.w n wb3 nswt Ḥrj Nḥt-Jmn*

[...] ascending (to) the lords of eternity, for Osiris, Overseer of Servants of the Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*) Hori, Nekhtamun.

Inscription on the right

[... ...] *t ḥ3s.t(?) mj šmsw Ḥr n Wsjr ḥrj sdmw.w n wb3 nswt Ḥrj Nḥt-Jmn*

[...] the land and foreign country (?) as a follower of Horus, for Osiris, Overseer of Servants of the Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*) Hori, Nekhtamun.

Middle register

In front of the second lady

[... ...] *Bʿk(.t)-Šḥmt m3ʿ.t-ḥrw*

[...] Baket-Sekhmet, justified.

Lower register

Above the seated couple

(1) *ʿWsjr*¹ *wb3 nswt* (2) *ʿḤrj*¹ *s3* (3) *n ʿPtḥ-m-wj3*¹ (4) *ʿWsjr Ḥnw.t-mj-Rʿ*¹

Osiris, Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*), Hori, son of Ptahemwia, (justified?); Osiris, [Henutmire].

Above the persons in front of the couple

(1) *Wsjr* (2) *ʿNḥt*¹-*Jmn* (3) *s3=f Ḥrj m3ʿ<-ḥrw>* (4) *s3=f Ḥrj m3ʿ<-ḥrw>* (5) *s3.t=f Nb.t-nb-t* *m3ʿ.t-ḥrw* (6) *s3.t=f Jʿb.t-mw.t* (7) *s3.t=f [...]-jb* (8) *s3.t=f Jʿḥ*

Osiris, N[ekh]tamun; His son, Hori, justified; His son, Hori, justified; His daughter, Nebt-neb-ta (?); His daughter, Iabetmut; His daughter, . . . ib; His daughter, Ioh.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Translation is after Málek, 1988, 128-129.

Text edition:

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 125-136.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 418.

Translation:

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 125-136.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 237.

Publication:

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 125-136.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 272.

Other literature:

Málek, J. "New Kingdom Personnel in Teti Pyramid Cemeteries III: A Preliminary List." *New Kingdom Memphis Newsletter* 2, 1989, 6.

[73.9] Relief fragment (present location not known)¹⁰⁴⁶

(1) [... ...] [*jj.tj m ḥtp m T3-mrj šsp.tw*] (2) [... ...] [*psd.t jmnt.t pr m pr=f r js=f šsp*] (3) [... ...] [*ʿ3b.t¹=f hnm.k ḥw.t=k n.t d.t*] (4) [*js=k¹ m hr.t-ntr Wsjr wb3 nswt Hrj m3ʿ-ḥrw*]

(1) [Welcome] in peace from Egypt (To-meri)! (2) May [the Ennead] of the West receive you, one who goes forth from his house to his tomb, one who receives (3) his offerings. May you join your mansion of eternity, (4) your tomb in the necropolis, (o) Osiris, Royal Butler (*wb3 nswt*), Hori, justified!

Text edition:

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 125-136.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Translation is after Málek, 1988, 130.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 418.

Translation:

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 125-136.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 237.

Publication:

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 125-136.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 272.

General literature about the owner:

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 61.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 200.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 15.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 560.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[74] Amenkhau

Ramesses IV – Ramesses V

[74.1] Ostrakon, Deir el-Medina No. 45 + Ostrakon, Berlin, P.12651 + Ostrakon, Vienna, H.4.

See above by Hori on p. 535.

[74.2] Ostrakon, Sydney, Nicholson Museum R.97

See above by Hori on p. 538.

[74.3] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25311¹⁰⁴⁷

(1) [... ...] *h3n?* [... ...] (2) [... ...] *hm-ntr tpj n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr.w R^c-ms-sw-nht* [... ...] (3) [*wdpw nswt*] *Jmn-h^cw Jtm-nht n* [...] 'Jtm¹-nht?' (4) [... ...] *j p3 hr* [... ...]
[Issue??] (of) [tools?? ... by?] the High Priest of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Ramessesnakht, [the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*)] Amenkha(?), (and?) Atumnakht, [.....] the Tomb(?)

Text edition:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385. *Ostraca*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 80.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 151.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 123.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385. *Ostraca*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 80.

[74.4] Graffito, West Theban No. 2576¹⁰⁴⁸

wdpw nswt Jmn-h^cw [...]

The Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Amenkhau, ...

Text edition:

Černý, J. – Sadek, A. A. *Graffiti de la montagne Thébaine* IV,2. Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte, Cairo, 1971, 109.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 123.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 121.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 148.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 121.

Other literature:

Peden, A. J. *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c 3100 – 332 B.C.)*. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 17. Brill, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2001, 198.

[74.5] Pap. Turin 2002¹⁰⁴⁹

Verso, Col III

(10)¹⁰⁵⁰ *rnpt.t-sp 1 3bd 2 šmw sw 7 b3k m p3 [...]* (11) *h3w n hbs 92* (12) *jj jn n3 sr.w* (13) *βtj Nfr-rnpt hm ntr tpj n Jmn R^c-ms-sw-nht* (14) *wdpw nswt Sth-hr-wnm=f wdpw nswt P3-R^c-nht* (15) *[mj-r3?] pr hđ Mntw-m-t3.wj wdpw nswt Jtm-nht* (16) *wdpw nswt Sbk-htp hrj wtw P3-jrj* (17) *r rdj htp n3 wpw.wt t3 wp 3.t n m3.t* (18) *jw=w <hr> rdj htp t3 g3w.t n mrw jw=w hr* (19) *rdj p3j=s^c hr rs st jw=w [hr] rdj p3^c n* (20) *qd.t m=sn hr rsj r p3 s^c? n t3 g3w.t n* (21) *m3.t hr=st <jw=w> hr rdj sβ t3 g3w.t n* (22) *šs r rdj htp.w st m t3 g3w.t n mrw* (23) *jw=w? nh(b)? rs st r jqr sp sn jw=w? nh(b) m-hnw st* (24) *r t3 wpw.t n hđ nbw jw=w hr rdj n3 hm.w w n s.t m3^c.t* (25) *r qhqh jmm st jw wdpw nswt <Jmn-> h^cw h^c hr jr=w* (14)¹⁰⁵¹ *jw wdpw nswt Jmn-h^cw hr dj.t jnj p3* (15) *4 hrj.w ms-3t n p3 šs hn^c rmt 2* (16) *jw=sn hr hnr.w? r hrj p3 sβ* (17) *jw šs Jmn-nht hr 1wn.w¹ m p3 hr jw=sn* (18) *sdr hr qhqh m t3 w3.t bnrw n* (19) *t3 g3j.t n šs mjtt m t3j=st w3.t hnw* (20) *r hđ t3 1jw¹=sn hr grh jw=tw hr 1sš st¹* (21) *mj-qd 5n*

(10) Year 1, 2nd Shomu 7: work in the Tomb(?); (11) consumption of wicks, 92; (12) (in) afternoon, 22. Coming of the notables, (13) the Vizier Neferonpet, the High Priest of Amun, Ramessesnakht, (14) the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Sethirwonmef, the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Prenakht, (15) the Treasur[y-Chief], Mont(em)tawy, the Royal

¹⁰⁴⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 244-245.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The numbering of the lines follows Kitchen, 1983b, 244-245.

¹⁰⁵¹ This section is based on Černý's Notebook MSS o3 727 (the numbering of the lines follows his) from the database of the Papyrus Collection of the Museo Egizio (<https://papyri.museoegizio.it/>!154 – accessed on 27.07.2020, I would hereby like to thank Dr Johannes Auenmüller, who provided me the relating documents, for the kind help), as well as on Wb-Zettel DZA 22.239.090 (<http://aaw.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/DzaBrowser?START.x=24&START.y=118&newpid=DZA+22.239.100&dispscale=100&set=EM&wn=44930&lastpid=22239100&wid=0> – accessed on 25.07.2020)

Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Atumnakht, (16) the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Sobekhotep, and the chief embalmer¹⁰⁵², Pa-iry, (17) to cause to be installed ("to repose") the jobs ordered, namely the major order of granite (work). (18) They installed the meru-wood chest (*g3t*), and (19) they put its lid upon it. They placed (20) the *qdt*'s lid(?) with them, on the south side¹⁰⁵³ at the *s 3* of the granite chest. (21) And they caused the alabaster (22) chest to be dragged along, to install it in the meru-wood chest. (23) They(?) fastened it to it(?) excellently, it being secured inside it, (24) (ready) for the silverwork. They caused the craftsmen/carpenters of the Place of Truth (25) to polish(?) it, while the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Kha¹⁰⁵⁴ oversaw ('attended to') them.

...

Verso, Col. IV

(14) The royal butler (*wdpw nswt*) Amenkhau sent for (15) 4 alabaster-engravers together with 2 men, (16) and they peeked(?) into the lower section of the corridor. (17) The scribe Amennakht took them in the tomb and they (18) spent the night sculpting the outside of (19) the alabaster shrine as well as its inside until (20) morning. They finished with it and they painted it (21) as well again.

Text edition:

Pleyte, W. – Rossi, F. *Papyrus de Turin*. Brill, Leiden, 1869-1876, 139, pl. 104-105.

Allam, S. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Schafik Allam, Tübingen, 1973, 132-133.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 244-245.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 418.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 188-189.

¹⁰⁵² According to the personal communication of Dr Robert Demarée, based on a newly found fragment of the papyrus, the title is not *hrj pd.t* 'troop commander' as Kitchen transcribed it, but *hrj wt* 'chief embalmer'.

¹⁰⁵³ According to the personal communication of Dr Robert Demarée, the title is not *s3 nfr* 'good side' as Kitchen transcribed it, but *hr rsj* 'south side'.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Amenkhau.

Publication:

Pleyte, W. – Rossi, F. *Papyrus de Turin*. Brill, Leiden, 1869-1876, 139, pl. 104-105.

Gutgesell, M. *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*. Teil I: Die 20. Dynastie. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 18-19. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1983, 226-227.

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Ventura, R. *Living in a City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographic and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 69. Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, Freiburg, 1986, 32.

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 200.

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 135, n. 39.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 15.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 58-59.

[75] Atumnakht

Ramesses IV – Ramesses V

[75.1] Pap. Turin 1891

See above by Hori on p. 537.

[75.2] Pap. Turin 2002

See above by Amenkhau on p. 545.

[75.3] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25311

See above by Amenkhau on p. 544.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 200.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 15.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 59.

[76] **Ramessesethherwenemef**

Ramesses IV – Ramesses V

[76.1] **Pap. Turin 1891**

See above by Hori on p. 537.

[76.2] **Stele, Amsterdam, 9114¹⁰⁵⁵**

Above the god

(1) *Pth n t3 s.t* (2) *nfr.wt*

Ptah of the Place of Beauty (= Valley of Queens).

In the middle of the lunette

(1) *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c stp.n-Jmn* (2) *R^c-ms-sw m3^c.tj mrj-Jmn*

Heqmare Setepenamun; Ramesses IV, True One, Meriamun.

Above the man

(1) *wdpw nswt R^c-ms-(2)sw-Sth-hr-(3)wnm=f m3^c.hrw*

Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Ramesses-Seth-hir-wonmef, justified.

Text edition:

van Haarlem, W. M. "Stela of the Royal Butler *R^c-ms-sw-sth-hr-wnm.f*." In Eggebrecht, A. (Hrsg.): *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Geschichte, Ziele, Richtlinien und Arbeitsbeispiele für das Erfassen ägyptischer Altertümer in Form eines Lose-Blatt-Kataloges*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 12. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1981, 67-9.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 85.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 77.

Translation:

- van Haarlem, W. M. "Stela of the Royal Butler *R^c-ms-sw-sth-hr-wnm.f.*" In Eggebrecht, A. (Hrsg.): *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Geschichte, Ziele, Richtlinien und Arbeitsbeispiele für das Erfassen ägyptischer Altertümer in Form eines Lose-Blatt-Kataloges.* Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 12. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1981, 67-9.
- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations.* Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries.* Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 77.

Publication:

- Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.* Vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis. Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries,* Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1964, 776.
- van Haarlem, W. M. "Stela of the Royal Butler *R^c-ms-sw-sth-hr-wnm.f.*" In Eggebrecht, A. (Hrsg.): *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Geschichte, Ziele, Richtlinien und Arbeitsbeispiele für das Erfassen ägyptischer Altertümer in Form eines Lose-Blatt-Kataloges.* Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 12. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1981, 67-9.
- van Haarlem, W. M. – Lunsingh Scheurleer, R. A. *Gids voor de afdeling Egypte.* Allard Pierson Museum, Leiden, 1986, 24, fig. 4.

[76.3] Stele (present location not known)¹⁰⁵⁶

Above the figures

(1) *hṭp-dj-nswt <n> Jmn-R^c nb p.t ḥq3 W3s.t* (2) *[n k3 n] sš nswt wdpw nswt R^c-ms-(3)ṛsw¹-Sth-hr-wnm=(4)ḥm3^c-ḥrw n W3s.t*

An offering which the King gives, (to) Amen-Re, Lord of heaven, Ruler of Thebes. Royal Scribe, Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Ramesses Set-hir-wonmef, justified, of Thebes.

Text edition:

- Van Siclen III, C. C. "Rifaud, Tell Basta, and a Stela of Ramesses-set-hir-wenemef." *Göttinger Miszellen* 95, 1987, 73-78.
- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical.* Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 326-327.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Translation is after Kitchen, 2014, 220.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 220.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*. Griffiths Institut, Oxford, 1968, 34.

Málek, J. – Smith, M. “Henry Salt’s Egyptian Copies and Drawings.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 64, 1983, 43.

Van Siclen III, C. C. “Rifaud, Tell Basta, and a Stela of Ramesses-set-hir-wenemef.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 95, 1987, 73-78.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 233.

Other literature:

Rifaud, J.-J. *Voyages en Égypte, en Nubie, et lieux circonvoisins, depuis 1805 jusqu'en 1827*. J.-J. Rifaud, Paris, 1830, 6, pl. 95.

[76.4] **Stele, Cairo, JE 38793**¹⁰⁵⁷

Above the king

(1) *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c* (2) *ṚR^cl-ms-sw*

Heqmare; Ramesses (IV)

Above the man

(1) *wdpw nswt R^c-ms-(2)Ṛsw^l-Sth-hr-wnm<=f> m3^c[-hrw]*

Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Rames[ses] Sethirwonme<f>,< justifi>ed.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 419.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Translation is after Kitchen, 2014, 237-238.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 237-238.

Other literature:

Reeves, C. N. "Excavations in the Valley of the Kings, 1905/6: a Photographic Record."

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 40, 1984, 234, pl. 34a.

Peden, A. J. *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings* (c 3100 – 332 B.C.). *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 17. Brill, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2001, 197.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 272-273.

[76.5] Ostracon, Cairo, CG 25565¹⁰⁵⁸

(1) *rn.p.t-sp 5 3bd 3* *ʿ3h.t¹ sw ʿ21 jj¹ jn wdpw nswt* (2) *ʿSth-hr-¹[wnm=]ʿf¹ r dj.t n=n t3 hsw.t* [...]

(3) *3bd 4 3h.t sw 7* *ʿjj jn jmj-r³ njw.t Btj Nfr-¹[rn.p.t]* [...] (4) *r snn* [...] *ʿp³ hr¹* [... ...]
 Year 5, 3rd Akhet 21: coming by the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Sethirwonmef to give us the reward [.....]. 4th Akhet 7: coming by the City-Governor and Vizier Nefer[ronpet] [.....], to measure up the Tomb-[.....].

Text edition:

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25539-25592. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. II. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930b, 24, 47*, pl. XXXII

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 142-143.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 394-395.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesse IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 118.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 118.

Publication:

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25539-25592. *Ostraca hiératiques*. Vol. II. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930b, 24, 47*, pl. XXXII

Other literature:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 343.

[76.6] Graffito, West Theban No. 790¹⁰⁵⁹

(1) *rnp.t-sp 6 3bd 1 3h.t (sw) 9 hrw pn spr wdpw nswt* (2) *Sth-ḥr-wnm=f jmj-r3 njw.t ʔtj Nfr-rnp.t n njw.t (3) 3bd 1 3h.t (sw) 10 jj jn jmj-r3 njw.t ʔtj Nfr-rnp.t r p3 ḥtm n p3 ḥr* (4) *r mk.n njj[...]* (5) *jj [...]* *jn sš t3[...]* *sw 10 (6) jj [... ...]*

Year 6, 1st Akhet 9: on this day, (there) arrived the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Sethir-wonmef and the City-governor and Vizier of Thebes, Neferronpet.

1st Akhet 10: there came the City-governor and Vizier, Neferronpet, to the guardpost of the Tomb, to provision us(?) [.....]: there came the Scribe Ta(?)[.....]: Day 10, there came [.....].

Text edition:

Spiegelberg, W. *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis*. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg, 1921, 64.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 145.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 374.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 119.

Other literature:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 344.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 119.

[76.7] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25274¹⁰⁶⁰

(1) *rn̄p.t-sp 6 3db 1 3h̄.t sw 12 jj̄jn wdpw nswt* (2) *St̄h-hr-wnm=f̄jn jmj-r3 njw.t* (3) *Ḳtj Nfr-rnp.t r m33 p3 r3-ḥ b3kw*

Year 6, 1st Akhet 12: there came the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Sethirwonmef and the City-governor and Vizier Neferronpet to see the work in progress.

Text edition:

Spiegelberg, W. *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der Thebanischen Necropolis im neuen Reich*. Schlesier & Schweikhardt, Strassbourg, 1898, 13, III.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 145.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 399.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 119.

Publication:

Dareddy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385. *Ostraca*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 70.

[76.8] Graffito, West Theban No. 2056a¹⁰⁶¹

(1) *rn̄p.t-sp 6 3bd 2 3h̄.t sw 7* (2) *hrw pn spr̄jn* (3) *wdpw nswt St̄h-hr-wnm=f̄[...]* (4) *St̄hjj[...]*

Year 6, 2nd Akhet 7: (on) this day, there arrived the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Sethirwonmef, (and) Sety [..... lost & illegible].

Text edition:

Černý, J. – Sadek, A. A. *Graffiti de la montagne Thébaine* IV. Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte, Cairo, 1970, 35.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 146.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 119.

¹⁰⁶¹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 119.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh.*

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 400.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations.* Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries.* Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 119.

Other literature:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh.*

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 344.

[76.9] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25277¹⁰⁶²

(1) *rnp.t-sp 6 3bd 2 3h.t sw 19 hrw n pn h3b jn* [wdpw nswt] (2) *Sth-ḥr-wnm=f r-dd jmj.tw n=n sfd.t 2 (3) r bw n r3-w3.t pn ptr*

Year 6, 2 Akhet 19: On this day, a message sent by the Royal [Cupbearer (wdpw nswt)] Sethirwonmef, saying: "Give us 2 boxes, outside this <place?>! See (to it)!"

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical.* Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 337.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh.*

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 400.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations.* Vol. VII. *Addenda.* Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 226.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.* Nos. 25001-25385.

Ostraca. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 71, pl. LVI

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments.* Vol. VII. *Addenda.* Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 247-248.

¹⁰⁶² Translation is after Kitchen, 2014, 226.

Other literature:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 344.

[76.10] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25283

(1) *rnp.t-sp 6 3bd 4 3h.t sw 21 hd ʿjn wdpw nswtʿ Sth-ʿhrʿ-(2)wnm=f jw h3ʿ.f ʿn3ʿ [rwd.w] ntj r ddh [... ...] (3) m-dj=f jw=sn ʿdj.tʿ jr=j n3 sš.w-qd hms[... ...]*

Year 6, 4th Akhet 21, going northwards by the royal *wdpw*, Sethherwenemef, after he disimprisoned the [officers] who were to be imprisoned [and take them?] with him. They made me make the drawings [... ...]¹⁰⁶³

Text edition:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385.

Ostraca. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 72, pl. LVI

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 146.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 453.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 402.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 120.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385.

Ostraca. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 72, pl. LVI

Other literature:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 344.

¹⁰⁶³ Although, Helck and Kitchen gave a translation for the text, neither of them took the lacuna at the end of the second line into consideration, which resulted in the meaning of Sethherwenemef being imprisoned with some other persons. It makes more sense, however, to presume that he was the one who disimprisoned the officials and took them back north with him. Helck, 2002, 402; Kitchen, 2012, 120.

[76.11] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25309¹⁰⁶⁴

(1) *ṛmp.t-sp 6 3bd¹* [...] *ṛsw¹* [...] *jj n rmt js.t Jmn* [...] (2) [...] *wdpw nswt Sth-ḥr-wnm=f* [...] (3) [...] *ḥb jw sš Jmn-nḥt ḥr šm* (4) [...] *dsr.t ḥn^c sš Jmn-nḥt* [...] [Year 6, ...]; there came the workman Amen[.....], [.....], the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Sethirwonmef, [.....]hab; the Scribe Amennakht went ...; [x went(?) to] Djosret, with the Scribe Amennakht.

Text edition:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385.

Ostraca. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 80, pl. LVII

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 148.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 400.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 121.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385.

Ostraca. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 80, pl. LVII

[76.12] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25251¹⁰⁶⁵

(1) [...] (2) *Jmn-R^c ṛnswt nṯr.w¹* [...] (3) *wdpw nswt R^c-ṛms-sw-Sth-ḥr-wnm=f¹* [...] (4) *sš Pn-t3-wr.t* [...] (5) *r rdj.t rh p3jj=k* [...] (6) *r ntj=tw ḥr* [...] *Jmn-R^c* [...] *Mw.t* [...] (7) *ṛnṯr.w nṯr.wt W3s.t¹* [...]

[In the favour of?] Amen-Re, King of the Gods: [.....] the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Ramesses Sethirwonmef [writes to?] the Scribe Pentaweret [.....]: [“..... to make known your [.....], that one [....]s Amen-Re [.....], Mut, [.....], and the gods and goddesses of Thebes [.....]”].

¹⁰⁶⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 121.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 123-124.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 152.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 123-124.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25001-25385. *Ostraca*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1901, 65, pl. LIII

[76.13] Pap. Turin 2002

See above by Amenkhau on p. 545.

General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 274.

Eyre, C. J. "A 'strike' text from the Theban necropolis." In Ruffle, J. – Gaballa, G. A. – Kitchen, K. A. (eds.): *Glimpses of ancient Egypt. Studies in honour of H. W. Fairman*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1979, 81.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 17.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 60.

[77] Sobekhotep

Ramesses IV – Ramesses V

[77.1] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 302 (= New Haven, Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History YPM ANT 266737)¹⁰⁶⁶

(1) *rnp.t-sp 3 3bd 3 šmw wd hm=f¹hsjj=f mrj=f n jb n¹* (2) *nb=f jmj-r3 pr hḏ n nbw hḏ hrj-sšB n ḥ šps Sbk-ḥtp m3^c-ḥrw r jnj n=f mrr jb=f* (3) *nb mfk3.t m wdjj.t=f mh 4 dd.f hr nb=f*

¹⁰⁶⁶ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 77.

hnw n=k b3.w P Nhn (4) dw3.tw šnn.t jtn p3 hnm.w (5) mhw.t d.t ššm (6) rn wb3 nswt Sbk-htp m3^c-hrw

Year 3, 3rd Month of Shomu, <Day 1?>: His Majesty sent/commanded his favoured and beloved one, confidant of his lord, Chief of the Treasury of gold and silver, chief of secrets of the august palace, Sebekhotep, justified, to bring for him all that his heart desired, of turquoise, (on) his fourth expedition. He says to his lord: „The Souls of Pe and Nekhen jubilate at you, and what(ever) the sun-disc encircles praises you, O uniter of clans, eternal(?) of name!”¹⁰⁶⁷ (So), the Royal Cupbarer (*wb3 nswt*), Sobekhotep, justified.

Text edition:

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. Part I. *Introduction and Plates*. Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1917, pl. LXXV

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 85-86.

Scott, III, G. D. *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Heaven, 1986, 201.

Translation:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 194.

Scott, III, G. D. *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Heaven, 1986, 126.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 77.

Publication:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 194.

Scott, III, G. D. *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Heaven, 1986, 126-127, 201.

[77.2] Pap. Turin 2002

See above by Amenkhau on p. 545.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Suggestion for the translation: ‘O uniter of the clans forever, who makes the name known.’ See Hannig, 2006, 829.

General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 274.

Eyre, C. J. "A 'strike' text from the Theban necropolis." In Ruffle, J. – Gaballa, G. A. – Kitchen, K. A. (eds.): *Glimpses of ancient Egypt. Studies in honour of H. W. Fairman*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1979, 81.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 135.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 17.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 62.

[78] Aha(?)

Ramesses IV

[78.1] Ostrakon, Deir el-Medina No. 46¹⁰⁶⁸

Recto

(1) ^rrnpt-sp¹ 2 3bd 3 3h.t ... (21) sw 23 ... jw ^rspr¹ [...]

Verso

(1) n=w p3 wdpw ^rh^cl p3 h3b (2) j.jr ^rn=f¹ sš Jmn-nht r-dd bn jr:t (3) n3 hwtjw dj.t h3b.j w^cw m-jm=w m [... ...]j[...] (4) jw=f dd n=w m p3 3 hwtjw dj.t ^cm r-dd pšn.tw.tn (5) n3jj=^rtn¹ rmt [... ...] p3 [... ...]

Recto

(1) Year 2, 3rd Akhet ... (21) Day 23: ... There arrived

Verso

(1) for them the cupbearer (wdpw) ... (Aha??) <concerning> the message that the Scribe Amennakht had (2) sent for him, saying, (3) 'The (workforce) captains will not allow me to send an able-bodied man from them, with(?) [.....]'. (4) He said to them, namely the three captains: 'I have been informed that one has divided up for you (5) your men [.....] the [.....]'.¹⁰⁶⁸

¹⁰⁶⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 105.

Text edition:

- Černý, J. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, N^{os} 1 à 113. Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1935a, 12-13, pls. 36-38.
- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 121-124.

Translation:

- Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 372-374.
- Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 104-105.

Publication:

- Černý, J. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, N^{os} 1 à 113. Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 3. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1935a, 12-13, pls. 36-38.

General literature about the owner:

- Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 134, n. 38.

[79] Nakhtamun

Ramesses IV

[79.1] Stele, Wadi Hammamat No. 12¹⁰⁶⁹

Above Amun

Jmn-Rꜥ nb ḥꜥ.w t3.wj

Amen-Re, Lord of the Thrones of Both Lands.

Above Mut

Mwt

Mut

¹⁰⁶⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 12-15.

Above Khons

Hnsw

Khons [....]

Above Bast

B3stt nb ʕnh-t3.wj

Bast, Lady of Ankh-Tawy

Above Nekhbet

Nhbt

Nekhbet

Above the king

(1) *nb t3.wj Hq3-m3ʕ.t-Rʕ stp-n-Jmn* (2) *nb hʕ.w Rʕ-ms-sw <hq3-m3ʕ.t> mrj-Jmn* (3) *dj ʕnh*

Lord of Both Lands, **Heqamare Setepenamun**, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses IV**, True one, Beloved of Amun, given life.

Above Min

Mnw nb Gbtw

Min, Lord of Coptos

Above Harsiese

Hr-s3-Jst

Horus son of Isis

Above Isis

Jst

Isis

Above Udjo

W3dt

Udjo

Main text

(1) *rnp.t-sp 3 3bd 2 šmw sw 27 hr hm=f Hr k3 nht m3ʕ.t ʕnh nb hb.w-sd mj jt=f Pth-t3-tnn nb tj*

mkj Kmt w^fpsd.t-pd.t Hr nbw wsr rnp.wt wr nht.w jtj msw.t ntr:w (2) shpr t3.wj nswt-bjtj hq3 pd.t nb t3.wj nb hps Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c stp-n<-Jmn> s3 R^c nb h^c.w R^c-ms-sw <hq3>-m3^c.t mrj-Jmn Jmn-R^c nswt ntrw R^c-Hr-3htj Pth 3 rsj jnb=f nb 3nh-t3.wj Mwt Hnsw Mnw Hr Jst mrj dj 3nh (3) ntr nfr spd shrw jtj n 3b^c m rn=f r q3.t n p.t wbn.f m mnqb mj 3htj shd t3.wj m nfrw=f mw.t=f Jst mn.tj m tp=f mk.t=f nb.t hr=s (4) nrw=f m-h.t-n rhjj.t bw-nb msnh n h^c.w=f h3tj.w hntš n sp r=f mj H^cpj r-tp nw=f wtt n sw nb r-dr m-^c wtt.w¹=f¹ smn.f¹ [hr] h^c=f (5) r s3 mr:f jw^cw=f hr tp-t3 sh^c.n.f sw hr wts.t r nb t3.wj hnm w3d.tj m-tp=f bs.f sw r s.t=f n Pr-wr r sq3 n=f m3^c.t m hr.t-hrw jtj qn sqsq h3s.wt (6) fh 3m n3jj=w jn.wt qn nht wsr m t3 pn T3-mrj jw r 3h^c.w=f h3w¹ nfr hpr n Kmt mj R^c nswjj.t=f jsk jr ntr nfr pn snn (7) n Dhwtj m hp nb r-dr prj.n.f m h.t j^c.r.t hr tp=f wsr=f hr rks r p.t ms m3^c.t shtm jsf.t rdj.t wn grg r rw.tj t3.wj m htp (8) m rk nswjj.t=f shrw=f nb mnh spw=f m^cr wstn m nb hps wr phjtj rdj.f hntš Kmt hh n sp jb=f rs hr hh 3h.w n jt=f qm3 d.t=f sw n.n.f (9) rw.t t3 ntr n rh sw hpr hr-h3t sw3.tw m jb kjwj jb=sn hmj r hnhn sw jst hm=f jp m jb=f mj jt=f Hr-s3-Jst ssm.f w3.t r bw mr:f (10) phr.n.f dw šps r jr:t mn.w n jt=f n jt.w=f ntr:w ntr:wt nb.w T3-mrj smn.f wd hr-tp dw pn nht hr rn wr n nswt-bjtj H q3-m3^c.t-R^c stp-n<-Jmn> s3 R^c R^c-ms-sw <hq3>-m3^c.t mrj-Jmn dj 3nh mj R^c (11) jst rdj.n hm=f m-hr n sš pr-3nh R^c-ms-sw-3š3-hb-sd sš Hrj n r3 pr hm ntr Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-nht n pr Mnw Hr Jst m Gbtw r hlyj n3 wpw.wt n (12) s.t m3^c.t n p3 dw n bh n m-lt ssm.n.tw jw=w nfr r jqr jw=w mnw 3 n bj3.t jw wd.n hm=f rdj.t m-hr n hm ntr tpj n Jmn jmj-r3 k3.t (13) R^c-ms-sw-nht m3^c-hrw r jn.n.tw r Kmt wb3.w wr:w ntj r hn^c=f wb3 nswt Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-shpr wb3 nswt Nht-Jmn jdnw H^cj-m-tr (14) 3 n št h3tj-^c Jmn-ms n njw.t 3 n št jmj-r3 jh B^ck-n-Hnsw n t3 Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn kt n Nht-Jmn n hnw sš shwj Sw-n-r (15) n p3 mš^c sš dnj.t R^c-ms-sw-nht n p3 mš^c sš mš^c z 20 hrj-jhw n hnw z 20 hrj-3hw n mš^c H^cj-m-mnr 3hw n mš^c z 20 kt n (16) n htm z 50 jmj-r3 hm.w ntr jmj-r3 jh hm.w ntr sš.s.w rwdw z 50 rmt mš^c z 5000 w^cw n n3 s3 n wh^c-rmw n hnw (17) z 200 3pr n n3 pd.t 3nwjt z 800 rmt r3 pr pr-3 z 2000 jdnw wr z m¹d3w¹ z m¹d3w z 50 jmj-r3 hm.w Nht-Jmn hrj k3.t n n3 k3.t jkij (18) z 3 jkij ms-3.t z 130 sš-qdwt z 2 Bjj-bš3 z 4 jmntj ntj w3 n p3 sh n 900 dmd 8368 (19) [jw] h¹n¹.n.tw n sn hr:t hr Kmt m 10 n 3grt jw 6 htrj.w-jh.w hrj 3grt msw hr Kmt nfrjt-r p3 dw n bh n (20) [... ...] 3š3 jw=tw 3tp m 3qw jwf š3jj.t nn rht=sn jw jn.n.tw n3 wdnw n shtp n3 ntr:w n p.t t3 m njw.t rsj w^cb m w^cb 3 jw=tw hr rmn (21) [... ...] rdj [... ...] hr 3 n mr w^cb m w^c sfng3w.w sh wndw.w sntr wd m h.t=f r p.t šdh jrp mj nwj jrt t hnq.t j^cb m s.t hrj-hb ng hrw=f m3^cw w^cb n Mnw Hr Jst (22) [... ...] ntr:w nb.w dw pn jb.w 3wj šsp j^cb.t wšb.sn m hf n h3b.w-sd n s3=w nrj.w nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c stp-n<-Jmn> s3 R^c nb h^c.w R^c-ms-sw <hq3>-m3^c.t mrj-Jmn dj 3nh d.t

(1) Year 3, 2nd month of Shomu, Day 27, under the Majesty of: Horus-falcon, Strong Bull, Living (by) Truth, Lord of Jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatonen; Nebty-ruler, Protector of Egypt, curbing the Nine Bows; Golden Horus, Rich in Years, Mighty in

Victories, Sovereign whom the gods fashiones, (2) who fosters the Two Lands; King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of Both Lands, Lord of the strong arm, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses IV**, True one, Beloved of Amun, the beloved of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, (of) Re-Harakhti, of Ptah the great, South of his Wall, Lord of Ankh-Tawy, of Mut and Khons, of Min, and of Horus and Isis; and given life.

(3) The Good god, alert in counsel, Sovereign of whose name one boasts to the height of heaven; he shines forth from the Palace suite like the Horizon-god, one who illumines the Two Lands by his beauty. His mother Isis abides on his head, all his protection (coming) from her. (4) Awe of him pervades the bodies of the common folk, everyone turns to (see) his appearances. Hearts are glad at (any) matter concerning him, (just) as (for) the Nile-flood at the onset of its (flood)-period. The Lord-of-All begot him, (as) his progeny, whom he est[ablished] on his [throne], (5) to be a 'Son-who-loves', his heir upon earth. He made him appear on the carrying-chair of the Two Lands, (with) both of the urei settled on his forehead.¹⁰⁷⁰ He inducted him into [his] seat in the Per-wer shrine, to exalt Truth for him throughout every day. Valiant Sovereign who destroys the foreign countries, (6) who plunders the Asiatics in the valleys, one valiant and victorious, powerful in this land. (Since) Nile-land come into his lifetime, a happy epoch has happened for Egypt, as (when) Re was in his reign (there). Nos, as for this goodly god, likeness (7) of Thoth in (administering) the laws of the Lord-of-All, he emerged from the womb, the Uraeus already on his head, his might having reached (up) to heaven; one who fashiones justice, and who destroys wrongdoing, who causes lies to be (thrust) outside, the Two Lands being at peace (8) in the era of his reign. All his plans are effective, his deeds are succesful; one who strides freely, as Lord of the strong arm, mighty in power; he causes Egypt to enjoy delight a million times over. His mind is vigilant, in seeking out benefactions for his father who created his body, he has opened up the (9) route to God's Land, which those existed formerly did not know, a route far removed from other people's mind(s), their mind(s) being ignorant of (how) to reach it. Now, His Majesty was alert in mind, like his father Horus son of Isis, and he led the way wher(ever) he whished. (10) He has scoured the august mountain, in order to make monuments, marvels of the Father of his fathers, all the god and goddesses of Nile-land. He set a stela on this mountain, engraved in the mighty name of: the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, **Heqamare Setepenamun**, Son of Re, **Ramesses IV**, True one, Beloved of Amun, and given life like Re.

(11) Now, His Majesty gave orders to: the Scribe of the House of Life, **Ramesses-Asha-heb**-sed, the Scribe of Temple (?estate)s, Hori, (and) the Prophet of the Temple of Min, Horus

¹⁰⁷⁰ Missing part from the translation of Kitchen.

and Isis in Koptos, Usimare-nakht, to seek out the materials for (12) the Place of Truth, in the mountain of Bekhen-stone, when it was discovered that they were really fine, being great monuments, to marvel at. His Majesty decreed that orders be given to the High Priest of Amun and Superintendent of Works, (13) Ramesses-nakht, justified, to bring them to Egypt. The cupbearers (*wb3*) and officials who accompanied him (were): the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), Usimare-Sekheper; the Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), Nakht-amun; the Army-lieutenant, Khamtir; the Chief of the Treasury, Khamtir; (14) the Chief Taxing-master, Mayor of the City (Thebes), Amenmose; the Chief Taxing-master and Superintendent of Cattle of the Temple of Usimare Meryamun, Bakenkhons; the Charioteer of the Residence, Nakhtamun; the Scribe of marshalling (15) of the Army, Sunero; the Scribe of distribution of the Army, Ramesses-nakht; army-scribes, 20 men; stable-masters of the Residence, 20 men; the Chief of Army-administrators(?), Khaemmale; army-administrators(?), 20 men; chariot-drivers of the (16) chariotry, 50 men; a Superintendent of Prophets, a Superintendent of Cattle, prophets, scribes and agents, 50 men; army-personnel, 5000 men; sailors of groups of fishermen of the Residence, (17) 200 men; 'Apiru of the battalions(?) of 'Anuit, 800 men; people of the temple (?estate)s of Pharaoh, 2000 men; Deputy-Chief of M(edjayu-militia), 1 man; Medjayu-militia, 50 men. The Chief craftsman, Nakhtamun; work-superintendents for the quarrying-(18)work, quarrymen, 3 men¹⁰⁷¹, and stonecutters, 130 men¹⁰⁷², draftsmen, 2 men; sculptors, 4 men; and the dead who are omitted from this list, 900. Total: 8368.

(19) There was transported for them the necessary (supplies) from Egypt, in 10 wagons, with 6 yoke ('spans') of oxen per wagon pulling them, from Egypt as far as the mountain of Bekhen-stone. (20) [There were] many [por]ters, laden with loaves of bread, meat and cakes, beyond counting. There were brought from the Southern City (Thebes) the offerings to please the gods of heaven and earth, they have been purified with a great purification, being shouldered by (21) [.....], (and?) being set upon donkeys(?), so that they might be united (or offered?) as one. Longhorn bulls were slaughtered, shorthorns were felled, incense was cast in(to) its fire, (reaching up) to heaven; pomegranate-brew and wine (flowed) like the waterflood; milk and beer were offered in this place. The lector-priest, his voice pronounced a pure oblation for Min, Horus and Isis, (22) (and for) [Amun, Mut and Khons], and all the god of this mountain, so that their hearts might be made glad, when they received their offerings, and respond with myriads of jubilees for their dear son the King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of Both Lands,

¹⁰⁷¹ Missing part from the translation of Kitchen.

¹⁰⁷² Missing part from the translation of Kitchen.

Heqamare Setepenamun, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses IV**, True one, Beloved of Amun, given life forever.

Text edition:

Couyat, J. – Montet, P. *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 34. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1912, 34-39, pl. IV

Christophe, L. "La stèle de l'an III de Ramsès IV au Ouâdi Hammâmât, n° 12." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 48, 1949, 1-38.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 12-14.

Translation:

Breasted, J. H. *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents from the Earliest to the Persian Conquest, Collected, Edited and Translated with Commentary*. Vol. IV. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1906, 223-227.

Christophe, L. "La stèle de l'an III de Ramsès IV au Ouâdi Hammâmât, n° 12." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 48, 1949, 1-38.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 86-90.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 12-15.

Publication:

Couyat, J. – Montet, P. *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 34. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1912, 34-39, pl. IV

Christophe, L. "La stèle de l'an III de Ramsès IV au Ouâdi Hammâmât, n° 12." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 48, 1949, 1-38.

Other literature:

Spiegelberg, W. "Varia." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 21, 1899, 48-49.

[79.2] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25580¹⁰⁷³

(1) *sdf3.w jrjj jn ʿt3 js.tʿ* (2) *jn h3tj-ʿ Jmn-ms Bj-ḥw* (3) *wdpw nswt Nḥt-Jmn Btj Nfr-rnpt*
 Replenishment (in) beans(?) for(?) the workforce, by the Mayor Amenmose, the Fan-
 bearer and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Nakhtamun, and the Vizier Neferronpet.

Text edition:

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25539-25592.
Ostraca hiératiques. Vol. II. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930b, 29,
 51*, pl. 41.
 Kitchen, K. A. *Rameside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell,
 Oxford, 1983b, 150.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.
Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 383.
 Kitchen, K. A. *Rameside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI.
Rameses IV to XI, and Contemporaries. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 122-123.

Publication:

Černý, J. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25539-25592.
Ostraca hiératiques. Vol. II. Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1930b, 29,
 51*, pl. 41.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.
 Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeol-*
ogy 74, 1988, 135, n. 43.
 Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte*
 65, 1990, 16.
 Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 59-60.

¹⁰⁷³ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 122-123.

[80] Usermaatresekhheper

Ramesses IV

[80.1] Stele, Wadi Hammamat No. 12

See above by Nakhtamun on p. 560.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 195, n. 5, 200, 201.

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 135, n. 41.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 14, 17.

[81] Unknown 4

Ramesses IV

[81.1] Stele, Serabit el-Khadim No. 304¹⁰⁷⁴

Side (a)

(1) *rnp.t-sp 5 3bd 2 šmw* [... ...] (2) *wb3 nswt* [... ...] (3) *ʿswʿ* [... ...] (4) [... ...] (5) [... ...] (6) *ḥsj mrj* [... ...]

Year 5, 2nd Shomu [... loss ...] Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*), [... loss ...] Royal [Envoy? ... loss ...], [... large loss], favoured and beloved, ... [... lost ...].

Side (b)

Rʿ-ms-sw nb ʿt3.wjʿ

Ramesses IV. Lord of Both Lands, [rest lost].

Text edition:

Gardiner, A. H. – Peet, T. E. *The Inscriptions of Sinai. Part I. Introduction and Plates.* Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1917, LXXVIII

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical.* Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 29.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 31-32.

Translation:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 195.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 31-32.

Publication:

Černý, J. *The Inscriptions of Sinai from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Part II. *Translations and Commentary*. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 195.

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Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 134, no. 38.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 28-29.

[82] Heqamaatreneh

Ramesses IV

[82.1] Tomb chapel, Saqqara¹⁰⁷⁵

Southern part of the western wall of the court

Doorjamb of the southern chapel (left)

(1) [... ..] [*jmj-r3*] [*ḥnw.tj n nb t3.wj*] *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c-nhḥ m3^c-hrw* (2) [... ..] [*tpj n*] *pr ʿ3 ḥnh wd3 snb Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c-nhḥ m3^c-hrw*

[.....] [Chamber]lain of the Lord of Both Lands, Heqmare-neheh, justified.

[...], First[.....] of Pharaoh, LPH, Heqmare-neheh, justified.

Doorjamb of the central chapel (right)

(1) [... ..] *wb3 nswt n nb t3.wj Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c-nhḥ m3^c-hrw* (2) [... ..] [*jmj-r3*] [*ḥnw.tj n nb t3.wj*] *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c-nhḥ m3^c-hrw*

[.....] Royal Cupbearer (*wb3 nswt*) of the Lord of Both Lands, Heqmare-neheh, justified.

[.....]. [Chamber]lain of the Lord of Both Lands, Heqmare-neheh¹⁰⁷⁶, justified.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Translation is after Kitchen, 2014, 220-221.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Kitchen mistakenly translated it as Heqamare-nakht.

In front of the kneeling figures (from right to left)

(1) [... ...] [jmj-r3] ḥnw.tj¹ n nb t3.wj Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ (2) [... ...] ḥnw wd3 snb Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ<-ḥrw> (3) [... ...] [tpj n] ḥm¹=f Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ<-ḥrw>
[..... Chamber]lain of the Lord of Both Lands, Heqmare-neheh.
[..... of Pharaoh], LPH, Heqmare-neheh, justī<-fied>.
[.....] of His Majesty, Heqmare-neheh, justī<-fied>.

Northern wall of the southern chapel

Behind a sem-priest standing in front of a couple

[... ...] [tpj n] ḥm=f Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ-ḥrw
[.....], First[.....] of His Majesty, Heqmare-neheh, justified.

Southern part of the western wall of the central chapel

[... ...] [jmj-r3] ḥnw.tj¹ n nb t3.wj Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ-ḥrw
[.....] Chamberlain of the Lord of Both Lands, Heqmare-neheh, justified.

Southern jamb of the doorway to the southern chapel

(1) [... ...] [tpj n] ḥm=f Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ-ḥrw (2) [... ...] [jmj-r3] ḥnw.tj¹ n nb t3.wj Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ-ḥrw
[..... Chamber]lain of the Lord of Both Lands, Heqmare-neheh, justified. [.....
of] His Majesty, Heqmare-neheh, justified.

Northern jamb of the doorway to the southern chapel

(1) [... ...] [tpj¹ n pr ʕ3 ḥnw wd3 snb Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ-ḥrw (2) [... ...] [jmj-r3] ḥnw.tj¹ n nb t3.wj Hq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ-nḥḥ m3ᶜ-ḥrw
[..... of] Pharaoh, LPH, Heqmare-neheh, justified.
[..... Chamber]lain of the Lord of Both Lands, Heqmare-neheh, justified.

Column fragment

In front of the figure

Ḥq3-m3ᶜ.t-Rᶜ¹-nḥḥ
Heqmare-neheh.

Behind the figure

[... ...] [Pth-]Ḥkr-Ḥsjr¹ [... ...]

[.....] Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, [*great] god, [.....].

Inscribed blocks from the tomb chapel (it is not certain that all of them come from this tomb chapel)

A. [... ...] ¹*Ḡb(?) nb.t pr šmꜥjj.t n Jmn Stj-m-ms.t(?) m3ꜥ[-ḥrw]*

[..... ?before] Geb, O Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Sutekhy-emmesut, justifi<ed>.

B. [... ...] *Ḥq3-m3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ-nḥḥ m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

[.....] Heqmare-neheh, justified.

C. (1) *3bdw* [... ...] (2) *s3=f ḥrj-jḥw* [... ...] (3) *Pn-Shmt* [... ...]

Left edge: *ḥtp[-dj-nswt] Ḥw.t-Hr nb.t nh.t nb.t p.t* [...]

[.....] Abydos, [.....] his son, the Stablemaster [.....], Pen-Sekhmet [.....].

Left edge: An offering which the King gives, to Hathor, Lady of the <Southern?> Sycamore, Lady of heaven, [.....].

D. [... ...] ¹*r(?) ḥtp(?)=t m ḥw.t*

[...] your offerings(?) in the chapel¹⁰⁷⁷

E. Left: [... ...] *m(?) Jwnw*

Right: (1) ¹*Jtm(?) m ḥtp=f* [... ...] (2) [... ...] *fꜥnh wd3 snb n k3 n* [... ...] (3) [... ...] ¹*Wsjr ḥrj skt* [... ...] (4) [... ...] *Rꜥ n T3-jw* [... ...] (5) [... ...]

Left: [...] in(?) Heliopolis

Right: [...] Atum(?) when he retires [from life] [...] (so that) he [grants] l.p.h. to the ka of [...] [...] the Osiris, Commander of Assault Troops, [...] [...]re, of Taiu [...] ¹⁰⁷⁸

F: [... ...] *m3ꜥ-ḥrw m ḥtp*

[...] true of voice, in peace¹⁰⁷⁹

G¹⁰⁸⁰: (1) [... ...] ¹*ḥtp nb šps* (2) [... ...] ¹*jmj-wr.t* ¹*n ḥ3.t=k m3ꜥ* (3) [... ...] *Ḥq3-m3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ-nḥḥ m3ꜥ-ḥrw* (4) [... ...] ¹*pr.t n ḥr.t-ntr* (5) [... ...] *w.k n=k jw jb<=k> rnp.wt* 110

¹⁰⁷⁷ Translation is after Málek, 1985, 57.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Translation is after Málek, 1985, 57.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Translation is after Málek, 1985, 57.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Kitchen mistakenly signs it as Q.

[.....], all .. [...], noble, [..... in] the West, for your true corpse, [.....]
Heqma<re>-neheh, justified.

[.....] fully furnished (offerings) of the Necropolis [.....] your [.....] being for
you, – being a wish (for) 110 years.

H: (I) [... ..] *ḥnb*¹ [... ..] (2) [... ..] *k3 mn* [... ..] (3) *n Wsjr jmj-r3* (4) *ḥnw.tj* [... ..]
[.....] all/every [.....] provisions, abiding [...], for the Osiris, Chamberlain
[of the Lord of Both Lands, etc.]

I: *Hnt-m-nswt-bjtj m3ḥ-hrw*

Over: [... ..] *sb3 m3ḥ-hrw*

Henuti-em-nesubit, true of voice

Over: ...seba, true of voice¹⁰⁸¹

J: [... ..] *ḥm=f jrj[-rdwj?]* [... ..]

[...] His Majesty, Attendant(?) [...]¹⁰⁸²

K: (I) [... ..] *m ḥḥ f nfr m* (2) [... ..] *r ḥpr.t ḥtp=f m ḥnh jn* (3) [... ..] *m-sb3 m3ḥ-hrw dd*
[...] when he appears beautifully in [...] until he retires from life by [...] emseba, true of
voice. [He] says: [...]¹⁰⁸³

L: [... ..] *psd.t* [... ..]

[...]the Ennead [...]¹⁰⁸⁴

'21': (I) [... ..] *k Skr m ḥḥ=f* [...] (2) [... ..] *ntḥ.t W3d.t Ḥq3-m3ḥ.t-Rḥ-nḥh* [... ..]

[.....] may you [follow?/see?] Sokar at [his] appearing, [..... on the night?] (of)
Neteryt, O Heqmare-neheh [...]!

Pillar fragments

[... ..] *nswt ḥr wnmj n* [... ..]

[... ..] of the king on the right [... ..]¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁸¹ Translation is after Málek, 1985, 59.

¹⁰⁸² Translation is after Málek, 1985, 59.

¹⁰⁸³ Translation is after Málek, 1985, 59.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Translation is after Málek, 1985, 59.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Translation of the author.

[... ...] *jmj-r3 pr ḥd* [...]

[... ...] overseer of the treasury [... ...]¹⁰⁸⁶

Text edition:

Málek, J. "The Tomb-chapel of Hekamaetre-neheh at Northern Saqqara." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 12, 1985, 43-60.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, 327-329.

Translation:

Málek, J. "The Tomb-chapel of Hekamaetre-neheh at Northern Saqqara." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 12, 1985, 43-60.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 220-221.

Publication:

Porter, B. – Moss, R. L. B. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: *Memphis. Part 2: Saqqara to Dahsûr*. Griffith Institut, Oxford, 1981, 558.

Málek, J. "The Tomb-chapel of Hekamaetre-neheh at Northern Saqqara." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 12, 1985, 43-60.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 233-234.

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Giddy, L. L. *The Anubieion at Saqqâra II. The Cemeteries*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1992, 5.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Málek, J. "New Kingdom Personnel in Teti Pyramid Cemeteries III: A Preliminary List." *New Kingdom Memphis Newsletter* 2, 1989, 7.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Translation of the author.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramesses's son. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 16.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 61.

Staring, N. *Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis from the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to the New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space*. Doctoral dissertation. Macquarie University, Sydney, 2015, 563.

Staring, N. "Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis." In Bárta, M. – Coppens, F. – Krejčí, J. (eds.): *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*. Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 2017, 604, Table 4.

[83] Nefersunu

Ramesses IV – Ramesses V(?)

[83.1] Ostrakon, Berlin, P 12286

(1) [jmj-r3] ṛnjw.t¹ Btj Nfr-rnpt [...] (2) [...] wdpw nswt Nfr-swnw wdpw nswt (3) P3-R^c-nht ḥm ntr tpj n Jmn (4) [R^c-]ms-sw-nht r w3ḥ mw (5) [...] n3 nsw<.w>t [... ...] ḥr dd n3 ṛḥwtjw¹ (?) (6) [... ...] mnš(?) n nswt ṛR^c (7) [... ...] R^c-ms-sw [mrj-Jmn?] (8) [... ...] jnj=j(?)

(1) The mayor of the city, the vizier, Neferrenpet [...] (2) [...] the royal wdpw, Nefersunu, the royal wdpw, (3) Parenakht, the high priest of Amun, (4) Ramessesnakht, to perform water libation (5) [...] the kings [...] say the superior(?) (6) [...] the cartouche(?) of the king (7) [... ...] Ra Ramesses [Meriamun(?)] (8) [... ...] that I brought(?).

Text edition:

Roberson, J. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IX. Abercromby Press, Wallasey, 2018, 131.

[84] Parenakht

Ramesses IV – Ramesses V

[84.1] Ostrakon, Berlin, P 12286

See above by Nefersunu on p. 573.

[84.2] Pap. Turin 2002

See above by Amenkhau on p. 545.

[84.3] Stele, Toronto, 910.35.5

Above the god

(1) [*Pth n*] *t3 s.t* (2) *nfr.w ntr 3 htp hr m3^c.t*

(1) Ptah of the place (2) of the beauties, the great god, who is pleased with the truth.

Above the man

(3) [*n*] *ṛk3¹ n sš nswt wdpw nswt* (4) *ṛP3¹-R^c-nh^t* (5) [...] ???

[To] the ka of the royal scribe, the royal *wdpw*, Parenakht [...] ???

Publication:

<https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/189157/fragment-of-a-stela-with-offering-to-the-god-ptah?ctx=47722fb1-6fd6-49af-8376-6399725e8897&idx=0>

Other literature:

Reeves, C. N. "Excavations in the Valley of the Kings, 1905/6: a Photographic Record."

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 40, 1984, 234, pl. 34c.

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 283-284.

General literature about the owner:

Eyre, C. J. "A 'strike' text from the Theban necropolis." In Ruffle, J. – Gaballa, G. A. –

Kitchen, K. A. (eds.): *Glimpses of ancient Egypt. Studies in honour of H. W. Fairman*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1979, 81.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Málek, J. "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74, 1988, 135, n. 42, 43.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 16.

Peden, A. J. *The reign of Ramesses IV*. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1994b, 59.

[85] Nebmaatreper-?

Ramesses V / Ramesses VI / Ramesses VII

[85.1] Ostrakon BTdK 659

Recto

(1) *rnp.t-sp 1 3bd 2 3h.t sw 22 hrw pn* (2) *ts jn wdpw nswt Nb-m3^c.t-R^c-pr-?* (3) *wdpw nswt K3r r ptr p3 ʿshnw¹*

Year 1, 2nd month of akhet, day 22. On this day the royal *wdpw* Nebmaatreper-? and the royal *wdpw* Kar went up to see the task.

Verso

(1) *jw=tw w3h mw n nswt-bjtj*

Performing water libation for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Text edition:

Dorn, A. *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige. Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 23. Schwabe, Basel, 2011, 410-411, pls. 529-534.

Roberson, J. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. IX. Abercromby Press, Wallasey, 2018, 142.

Translation, publication:

Dorn, A. *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige. Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 23. Schwabe, Basel, 2011, 410-411, pls. 529-534.

[86] Kar

Ramesses V / Ramesses VI / Ramesses VII

[86.1] Ostrakon, BTdK 659

See below by Nebmaatreper-? on p. 575.

[87] Qedren

Ramesses VI

[87.1] Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale 237¹⁰⁸⁷

(1) *rnp.t-sp 2 3bd 2 3h.t sw 14 hrw n pn* ¹*jn.t*¹ (2) *m-dr:t jnj-mw P3-^cn bd.t* (3) *h3r 20 jw=f hr dj.t.w hr p3 d3w.t* (4) *n Hw.t-hr m w^c hq3.t n z nb jw h3r 8 1/2* (5) *m-dj p3 4 hwtjw m spd n* (6) ¹⁰⁸⁸*3bd 2 3h.t d3.t=j m h3r 3 3/4 mh h3r 5 1/2* (7) *djj.t n=n r-dr=f n 3bd 2 3h.t h3r 3/4* (8) *d3.t=w h3r 3 3/4 rnp.t-sp 3 3bd 1 3h.t sw 18* (9) *hrw n pn jw n3 sš.w qdw.t n3 Bj.w* (10) *bsn.t hr mtn n3 mnš.w ntj* (11) [...] ¹*t3¹ šnw.t p3 htm hr rn* (12) [...] ¹*nsw¹ Nb-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn* (13) ¹*hn^c* [...] (14) *H^c-m-hdt s3 sš H3r-¹šrj¹* (15) *jw p3 hm ntr tpj n Jmn hr spr* (16) *r njw.t hn^c wdpw nswt Qd-rn* (17) *jmj-r3 pr hđ Mntw-m-t3.wj* [...] *jw p3* (18) *ntr hr h^cjj jw=f hr h3^c* (19) *phtw 3 r n3 wr.w r-dr=w* (20) *r-mjtt-n n3 dd.w t3 rht*

Year 3, 2nd Akhet 14: on this day, brought by the water-carrier Pei'an: emmer, 20 sacks. He placed them in the portico(?) of Hathor, as one measure(?) for every man, there being 8 1/2(?) sack(s) with the four captains, as grain-rations for 2nd Akhet.

Was delivered(?)/My deficit(?), namely 3 3/4(?) sacks, to(?) complete 5 1/2 sacks, all given to us for 2nd Akhet, 3/4 (sack) – ; (?)their deficit, 3 3/4 sacks.

Year 3, 2nd (or 1st?) Akhet 18: on this day, the draftsmen and the sculptors engraved the cartouches which [are] upon(?) the granary of the guard-post, in the [mighty] name of King **Nebmare Meriamun**, <L.P.H.>, along with[.... , the Scribe?]), Khaemhedjet, son of the Scribe Harshire.

The High Priest of Amun arrived in the City (of Thebes), along with the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Qedren, and the Treasury-Chief Montuemtawy.

The god appeared, and he rejected three approaches(?)/accusations(?) (“attacks”) about all these officials, in accordance with(?) the words of the list.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 339-340.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 269-270.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The second *n* must have been a scribal error, writing an extra *n* also occurs elsewhere in the text, for instance in (1) *hrw n pn*, which is obviously grammatically incorrect.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh.*

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 447-448.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations.* Vol. VI.

Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 269-270.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

Second half of the 20th dynasty – from Ramesses IX to Ramesses XI

[88] Ramessesnefer[...]

Ramesses IX

[88.1] Ostrakon, Cairo, CG 25247¹⁰⁸⁹

Recto

(1) *rnpt-sp* 4 3bd 2 šmw sw 23 hrw pn (2) grḥ m sš n bnš.w n p3 r3 ʿ b3k (3) hʿj hr [...]ʿfʿ???
jn *wdpw nswt* R^c-ms-sw-nfr[...] (4) snw:t h[...] m pr Jmn? jw=tw hr ??? [...] *rnpt-sp* 4 3bd 2
šmw sw 24 (5) jw=tw hr jnj ʿš h.t tk ʿ4¹ m r t3 ʿjn.t¹ [...] [...] (6) ḥsbd nfrw 93 ḥsbd n sš dbn
2 w3d¹w 2 [...] (7) dbn 73 ʿjw=tw¹ [...] [...] (8) ʿrnpt-sp¹ [...] [...] (9) [...] 80 [...] [...] jnj [...] (10)
[...] [...] jr:n [...] [...] (11) [...] 15

(1) Year 4, 2 Shomu 23: On this day, (2) finishing with the decorating of the thresholds
of the work-in-progress. (3) Coming down concerning, by the Royal Cupbearer
(*wdpw nswt*) Ramesses-nefer- [...], (4) (on?) the 6-day feast(?), in the Temple of [deity?]
One did

Year 4, 2 Shomu 24: (5) There was brought firwood, 4 ...(*tjek*)s, from the mouth(s) of the
Valley [.....]. (6) Lapis-lazuli, top quality, 93 (or; 61). Lapis for decorating: 2 deben.
Green pigment, 2 (or: *excellent?*), (7) 73 deben. One [does x.....]. (8) Ye[ar?]
(9) ?[.....] 80 [.....] brought? [.....] making (10) [.....]
.....], 15.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VII. B. H. Blackwell,
Oxford, 1989, 334-335.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.
Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 475-476.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VII.
Addenda. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2014, 224-225.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2014, 224-225.

Publication:

Davies, B. G. – Dembitz, G. – Hsu, S.-W. – Navratilova, H. *Ramesseid Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. VII. *Addenda*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2022, 241-243.

Other literature:

Gutgesell, M. *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*. Teil I: Die 20. Dynastie. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 18-19. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1983, 293.

[89] Nesamun

Ramesses IX

[89.1] Pap. Turin 1881¹⁰⁹⁰

Recto

...

(2,7) *rnp.t-sp 7 3bd 4 3h.t sw 124¹ hrw n šsp m-dr:t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn (2,8) dhr 20*

...

(5,4) *rnp.t-sp 8 3bd 3 3h.t sw 29 hr hm nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj Nfr-k3-R^c stp.n-R^c nh wd3 snb (5,5) m hrw n pn šsp m-dr:t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn n p3 šš pr-3 (5,6) šš n tm3 Hrx šš Mr-Šhmt šš Sdtj n Btj (5,7) kršt 500 (5,8) q.w 500 (5,9) psn htp-ntr 350 (5,10) drwj dbn 50 100*

...

(7,1) *rnp.t-sp 8 3bd 4 3h.t sw 3 hrw n pn šsp m-šr:t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn n p3 šš pr-3 (7,2) t nfr psn htp-ntr 400 wp-st wnmj 200 smhj 200 (7,3) rnp.t-sp 8 3bd 4 3h.t sw 5 m-dr:t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn hmtj dbn 20 hmtj dbn 70*

...

(2:7) Year 7, 4 Akhet 24 or: 21?): Day of receipt from the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, (2:8) 20 small leather (hides).

...

(5:4) Year 8, 3rd Akhet 29: under the Majesty of the King of S. & N. Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, Nefer[ka]re Setepenre, (L.P.H.). (5:5) On this day, {of} receiving from the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Pharaoh's Scribe; (and from) (5:6) the Scribe of the Mat, Hori, the Scribe Mersekhmet, and the Vizier's Scribe, Sedty: (5:7) Small ky<lle>stis-

¹⁰⁹⁰ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 443-446.

loaves, 500. (5:8) Assorted loaves(?) 500. (5:9) *Pe(sen)*-bread of the sacred offerings, 350. (5:10) Pigments, 50 deben; (space) 100.

...

(7:1) Year 8, 4th Akhet 3: This day, {of} receiving from the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Nesamun, Pharaoh's Scribe: (7:2) Good bread, *pe(sen?)*-loaves of sacred offerings, 400 (loaves). Their Details: Right (Side), 200. Left (Side), 200.

(7:3) Year 8, 4th Akhet 5: from the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun: Copper, 20 deben total copper, (now) 70 deben.

Text edition:

Pleyte, W. – Rossi, F. *Papyrus de Turin*. Brill, Leiden, 1869-1876, pls. 6-9.

Peet, T. E. "The Egyptian Word for 'Money', 'Buy', and 'Sell'." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1932, 121-127.

Allam, S. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Schafik Allam, Tübingen, 1973, 313-317, pls. 108-110.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 609-619.

Translation:

Peet, T. E. "The Egyptian Word for 'Money', 'Buy', and 'Sell'." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1932, 121-127.

Allam, S. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Schafik Allam, Tübingen, 1973, 313-317, pls. 108-110.

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 484, 489-490.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 443-446.

Other literature:

Peet, T. E. "The Egyptian Word for 'Money', 'Buy', and 'Sell'." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1932, 121-127.

Allam, S. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Schafik Allam, Tübingen, 1973, 313-317, pls. 108-110.

[89.2] Rewarding scene of Amenhotep, Karnak¹⁰⁹¹

Main text over Amenhotep

(1) *rn̄p.t-sp 10 3bd 3 3h̄.t sw 19 m pr Jmn-R^c nsw̄.t n̄tr.w s̄ḅ ḥm n̄tr tp̄j n Jmn-R^c nsw̄t n̄tr.w Jmn-ḥtp m̄3^c-ḥrw ḥr p̄3 wb̄3 ʕ̄3 n* (2) *Jmn ḏd n=f ḥrtw ḥs.wt=f r sw̄h.f m mdw.wt n̄fr.wt stp.wt sr.w w̄d.tw r ḥs.tw.f jm̄j-r̄3 pr ḥd n pr-ʕ̄3* (3) *wb̄3 nsw̄t Jmn-ḥtp m̄3^c-ḥrw wb̄3 nsw̄t Ns-Jmn p̄3 s̄ḅ n pr-ʕ̄3 wb̄3 nsw̄t N̄fr-k̄3-R^c-m-pr-Jmn* (4) *p̄3 wh̄mw n pr-ʕ̄3 ḏd.tw n=f m ḥsw̄ ʿsw̄h¹ m hrw pn ḥr p̄3 wb̄3 ʕ̄3 n* (5) *Jmn-R^c nsw̄ n̄tr.w m ḏd*

...

(15) *ptr dj̄dj m-ḥr n p̄3j jm̄j-r̄3 pr ḥd p̄3j wb̄3 nsw̄t 2 n pr-ʕ̄3* (16) *ʿr ḥs.k¹ r sw̄h n=k r sḡnn.k m b̄3q nd̄m r ʿdj̄.t n=k¹ p̄3j ʕ̄3* (17) *nbw ḥd m-ʕ̄ n p̄3 b̄3k ʿj̄.dj n=k¹ pr-ʕ̄3 p̄3j=k nb ʿrdj̄.n.w n=f¹ m ʿḥsw̄.t¹ m ʿfq̄3 ḥr¹ p̄3 wb̄3 ʕ̄3 n Jmn m hrw pn jw=tw ʿrdj̄.t jr.tw¹ m ḥsw̄.t r-t̄nw r̄np̄.t nb*

(1) Year 10, 3rd Akhet, Day 19, in the House of Amen-Re, King of the gods. The High Priest of Amen-Re, King of the gods, Amenhotep, justified, was ushered into the great open court of (2) Amun. There was spoken to him a paean ('word') of his praises, to extol him with fine and choice words.

The notables who were sent to favour him (were): the Treasury-Chief of Pharaoh, (3) and Royal Cupbearer (*wb̄3 nsw̄t*), Amenhotep, justified; the Royal Cupbearer (*wb̄3 nsw̄t*), Nesamun; the Scribe of Pharaoh, and Royal Cupbearer (*wb̄3 nsw̄t*), Neferkare-em-per-Amun; (4) (and) the herald of Pharaoh.

What was said to him by (way of) praise and on this day, on the great esplanade of (5) Amen-Re,

King of the gods, namely ("in saying"):

"...

(15) See now, what has been laid upon this Treasury-Chief and these two cupbearers (*wb̄3 nsw̄t*) of Pharaoh, (16) [in order to] honour you, to exalt you, and to anoint you with sweet moringa-oil, to present to you the washbasins (17) of gold, and silver as custom[ary gift]s for the servant, which Pharaoh your Lord gives to you."

As favour and reward, (they) gave them to him [on] the great esplanade of Amun, on this day.

One caused that it should be enacted as an honour every year.

¹⁰⁹¹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 350-353.

Text edition:

de Rougé, J. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé III. Études Égyptologiques* 11. F. Vieweg, Paris, 1878, pl. 201.

Brugsch H. *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*. Band 6. *Bautexte und Inschriften verschiedenen Inhaltes altaegyptischer Denkmäler*. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1891b, 1318-1319.

Helck, W. "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters *Imn-ḥtp*." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 4, 1956, 164-166.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 455-458.

Translation:

Helck, W. "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters *Imn-ḥtp*." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 4, 1956, 164-166.

Frood, E. *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*. *Writings from the Ancient World* 26. Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2007, 70-71.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 350-353.

Publication:

Helck, W. "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters *Imn-ḥtp*." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 4, 1956, 164-166.

[89.3] Pap. BM 10054¹⁰⁹²

Verso

(1,1) *rnp.t-sp 16 3bd 3 3ḥ.t sw 14 p3 smtr n3 jḃ.w j.gm.t jḃ.w (1,2) n3 ḥḥjj [n] ḥjmnt.t¹ njw.t jr p3jj=w smtr jn ḥjmj-r3 njw.t¹ Ḥḥ-m-W3s.t wdpw nswt (1,3) Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-ḥ3 ḥnh wḏ3 snb wdpw nswt Nfr-k3-Rḥ-m-pr-Jmn p3 ḥmwm n pr-ḥ3 ḥnh wḏ3 snb ḥ3tj-ḥ P3-sr [n] njw.t*

(1:1) Year 16, 3rd Akhet 14: on the examination of the thieves who were found to have robbed (1:2) the tombs [of] the West of the City (Thebes). Their examination was made by: the City-governor and Vizier, Khaemwaset, the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), (1:3) Nesyamun, Scribe of Pharaoh; the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nefer<ka>re-em-per-Amun, Herald of Pharaoh; the Mayor of the City (of Thebes), Paser.

¹⁰⁹² Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 370-374.

Text edition:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. II: *Plates*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930b, pls. 6-8.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 489-497.

Translation:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: *Text*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 52-71.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 370-374.

Publication:

Peet, T. E. "Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes: Some New Papyri in London and Turin." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11, 1925, 45-47.

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: *Text*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 52-71.

[89.4] Pap. Abbott (Pap. BM 10221)¹⁰⁹³

(1,1) [rnp.t-sp 16] 3bd 3 3h.t sw 18¹ hr hm nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj Nfr-k3-R^c stp.n-R^c n^h w^d3 snb s3 R^c nb h^c.w (1,2) [R^c-ms-sw h^c-m-W3s.t] mrr-Jmn n^h w^d3 snb mrj [Jmn-]R^c nswt ntr:w R^c-Hr-3htj dj n^h d.t n^hh

(1,3) [hrw pn h3b.tw n3] 1rwd.w¹ n p3 hr ³šps¹ p3 sš n Btj p3 sš n p3 jmj-r3 pr h^d n pr-³ n^h w^d3 snb (1,4) [n sjp n3] 1js.w¹ [n n3] nswt.w 1tpj.w-^c1 hn^c n3 m^ch^c.wt s.wt n htp n n3 hsjj.w (1,5) [n hrw sw3.w ntj hr] jmnt.t njw.t jn jmj-r3 1njw.t¹ Btj H^c-m-W3s.t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n (1,6) [pr-³ n^h w^d3 snb ³] n pr n pr 1dw3.t-¹ntr n^h-tj n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr:w 1wdpw nswt Nfr-k3-R^c-m-pr-Jmn p3 whmw n pr-³ n^h w^d3 snb (1,7) [j.th3 n3] jB.w [n] jmnt.t njw.t j.dd h3tj-^c hrj-md3jw P3-wr-³ n p3 hr ³šps (1,8) [n h^h n rnp.wt n] pr-³ n^h w^d3 [snb hr] jmnt.t W3s.t 1smj¹ m=w n Btj n3 wr.w n3 wdpw.w n pr-³ n^h w^d3 snb

...

(2,1) n3 mr.w js.wm^ch^c.wt sjp m hrw pn jn n3 rwd.w

...

(2,4) j.dd h3tj-^c P3-sr n njw.t smj m=f n jmj-r3 njw.t Btj H^c-m-W3s.t (2,5) wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-³ n^h w^d3 snb ³ n pr n pr dw3.t-ntr n^h-tj n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr:w (2,6) wdpw nswt

¹⁰⁹³ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 361-367.

Nfr-k3-R^c-m-pr-Jmn p3 wḥmw n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb n3 wr.w ^{c3}.w r-dd th (2,7) sw jḏ.w sjp m hrw pn sw gmjj wḏ3 jn n3 rwd.w

...

(3,5) jr ḏtj (3,6) n3 wr.w wdpw.w smtr r=f gm p3 šhr n 3w ḏr.t r-r=w j.jr.w (3,7) n3 jḏ.w r p3jj nswt ḥn^c t3jj=f ḥm.t nswt

...

*(4,1) n3 m^cḥ^c.wt js.w ntj n3 ḥsji.w ḏrtjw ḥnh.w n.w njw.t rmt n p3 ḏ ḥtp jm=sn (4,2) ḥr t3 jmnt.t njw.t gm jw th st jḏ.w r-ḏr.w ... (4,5) ḏḏ ḥ3tj-^c ḥrj-md3jw P3-wr-^{c3} n p3 ḥr ^{c3} šps ḥn^c ḥrj.w-md3jw md3jw (4,6) rwd.w n p3 ḥr p3 sš n ḏtj p3 sš n p3 jmj-r3 pr ḥḏ wn jrm=w smj m=w n (4,7) jmj-r3 njw.t ḏtj H^c-m-W3s.t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb ^{c3} n pr n pr ḏw3.t-nt^r ḥnh-tj n (4,8) Jmn-R^c nswt nt^r.w wdpw nswt *Nfr-k3-R^c-m-pr-Jmn p3 wḥmw n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb n3 wr.w ^{c3}.w (4,9) dj ḥ3tj-^c n jmnt.t ḥrj-md3jw P3-wr-^{c3} n p3 ḥr p3 rn rn n n3 jḏ.w m sš3 (4,10) m-b3ḥ ḏtj n3 wr.w wdpw.w mḥ m=w st ḏḏḥ jr smtr.w ḏḏ.w p3 ḥpr**

(4,11) rnp.t-sp 16 3bd 3 3ḥ.t sw 19 hrw n šm r sjp n3 s.wt ^{c3}.wt n n3 msw.w nswt ḥm.wt nswt (4,12) mw.wt snwt ntj m t3 s.t nfr.w jn jmj-r3 njw.t ḏtj H^c-m-W3s.t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb (4,13) m-ḥt ḏḏ n=sn ḥmtj P3-ḥrj s3 Ḥrj mw.t=f Mj.t-šrj n jmnt.t njw.t ... (4,16) r-dd wn.j m p3 ḥr n ḥm.t nswt Js.t ḥnh-tj n nswt Wsr-m^{c3}.t-R^c mrj-Jmn ḥnh wḏ3 snb jn.j nhj (4,17) n ḥ.wt jm jr.j ḥ3w.wḥr jr ḏtj p3 wdpw dj.t jḏ p3 ḥmtj r-ḥ3t.w r (5,1) n3 s.wt jw=f ḥfnw m rmt s3w ḏrj jw=tw dj.t n=f jr.t=f m-ḏr ph.f st jw n3 wr.w (5,2) ḏḏ n=f j.šm r-ḥ3t=n r p3 ḥr j.ḏḏ.k jn.j n3 ḥ.wt jm=f ... (5,5) dj n3 wr.w jrj.tw smtr p3jj ḥmtj m smtr ḏrj sp-sn m-ḥnw t3 jn.t ^{c3}.t bwpw (5,6) gm.f jw rh.f s.t nb jm wpw t3 s.t 2 j.w3ḥ.f ḏr.t ḥr r-r=w

...

(5,8) sjp n3 wr.w n3 ḥtm.w n3 s.wt ^{c3}.wt ntj m t3 s.t-(5,9)nfr.w ntj n3 ms.w nswt ḥm.wt nswt mw.wt nswt jt.w mw.wt nfr.w n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb ḥtp m ḥnw=sn (5,10) st gm wḏ3 dj n3 wr.w ^{c3}.w phr n3 rwd.w ḥwtjw rmt js.t n p3 ḥr ḥrj.w-(5,11)md3jw md3jw smd.t nb(.t) n p3 ḥr t3 jmnt.t njw.t m wpw.t ^{c3}.t r-š3^c njw.t

(5,12) rnp.t-sp 16 3bd 3 3ḥ.t sw 19 hrw pn ḥr tr n rwh3 r-gs pr Pth nb W3s.t jj jn wdpw nswt (5,13) Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb ḥ3tj-^c P3-sr n njw.t gm.n.w ^{c3} n js.t Wsr-ḥpš sš Jmn-nḥt (5,14) rmt js.t Jmn-ḥtp n p3 ḥr ḏḏ p3jj ḥ3tj-^c n njw.t n n3 rmt n p3 ḥr m-b3ḥ p3 wdpw n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb (5,15) r-dd jr t3jj wpw.t j.jr.tn m p3 hrw bn wpw.t jwn3 p3jj=tn jhj p3jj (5,16) jr.tn j.n=f ḏḏ n=w jr.f ḥnh n nb ḥnh wḏ3 snb m-b3ḥ p3 wdpw n pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb r-dd ḏḏ n=j sš Ḥrj-šrj s3 Jmn-nḥt (5,17) n p3 ḥr n ḥnw ḥnr sš P3-(n-)bs n p3 ḥr 5 wšbjj.wt-n-mdw.t ^{c3}.wt ^{c3}.wt n mt r-r=tn (5,18) ḥr jw=j ḥ3b ḥr-ḥr=w m-b3ḥ pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb p3jj=j nb ḥnh wḏ3 snb r rdj.t wḏ.tw rmt pr-^{c3} ḥnh wḏ3 snb r jr ḥ3w=tn r-ḏr=w j.n=f

(5,19) rnp.t-sp 16 3bd 3 3ḥ.t sw 20 mjt.t n t3 š^c.t j.dj ḥ3tj-^c n jmnt.t njw.t ḥrj-md3jw P3-wr-^{c3}

*n p3 hr m-b3h Btj (5,20) hr n3 mdw.wt j.dd h3tj-^c P3-sr n njw.t n n3 rmt p3 hr m-b3h p3 wdpw
 n pr-^{c3} n^h wd3 snb sš P3-ndm n p3 jmj-r3 pr h^d
 (5,21) dd.t.n h3tj-^c P3-wr-^{c3} n jmnt.t njw.t r-ntj gm.j wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-^{c3} n^h wd3
 snb jw h3tj-^c P3-sr n (5,22) njw.t jrm=fjw=f^ch^c hr tttt jrm n3 rmt n p3 hr r-gs pr Pth nb W3s.t
 ... (6,24) jw=j dj.t.w m s^c.t m-b3h p3jj=j nb r rdj.t jn.tw ph.w hr r-^c dw3
 (7,1) rnp.t-sp 16 3bd 3 3h.t sw 21 hrw pn m t3 qnb.t ^{c3}.t n njw.t r-gs p3 wd 2 n hr(.t) mht p3
 wb3 n Jmn m p3 sb3 n Dw3-(7,2) rhjj.t wr.w wn hms m t3 qnb.t ^{c3}.t n njw.t m hrw pn (7,3) jmj-
 r3 njw.t Btj H^c-m-W3s.t hm ntj tpj n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr.w Jmn-htp hm ntr n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr.w
 sm Ns-Jmn n t3 hw.t n.t h^h n rnp.wt (7,4) n nswt-bjtj Nfr-k3-R^c n^h wd3 snb wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn
 p3 sš n pr-^{c3} n^h wd3 snb ^{c3} n pr n pr dw3.t-ntr n^h-tj n Jmn-R^c nswt ntr.w (7,5) wdpw nswt
 Nfr-k3-R^c-m-pr-Jmn p3 whmw n pr-^{c3} n^h wd3 snb jdnw H^rj n nt-htr Bj-srjtt H^ri n (7,6) n3
 hnjj.wt h3tj-^c P3-sr n njw.t h^c.n dj jmj-r3 njw.t H^c-m-W3s.t jn.tw hmtj P3-hrj s3 H^rj (7,7) hmtj
 Trj s3 H^c-m-jp.t hmtj P3-k3mn s3 Trj n t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn n^h wd3 snb r-ht p3 hm
 ntr tpj n Jmn
 (7,8) dd.jn Btj n n3 wr.w ^{c3}.w n n3 qnb.t ^{c3}.t n njw.t dd p3jj h3tj-^c n njw.t nhj n mdw.wt n n3
 (7,9) rwd.w rmt.js.t n p3 hr m rnp.t-sp 16 3bd 3 3h.t sw 19 m-b3h wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n
 pr-^{c3} n^h wd3 snb (7,10) jw j.jr.f wd.t-r3=f^r n3 s.wt ^{c3}.wt ntj m t3 s.t nfr.w hr jw wn.j jm m p3
 Btj n p3 t3¹ (7,11) jrm wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-^{c3} n^h wd3 snb sjp.n n3 s.wt j.dd.¹ p3
 h3tj-^c n njw.t ph st n3 hmtj.w (7,12) n t3 hw.t Wrs-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn n^h wd3 snb m pr Jmn
 gm.n st wd3 gm ^cd3 m p3 dd.f nb hr ptr (7,13) n3 hmtj.w h^c m-b3h=tn jmj dd.w p3 hpr nb
 ...*

(1:1) [Year 16], 3rd Akhet 1[8], under the Majesty of the King of S. & N. Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, **Neferkare Setepenre**, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, (1:2) [**Ramesses IX**, **Khaemjaset I**, **Merer-amun**, (LPH), the beloved of Amen-Re, King of the gods, and Re-Harakhti; given life forever, and eternally.

(1:3) [On this day were sent the] administrators of the Great and August Tomb; the scribe of the Vizier; (and) the scribe of the Chief of the Treasury of Pharaoh, (L.P.H.), (1:4) [to inspect the] tombs of the an[cestral] Kings, along with the tombs and resting places of the blessed ones (1:5) [of days gone by, which are on] the West of the City (Thebes), by: The City governor and Vizier Khaemwaset; the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, the Scribe of (1:6) [Pharaoh, (LPH)]; [the High Steward] of the Estate of the Adoratress of the God (LPH), of Amen-Re, King of the gods, and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Neferkare-em-per-Amun, herald of Pharaoh (LPH), (1:7) [violated(?) by the] thieves [of] the West of the City (Thebes), whom Pawero, the Mayor and Chief of Medjay-police of the Great and August Tomb (1:8) [of Millions Years, of] Pharaoh, (L.P.H.), on the

West of Thebes, had reported to the Vizier, and (to) the notables and cupbearers (*wdpw*) of Pharaoh (L.P.H.).

...

(2:1) The pyramids, graves and tombs examined on this day by the administrators:

...

(2:4) concerning which the Mayor of the City (Thebes), Paser, had reported to the City-governor and Vizier Khaemwaset, (2:5) (to) the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh (L.P.H.); (to) the High Steward of the Estate of the Divine Adoratrix of Amen-Re, King of the gods, (and) (2:6) Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Neferkare-em-per-Amun, Herald of Pharaoh; (and to) the great notables, saying: "The thieves have (2:7) violated it". Examined on this day, it was found intact by these administrators.

...

(3:5) The Vizier, (3:6) the notables and the cupbearers (*wdpw*) investigated this ("it"); (and so) was discovered the way in which the thieves had laid hands on them, – on this king and his queen.

...

(4:1) The tombs and graves in which the blessed ones of old (= the ancestors), the citizenesses, and the men of the land repose (4:2) on the West of the City (Thebes): (It was) found that the thieves had violated all of them, ... (4:5) The Mayor and Chief of Medjay-police of the Great and August Tomb, Pawero, along with the (other) chiefs of Medjay-police, and Medjay-police and (4:6) administrators of the Tomb, (also) the Scribe of the Vizier and the Scribe of the Treasury-Chief who were with them, made report to: (4:7) the City-governor and Vizier, Khaemwaset, the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh, (L.P.H.), the High Steward of the Estate of the Divine Adoratrix of (4:8) Amen-Re, King of the gods, and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Neferkare-em-per-Amun, Herald of Pharaoh, (L.P.H.), and the great notables. (4:9) The Mayor of the West and Chief of Medjay-police of the Tomb, Pawero, placed the list of the thieves in writing (4:10) before the Vizier and the notables and the cupbearers (*wdpw*). They were seized and they were imprisoned; they were examined and they told what had happened.

(4:11) Year 16, 3rd Akhet 19. Day of going to inspect the Great Places of the royal children, the royal wives and (4:12) royal mothers which are in the Place of Beauty (Valley of the Queens), by: the City-governor and Vizier, Khaemwaset, and the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh, (L.P.H.), (4:13) after the coppersmith Peikhuru, – son of Kharuy, whose mother is Myetsheri, of the West of the City (Thebes), ... (4:16) had told them, saying: "I was in the tomb of Isis (L.P.H.), royal wife of King Usimare

Meriamun, (L.P.H.); I brought away a (4:17) few things from there, and I took (possession) of them.” Now, the Vizier and the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) had this coppersmith taken before them to (5:1) the tombs, being blindfolded as a closely-guarded prisoner (“man”); he was given his sight (“eye”) when he reached them. The notables (5:2) said to him, “Go before us to the tomb (of) which you said, ‘I brought away the gods from it’ . . . (5:5) The notables had this coppersmith examined by a most severe examination in the Great Valley, (but) it could not (5:6) be found that he knew (of) any place there except for the 2 places which he had pointed out.

...

(5:8) The notables examined the seals of the great tombs which are in the Place of (5:9) Beauty (Valley of the Queens), in which repose the royal children, the royal wives, and the royal mothers – the goodly ancestors, male and female, of Pharaoh, L.P.H.; (5:10) they were found intact. The high officials caused the administrators, captains and workmen of the Tomb, the Chiefs of (5:11) Medjay-police, the Medjay-police, and all the staff of the Tomb, to parade around the West of the City (Thebes) in a great celebration as far as the City (Thebes) (proper).

(5:12) Year 16, 3rd Akhet 19: on this day, at time of evening, beside the Temple of Ptah, Lord of Thebes, there came into the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), (5:13) Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh, the Mayor of the City (Thebes), Paser. They encountered (“found”) the Chief Workman Userkhopesh, the Scribe Amennakht, (5:14) and the tomb-workman Amenhotep. This Mayor of the City (Thebes) spoke to the men of the Tomb in the presence of the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) of Pharaoh, (5:15) saying: “As for this celebration that you have made today, this that you made was no celebration at all, (5:16) (but merely) your sneering jubilation!” – So said he to them. He made an Oath of the Lord before this Cupbearer (*wdpw*) of Pharaoh, saying: “Harshire, son of Amennakht, Scribe of (5:17) the Tomb of restricted access, and the Tomb-Scribe Paibes have told me (of) 5 very serious capital charges against you; (5:18) and I am sending (word) about them to Pharaoh (LPH) my lord (LPH), so that Pharaoh’s men may be sent out to deal with all of you” – so said he.

(5:19) Year 16, 3rd Akhet 20: Copy of the letter which Pawero, Mayor of the West of the City, and Chief of Medjay-police of the Tomb, placed before the Vizier, (5:20) concerning the words that Paser Mayor of the City (Thebes) spoke to the men of the Tomb in the presence of the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) of Pharaoh (LPH), and Pinudjem, Scribe of the Treasury-Chief. (5:21) Deposition by Pawero, Mayor of the West of the City (Thebes), as follows: “I encountered the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh

(LPH) and Paser, Mayor of the (5:22) City, with him, standing quarrelling with the men of the Tomb near the Temple of Ptah, Lord of Thebes. ...

(6:24) I have set them (down) in a document before my lord, to have them investigated promptly ('in the course of the morrow')."

(7:1) Year 16, 3rd Akhet 21: on this day, in the great Lawcourt of the City (Thebes), (held) beside the 2 upper(?) stela, north of the esplanade of Amun, at the gateway of Dwa-(7:2) rekhyt ("(where) the people adore"). Notables who sat in the great lawcourt of the City (Thebes) on this day: (7:3) The City-governor and Vizier, Khaemwaset; the High Priest of Amen-Re, King of the gods, Amenhotep; the <2nd?> Prophet of Amen-Re, King of the gods, Nesamun, (also) Sem-priest of the Temple of Millions of Years (7:4) of the King of S. & N. Egypt, Neferkare Setepenre (LPH); the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh (L.P.H.); the Steward of the Estate of the Divine Adoratrix, (L.P.H.) of Amen-Re, King of the gods, (and) (7:5) Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Neferkare-em-per-Amun, Herald of Pharaoh; the Lieutenant of Chariotry, Hori; the Standard-bearer of the (7:6) marines, Hori; the Mayor of the City (Thebes), Paser.

Then the City-governor and Vizier Khaemwaset caused to be brought in the coppersmith Pakhuru, son of Kharuy; (7:7) the coppersmith Tjiroy, son of Khaemope; and the coppersmith Peikamen, son of Tjiroy, – (all) belonging to the Temple of Usimare Meriamun, under the the authority of the High Priest of Amun.

(7:8) Then said the Vizier to the high officials of the great lawcourt of the City (Thebes): "This Mayor of the City (Thebes) put certain charges to the (7:9) administrators and workmen of the Tomb in Year 16, 3rd Akhet 19, in the presence of the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh, it being about the great tombs in the Place of Beauty (Valley of the Queens) (7:10) that he spoke out about. Now when I was there as Vizier of the land (7:11) along with the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh, we examined the tomb-sites ("places") (of) which (it was) said by the Mayor of the City, (that) the coppersmiths (7:12) of the Temple of Usimare Meriamun (LPH) in the Estate of Amun had attacked them. We found them intact; all that he had said was found to be false ('falsehood was found in all that he said'). Now see, (7:13) the coppersmiths stand before you. Let them tell of all that happened."

...

Text edition:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. II: *Plates*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930b, pls. 1-4.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 468-481.

Translation:

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Publication:

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Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: Text. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 28-45.

Peden, A. J. *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Paul Åströms förlag, Jönsered, 1994a, 225-244.

Other literature:

Ventura, R. *Living in a City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographic and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 69. Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, Freiburg, 1986, 20, 173.

[89.5] Pap. Leopold II – Amherst (Brussels, E 6857)¹⁰⁹⁴

(1,1) *ṛnp.t-sp¹ 16 3bd 3 3h.t sw 23 hr hm nswt-bjtj nb t3.wj Nfr-k3-R^c stp.n-R^c ṛnh wd3 snb s3 R^c nb h^c.w mj Jmn (1,2) ṛR^c-msj-sw h^c-m-W3s.t mrr-Jmn ṛnh wd3 snb mrjj Jmn-R^c nswt ntr.w R^c-Hr-3htj dj ṛnh d.t nhh (1,3) p3 smtr n n3 rmt j.gmjj jw w3h.w js.w n n3 m^ch^c.wt n t3 jmnt.t nj.wt (1,4) ṛj.dd.w¹ h3tj-^c n jmnt.t njw.t ṛhrj-mḏ3jw¹ P3-wr-^c3 n p3 hr ^c3 šps n hh n rnp. wt n pr-^c3 ṛnh wd3 snb (1,5) ṛsš sp3.t¹ Wnn-nfr 3ḏw ṛJmn-nht¹ n jmnt.t njw.t smj.w jr:t p3jj=w smtr (1,6) ṛjn jmj-r3¹ njw.t Ḕtj ṛH^c-m-W3s.t wdpw nswt¹ Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-^c3 ṛnh wd3 snb ^c3*

¹⁰⁹⁴ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 367-370.

n pr n pr dw3.t-ntr ʿnh-tj n (1,7) ʿJmn-Rʿ nswt¹ ntr:w ʿwdpw nswt Nfr-k3-Rʿ-m-pr¹-Jmn p3 whmw n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb h3tj-ʿ P3-sr n njw.t m pr-ḥd n pr Mnṯw (1,8) ʿnb W3s.t¹

...

(3,17) *jmj-r3 njw.t Btj Hʿ-m-W3s.t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb Bw.tw n3 jB.w r-h3t=w (3,18) r t3 jmnt.t njw.t m rnp.t-sp 15 3bd 3 3h.t sw 19 w3h n3 jB.w dr.t hr p3jj mr n p3jj ntr j.w3h.w js.w jm=f (3,19) jr p3jj=w smtr p3jj=w š3w m sš3 h3b hr-hr=f m-b3h pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb jn Btj p3 wdpw p3 whmw p3 h3tj-ʿ n njw.t (4,1) rnp.t-sp 16 3bd 3 3h.t sw 22 hrw pn swd n3 jB.w wn.w m p3jj mr n p3 nswt n hm ntr tpj n Jmn-Rʿ nswt ntr:w Jmn-ḥtp m t3 qnb.t ʿ3.t (4,2) jn jmj-r3 njw.t Btj Hʿ-m-W3s.t wdpw nswt Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb ʿ3 n pr n pr dw3.t-ntr ʿnh-tj n Jmn-Rʿ nswt ntr:w wdpw nswt Nfr-k3-Rʿ-m-pr-Jmn (4,3) p3 whmw n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb h3tj-ʿ P3-sr n njw.t n3 wr:w ʿ3.w n t3 qnb.t ʿ3.t n njw.t*

(1:1) Year 16, 3rd Akhet 23, under the Majesty of: the King of S. & N. Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, **Neferkare Setepenre**, L.P.H.; Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, like Amun, (1:2) **Ramesses IX, Khaemwaset I, Mereramun**, L.P.H., beloved of Amen-Re, King of the gods, (and of) Re-Harakhti, and given life forever and eternally.

(1:3) The examination of the men who were found to have disturbed the burial chambers in the tombs of the West of the City (Thebes), accusation against whom (1:4) was made (‘spoken’) by Pawero, the Mayor of the West of the City (Thebes), and Chief of Medjay-police of the great and noble Tomb of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, L.P.H., (1:5) (by) the [District-Scribe] Wenennufer, and by Amen-Nakht, a District-Officer of the West of the City (Thebes). Examination of them was made (1:6) [by]: the City-governor and Vizier, Kha[emwaset]; the [Royal] Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh, L.P.H.; the Steward of the Estate of the Divine Adoratress of (1:7) [Amen-Re, King] of the gods, the Royal Cupbeare[r (*wdpw nswt*), Neferkare-em-p]er-amun, Herald of Pharaoh, L.P.H.; and the Mayor of the City (Thebes), Paser; – (held) in the Treasury of the Temple of Montu, (1:8) [Lord of Thebes].

...

(3:17) The City-governor and Vizier Khaemwaset, and the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh, L.P.H., had the thieves taken before them (3:18) to the West of the City (Thebes), in Year 16, 3rd Akhet 23. The thieves pointed out this god’s pyramid, which they had disturbed. (3:19) There was made (a record) in writing of their examination and their condemnation, and word was sent about it to Pharaoh, (L.P.)H., by the Vizier, the Cupbearer (*wdpw*), the Herald, and the Mayor of the City.

(4:1) Year 16, 3rd Akhet 23: day of handing over the thieves who had been in this pyramid of the king, to the High Priest of Amen-Re, King of the gods, Amenhotep, in the great

Lawcourt, (4:2) by the City-governor and Vizier, Khaemwaset, the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Nesamun, Scribe of Pharaoh (L.P.H.); (by) the Steward of the Divine Adoratrix of Amen-Re, King of the gods, and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Neferkare-em-per-Amun, (4:3) the Herald of Pharaoh, (L.P.)H.; (by) Paser, Mayor of the City (Thebes), and the high officials of the great Lawcourt of the City.

Text edition:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. II: *Plates*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930b, pls. 4-5.

Capart, J. – Gardiner, A. H. – van de Walle, B. “New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 22, 1936, 169-193.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 481-489.

Translation:

Breasted, J. H. *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents from the Earliest to the Persian Conquest, Collected, Edited and Translated with Commentary*. Vol. IV. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1906, 264-267.

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: *Text*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 45-51.

Capart, J. – Gardiner, A. H. – van de Walle, B. “New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 22, 1936, 169-193.

Peden, A. J. *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Paul Åströms förlag, Jönsered, 1994a, 245-257.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 367-370.

Publication:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: *Text*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 45-51.

Capart, J. – Gardiner, A. H. – van de Walle, B. “New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 22, 1936, 169-193.

Peden, A. J. *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Paul Åströms förlag, Jönsered, 1994a, 245-257.

Other literature:

Peet, T. E. "The Chronological Problems of the Twentieth Dynasty." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14, 1928, 66, 70.

[89.6] Necropolis journal for year 17¹⁰⁹⁵

Recto

(B8:2) *rnp.t-sp 17 3bd 3 pr.t sw 21 p3 šw n t3 js.t p3 hr* (B8:3) *tz r t3 ʿs.t¹ nfr.wt šps jn p3 ʿwdpw¹* (B8:4) *jmj-r3 njw.t ʿtj H^c-m-W3.s.t t3 js.t q3 hr hn^c* (B8:5) *n3jj=w hwtjw r sjp mw.t nswt hm.t nswt* (B8:6) *Js.t ʿnh wd3 snb jw=sn wn p3jj=s hr* (B8:7) *jw=sn gm p3 jnr n m3t jw* (B8:8) *jr.w p3 8 jβ(.w) wšwš.f m t3* (B8:9) *mnn.t jw jr.w=w 3qw ʿn¹ bjn* (B8:10) *m p3 ntj nb jm jw jr.w=w wšwš p3 ʿ3¹* (B8:11) *ʿwnmj jw¹ jr[... ...]* (B9:1) *ptr p3 wdpw jmj-r3 pr hđ n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb jw=f ʿh^c jw p3 wdpw dj.t* (B9:2) *jn ʿ3 n ʿjs.t¹ Nh-m-mw.t jw=f dd n=f j.dd mj p3 šhr mtj* (B9:3) *ʿn¹ p3 ʿhr¹ j.dd n=f bn ʿmtj¹ jwn3 p3 hrj sš qdw.t jw=f ʿm¹ p3 hr hr bn mtj* (B9:4) *jwn3 t3 dnj.t 2 jw=w m dj.f jw p3 wdpw dd p3 ʿ3.w n js.t 2 p3 sš n p3 hr* (B9:5) *n3 mtj [...]* *ʿn¹ p3 hr bn jw rdj.t n=k psš.t 2 mj-qd m p3 hrw* (B9:6) *rnp.t-sp 17 3bd 3 pr.t sw 23 hrw pn tz r šh.t ʿ3.t jn ʿtj p3 hm ntr tpj* (B9:7) *wdpw nswt jmj-r3 pr hđ Ns-Jmn p3 sš n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb r ʿšsp t3 šhⁿ¹* (B9:8) *m p3 hr ʿ3 šps n hḥ n ʿrnp.wt n¹ pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb jw t3 js.t ʿp3¹ [hr] ʿhr¹ smj n=sn* (B9:9) *m-dd.tw.n gb.n jw=n hqr bn jw hr dj.t n=n n3 htr.w rdj.t n=n pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb* (B9:10) *jw ʿtj p3 hm ntr tpj p3 wdpw jmj-r3 pr hđ n pr-ʿ3 dd m3^c.t n3 rmt js.t* (B9:11) *js.t p3 hr [...]*

(B8:2) Year 17, 3rd Peret, 21: the Tomb-workforce was idle.

(B8:3) There went up to the Queen's Valley ['Place of Noble Beauties'], the Cupbearer, (B8:4) the City-governor and Vizier Khaemwaset, the Tomb-workforce, and (B8:5) their captains, to inspect the King's Mother and King's Wife, (B8:6) Isis, L.P.H. They opened up her tomb, (B8:7) They found the stone of red granite, the 8 thieves having (B8:8) broken it up, by (B8:9) the doorway(?)/plinth(?), they having wrought havoc (B8:10) on everything there. They had broken through the door (B8:11) (at) the right(?), and they [had] made [.....] [*Rest of the line, and of col. 8, are lost.*]

(B9:1) See, the Cupbearer (*wdpw*) and Chief Treasurer of Pharaoh stood (there). The Cupbearer (*wdpw*) caused the (B9:2) chief workman Nekhemmut to be brought, and said to him, "Tell (us), now, the state of presence(?) (B9:3) at the Tomb!" He said to him: "Not present at all, is the Chief Draftsman, (as) he is at(?) the Tomb. And not present (B9:4) either ("at all") are the 2 registers(?), (as) they are in his possession." The Cupbearer

¹⁰⁹⁵ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 420-428.

(*wdpw*) said <to> the 2 chief workmen, the Tomb-Scribe (B9:5) and those present, (belonging) to the Tomb, “There shall not be given to you 2 portions just like today”. (B9:6) Year 17, 3rd Peret 23: On this day, there went up to the Great Tract, the Vizier, the High Priest (of Amun), (B9:7) the Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) and Treasury-Chief Nesamun, the Scribe of Pharaoh, L.P.H., to receive the work(?), (B9:8) at the great and noble Tomb of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, L.P.H., The workforce of the [Tomb] complained to them, (B9:9) saying: “We are weak, we’re starving. Nobody gives us the supplies assigned to us (by) Pharaoh, L.P.H.!” (B9:10) (Then) the Vizier, the High Priest, and Cupbearer (*wdpw*) and Treasury-Chief of Pharaoh said: “The workmen (B9:11) of the Tomb are in the right”.

Text edition:

- Botti, G. – Peet, T. E. *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe*. Fratelli Bocca, Torino, 1928, 14-18, 26-27, pls. 24-25.
 Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 566-581.

Translation:

- Botti, G. – Peet, T. E. *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe*. Fratelli Bocca, Torino, 1928, 14-18, 26-27, pls. 24-25.
 Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 529.
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Publication:

- Botti, G. – Peet, T. E. *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe*. Fratelli Bocca, Torino, 1928, 14-18, 26-27, pls. 24-25.

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 Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.
 Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on. An Addendum.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[90] Neferkareemperamun

Ramesses IX

[90.1] Rewarding scene of Amenhotep, Karnak

See above by Nesamun on p. 581.

[90.2] Pap. BM 10054

See above by Nesamun on p. 582.

[90.3] Pap. Abbott (Pap. BM 10221)

See above by Nesamun on p. 583.

[90.4] Pap. Leopold II – Amherst (Brussels, E 6857)

See above by Nesamun on p. 589.

General literature about the owner:

Helck, W. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Brill, Leiden, 1958, 336-339.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[91] Amenhotep

Ramesses IX – Ramesses X

[91.1] Rewarding scene of Amenhotep, Karnak

See above by Nesamun on p. 581.

[91.2] Pap. Turin 1932+1939¹⁰⁹⁶

Verso

(1:1) [rnpt-sp ... 3bd ... sw] 21 ḥr ḥm¹ nswt-bjtj [nb t3.wj ... Ḥpr-m3^c.t-R^c stp.n-R^c ḥn¹ wḏ3
snb] ḥs3 R^c1 R^c-ms-sw Jmn<-hr>-ḥpš.f ḥn¹ wḏ3 snb (1:2) [... ...] jmj-rn=f ḥn3 rmt p3¹
[hr ḥ3] ḥps¹ ḥḥ rnp.wt n pr-ḥ3 ḥn¹ wḏ3 snb ḥr jmnt.t W3s.t (1:3) ḥntj m¹ [...]t ḥm nḥr¹ tpj n

¹⁰⁹⁶ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 484-485.

Jmn-R^c nswt ntr:w J[... ...] jmj-r³ pr-ḥd n pr-^c3 ^cnh wd³ snb wdpw nswt ¹Jmn-ḥtp¹

(1:1) [Year x, y (month), day 21 under the majesty of the King of S & N Egypt, [Lord of Both Lands, ... **Khepermare Setepenre**, (LP)H, ...], Son of Re, **Ramesses X**, **Amen<hir>khopshef III**, (LP)H, (1:2) [.....].

Name-list (of) the men of the [Great and] Noble [Tomb] (of) Millions of Years of Pharaoh, (LP)H, on the West of Thebes, (1:3) who are under [the authority of] the High Priest of Amen-Re, King of the gods, A[.....], Chief of the Treasury of Pharaoh, (LP)H, (and) Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Amenhotep.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 686.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 539.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 484-485.

Other literature:

Gutgesell, M. *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*. Teil I: *Die 20. Dynastie*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 18-19. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1983, 149.

[91.3] Funerary cone DM 101(?)

Wsjr wb³ nswt w^cb ^c.wj Jmn-ḥtp m³^c-ḥrw

Osiris, royal *wb³* clean of hands, Amenhotep, justified.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 79.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/101>

General literature about the owner:

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Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.
 Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[92] Pareherwenemef

Ramesses X

[92.1] Graffito, West Theban 1860a¹⁰⁹⁷

(1) *rn̄p.t-sp 8 3bd 3 3h.t sw 6 hrw pn hn̄j* (2) *p3 hr̄ jn hm n̄tr tp̄j n R̄c-ms-sw-nht* (3) *wdpw nswt P3-R̄c-hr-wnm=f h3tj njw.t* (4) *Jmn-ms P3-ms 3 n js.t Jmn-nht* (5) *mjt.t*
 Year 8, 3 Akhet 6. On this day closing the tomb by: the High Priest Ramessesnakhte, the Royal Butler (*wdpw nswt*) Prehirwonmef, the Mayor of Thebes, Amenmose, [Pamose and] the Chief Workman Amennakhte likewise.

Text edition:

Černý, J. – Sadek, A. A. *Graffiti de la montagne Thébaine* IV. Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Egypte, Cairo, 1970, 21.

Bierbrier, M. L. "A Second High Priest Ramessesnakht?" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58, 1972, 195-199.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 681.

Translation:

Bierbrier, M. L. "A Second High Priest Ramessesnakht?" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58, 1972, 195-199.

Peden, A. J. *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings* (c 3100 – 332 B.C.). Probleme der Ägyptologie 17. Brill, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2001, 199-201.

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 461.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 482.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 482.

Other literature:

Bierbrier, M. L. "A Second High Priest Ramessesnakht?" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58, 1972, 195-199.

Peden, A. J. *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings* (c 3100 – 332 B.C.). Probleme der Ägyptologie 17. Brill, Leiden – Boston – Cologne, 2001, 199-201.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessesami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 16-17.

[93] Paser Ramesses XI

[93.1] Pap. Turin 2018¹⁰⁹⁸

Recto

(A1:1) *rnpt-sp 8 3bd* [3?] ¹*3h.t 5¹ hr* ¹*hm nswt*¹[-*bjtj* ... *nb t3.wj*] ¹*Mn¹-m3^c.t*[-*R^c*-] *stp.n-Pth*
¹*nh wd3 snb s3 R^c* [...] (A1:2) *nb h^c.w R^c*[-*ms-*]¹*sw¹ h^c-m-W3s.t mrr* ¹*Jmn¹* [... ...] *mr nt^r.w*
nb.w W3s.t (A1:3) ¹*wtj dj.t* ¹*spd¹ n n3 rmt js.t p3* [*hr pr-3 sps n*] *hh m rnp.wt n pr-3¹ nh wd3*
snb hr W3s.t [...] (A1:4) *m-lt dj.t p3* [*hr*] *n Bj-srjj.t* <*hr*> [*wnmj*] *nswt* ¹*jmj-r3¹ pr-hd wdpw*
nswt P3-sr (A1:5) *jmj-r3 šnw.tj Hry s3 S3-Js.t r dj.t* [*n=w* ...] *j.t?* *m n3 h3 t3 n pr-3¹ nh wd3 snb*
(A1:1) Year 8, 1(+x) Akhet(?), 5 (or: 3?) under the Majesty of: The King of S [& N Egypt,
Lord of Both Lands], **Menma[re] Setepenptah**, (LP)H, Son of Re, (A1:2) Lord of Crowns,
Ramesses XI, **Khaemwaset II**, Beloved of Amun, [God, Ruler of Heliopolis], beloved
of all the gods of Thebes.

(A1:3) Document of the issuing of grain to the workmen of the [great and august Tomb
of] Millions of Years of Pharaoh (LPH), on the West of Thebes, (A1:4) when/after the
command was given to the Fanbearer on the King's Right hand, Treasury Chief and
Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Paser, (A1:5) (and to) the Superintendent of the Double
Granary, Hori son of Siese, to give them grain from the khato-land of Pharaoh (LPH).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 583.

Text edition:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 851.

Translation:

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*.

Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 562.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI.

Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 583.

[94] Menmaatrenakht

Ramesses XI

[94.1] Journal relating to the Theban Necropolis

(1,6) [...] šsp šhn n n3 rmt js.t n p3 hr jn jmj-r3 njw.t Btj Wnn-nfr jmj-r3 pr-ḥd Mn-m3^c.t-R^c-nht

[...] receiving the task for the workers of the tomb from the overseer of the town, the vizier, Wenennefer, and the overseer of the treasury, Menmaatrenakht.

Text edition:

Pleyte, W. – Rossi, F. *Papyrus de Turin*. Brill, Leiden, 1869-1876, pl. 61.

Gardiner, A. H. *Ramesside Administrative Documents*. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1948, xx-xxi, 64.

Publication:

Gardiner, A. H. *Ramesside Administrative Documents*. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1948, xx-xxi, 64.

[94.2] Pap. BM 10052¹⁰⁹⁹

Recto

(1,1) rnp.t-sp 1 whm msw.t 3bd 4 šmw sw 5 hrw pn jr p3 smtr n (1,2) n3 hrw 3.w n jβ.w j.dgs
n3 s.wt 3.wt jw=tw jr.t n3 dgs n h3w jm=w (1,3) m t3 h3jjtj (1,4) jn jmj-r3 njw.t Btj Nb-m3^c.t-
R^c-nht jmj-r3 pr-ḥd <n> pr-3 3nh wd3 snb jmj-r3 šnw.tj Mn-m3^c.t-R^c-nht jmj-r3 pr wdpw nswt

¹⁰⁹⁹ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 539-557.

(1,5) ^rJjns p3 Bj¹-hw n pr-^c3 ^cnh wd3 snb jmj-r3 pr wdpw nswt P3-mrjj-Jmn p3 sš <n> pr-^c3 ^cnh wd3 snb

...

(4:1) jmj-r3 pr-hd n pr-^c3 ^cnh wd3 snb jmj-r3 šnw.tj wdpw nswt Mn-m3^c.t-R^c-nh^t (4:2) j.dd mj n=f n bw-pwjj=k šm r t3 s.t

...

(12:13) dd n=f wdpw nswt (12:14) Jjns j.dd p3 shr j.rj.k jrjj.f^cnh n nb ^cnh wd3 snb r-dd bw-pwjj (12:15) dgs n3 s.wt

...

(13:6) dd n=f wdpw nswt Jjns (13:7) mrw Bjj šmsw n Jw=f-n-Jmn p3 jj n=k

(1:1) Year 1 in the Renaissance (whm-mswt), 4 Shomu 5: On this day was conducted the examination of (1:2) the great criminals, – the thieves who had trespassed (in) the Great Places, who had trespassed freely(?) in them, – (conducted here) (1:3) in the (open) forecourt(?) of< >, (1:4) by: the Prefect and Vizier, Nebmare-nakht; the Chief of the Treasury of Pharaoh (LPH), and Granary Superintendent, Menmare-nakht; the Steward and Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt), (1:5) Yanusa, Fanbearer of Pharaoh (LPH); (and) the Steward and Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt), Pameryamun, the Scribe of Pharaoh (LPH).

...

(4:1) The Chief of the Treasury of Pharaoh (LPH), Superintendent of the Granary and Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt), Menmare-nakht said to him: (4:2) ‘Tell me, please, whether you did not go to the tomb.’

...

(12:13) The Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt) (12:14) Yanusa said to him, ‘Tell how you acted!’ He took an Oath of the Lord (LPH), saying: ‘I did not (12:15) set foot in the tombs.’

...

(13:6) The Royal Cupbearer (wdpw nswt) Yanusa said to him, (13:7) ‘Which messenger of Iufenamun (was it), who came to you?’

Text edition:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. II: *Plates*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930b, pls. 25-35.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 767-803.

Translation:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: Text. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 135-169.

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 567.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 539-557.

Publication:

Peet, T. E. “Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes: Some New Papyri in London and Turin.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11, 1925, 40-43.

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: Text. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 135-169.

[94.3] Pap. Mayer A¹¹⁰⁰

Recto

(1,1) *rnp.t-sp 1 whm msw.t 3bd 4 šmw sw 15 hrw pn smtr n3 jḫ.w n n p3 pr n sḫ n (1,2) nswt Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c stp.n-R^c nḫ wd3 snb p3 ntr 3 ḥn^c p3 40 pr n nswt Mn-m3^c.t-R^c Stḥij wn w3ḥ m pr ḥd n (1,3) t3 ḥw.t nswt-bjtj Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn ntj jr ḥrj-md3jw Ns-Jmn dd smjj.w m p3jj=w (1,4) rn sp sn m ntf p3 wn jm ḥ^c jrm n3 jḫ.w m-dr 3w.w dr.wt n3 pr (n) sḫ (1,5) ntj j.ḥ^c.w smtr rd.wj=w dr.wtj=w r rdj.t dd.w p3 šhr j.jr.w 3q3 (1,6) jn jmj-r3 njw.t Btj Nb-m3^c.t-R^c-nḫt jmj-r3 pr-ḥd jmj-r3 šnw.tj Mn-m3^c.t-R^c-nḫt jmj-r3 pr wdpw nswt Jjns p3 Btj-ḥw n pr-3^c nḫ wd3 snb (1,7) jmj-r3 pr wdpw nswt P3-mrjj-Jmn p3 šš n pr-3^c nḫ wd3 snb*

(1:1) Year 1, in the Renaissance, 4 Shomu 15: On this day, examination (was made) of the thieves of the portable chest of (1:2) King **Usimare Setepenre** (LP)H, the great god, and of the box-shrine of King **Menmare** (LPH), **Sethos (I)**, which lay in the treasury of (1:3) the Temple of the King of S & N Egypt, **Usimare Meriamun**, (and) concerning whom the Chief of Medjayu-police Nesamun made report, with (1:4) the list of them, (although) it was he who had been standing with the thieves, when they laid hands <on> the portable chests; (1:5) who were made to confess in full (*lit.*, “to empty themselves”) by examination (in flogging) feet and hands, to make them tell exactly how they had behaved (“acted”), – (1:6) (heard) by: the Prefect and Vizier, Nebmarenakht; the Treasury-Chief and Superintendent of the Granary, Menmarenakht; the Steward and Royal Cupbearer

¹¹⁰⁰ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 557-568.

(*wdpw nswt*), Yanisa, Fanbearer of Pharaoh (LPH); (1:7) the Steward and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Pameryamun, Scribe of Pharaoh (LPH).

Text edition:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. II: *Plates*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930b, pls. 24.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 803-828.

Translation:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: *Text*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 169.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 557-568.

Publication:

Peet, T. E. "Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes: Some New Papyri in London and Turin." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11, 1925, 40-45.

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: *Text*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 169.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[94.4] Pap. Geneva D 191¹¹⁰¹

Verso

(11) *hr h3b n=j wʿb P3-wnš n pr Mw.t r-dd wd pr-ʿ3 ʿnh ʿwd3 snb p3jj¹=k (12) ^{ʿjt¹ jw jr n=f} *pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb p3jj=f nb h.t nb.t nfr:t jw bwpwj n3 wr.w w3h n=f [nfr] (13) ^{[nb] p3 kr j.} *dj.j hn n=f 3tp hm3jj.t pšn qd=f nb.t n ʿ mħtj jw dj.t (14) ^{ʿTm3mw¹ wʿ br hr=f hr p3jj=f htr} *jw bwpwj=f w3h n=f nfr nb* (15) ^{[hr] dd.f n=j j.jr.j jj jm jw=f wd jrm=w jmj-r3 pr-hd jmj-r3} *šnw.tj Mn-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ-nħt* (16) ^{[sš] ʿwdħw¹ Hrj}***

¹¹⁰¹ Translation is after Wente, 1990, 174-175.

Now the wab-priest of the Temple of Mut Paunesh has written that Pharaoh, 1.p.h., has dispatched your father, after Pharaoh, 1.p.h., his lord, had done for him every sort of good thing, although the officials did not leave [anything] good for him [in] the boat which I sent to him loaded [with] salt and every entire share(?) of the Northern Region after Tjema had sent a scow carrying him and his dues(?), but not having left anything good for him. [Now] he told me, "It was after he departed with the overseer of the treasury and overseer of granaries Menmarenakht and the scribe of the offering table Hori that I returned from there."

Text edition:

Černý, J. *Late Ramesside Letters*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca IX. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, Brussels, 1939, XII-XIII, 57-60.

Translation:

Wente, E. F. *Late Ramesside Letters*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 33. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967, 71-74.

Allam, S. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Schafik Allam, Tübingen, 1973, 303-307.

Wente, E. F. *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1990, 174-175.

Publication:

Wente, E. F. *Late Ramesside Letters*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 33. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967, 71-74.

Allam, S. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Schafik Allam, Tübingen, 1973, 303-307.

Janssen, J. J. *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VI. British Museum Press, London, 1991, pls. 59-60.

Other literature:

Allam, S. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Schafik Allam, Tübingen, 1973, 303-307.

Wente, E. F. *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1990, 174-175.

Sweeney, D. "Henuttawy's Guilty Conscience (Gods and Grain in Late Ramesside Letter No. 37)." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 80, 1994, 208-212.

Quack, J. F. “Henuttawis machtlose Unschuld. Zum Verständnis von LRL Nr. 37.” In Gallois, Chr. – Grandet, P. – Pantalacci, L. (éds.): *Mélanges offerts à François Neveu par ses amis, élèves et collègues à l’occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 145. Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Cairo, 2008, 259-263.

[94.5] Pap. BM 10383 (Pap. de Burgh)¹¹⁰²

Recto

(1,1) *rnp.t 2 3bd 4 šmw sw 25 hrw pn jr p3 smtr n p3 nbw ḥd ḫw m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c mrj-Jmn ḥnḥ wḏ3 snb m pr Jmn (1,2) j.dd jt ntr Jmn-ms s3 T3 n t3 ḥw.t smj.w m-b3ḥ pr-ḥ3 ḥnḥ wḏ3 snb jw=tw dj.t hr n jmj-r3 njw.t ḫtj Nb-m3^c.t-R^c-nhḥ (1,3) jmj-r3 pr-ḥd n pr-ḥ3 ḥnḥ wḏ3 snb jmj-r3 šnw.tj wdpw nswt Mn-m3^c.t-R^c-nhḥ jmj-r3 pr wdpw nswt Jjns r jr p3jj=w smtr*

(1:1) Year 2, 4 Shomu 25: Day of investigating (“making examination for”) the gold and silver stolen from the Temple of Usimare Meriamun (LPH), in the Estate(?) of Amun, (1:2) about which the God’s Father of the Temple, Amenmose son of To, complained to Pharaoh (LPH); and the King (“One”) charged the City Governor and Vizier Nebmarenakht, (1:3) the Chief of Pharaoh’s Treasury, Superintendent of the Granary and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*), Menmarenakht, and (also) the Steward and Royal Cupbearer (*wdpw nswt*) Yanusa to investigate them.

Text edition:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. II: Plates. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930b, pls. 22.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 833-836.

Translation:

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: Text. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 122-127.

Helck, W. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 63. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2002, 570.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Rameses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 571-572.

¹¹⁰² Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 571-572.

Publication:

Peet, T. E. “Fresh Light on the Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at Thebes: Some New Papyri in London and Turin.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11, 1925, 52-54.

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Vol. I: Text. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930a, 122-127.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. “The Royal Butler Ramessessami‘on. An Addendum.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[95] Ines

Ramesses XI

[95.1] Pap. BM 10052

See above by Menmaatrenakht on p. 598.

[95.2] Pap. Mayer A

See above by Menmaatrenakht on p. 600.

[95.3] Pap. BM 10383 (Pap. de Burgh)

See above by Menmaatrenakht on p. 603.

[95.4] Pap. Turin 1896¹¹⁰³

(0) [*Hr k3 nht mrjj R^c nb.tj wsr hps*] (1) *hd hfn Hr nbw wr phtj s^cnh* ¹*t3.wj*¹ (2) *jtjj s^cnh wd3 snb hr jb <hr> m3^c.t shtp t3.wj nswt-bjtj nb* ¹*t3.wj*¹ (3) *Mn-m3.t-R^c stp.n-Pth s^cnh wd3 snb s3 R^c nb h^c.w R^c-mss-h^c-m-W3s.t mrr-Jmn ntr-hq3-Jwnw s^cnh wd3* ¹*snb*¹ (4) *wd nswt n s3 nswt n Kš sš nswt n mš^c jmj-r3 šnw.wt h3wtj P3-nhsj n* (5) *n3 pd.t pr-3 s^cnh wd3 snb r-ntj jn.tw n=k wd.t nswt pn r-dd pnn r-dd wd Jjns* (6) *p3 3 n pr wdpw n pr-3 s^cnh wd3 snb djdj.tw:f m n3 shn.w n pr-3 s^cnh wd3 snb p3jj=f* ¹*nb*¹ (7) *wd.f r jr.w m r sjj wnn p3 wh3 n pr-3 s^cnh wd3 snb p3jj=k nb spr r=k* (8) *jw=k jr w^c jrm=f r dj.t jr:f n3 shn.w n pr-3 s^cnh wd3 snb* (9) *p3jj=f nb wd.f m=w mtw=k ptr t3.fjj.t n t3 ntr:t* (10) ¹*c3.t*¹ *mtw=k r^cr.s mtw=k 3tp.s r jmw mtw=k dj.t jn.tw.s r h3t=f r p3 ntj tw=tw jm* (11) *mtw=k dj.t jn.tw hrs.t hnm.t jwn hw? r jsmrj hrr:t kt*

¹¹⁰³ Translation is after Kitchen, 2012, 523-524.

(12) *hrr.t ḥsbd qnw qnw r p3 ntj tw=tw jm r mḥ dr.t n* (13) *n3 ḥmw.t m=w m jr nnj p3 šhn h3b.j n=k* (14) *ptr h3b.j r mtrw=k h3b pw dj.t rh=k r-ntj pr nswt ʿd snb* (15) *rnp.t-sp 17 3bd 4 3ḥ.t sw 25*

[Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, Beloved of Re]; [Nebty-Ruler, Powerful of Sword], vanquishing myriads; Golden Horus, Mighty in strength, sustaining the Two Lands; Sovereign, LPH, contented with Truth, pacifying the Two Lands; King of S & N Egypt; Lord of Both Lands, **Menmare Setepenptah**, LPH, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses XI**, **Khaemwaset II**, Beloved of Amun, God, Ruler of Heliopolis, LPH.

Royal Decree to the Viceroy of Nubia, Royal Army-Scribe, Chief of the Granaries, and Army-leader of the troops of the Pharaoh, LPH, Panehsy, as follows: “This royal decree is brought to you, to this effect: I have sent out Yanusa, this **Steward and Cupbearer** (*wḏpw*) of Pharaoh, LPH; and with the behests of Pharaoh, LPH, his lord, has he been dispatched. He has gone forth to execute them in the Southern Region. When the dispatch of Pharaoh, LPH, his lord, for which he was sent.¹¹⁰⁴ And you shall act together with him to have him executed the behests of the Pharaoh, LPH, his lord, with which he has departed.¹¹⁰⁵ And you shall see to this portable shrine of this great goddess, and you shall complete it, you shall load it into a ship, and you shall have it brought to the place where Pharaoh (“One”) is. And you shall cause to be brought (here) carnelian, red jasper, (and) lumps(?) containing corundum(?)/quartz-sand(?), – (also) flowers of yellow (cardamom), and lapis-blue flowers, very many, to the place where Pharaoh (“One”) is, to supply the craftsman with them. Do not be slack about this order which I have sent you. See, I have sent (this message) as your documentation (“witness”). It (also) is a communication to inform you that the Royal House is safe and well.” – Year 17, 4th Akhet, (Day) 25.

Text edition:

Pleyte, W. – Rossi, F. *Papyrus de Turin*. Brill, Leiden, 1869-1876, pls. 66-67.

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Vol. VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983b, 734-735.

Translation:

Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations*. Vol. VI. *Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2012, 523-524.

¹¹⁰⁴ Suggested translation based on the text: “... when the dispatch of Pharaoh, LPH, your lord, was sent to you.”

¹¹⁰⁵ The sentence is translated by the author as it is missed from the translation of Kitchen.

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 201.

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on. An Addendum." *Chronique d'Égypte* 65, 1990, 18.

[96] Pameriamun

Ramesses XI

[96.1] Pap. BM 10052

See above by Menmaatrenakht on p. 598.

[96.2] Pap. Mayer A

See above by Menmaatrenakht on p. 600.

[97] Nebmaatresekhper-?

20th dynasty

[97.1] Ostrakon, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ANAsh.Mus.H.O.616 (= ex O. Gardiner 616)

(1) *wdpw nswt Nb-m3^c.t-r^c-shpr-???* (2) *n? pr-^c3 ???*

(1) Royal *wdpw* Nebmaatresekhper-? (2) of? the Pharaoh ???

Other literature:

Dorn, A. *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige. Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.). Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 23. Schwabe, Basel, 2011, 411, n. a.

New Kingdom

[98] Unknown 3

New Kingdom

[98.1] Block statue, Cairo, CG 906

(1) [*h̥tp-dj-nswt n*] *ḥr-nḥnj ḥr-ḥr-wd=f/ḥr-nd-ḥr-jt=f*¹? *ḥr-rnpj*¹? [...] [*dj=*](2) *sn pr:t-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w šsp sn.w [m-]*(3) *b3ḥ ḥr wdḥw n nb* [...] (4) *m ḥr:t-ḥrw n.t [r^c nb]* (5) *n k3 n wb3 nswt w^cb r.wj* [...] (6) [...] *swt* [...] ...]

(1) [An offering which the king gives to] Horus of Hierakonpolis, Horus-herudjef/Horus-nedjheritef(?), Horus-renpi, that they [may grant] (2) an invocation offering of cattle, birds, accepting offering bread (3) in front, with donation of the lord [...] (4) daily (5) to the ka of the royal *wb3* clean of hands [...] (6) [...] ...].

Text edition:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil III. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1930, 147.

Publication:

Borchardt, L. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos 1-1294. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*. Teil III. Reichsdruckerei, Berlin, 1930, 147.

Schulz, R. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“*. Band 1-2. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1992, 213.

Other literature:

Vandier, J. *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne*. Tome III: *Les grandes époques la statuaire*. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 1958, 455.

[99] Isiu

New Kingdom

[99.1] Canopic jars

I.

(1) ???¹¹⁰⁶ (2) *Nb.t-ḥw.t jnq.n.t ʕ.wj=t <ḥr>* (3) *Ḥʕpjj ntt jm=<t> jm3ḥjj-(4)ḥr Ḥʕpjj wb3 n*
 (5) *nswt Jsju m3ʕ-ḥrw ms.n nb.t* (6) *pr Nb-ḥr-ndmj.t m3ʕ.t-ḥrw*

??? Nephthys, may your arms embrace Hapy who is inside (you), the one honoured by Hapy, the royal *wb3*, Isiu, justified, born of the lady of the house, Nebhersedjemit, justified.

II.

(1) ??? (2) *Srq.t jnq.n.t ʕ.wj=t <ḥr> Qbḥ-(3)sn.w=f ntj jm=t jm3ḥjj-ḥr* (4) *Qbḥ-sn.w=f wb3 n nswt Jsju* (5) *m3ʕ-ḥrw ms.n nb.t pr Nb-(6)ḥr-ndmj.t m3ʕ.t-ḥrw* (7) ???

??? Selket, may your arms embrace Qebhsenuf who is inside you, the one honoured by Qebhsenuf, the royal *wb3*, Isiu, justified, born of the lady of the house, Nebhersedjemit, justified. ???

III. (from right to left)

(1) ??? (2) *Nt jnq.n.t ʕ.wj=t (3) ḥr ntt jm=t stp-s3.t ḥr* (4) *Dw3-mw.t=f ntj jm=t jm3ḥjj-ḥr* (5) *Dw3-mw.t=f wb3 n¹¹⁰⁷ nswt Jsju¹* (6) *m3ʕ-ḥrw ms.n nb.t pr Nb-(7)ḥr-ndmj.t m3ʕ.t-ḥrw*

??? Neith, may your arms embrace that what is inside you, you protect Duamutef who is inside you, the one honoured by Duamutef, the royal *wb3*, Isiu, justified, born of the lady of the house, Nebhersedjemit, justified.

Text edition, publication:

Collins, L. "The Private Tombs of Thebes: Excavations by Sir Robert Mond 1905 and 1906." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 62, 1976, 37, Fig. 45.

¹¹⁰⁶ In all the three cases, the formulae should start with the usual phrase *dd mdw jn* 'Recitation by', however, the drawing of the first column of all the three canopic jars is unclear.

¹¹⁰⁷ The arm sign standing for the possessive *n* must have been either a miswriting or a mistake in copying the text.

[100] Meriremetjef

New Kingdom

[100.1] Funerary cone DM 452(1) *wb3 nswt hrd* (2) *n k3p ḥsḥj* (3) *n Jmn Mrjj-(4)rmt=f*Royal *wb3*, child of the kap, favoured of Amun, Meriremetjef.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Recueil de cones funéraires*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 8. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1893a, 289, No. 183.Zenihoro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihoro, Tokyo, 2009, 182.<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/452>

General literature about the owner:

Schulman, A. R. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61, 1986, 202.**[101] Nebseni**

New Kingdom

[101.1] Funerary cone DM 373(1) *dw3 R' wbn=f m nhpw* (2) *ḥtp=f m ḥnh* (3) *wb3 nswt Nb-snjj*Praising Re rising up in the early morning and setting in life, royal *wb3*, Nebseni.

Publication:

Daressy, G. *Recueil de cones funéraires*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 8. Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1893a, 282, No. 95.Zenihoro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihoro, Tokyo, 2009, 157-158.<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/373>

[102] Rau

New Kingdom

[102.1] Funerary cone DM 277

wb3 nswt R3w

The royal *wb3*, Rau.

[102.2] Funerary cone DM 510

jmj-r3 s.t n ʕ.t t R3w

The overseer of the storeroom of the bread chamber, Rau.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 130-131, 200.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/510>

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/277>

[103] Senemnetjer

New Kingdom

[103.1] Funerary cone DM 278

wb3 nswt Sn-m-ntr

The royal *wb3*, Senemnetjer.

[103.2] Funerary cone DM 279

wb3 nswt Sn-m-ntr m3ʕ-hrw

The royal *wb3*, Senemnetjer.

Publication:

Zenihiro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihiro, Tokyo, 2009, 131.

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/279>

<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/278>

[104] Satre

New Kingdom

[104.1] Funerary cone DM 567*wb3 nswt S3.t-r3*The royal *wb3*, Satre.

Publication:

Zenihoro, K. *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Kento Zenihoro, Tokyo, 2009, 216.<https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/567>

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